

SOUTH AFRICAN GOVT. AND POLITICS

1985

MAY — JUNE



The leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, greets an enthusiastic 2 000 supporters before addressing them at the Pretoria City Hall last night.

AWB thanks SAP for 'law and order' 3044

1/5/85
PRETORIA. — About 1 000 supporters of the militant Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) marched to the Central Police Station here with a message "... of gratitude to the police for their enforcement of law and order".

However, at a mass protest meeting of about 2 000 people a few blocks away in the Pretoria City Hall earlier last night, the AWB leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, warned that if the police ever failed to maintain law and order, the AWB would take the law into its own hands.

After leading chanting marchers to the police station, Mr Terre'Blanche handed the officers on duty a letter for the Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee.

"The AWB is at your disposal at all times for the maintenance of law and order and the protection of our people."

Mr Terre'Blanche said the gesture would show people such as Bishop Desmond Tutu that the AWB meant business. Earlier this year, the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg led a march on John Vorster Square to protest against detentions and riot deaths.

ARGUS 1/5/85

New call for national talks

304A

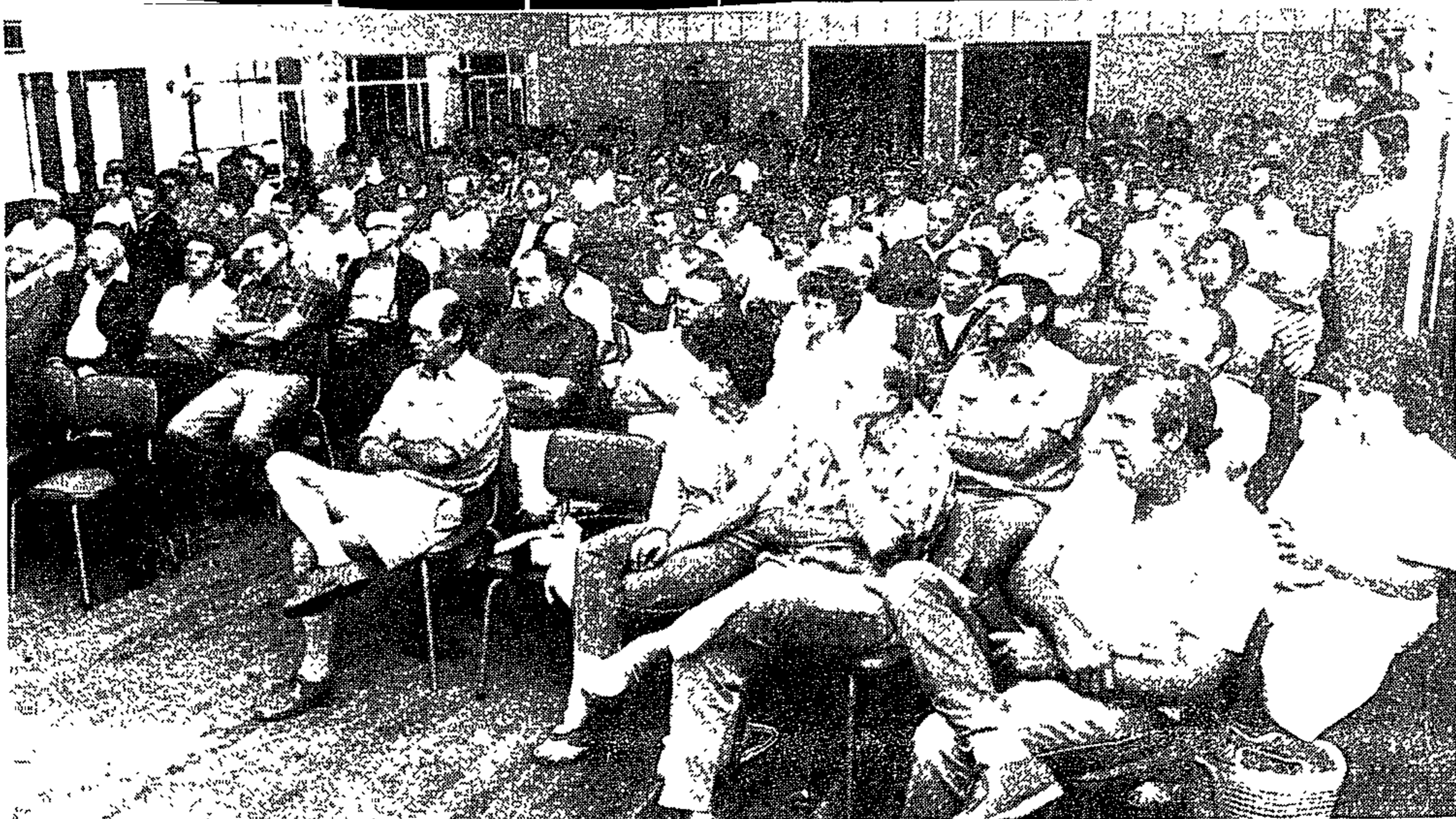
Labour Reporter

THE business sector was today urged to initiate a national summit between itself and black political organisations — inside and outside South Africa — the black labour movement and the churches.

Dr Michael Sinclair, chairman of the United States South Africa Leadership Exchange Programme (Ussalep), made the call at a conference in Cape Town on the social responsibility of business, organised by the Public Relations Institute of South Africa.

The prime purpose of the summit would be to arrive at an agreement on socio-political priorities, responsibilities for doing business in South Africa and the development of a joint monitoring mechanism for fulfilling those responsibilities, he said.

He warned that disinvestment in South Africa was evident, not only in the number of foreign companies that had quietly passed majority ownership to South African interests, but in the unknown billions of dollars being deflected from South Africa by the image of business as an element in the perpetuation of an unjust, unstable and transient political system.



The crowd of more than 150 farmers who turned out for the protest meeting at the Swartberg Farmers' Association yesterday.

Farmers pledge consumer support

Mercury Reporter

MORE than 150 farmers from Kokstad, Underberg and Swartberg pledged their support to the consumer yesterday to reduce the cost of family food requirements.

They made the pledge at a Swartberg Farmers' Association meeting in East Griqualand.

The meeting was a follow-up to the successful February mass tractor rally in Pietermaritzburg against rising costs of fertilizer, stock feed and machinery.

It was also decided yesterday to request organised agricultural societies to investigate the price difference between what the producer got for the product and what the consumer paid.

Mr Derek Broom, a dairy farmer from Ixopo, explained that farmers only received 34c a litre for their milk.

'The farmer is coming out with a disproportionate share, but you cannot expect to get a big share of the profits if you are handing over the problems of distribution to other people,' he said.

Urged

'Many consumers in Durban are drinking milk which is up to six days old. This is not good enough. We must take matters into our own hands.'

Mr Broom urged the farmers to consider the consumer most important.

'We have been separated by the middle-men for so long, but I think both the farmer and the consumer realise how much we are getting ripped off and it is up to us all to ensure that we get a better deal.'

Another guest speaker, Mr John Armstrong, warned against complacency and apathy.

'If we feel that the Natal Agricultural Union and the costs are failing us we have only ourselves to blame.'

NRP expresses concern at 'drastic' farmers' measures

Pietermaritzburg
Bureau

THE New Republic Party spokesman on agriculture, Mr Ralph Hardingham, yesterday expressed concern at the proposed 'drastic and irresponsible' action by maize producers to stop deliveries to storage silos.

Mr Hardingham, who is MP for Mooi River, said the consequences of such action could not be underestimated.

'The non-availability of a staple food such as maize can have serious and widespread social and economic repercussions.'

'I am concerned too that political influences are being brought into play which if pursued in this manner will be disastrous for the country as a whole,' said Mr Hardingham.

Not only did it create a precedent in regard to the manner in which price negotiations of agricultural products were being conducted, but it would destroy one of the main cornerstones of the Marketing Act, he said.

'One must not overlook also the financial assistance rendered by Government in the form of drought relief measures during the past three years and it would be foolhardy at this stage to alleviate feelings between the agricultural sector and the public through irresponsible action.'

'I sincerely hope that maize producers, through Nampo, will exercise discretion and responsibility in negotiations with the Government.'

However, he added the Government should take heed of the critical plight of farmers.

'I have endeavoured repeatedly to point this out to the Government since attending the Pietermaritzburg rally in February. The warning lights that flashed at this rally were clear evidence that things were far from well in the agricultural sector. It is obvious that the

Government is determined to keep food prices down but this approach can only be realistic if it is prepared to take similar action to ensure that input costs are also contained.

'At the present time farmers are being ripped off at every level of production costs,' Mr Hard-

ingham said.

President Botha will meet representatives of the country's angry maize farmers tomorrow in an effort to defuse the crisis.

The farmers will be represented at tomorrow's meeting by the president of Nampo, Mr Hennie de Jager, and general manager, Dr Piet Gous.

Other speakers at the meeting were Mr Gideon Wegmann, and Paul Weinberg.

SIGNS OF HOPE.

Two 'mood test' by-election challenges

Parliamentary
Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—The Government faces two critical by-elections today — in Newton Park, a Port Elizabeth seat, and in Harrismith in the Free State — which will test the mood of white people on issues of the economy and constitutional change.

Newton Park, with 17 808 middle-class voters more or less evenly spread between English and Afrikaans speakers, is a four-way fight.

The National Party faces a strong challenge

from the Progressive Federal Party. It must also fight off the Conservative Party which is attempting to break new ground outside the Transvaal. An independent candidate has also thrown his hat into the ring.

In the general election of 1981, the NP held the seat against the PFP with a majority of 1 195 votes. Since then, the complexion of national politics has changed dramatically.

Coloureds and Indians now sit in Parliament, the Mixed Marriages and Immorality Acts are to be

scrapped, the economy — and especially Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage's since the slump in the motor industry — is in serious recession, and in recent months the Eastern Cape has been racked by the most serious civil unrest in recent history.

The NP candidate in Newton Park will be attempting to show voters that, in spite of economic problems, the Government's 'reformist' path is preferable to the 'unrealistic' policies of the CP or the PFP's 'recipe for black majority rule'.

The PFP must illustrate that it constitutes the real opposition to Government, that present problems are rooted in Nationalist ideology, and that it will vigorously take the fight for a better economic deal for Port Elizabeth into Parliament.

True reflection

The CP is attacking the NP for its record of economic mismanagement, and trying to lump the NP and PFP into a single 'integrationist' camp, claiming that it alone now stands for 'true separate development'.

Yesterday, the NP Parliamentary candidate, Mr Sakkie Louw, said that, while he and the PFP candidate, Mr Izak Smuts, were neck and neck on postal votes, this was not a true reflection of the race because the PFP had made an early start on postals.

Mr Jan Hoon, CP MP for Kuruman, who is assisting Mr Marius Oosthuizen, his party's

candidate, said he was confident that the CP would put in a strong showing: 'We are going to do very well, although I'm not saying we'll win,' he said.

The Harrismith contest — a provincial by-election only — has taken on added significance since the death of the Minister of Health, Dr Nak van der Merwe, last week.

While Harrismith, with 7 524 rural/farming voters, is only a provincial seat, half of its voters are in the parliamentary constituency of Bethlehem, Dr van der Merwe's now-vacant seat, and a by-election must follow.

At the last election, the NP candidate for Harrismith was elected unopposed. This time round, the CP's Mr T Pienaar is expected to give the NP's Mr Dirk Odendaal a strong run for his money.

Boogieboarders up in arms over surfers

Mercury Reporter

BOOGIEBOARDERS at Durban's North Beach are up in arms about surfers making use of the bathing beach.

A number of boogieboarders say surfers have increasingly been crowding them out.

'There are already too many boogieboarders in the water and the surfers are just making things more crowded and dangerous,' said enthusiast Mr Martin Buning.

Surfers are prohibited from using North Beach when life-guards come on duty and the beach has been zoned for the exclusive use of bathers and boogieboarders, who are already limited to a small area next to the new pier.

'If boogieboarders ride waves at any of the other

Durban beaches they must be prepared to face the consequences, but we need at least one beach where we can ride the waves even outside normal bathing hours,' said another boogieboarder.

Some boogieboarders have threatened to take the matter into their own hands unless something is done.

Beach manager, Mr Ian McNaughton, said yesterday that he had received more than a dozen complaints from boogieboarders in the past week.

'The life-guards and beach inspectors are on duty from 8 a.m. until 5 p.m., and apart from making them work overtime, there is no other way to solve the problem,' he said.

Durban model o

Mercury Reporter

DURBAN is in line to get the first life-size model of a prehistoric tyrannosaurus, considered the king of the dinosaurs, to be constructed in South Africa.

Two Durban Museum technicians, Ian Sinclair and Doug Goode, are responsible for the creation and started building the 12 m-long beast in a section of the public viewing

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Maties
call for
talks
with ANC

By RONALD MORRIS

A MOTION calling on the government to hold unconditional talks with the banned African National Congress was overwhelmingly accepted by the Stellenbosch University student parliament last night.

The motion stated that the student parliament supported unconditional talks between the government and any organization or person in the search for a solution to South Africa's problems.

The motion said the student parliament would welcome it if both the ANC and the government would declare themselves willing to hold unconditional talks.

The students also stated their regret that the SABC had failed to televise the Nightline interview with Oliver Tambo.

The motion, which was proposed by Mr Johan Bell and seconded by Mr Johan Olivier, was accepted by 32 students while 19 voted against with four abstentions.

Cape Times
1/5/85 (304P)

1 000 AWB march

PRETORIA. — At least 1 000 supporters of the right-wing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) yesterday joined a "march of gratitude" on Police Headquarters here after attending a mass meeting to protest against the government.

The leader of the AWB, Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, led the chanting procession from Pretoria City Hall to the Police Central, three blocks away.

Young AWB members at the head of the marchers held Vierkleur and Transvaal Republic flags and banners reading "SA Police Thank You for Law and Order".

Mr TerreBlanche earlier told an audience of more than 2 000 people that at the end of the march he would hand a letter of thanks to the police for the work they were doing in riot-torn black townships.

"This will be a statement against (Bishop) Tutu," he said, referring to the Nobel Prize-winner's protest march with other bishops on police headquarters in Johannesburg last month.

Colonel J Loots, a police spokesman who met Mr TerreBlanche at the entrance to the headquarters, said the brief would be passed on today to the Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee. — Sapa

Mabouza calls for talks with ANC

By NKOPANE
MAKOPANE

THE young generation of the African people is no longer interested in piecemeal concessions, but want political change today and justifiably so, the Chief Minister of KaNgwane said yesterday.

Mr Enos J Mabouza was delivering his policy speech in the second ordinary session of the third KaNgwane Legislative Assembly. The session was also the first to be held since the granting of self-govern-

ment to KaNgwane last year.

He said the delay to bring about the desired political dividends has resulted in the unfortunate mood among the young people to sacrifice their academic and professional future on the altar of school boycotts if their actions will help bring immediate reform.

For the evolutionary process to be associated, he said, laws such as the influx control, Group Areas Act, the pass laws

and many others must go. It is the substance and not the spirit of apartheid that should be removed, he said.

He called on the Pretoria Government to show boldness and not look over its shoulders in fear of the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party. The two parties, he said, were not South African and should not be allowed to hold the country to ransom.

Turning to the African National Congress

(ANC), he said whether South Africa liked it or not, and whether it advocates violence or non-violence, the organisation is and will remain a factor with regard to the constitutional future of the country, just as SWAPO is the case in Namibia.

"It is our submission that the ANC should be unbanned and then allowed to operate as a legal political organisation, as well as take part in the dialogue and process of political reform."

"If there is any substance in the allegations that the ANC may be behind the current unrest in urban areas, then this is more than the reason why it should be unbanned. By doing so, the Government will be able to judge the extent of its support and negotiate with its leaders accordingly. We also appeal that Nelson Mandela should be released without preconditions," he said.

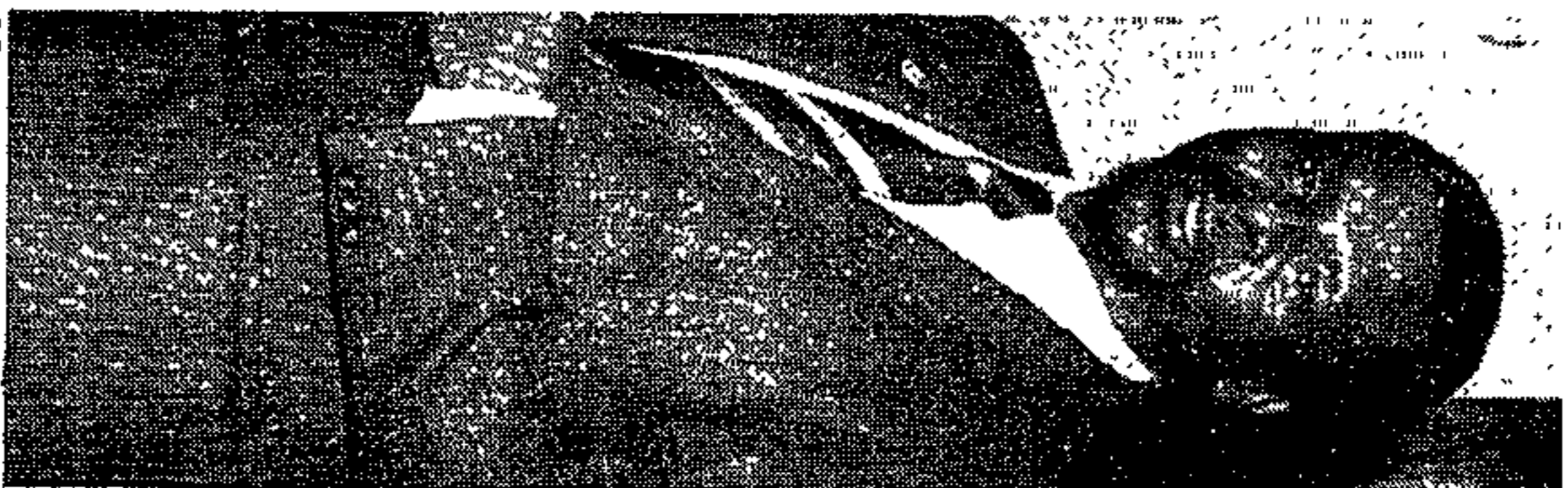
Mr Mabouza also said internal political organi-

sations such as Inkatha, the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo) have a role to play and should be in the forefront of negotiation process. By the same token, he said, "we do not underestimate our role and contribution towards a peaceful future of our country."

Unrest

The Chief Minister further said the disinvestment campaign being waged against the country should not be underestimated. He said any argument that disinvestment will hurt the African people does not hold water. An insistent and arrogant approach towards disinvestment campaign "on our part" will not help the cause.

On the continuing urban unrest and school boycotts, he said, these caused great concern. He said whereas the authorities have attributed the unrest to agitators, they believed that urban communities and school pupils have



MR ENOS MABOUZA...
KwaNgwane leader.

genuine grievances. He appealed to the Government to stop all forced removals. The country, he said, can do without them and the resultant bad image they create about the country internationally.

'Reagan won't yield to pressure against S A'

Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—Mr Herman Nickel, United States Ambassador to South Africa, yesterday said he was confident President Reagan would stand firm against pressure for disinvestment, but called for the help of South African business in the battle against disinvestment.

Giving the keynote address at the first day of a two-day conference on social responsibility in business, organised by the Public Relations Institute of South Africa (Prisa), Mr Nickel said a diminished American role in South Africa would not aid the reform process and would not be helpful to joint efforts at regional stabilisation.

Addressing about 150 businessmen, academics

and public relations experts from all over the country, Mr Nickel said: 'We need to be able to say to the American people that progress is being made in South Africa. We need to be able to say that black employees of your companies have access to housing, educational opportunities, goods and services consistent with their salaries.'

Mr Nickel said there

was probably no place in the world in which the social responsibility of business had faced greater challenges than South Africa.

He said it was not surprising that South African companies had been in the forefront of the reform process, as business could not thrive within the straitjacket of apartheid.

He said: 'Apartheid remains the single greatest barrier between the South Africa of today and the bright economic future which we all hope tomorrow will bring. How corporations respond to that challenge will shape and instruct your future, the region's future and the future of our relationship.'

Mr Nickel said mounting political pressure in the United States to 'do something' in South Africa reflected some of the deepest aspirations of the American political consensus, and it spoke for the millions of Americans who found apartheid morally repugnant and politically insensitive.

AWB 'thanks' police action in townships

AT least 1 000 supporters of the rightwing resistance movement, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, joined a "march of gratitude" on police headquarters in Pretoria yesterday, after attending a mass meeting to protest against the Government.

Leader of the AWB, Mr Eugene Terréblanche, led the chanting procession from the Pretoria City Hall to the police central, three blocks away.

Young AWB members

at the head of the marchers held Vierkleur and Transvaal republic flags, and banners reading "SA police thank you for law and order" and "back to our promise, back to our land".

Mr Terréblanche earlier told an enthusiastic audience of more than 2 000 people that at the end of the march he intended handing a letter of thanks to the police for the work they were doing in riot-torn black townships.

Big majority in Newton Park, but a close shave at Harrismith

ARCUS 2/5/85

3044

Nats win through

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

THE National Party has scraped through against the Conservative Party with a majority of 247 in the Harrismith by-election but in Newton Park it had substantial victories against the Progressive Federal Party.

HARRISMITH (Provincial)

| | |
|---------------------------|-------|
| Mr D C Odendaal (NP)..... | 2 884 |
| Mr C H Pienaar (CP)..... | 2 637 |
| NP majority..... | 247 |
| Percentage poll..... | 69,7 |
| Spoilt papers..... | 32 |

In the 1981 General Election,
Mr H V Hattingh (NP) was
elected unopposed.

Nationalist politicians were relieved by the victory in Harrismith, although the majority was small. Many had feared that the CP would break through in the Free State against the background of right-wing propaganda against reform measures along with the revolt of the maize farmers.

President P W Botha and the acting Free State leader of the National Party, Mr Kobie Coetsee, both expressed their satisfaction about the party winning under the worst possible circumstances.

Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, said the Newton Park result had not been a disgrace to the PFP.

From scratch

The CP leader, Dr A P Treurnicht, said Harrismith had been an "achievement" for his party as it had started from scratch there.

In political circles the impression today was that President Botha could now press ahead with reform measures, as the CP had been shown to be unable to win a seat from it in what had been optimum conditions for the right wing.

In his reaction President Botha said that the fact that the National Party had won in both seats with a high percentage poll under the worst circumstances proved that the message of balance and reason had been heard in South Africa.

"Economic circumstances in South Africa are still not what they should be. This says a lot for the judgment of the average South Africans that they, in a time of hardship and sacrifice, can remain on course on the only road on which South Africa can find peace, prosperity and security.

"I hope that all those who doubted will from now on pull in the team to form national unity and enable the Government to get on with its task," Mr Botha said.

Dr Slabbert said: "If you look at the overall result the one thing that is quite clear is that the so-called right-wing threat is totally over-rated.

Difficult

"In Newton Park the National Party fought almost a CP campaign against us, exploiting the Uitenhage incident to the full in order to create a siege-like mentality among voters.

"This stacked the odds pretty heavily against us and in the circumstances I am not all that dissatisfied with the result."

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, acting leader of the National Party in the Free State, said the party would have preferred a better result in Harrismith, but that the election had taken place under difficult circumstances.

Speaking from the Free State where he visited Harrismith yesterday Dr A P Treurnicht, leader of the CP, said the Harrismith result had been "an achievement".

The seat had now been made a marginal constituency and he predicted that the CP would win it next time.

CP warns: Half ^{ARGUS 2/5/85} the OFS ^{304A} is ours

Argus Correspondent

HARRISMITH. — Jubilant Conservative Party supporters here predicted that at least half the Free State would fall to them if a general election were held tomorrow.

The claim follows yesterday's provincial by-election, which the party lost by a narrow margin. The constituency had been considered among the safest in the country for the ruling National Party.

The NP candidate, Mr Dirk Odendaal, won the seat by just 247 votes in a 69 percent poll. He polled 2 884 votes while the CP's Mr Cehill Pienaar polled 2 637, winning virtually every polling district but Harrismith itself.

BIG GAINS

Among the more significant gains for the CP were the districts of Lindley and Petrus Steyn.

"It is a very good result. Harrismith was not very high on our list of priorities and we did not expect to get this close," CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said after the announcement of the result at 1.45 am today.

"We made it," was the first reaction of a relieved Mr Odendaal. "But it was desperately close. At times during the day I thought we had lost it.

"Although they won't admit it across the street (the CP office), this thing with the maize price helped them a lot," he said.

Both parties said the 180 postal-vote lead the NP started the day with had been the deciding factor.

"That postal lead is probably what won it for us," Mr Odendaal said.

NETWORK

The CP's Dr Connie Mulder agreed: "We do not have the organisational network the NP has in regard to postal votes and that made the difference.

"We did remarkably well for our first time out in the Free State and believe me, the next time it's in the bag."

CP workers were jubilant. "What an incredible result. I never expected us to get this close," CP campaign manager Mr Gustay Claasens said.

"This is only the beginning. We did very well and the next step is Bethlehem in September. I can't see us slipping again," said the beaten candidate, Mr Pienaar.

Registration for 'Dads' Army' postponed

ARGG 2/5/88
Defence Reporter (504A)

A "DADS' Army" registration campaign in the Stellenbosch, The Strand and Somerset West districts, scheduled to begin next week, has been postponed because of the economic climate and operational priorities of the Defence Force.

A communique from the Chief of the SADF, General Constand Viljoen, said the registration and rescheduling of members of the national reserve into commando units would begin only next year.

Initially the SADF had called for all white male citizens between the ages of 18 and 55, living permanently

in certain areas, to register next week and make themselves available for service within the commando units.

Brigadier Y de Bruyn, Officer Commanding Western Province Command, said he had not officially received new instructions, but he confirmed that Operation Butter-milk, the code-name for the registration and training campaign in the Somerset West, The Strand and Stellenbosch districts, had been cancelled "until a later date".

According to the communique from General Viljoen, the SADF's policy that border areas would have

preference in this year's registration still remains.

New commando members incorporated this year would be informed as soon as administrative arrangements were completed, he said.

The units which would not be affected by the army's problems and where planned registrations would not be affected included commando units based in the Eastern Transvaal and Northern Cape.

The re-scheduling of members from the national reserve into the Stellenbosch commando would take place over a longer period than planned for this year, General Viljoen said.

ament 6-7, Women 13-15, Letters 20, Finance 17-18, Racing 22, Sport 23-24, TV programmes

CARE TIME 2/5/78 (30/11) (3/2)

Unionists get bail, then held

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Thirty-nine trade unionists of the Metal and Allied Workers' Union were rearrested soon after they had been released on bail yesterday by a Johannesburg magistrate.

The arrests occurred when the 39 marched through the city soon after their release.

The trade unionists all faced a charge under the Internal Security Act for attending an illegal gathering but were not asked to plead.

They were released on R100 bail each and the hearing was adjourned to July 2.

After leaving the court, friends and relatives of the unionists joined them in a march from Johannesburg Magistrate's Court building down Market Street.

About 30 security and uniformed police who had gathered outside the courtroom hours before the accused made their appearance followed the unionists, all wearing T-shirts bearing slogans, and then rearrested them two blocks from the court.

The appearance of the 39 in court was a sequel to an arrest on Monday at Johannesburg's Selbourne Hall following wage talks.

At Khotso House, in De Villiers Street, Braamfontein, about 200 police — some with dogs — monitored a gathering by the Federation of South African Trade Unions from a street.

After the gathering police made an attempt to move into the crowd which was chanting freedom songs but the crowd then moved back into the building.

People then started moving out silently after an order was given to the police to allow the crowd to move out.

Tearsmoke was used to disperse a group of people who had gathered in the street, waiting for the meeting to end.

AWB

● Meanwhile in Pretoria, a police spokesman said yesterday that police had not acted against 1 000 supporters of the right-wing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging who marched on police headquarters in Pretoria on Tuesday because the crowd had dispersed on request.

The march, organized by the AWB leader, Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, set out from the city hall, where the supporters had attended a meeting to protest against the government's moves to scrap apartheid laws.

The spokesman said police were unaware of the march until the crowd arrived at police headquarters, three blocks from the city hall.

Convincing Nationalist victory in PE seat

Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — The National Party has convincingly retained the Port Elizabeth constituency of Newton Park in the House of Assembly and the Provincial Council.

The NP parliamentary candidate, Mr Sakkie Louw, polled 5 153 votes, 1 115 more than PFP candidate Mr Izak Smuts.

"We took a mauling," Mr Smuts said after the election result became available just before midnight last night.

Mr Marius Oosthuizen, Conservative Party candidate, polled 1 207 votes while the independent candidate, Mr Johan Stander, polled 957. There were 196 spoilt ballots.

NO INDEPENDENT

A total of 64.15 percent of the 18 010 registered voters turned out.

In the simultaneous election for a seat in the Provincial Council, Mr van Ginkel Venter of the NP beat Mr Rick McKiever of the PFP by 5 347 votes to 4 355, while the CP candidate, Mr J J Engelbrecht, polled 1 373 votes.

There was no independent candidate for the Provincial Council seat.

Mr Louw said he felt the main factor in the NP win was "the vast reservoir of goodwill and trust" created for the NP by the policies of the State President, Mr P W Botha.

He described himself as an avid supporter of Mr P W Botha and of his reform policy, "but you might say I feel that maybe reform could move a little faster.

"However, we must be careful and ensure that we take the electorate along with us."

Mr Smuts said after his defeat that it was the end of the road for him as far as representative politics was concerned.

"We made a good start to the election, but the Uitenhage unrest may well have cost us victory. South Africans tend to rally to authority in any adverse situation such as the unrest in the Eastern Cape recently."

Concentration of power 'lies with Heunis'

CAL 7-10-85 2/5/85 (2/5/85) 3044

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

GREAT unease had been created over the future of local government in South Africa by massive concentration of power in the hands of Mr Chris Heunis, the Minister of Constitutional Development. Mr Colin Eglin (PFP Sea Point) said yesterday.

Mr Eglin said that a spate of recent legislation affecting local government pointed to a "massive centralization and concentration of power in the central government and its Minister of Constitutional Development".

He wanted to know whether the Minister of Local Government, Housing and Works, Mr Amie Venter, took any significant decisions or had any major function given that all the real authority for decisions on local government appeared to rest with Mr Heunis.

Mr Eglin also wanted to know when the system of management committees of coloured people and Indians as "appendages" to white local authorities was going to be scrapped in favour of a full municipal franchise. Both whites and blacks enjoyed municipal franchise, he said.

'Rearranging along racial lines'

But a remarkable situation existed in which coloured people and Indians were being kept without a full municipal franchise "while the Minister of Constitutional Development tries to rearrange the local government furniture along strictly racial lines — against the wishes of the coloureds and Indians themselves".

The very decision by the government to create a new white local government department contradicted its claim that it was moving away from apartheid.

The development of townships, the building of houses and the elimination of squatting were problems that affected all sections of the community.

However, the minister had defended their racial division on the grounds that each race had "its own unique needs".

There could be no possible reason for segregating these services on an apartheid basis other than to create an "additional power basis for a new cadre of bureaucrats and ministers".

Govt urged to meet ANC

Sumetan 3/5/85
APPEALS have been made to the Government to come to grips with the causes of black unrest and to make further attempts to negotiate with the African National Congress.

These and other issues were raised in the House of Representatives during the Budget Debate on the Co-operation and Development Vote on Wednesday.

Speakers of the majority Labour Party launched a new attack on apartheid laws and policies affecting black people and called on the Government to stop forced removals, to declare a moratorium on influx control, and to abandon the migrant labour system.

The Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, responded with an assurance that he would give serious attention to the appeals.

He said he wanted to get away from the idea that black communities were "a problem". He would rather see them as an asset, Dr Viljoen said.

In a fiery speech Mr Desmond Lockey (Labour, nominated) said May Day celebrations were not aimed at overthrowing the government but symbolised the hope of oppressed people to escape from their miseries.

He said he would have liked to have his "black brothers" with him in the house.

No hope for CP, says observer

'Win shows support for reform policy'

NM 3/5/85 (304A)

**Ormande Pollok
Political
Correspondent**

CAPE TOWN—Political observers said yesterday the by-election results in Newton Park and more significantly in Harrismith had shown that the Government's reform process was still on track.

While the Nationalists managed to scrape only a 247 majority over the Conservative Party in Harrismith, conditions could not have been better for Dr Andries Treurnicht's camp with mealie farmers in rebellion, the economy generally in the doldrums and the repeal of race sex-laws imminent.

Significant

One observer remarked yesterday: 'If the CP cannot win in these conditions it never can. What more must the Government do to lose an election — maybe it should announce that Indians will be allowed in the Free State before the Bethlehem by-election.'

In Newton Park early claims of surprising CP strength were squashed by the final result in which the Nationalists drew a majority of 1 115.

However, the result was more significant for the reform process than this slim majority might suggest.

The Nationalists, Progressive Federal Party and the independent can-

didate, Mr Johan Stander who is a declared Nationalist but opposed the Government because he believed the economy of the Eastern Cape had been neglected, all supported change and polled a combined 10 000 votes to the CP's 1 207.

Here too, conditions were bad for the Government with the continuing unrest in the region.

The narrow victory in Harrismith was a great relief for the Nationalists but it has given them renewed confidence for the Parliamentary by-election in the late Dr Nak van der Merwe's Bethlehem seat, half of which is the same as the Harrismith provincial seat.

The party's Free State organisation had virtually to start its campaign there from scratch as the NP has not been opposed in the area for years.

However, observers feel now that the Government can no longer cite the Right-wing threat as an excuse for not pushing ahead rapidly with its re-

form processes.

President Botha said yesterday: 'The fact that the NP has won both constituencies with a high percentage poll under the worst possible circumstances for the party, is evidence that the message of balance and reason still finds acclamation in South Africa.'

'Economic conditions in South Africa are still not what they should be.'

'It says a lot for the average South African in the cities and in the rural areas that in a time of unsettlement and onslaught they can stay on the road along which South Africa can achieve peace, prosperity and security.'

Delighted

He hoped that all people who had doubted the Government would not help it to proceed with its task.

While Nationalists were relieved at the results, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, deputy leader of the CP said he was de-

lighted with the outcome of the Harrismith election.

The seat had been low on the CP's priority list — 11th out of 14 — and the narrow Nationalist majority signalled that no seat in the Transvaal or Free State could be regarded as 'safe'.

He expected the Bethlehem and Port Natal by-elections to be fought on the same day and the CP would decide soon if it would fight in Natal.

Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the PFP, said his party's performance in Newton Park, where it polled 4 038 to the NP's 5 153, was 'no disgrace'.

'We fought the by-election in what was, for a party such as the PFP, a very hostile climate — economic decline, unemployment, urban unrest and violence,' he said.

The climate had been exploited by the Right-wing and far-Right parties to create a 'siege mentality' among the voters.

304/2

Cape Times, Fr

3/5/85

Pretoria 'might regret Mail's loss'

Own Correspondent

NEW YORK. — Government celebration over the demise of the Rand Daily Mail is troubling and foolish, the New York Times said yesterday. It warned that "even" Pretoria might come to regret the paper's loss and it argued that "nothing has better demonstrated what is admirable about South Africanness than the Daily Mail's intrepid independence".

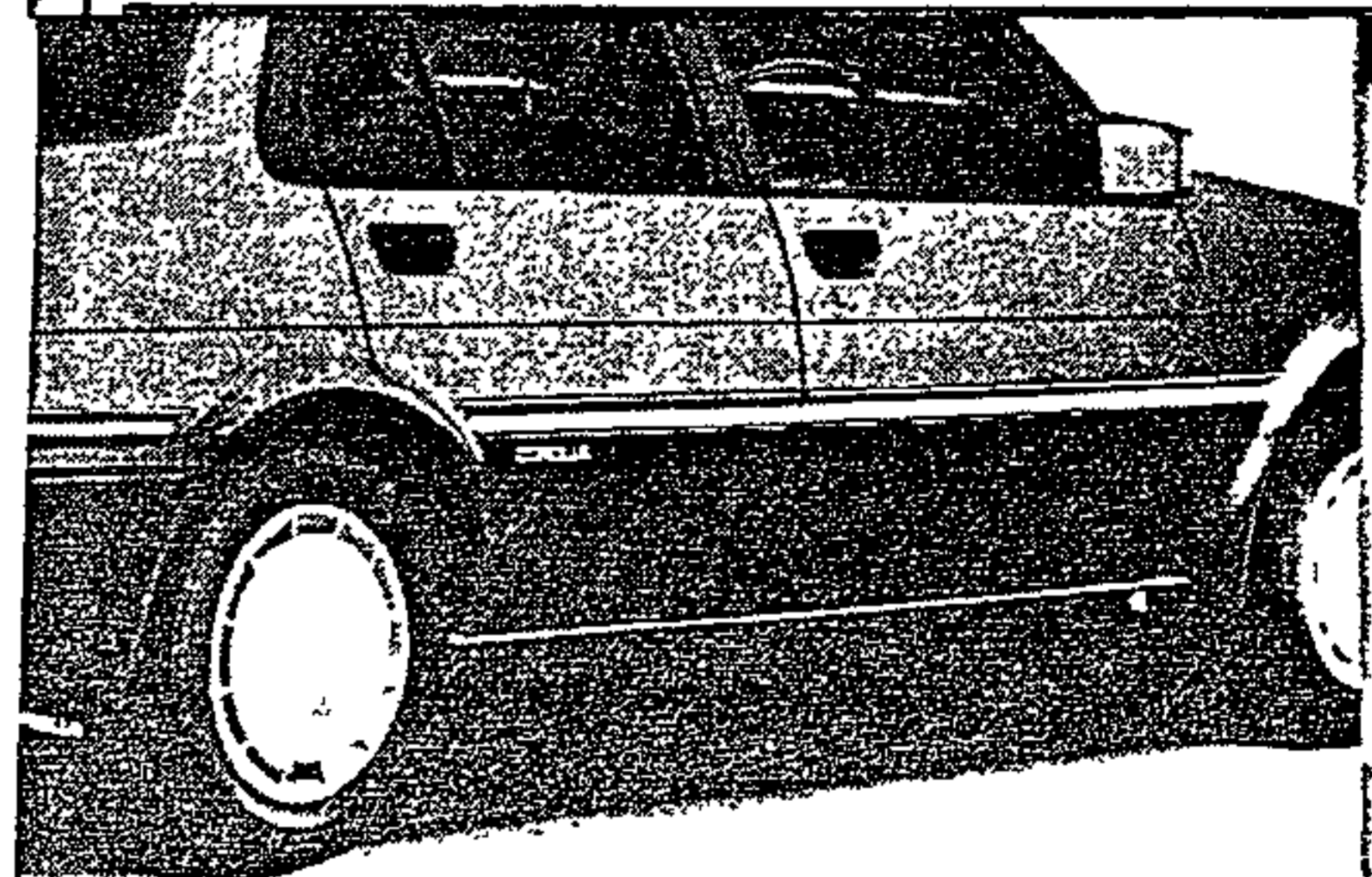
Recounting the end of the Mail in an editorial titled "Truth, Black and White", the New York Times commented: "The old line that newspapers are black and white and read all over applied literally to the Rand Daily Mail, for 83 years the voice of truth and conscience in South Africa."

"Though its circulation had declined to 115 000, it had the admiration of journalists everywhere, and more important, credibility among all races."

"Kruger rands can't buy credibility, and when rumours sweep restless black townships, even the Pretoria regime may regret the loss of the Mail."

"For the moment, Pretoria's leaders are celebrating its demise, indecently and foolishly."

"President P W Botha used the occasion to call for 'a new spirit of South Africanness' among journalists. Those are troubling words, for nothing has better demonstrated what is admirable about South Africanness than the Daily Mail's intrepid independence."



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Report says S A helped MNR with 'supply drop'

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—A report issued by the London-based International Institute of Strategic Studies, says South Africa supplied the Mozambique National Resistance movement with a 'massive supply drop' about the same time that the two governments were negotiating the Nkomati Accord.

The institute, an independent and respected research organisation, said in London last night that South Africa 'also seems to have allowed' more than 1500 trained MNR personnel to enter Mozambique with their weapons before it closed the movement's camps in the Transvaal.

It says that after Press reports in December that arms were reaching the MNR via Saudi Arabia and the Comoro Islands, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, visited both states to urge them to prevent such flights.

The institute report said that, 'in spite of these efforts in late December President Samora Machel accused South Africa of dishonouring the Nkomati Accord, and the accord looked to be badly frayed'.

The institute said: 'For Mozambique the results of Nkomati have already proved politically embarrassing as well as disappointing, since attacks by MNR have actually increased in number and intensity since March 1984.'

'This resurgence was

the result of South Africa's decision to provide the MNR with a massive supply drop around the time the Nkomati Accord was signed.

'Pretoria has made apparently sincere efforts to honour the terms of Nkomati, and even to curb MNR activities in Mozambique.'

Dealing with the South West African situation, the survey says the South African Government decided to release jailed Swapo founder, Mr Andimba Toivo ja Toivo, because it hoped he could be persuaded to join one

of the internal parties and perhaps bring about a split in the Swapo leadership.

'Toivo, however, immediately denounced the internal parties and was later made secretary-general of Swapo, which has been strengthened, not weakened, by his return to Namibian politics,' it states.

Asked to comment last night, a South African Defence Force spokesman said Mr Pik Botha had 'recently placed on record the fact that there had been a link between the SADF and Renamo'.

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Farmers told they could lose subsidies

Argus Correspondent

KLERKSDORP. — The Government has threatened to withdraw subsidies and indirect financial assistance to farmers if they continue to withhold maize.

This was disclosed today by the chairman of the National Maize Producers' Organisation (Nampo), Mr Hennie de Jager, at a protest meeting attended by 3 000 maize farmers who vented their fury on the Government.

Mr de Jager, who held discussions yesterday with the State President, Mr P W Botha, described the meeting as "the most unpleasant I've ever been to in my life".

DECISION

The protest meeting was addressed by several senior Nampo representatives and a former chairman of the Maize Board, Mr Crawford van Abo. A decision will be taken later today on whether farmers will defy the Government and continue to hold back their maize.

The chairman of a major group of grain co-ops, Mr Piet Steyn of Uinegraan, said his management would recommend that member co-ops support maize farmers if they intended to hold back supplies.

DOUBLE STANDARDS

The general manager of Nampo, Dr Piet Gous, said the Government practised double standards when it came to agriculture.

Dr Gous said farmers should carefully consider the financial consequences of withholding maize. But, he said, there was a time when "farmers must stand up and be counted".

Mr van Abo warned that the white maize supply situation was critical. At least four major silos were close to running out.

HECKLING

"Agriculture has come to the crossroads. The decision which must be taken today must be one which can be defended."

Farmers were in an angry mood and there was a great deal of derisive heckling from the audience.

● The Minister of Agriculture, Mr Greyling Wentzel, is to go on a six-week tour of the maize-producing areas to meet farmers and justify the Government's refusal to increase the producer price of maize, Sapa reports.

His decision follows the meeting last night at which the Government refused to back down on its price decision.

World body paints gloomy picture of Southern Africa

The International Institute for Strategic Studies sees no sign of a regional peace settlement or a resolution of the Namibian issue. JOHN D'OLIVEIRA of the Argus Foreign Service reports from London.

THE respected International Institute for Strategic Studies has painted a gloomy picture of developments in Southern Africa.

However, while the institute's latest Strategic Survey found that there were no signs that either a regional peace settlement or a resolution of the Namibian impasse was imminent, there were a number of areas where future accommodation was possible.

Reviewing developments in South Africa, the survey referred to "growing domestic problems accompanied by a sharp deterioration in South Africa's relations with the west".

Economic and domestic pressures on the Botha Government were not yet strong enough to overcome its long-standing opposition to a Swapo-dominated Namibia — and Swapo was not yet ready to accept the emasculated political role offered by Pretoria.

Deadlock

While Swapo's faltering guerrilla efforts had suffered a serious blow from the terms of the Lusaka Agreement between South Africa and Angola, the political fortunes of its legal political party in Namibia had been improved markedly.

However, the efforts to break the deadlock in the Southern African region in 1984 showed a number of areas where future accommodation was possible.

South Africa now recognised that Swapo could not be denied a political role in an independent Namibia.

Both Swapo and the United Nations recently showed a willingness to discard the long-standing United Nations peace formula if Swapo could reach a satisfactory accord with South Africa.

"Future negotiations will therefore focus on ensuring a leading role for Swapo in an independent Namibian government while guar-

anteeing to South Africa that her own security interests will not thereby be threatened."

It was also clear that the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and the South Africans from Angola and Namibia were negotiable issues for both countries.

'Wide gap'

"In spite of the wide gap that now exists between the two countries' negotiating positions, recent offers and counter-offers suggest that they will eventually be able to find a formula for troop withdrawal."

Two other issues, however, would continue to obstruct the prospects of regional peace: the future of Unita and the activities of the Mozambique Resistance Movement inside Mozambique.

Referring to the domestic South African situation, the survey said that while the country had succeeded in bringing her neighbours to heel during 1984 there were "growing troubles and little achievement" in the country during the year.

Opposition in Washington and other world capitals had been fuelled by the Langa shootings.

Engagement

These developments did not augur well for the Reagan Administration's policy of constructive engagement with Pretoria nor for smooth relations between the United States and South Africa.

Examining the overall situation, the survey said there were many ways in which the situation in Southern Africa could deteriorate.

"But South Africa's regional diplomacy, exploiting the weakness not only of Angola or Mozambique but also of her other neighbours, has served to consolidate her position and reduce tensions."

Farmers vote to withhold maize

CAPE TOWN
4/5/85

304A

JOHANNESBURG. — Maize farmers threw down the gauntlet yesterday by voting to withhold deliveries for a week in an attempt to force the State President, Mr P W Botha, to increase the price of maize.

At an emotion-charged meeting in Klerksdorp's Markotter Stadium, 5 000 men rose in unison to support the motion.

Their decision means that they are now in a straight conflict with Mr Botha in what could become one of the biggest crises to face the National Party in decades.

The farmers claim that the major granaries will be empty by Monday and unable to supply the maize mills. They believe that keeping their crops on the farms will be a massive bargaining weapon in their fight to force the government to increase the maize price.

'Threats'

They also say that at a meeting on Thursday night with the State President and two cabinet ministers they were threatened on two counts. They were told that all present financial subsidies to farmers, amounting to more than R100-million a year, could be withdrawn. They were also told that maize was a strategic commodity and they would not be allowed to withhold supplies.

The Minister of Agriculture, Mr Greyling Wentzel, said yesterday that the government would not back down on the maize price and



A maize farmer addresses the meeting in Klerksdorp yesterday

involvement and the role of the Maize Board.

Mr Botha's view is that the government granted an exceptionally high price for maize last year under difficult circumstances and that he will not budge on the decision not to increase the current price.

The chairman of Nampo, Mr Hennie de Jager, said: "Our trip to Cape Town to discuss matters with them (the President, Mr Wentzel and another minister) was a waste of time. When we arrived there we found that a press statement by Mr Botha had already been prepared."

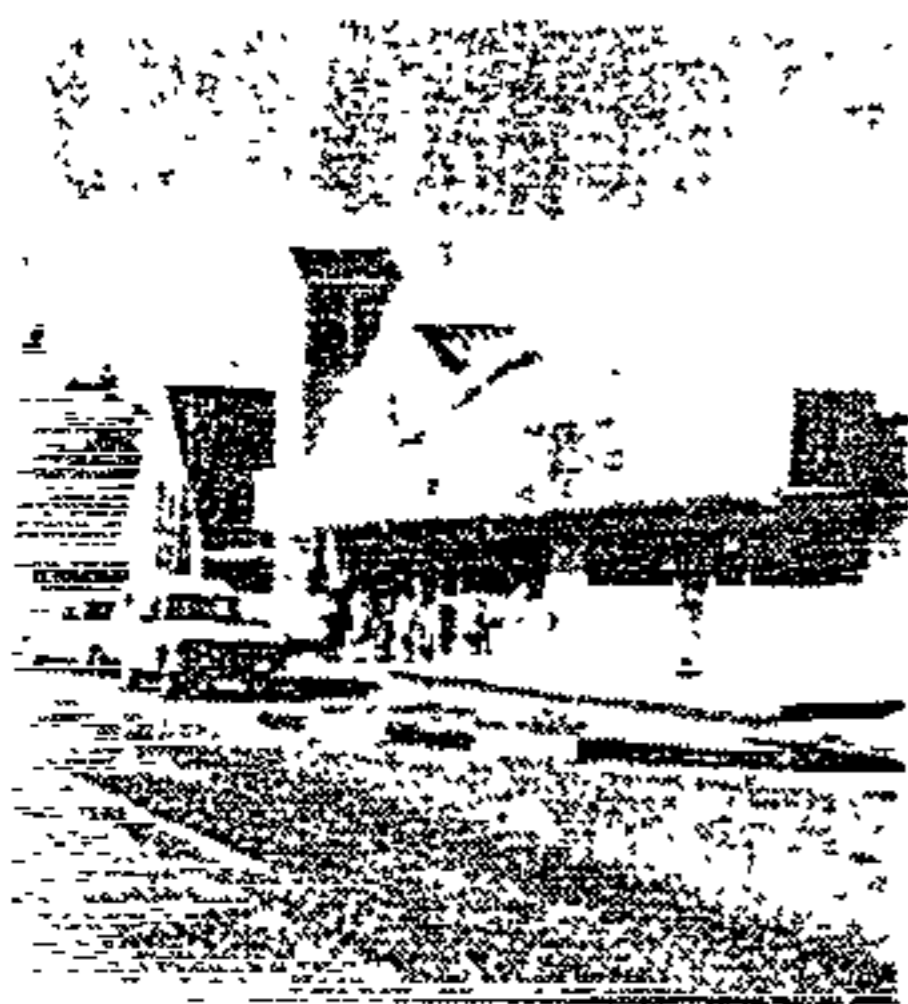
Pickets

"We were warned that we were playing with fire.

"They said mealies were strategic products and that they would not be allowed to be kept from the customers."

One speaker from the audience at the Klerksdorp meeting said: "We must not intimidate people. There might be some people who have to live by their immediate sales and they must have the right to deliver their crops."

It was in consideration of this that the first part of the resolution was



Wellendam.

Wellendam

Wellendam plea rocks platteland

W/F ARGUS 4/5/85 (2/3) 304A

By PETER FABRICIUS, Weekend Argus Reporter

THE Wellendam Town Council has astonished its conservative platteland counterparts by calling for a multiracial system of local government.

And the person who has proposed the integration move is the town's deputy mayor, Mr Johann Streicher, brother of Nationalist MP Mr Myburgh Streicher.

Mr Streicher's resolution calling for direct coloured representation on town councils was tabled at the recent congress of the Cape Province Municipalities Association (CPMA).

It greatly impressed a few larger PFP municipalities such as Cape Town but most platteland municipalities were dead against it and it was shelved until next year.

Some Wellendam people suspect that the proposal was "political" as they believed it went against the Government's plan for local government.

Practical

But Mr Streicher insists that his motives were purely "practical and financial. The coloured community here can never become a separate council. They just do not have the rates to be financially independent."

And Mr Streicher said Dr Herman Reiner, president of the CPMA, had estimated that 95 percent of coloured communities in the Cape could not become separate municipalities.

"And once you have had anything to do with the present management committee system you will realise it is meaningless. It doesn't mean a thing to coloured people. It's so futile to have all those meetings and then the council decides something else."

Mr Streicher said lots of people had come to him to congratulate him on the decision.

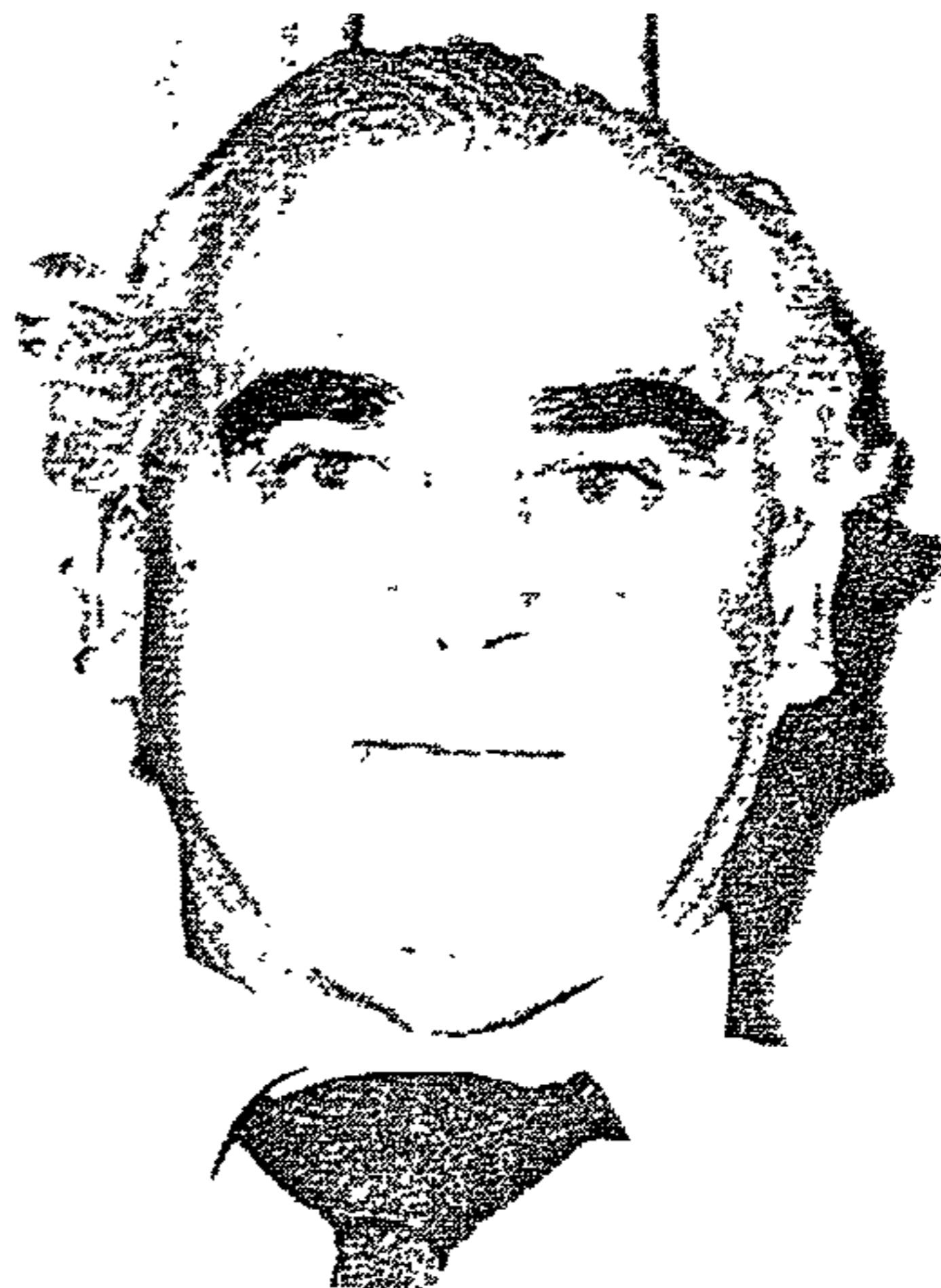
"They thought I had a lot of guts to do this. But I think if you don't start sometime, you'll never get anywhere."

Not all Wellendammers agree with him. The mayor, Mr Alex Powell, says he is not opposed to coloured people having a vote. "But the Government has put a devil of a lot of effort into its new constitution right now and I think we should give it a chance."

Lovely idea

Mr Streicher believes his plan will not be popular in white Wellendam but in fact there appears to be quite a lot of support for it.

"I think it's a lovely idea," said Mr Andre Mocke, principal of the



Mr Johann Streicher ... purely practical motives.

Olyfkrantz College "A lot of coloured people here are real Wellendam people. Many have been here for generations."

"I think it's a good idea," said a local hotelier. "If people have a direct say, they will be more likely to be constructive. If the municipality can't improve their services they will find out straight away and not feel fobbed off."

Mr Michael Bothma, a furniture salesman, also thought it was a good thing "if the laws are going to change. If they're going to live next to you and use the same facilities, then they must decide on the same things."



Mr Richard May ... at the moment we are in an inferior position.

But accountant Mr Pieter Steenkamp said he would prefer coloured representation to be on the same system as the present tricameral Parliament.

"They should have their own council but when it comes to matters of common concern like electricity, they should decide together."

Appreciate

In Wellendam's coloured township, Railton, most seemed to favour the plan.

"I really appreciate Mr Streicher's move," said Mr Richard May, chairman of the management committee.

"At the moment we are in an inferior position. Every time we make a decision we have to pass it to them for approval. I'm born and bred in Wellendam while most people on the council are not really Wellendammers — they don't appreciate our problems."

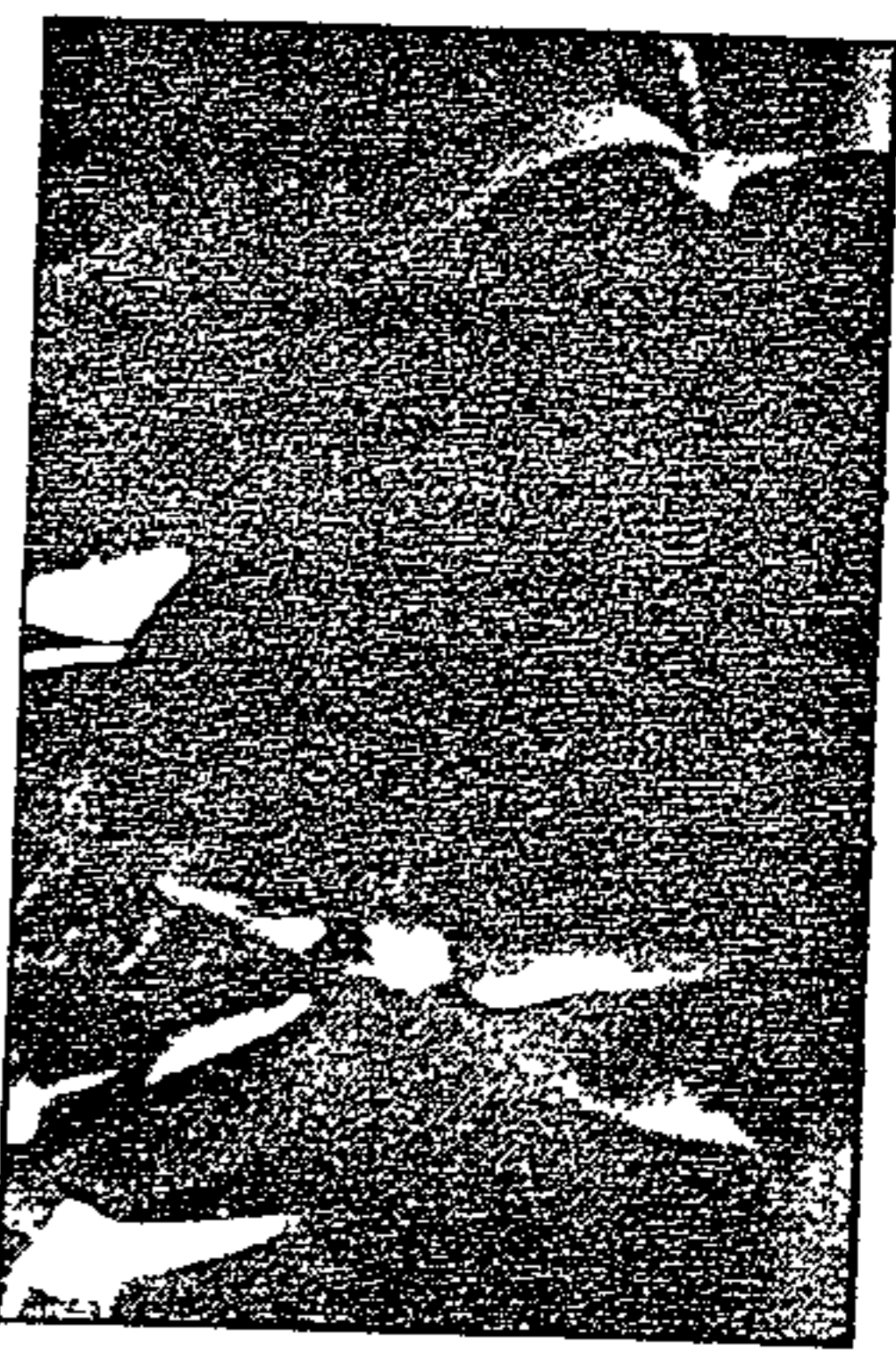
Group areas

But some young coloured activists oppose the plan. A young UDF supporter who did not wish to be named, said a multiracial council would not have the power to remove laws such as the Group Areas Act.

apartheid, says shock document

GRATUITAARBOUIT

304A
S-Twies
5/5/85



Dr Stoffel van der Merwe — for the first time, in cold print, confirms the U-turn

By BRIAN POTTINGER
Political Correspondent

THE National Party has made an astonishing official about-turn on apartheid.

An amazing new party booklet unceremoniously dumps the ideology of the past 36 years.

It frankly admits — for the first time in cold print — that the doctrine which held that there could be no black South Africans is fatally flawed.

It urges NP supporters to embrace new policies which, while acknowledging "group interests", are a major shift away from the late Dr Hendrik Verwoerd's hard-line theories.

Author of the booklet — which has been approved by State President P W Botha — is Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, a political scientist and MP for Helderbruin.

Thousands of copies have been printed and will be distributed to party workers.

They will use it to confront an increasingly insecure white electorate which is demanding that the Government spells out a blueprint for the future.

Among the astounding admissions of ideological misdirection are:

- It was a mistake from the beginning to believe that independent homelands for blacks could be the sole solution to South Africa's race problems.

- Past attempts to link urban-

Business as usual as Annie and Sol say goodbye

By DOUGLAS GORDON
and PETER MALHERBE

SOL KERZNER, putting his marriage bust-up behind him, is off to the jet-set resort of Monaco this week.

And while he's rubbing shoulders with Riviera royalty, his glamorous wife Anneline will be making a rum advert on a remote, sun-kissed island in the Seychelles.

The Kerzner-Kriel divorce



● Past attempts to link urban-based blacks politically with their homelands were wrong — blacks were unable to influence the problems they experienced where they lived.

Citizenship

● The attempts to force blacks in urban areas to accept citizenship of independent homelands is a failure.

● Government arguments in the past that the granting of freehold rights to blacks would automatically imply full political rights in the same system were wrong.

● Large numbers of blacks who are unquestionably leaders in their communities have refused to become involved in the constitutional debate because of mistrust of Government intentions.

● Attempts at expelling blacks from the urban areas have failed.

Dr van der Merwe's booklet — compiled for the NP's federal information service — still argues that the independent homeland philosophy has had much success and should not be abandoned completely.

He also makes it clear that the Government's bottom line is that a future political dispensation will have to be based on "group interests".

Nevertheless, it is still the frankest official recantation of the fallacies of a policy stubbornly pursued by the Government over decades.

The *mea culpa* tract will be welcomed by opposition and moderate groups as a refreshing breath of realism but will be grist to the Conservative Party mill.

The timing of its release is significant: it will provide guidelines for the party to mobilise public support for the President's black constitutional initiative launched on January 25 this year.

In essence, this initiative envisages the inclusion of all South Africans in a common political system, but not necessarily within the same structures.

The white right wing opposition claims that Mr Botha is leading the country towards integration. From left-of-centre quarters, meanwhile, come accusations that the Government does not have any clear-cut goals.

Dr van der Merwe identified three problems in implementing old-style Verwoerdian apartheid: an acceptance that no more than 40 percent of blacks could ever be accommodated in the homelands, the denial of international recognition which has inhibited their development, and the growth of domestic opposition.

Unacceptable

The Government's attempts to politically link blacks in common South Africa with their homelands by denying them citizenship of the Republic was particularly unacceptable to blacks and amounted to an "ineffective and meaningless" franchise.

Dr van der Merwe observes that the existing citizenship arrangements have failed: "They have had, and are still having a negative effect." They had led to considerable bitterness and disenchantment among blacks.

"Many of the black people

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multi-killers.

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the U.K. and South Africa

Resistance to law can lead to revolution

The rule of law needs to be upheld in South Africa to prevent the snowballing effects of resistance to unjust laws and counter-resistance by the State which could lead to revolution, Professor Johan van der Vyver of the University of the Witwatersrand said yesterday.

He was speaking at Temple Emanuel in Parktown, Johannesburg, during a panel discussion.

He said laws not seen to be upholding a particular moral standard were resisted and there was counter-resistance from those forces charged with the duty of maintaining law and order.

Professor John Dugard, of the University of the Witwatersrand, said the rule of law consisted of basic principles to which a decent legal system had to conform.

These included:

- That no Government official may deprive someone of his freedom or property by arbitrary means.
- That all people, including Government officials and the police, must be equally accountable.
- Courts must be independent, effective and apply fair trial procedures.

Nat pamphlet spells out policy on blacks

Political Correspondent

A National Party pamphlet "blitz" on some of its key office-bearers in order to clear up uncertainties about the party's policies for blacks is drawing a favourable response.

This was stated today by Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, MP, the author of the pamphlet *And What About The Black People?* which is being sent to Nationalist constituency executives throughout the country.

While disputing the "turn-about" interpretations that have been put on the pamphlet, Dr van der Merwe said it did spell out where the party's policies on blacks had changed in the past few years.

He said the pamphlet did not contain enunciations of new policies. It did, however, restate policies and changes as they had been formulated in the past 10 years.

Attitudes

The National Party was prepared to face the right wing with this clear setting out of its black policies and it was also prepared to present it to blacks as a clear setting out of its attitude towards them.

Dr van der Merwe is a former diplomat and a former lecturer in political science at Rand Afrikaans University.

He wrote his doctorate on revolutionary tendencies in South Africa. He has been MP for Helderkrui in the Transvaal since 1981.

The booklet states three major facts which emerged from the National Party's attempts to administer its black policies:

- It had become apparent that it was not possible to accommodate all black people in independent states.

Even with the optimum development of black states and areas there would always be more black people in the remainder of South Africa than whites, coloured and Indians.

- All groups should have effective political participation in the composition of the Government which ruled them.

- No group should be placed in a position in which it was dominated by any other group.

304A

2 Cape Times, Monday, May 6, 1985 ★

Shifts in NP policy — booklet

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE publication of an official National Party booklet which frankly concedes the folly of policies central to decades of government ideology has been labelled by the rival Conservative Party as a "disastrous" NP move that will send white voters flocking to the CP fold.

The new party booklet — which has been given the nod of approval by President P W Botha — was described last night by CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht as a "clear admission that the NP had abolished its basic principles".

Dr Treurnicht said the open admission by the NP that it had erred on fundamental aspects of apartheid doctrine represented a "dangerous blow" to the self-determination of whites and other races, "and I firmly believe it will help the CP in coming elections".

The chairman of the PFP federal council, Dr Alex Boraine, last night said his party welcomed "this frank acknowledgement of past mistakes and failures" but added that what was needed now was a clear policy statement on where the NP intended taking South Africa.

"What is to take the place of this bankrupt policy and what kinds of political rights are nego-

tiabile and which are not?" he wanted to know.

"When you think of the harm, waste and polarization which these discredited policies have brought about over the past 30 years, one only hopes that the NP realizes that we cannot afford to waste any more time," Dr Boraine said.

About 20 000 copies of the new document — which was drafted by Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, the National Party MP for Helderkruijn — are already being distributed to party workers.

Dr Van Der Merwe noted last night that the policy shifts contained in the document were not being announced for the first time, but he acknowledged that their publication together in a party booklet for distribution to grassroots supporters was significant.

Booklet

The booklet admitted flaws in past NP doctrine to the effect that:

- It was incorrect to believe that the homelands could be the only remedy for the country's race problems.
- Government attempts to clear the urban areas of blacks had failed.
- Prior efforts to tie the political fortunes of blacks living in urban areas to the homelands were wrong.
- Attempts to get urban blacks to accept homeland citizenship had failed.
- Mistrust of government intentions had led large numbers of blacks acknowledged as significant community leaders to turn their backs on the new constitutional initiatives.



PFP caucus frowns on Govt-financed MP's trip

Political Staff

MR HORACE van Rensburg MP (Bryanston) is out of step with the Progressive Federal Party caucus again — this time over a trip to the United States to oppose the disinvestment campaign.

Mr van Rensburg informed the PFP caucus only days before he was due to leave that he was to be sponsored on a trip to the US by the Department of Foreign Affairs.

The leader of the PFP, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, said today the caucus decided that although it was in favour of actively fighting disinvestment, it could not support the use of Government money to pay for trips to do so.

"It was felt it would be more effective if we did so under our own steam and terms," he said.

Eve of departure

"This was conveyed to him virtually on the eve of his departure and he had obviously made a number of arrangements by that stage which he could not cancel."

Mr van Rensburg today declined to comment.

Mr van Rensburg and his wife, Mrs Pat van Rensburg, the MPC for Bryanston and a Randburg town councillor, have been a source of controversy in the PFP for some time.

They failed to attend the PFP Transvaal congress last year, following Mrs van Rensburg's suspension from the PFP Randburg town council caucus over a dispute on mixed amenities in the town. She was later re-admitted.

The MP for Bryanston is known to be on the conservative wing of what he himself has termed the "PFP coalition".

Councils' abolition criticized by parties

CAPL Times 7/5/85 304A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government's decision to abolish provincial councils was yesterday unanimously condemned by opposition parties as an attempt to centralize power in the hands of the National Party and bypass the electoral process.

The announcement that provincial councils are to be scrapped next year and that provincial administrations are to be revamped to dovetail with the government's new constitutional scheme was made by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, in the House of Assembly.

By June 30 next year at the latest, provincial councils will be replaced by a new body to be staffed by officials who will be appointed by President P W Botha and who will be answerable to Parliament.

Watchdog

The new plan for second-tier government was seen last night in opposition political circles as spelling the end of the New Republic Party, and significantly weakening the position of parties like the Progressive Federal Party — which stands to lose about 20 public representatives.

The government's latest constitutional initiative is also likely to curtail the watchdog role of opposition parties and significantly undermine their ability to stimulate debate, ask questions and exercise influence at the provincial level.

Opposition MPCs also warned last night that the move was likely to

government in a new shroud of secrecy".

In Parliament, the move was immediately attacked by the PFP, the CP and the NRP.

The Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said it appeared the new system would lead to a centralization of power and policy-making, but a de-



Mr Herbert Hirsch

centralization in the exercising of administrative functions.

The Natal leader of the PFP, Mr Ray Swart, criticized the move as a "fatal erosion" of provincial authority that would pave the way for an "almost absolute centralization of power in central government".

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, accused the government of promoting greater cen-

elections would be held if seats fell vacant in the provincial council showed that the government was nervous of the CP after the Harrismith by-election, he added.

The Natal leader of the NRP, Mr Derrick Watterson, said that "domination and dictatorship" faced the electorate in Natal — where his party will lose all 14 provincial seats it currently holds.

The National Party was "removing entirely the autonomy of the province and the voice of the elected people" and was "doing through legislation what it has not succeeded in doing through elections".

The new second-tier body comprising appointees of the State President will be responsible for "general affairs" only and will be directly answerable to Parliament via a special standing committee.

In a move that could open the way for limited black input into the new system, Mr Heunis also noted that a need existed "for advisory councils linked to the electorate to advise second-tier executive authorities in various fields".

Promised

The present provincial administrations will continue to exist as second-

at Development and Planning. Mr Chris Heunis, in the House of Assembly.

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The government's latest constitutional initiative is also likely to curtail the watchdog role of opposition parties and significantly undermine their ability to stimulate debate, ask questions and exercise influence at the provincial level.

Opposition MPCs also warned last night that the move was likely significantly to curb public debate and, as one MPC put it, "cloak second-tier

would lead to a centralization of power and policy-making, but a de-



Mr Herbert Hirsch

centralization in the exercising of administrative functions.

The Natal leader of the PFP, Mr Ray Swart, criticized the move as a "fatal erosion" of provincial authority that would pave the way for an "almost absolute centralization of power in central government".

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, accused the government of promoting greater centralization of power. The announcement by Mr Heunis that no more

tion and dictatorship" faced the electorate in Natal — where his party will lose all 14 provincial seats it currently holds.

The National Party was "removing entirely the autonomy of the province and the voice of the elected people" and was "doing through legislation what it has not succeeded in doing through elections".

The new second-tier body comprising appointees of the State President will be responsible for "general affairs" only and will be directly answerable to Parliament via a special standing committee.

In a move that could open the way for limited black input into the new system, Mr Heunis also noted that a need existed "for advisory councils linked to the electorate to advise second-tier executive authorities in various fields".

Promised

The present provincial administrations will continue to exist as second-tier administrations but it is now possible that larger provinces in particular could be subdivided into separate administrative authorities.

Mr Heunis said that discussions with provincial authorities on implementation of changes to the existing system would continue but guaranteed provincial officials their job security.

The government's proposals to remove all legislative functions from provincial administrations "make a mockery of its avowed policy of devolution of power", the leader of the opposition in the Cape Provincial Council, Mr Herbert Hirsch, told Hilary Venables.

Mr Hirsch said the appointment of "political functionaries" as executive members of the provincial administration meant that no political debate would take place at that level.

"In effect it means the second tier will become purely administrative, with no legislative powers at all," he said.

Uniformity

"This goes against the PFP's position that decision-making should take place as close to the people as possible."

He said the fact that all provincial ordinances would become Acts of Parliament would inevitably lead to increased uniformity in the administration of the various provinces and will remove "any regional legislative differences".

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25 ASA

New deal... but the Nats still keep control

CAPE TOWN — The proposed provincial deal announced in Parliament yesterday is an extension of the new constitution. It brings coloured and Indian people into the system but effectively ensures that the National Party keeps control.

By Bruce Cameron, Political Staff

By scrapping legislative functions of provinces the Government has avoided the embarrassing situation of creating costly and complex tri-cameral systems at provincial level. There are still wide gaps in the Government proposals, but obviously it has no intention of letting the provincial system be dominated by race groups other than whites. The new provincial executives, which it is said will be multi-racial, will be appointed by the State President. And the administrators will have the power to take final decisions that cannot, as now, be out-voted by the other

members of the executives. So even if there were to be a majority of non-Nationalists it would make no real difference. No doubt, as was the case with the election of the State President, the National Party will claim it is possible for an Indian or a coloured to be an administrator. But the National Party will not point out that it will be totally improbable. The new executive committees, and in particular the administrators, will have virtually dictatorial powers and will not be answerable to the electorate. They will be answerable to the Government, and voters of a province will not be able to oust a provincial executive. There are suggestions that the State President will take into account the political make-up

of a province in making appointments, but it is unlikely that control will go to a non-Nationalist majority. At a Press conference Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, said it was a reasonable deduction that, for instance, the New Republic Party would lose control in Natal, despite the majority of white Natal voters giving the party their support. The loss of control is not as important in the other three provinces where the National Party already is in control. The pace of change in Natal and relationships with other race groups will now be entirely dictated by the central Government.

Houses being members to act as the Parliamentary watchdogs of the new executives. However, the powers of the executives will be delegated through the Ministers of general affairs who will, as such, maintain the real control. Jealousy-guarded institutions such as Natal Parks Board are hardly likely to be scrapped. But where an elected Natal Provincial Council appointed its members before, its members will be appointed by another group either at central Government level or by the new provincial executive. Mr Heunis says blacks will be consulted about the new provincial system. Indications are that, as with the proposed local government regional service councils, blacks are likely to be indirectly involved in matters which affect them without receiving direct representation.

But general affairs such as roads, nature conservation and horse-racing will remain at provincial level administratively. All existing provincial legislation will automatically get Parliamentary status under legislation to be put before Parliament. Thereafter further legislation or amending legislation will be dealt with by Parliament. Own affairs such as hospitals and education are to be taken away from provincial control and handed to the Ministries of own affairs. Mr Heunis said the Government had no alternative but the current system. The alternatives were either total partition or one-man-one-vote. It is already obvious that the Government will use the tactic it is using at central level of releasing confusing snippets of information and avoiding spelling out detail.

'A Constitution based on race will not succeed'

Scimitan 7/5/65
(304A) Star

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT. — A Constitution structured on the principle of race would not succeed in South Africa, the Leader of the Official Opposition, Dr. Van Zyl Slabbert, told the House of Assembly.

Speaking during the Constitutional Development Vote, Dr Slabbert said racial categories in South Africa had been structured by legislation. The whole constitutional system was created on the basis of non-voluntary membership of racial groups.

The PFP recognised the existence of different racial and ethnic groups but believed that associations of groups should be done on a voluntary basis.

The Indians, for instance, were not an ethnic group. "Hindus and Muslims are worlds apart" — and it did not matter to the Government what their politics were. "The point is they can only participate in the three-chamber system because they are Indian."

Likewise the basis of the proposed constitutional participation of urban blacks was not that they were an ethnic group, nor people grouped on similar political or ideological grounds, but that they were a racial and administrative category.

Voluntary political associations across racial lines, would therefore not be allowed to participate in the Constitution and would be pushed — like the UDF and the ANC — into extra-parliamentary politics.

DEPARTURE POINTS

Those who came into the system would be labelled as participants in a racist system and negotiation would only be possible if there was a declaration of intent on "fundamental departure points".

These were:

- Common citizenship.
- A common Constitution and the abolition of influx control.
- A strategy for orderly urbanisation.

Attacking the Government's constitutional dispensation from the other end of the political spectrum, the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr. Andries Treurnicht, said Government had forgotten the idea of a white nation and a sovereign white parliament.

First and Third World people could not be accommodated in the same parliament, he said.

Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, will continue his reply today.

Resign call divides the LP

Parliamentary
Correspondent

SERIOUS differences within the Labour Party surfaced yesterday over the party's demand for the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange to resign, following the shooting by police of several blacks during unrest at Uitenhage in March this year.

The LP yesterday reiterated its demand for the minister to resign during the law and order budget vote in the House of Representatives.

Mr Peter Mopp (LP Border), whose original demand for the minister's resignation in March was supported by the LP leader and Cabinet Minister the Rev. Allan Hendrickse, yesterday reiterated the LP's position and told Mr le Grange: 'You have lost control of the police force therefore ministerial responsibility demands that you resign.'

No mention

However, Mr le Grange's version of the LP demand was different.

He read to the House a LP statement which he said was given to him by his Cabinet colleague and LP leader Mr Hendrickse which made no mention of the LP's demand for him to resign.

That statement was apparently issued by the LP law and order spokesman, Mr Don Mateman and caused considerable controversy. It was subsequently withdrawn, after Mr Hendrickse responded to Press reports at that time denying that the LP had backed down from its original demand for the minister's resignation in the wake of events at Uitenhage.

The leader of the House, Mr Miley Richards, immediately objected to Mr le Grange's interpretation of the LP's demand in the House yesterday, adding that he was not aware of any change in the party's position.

'What the minister says is untrue,' Mr Richards said.

Certain LP MPs did not hide their remarks in an attempt to make it apparent that the party was divided over the issue.

Move to 'centralise authority'

304A Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — The abolition of provincial councils was likely to lead to a greater centralisation of power and authority, rather than a devolution of power, opposition parties in the House of Assembly said yesterday.

Speaking during the Constitutional Development Vote, Progressive Federal Party leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said the move to scrap the existing second-tier level of Government was a move towards the centralisation of power.

The Minister of Constitutional

Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said at the start of the debate "own affairs" functions, presently under provincial jurisdiction, would be allocated to the various "own affairs" Ministers' Councils as soon as possible.

Provinces would be run by administrators and executive committees, who would be appointed by the State President and answerable to Parliament.

Dr Slabbert said the PRP could not accept the Government proposal that any seats falling vacant on provincial councils between now and next year be filled by a nominee of

the political party whose seat it was.

"This system will not test changes taking place in the political terrain," he said.

It was also not clear what the provincial council system would be replaced with.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht also criticised the Government plan to scrap provincial council by-elections.

"By-elections are a clear indication of the way in which voters are feeling. This is a step away from democracy," he said.

Dr Treurnicht said the new system seemed more likely to centralise power.

Goyt accused of stealing power

PARLIAMENT — Natal opposition members of Parliament have condemned Government moves towards a non-elected provincial council system.

And the New Republic Party leadership has made it clear it does not agree to the acquiescence of the proposed scheme by its Natal provincial caucus, which controls the only non-Nationalist provincial council.

Mr Derrick Watterson, Natal leader of the NRP, took Parliament by surprise yesterday in a hard-hitting speech in which he

accused the National Party of being untrustworthy.

He said the proposals were a step towards "domination and dictatorship".

He pointed out that Natal had come into the Union on the condition of provincial autonomy.

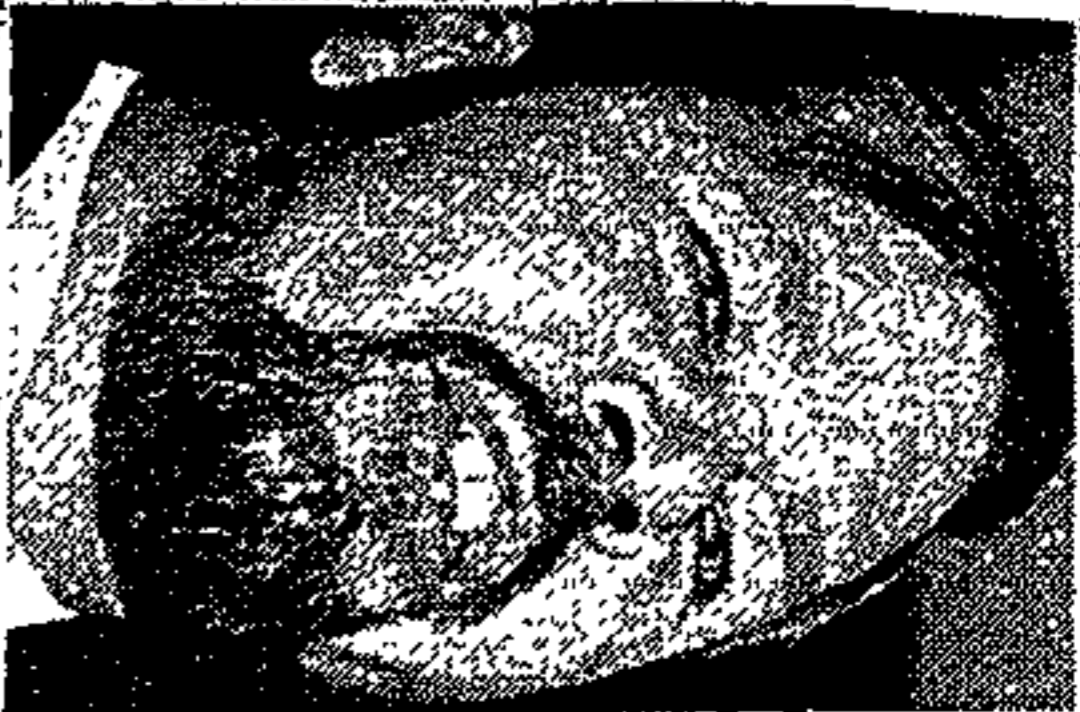
The new system would "remove entirely the voice of its elected people".

He was supported in his opposition by Mr Ray Swart, Natal leader of the Progressive Federal Party, who although more moderate in his choice of words,

also made it clear that his party favoured regional arrangements particularly in Natal where there was an overwhelming black population.

Mr Watterson rejected suggestions that by supporting the Government in calling for a "yes" vote in the referendum the NRP had agreed to the scrapping of the provincial system.

He said the Government was now stealing by legislation what it could not win through the ballot box. — Political Staff.



AWB will turn Transvaal, OFS into a white republic

20417 By Clyde Johnson, Lowveld Bureau Staff 7/5/85

NELSPRUIT — If the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) contested the next election and received a majority vote in the Transvaal and Free State it would turn both provinces into a white republic the movement's leader, Mr Eugene TerreBlanche said here last night.

"We are no longer prepared to wait and like our forefathers we will take the initiative and ensure the future of the white man in our fatherland," he said.

Speaking to a packed town hall Mr TerreBlanche accused the National Party of impoverishing the

white man at the expense of its policies and through mismanagement.

It was, he said, a shame that a Government should go so far as to turn a blind eye to increases in production costs that had compelled full blooded South African farmers to leave their lands.

"Such a Government has lost contact with its people and they are going to pay the price," he told the wildly cheering audience.

At a time when a certain building society had to evict 255 young families because they were unable to meet their bond repayments, it was a disgrace that an amount of R3,3 million should be spent on renovating Tuynhuys for the State President.

It was, Mr TerreBlanche added, also unnecessary for the Government to spend R1,1 million renovating Mr P W Botha's office, Mr Pk Botha's office, a restaurant and two lecture rooms in Union Buildings.

"If those offices were good enough for a Hans Strijdom, a Hendrik Verwoerd and a John Vorster then they are certainly good enough for a P W Botha."

After a two hour speech during which he held the audience spellbound, Mr TerreBlanche appealed to white South Africans to return to their farms. "We must live according to the example set us by our forefathers. When you are in contact with mother earth you automatically respect your maker, your loved ones and your country," he said.

PFP opposes 2nd-tier scheme

CAPE TIMES 8/5/86
304A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

Political Correspondent

THE PFP could not support the government's new scheme for second-tier administration as it offered no guarantees against domination of opposition parties of different races by the National Party, the leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said yesterday.

The government's latest constitutional initiative filled him with a sense of disquiet and apprehension, Dr Slabbert said during the committee stage of the Constitutional Development vote.

"More questions are posed than are answered and again one feels that constitutionally we have far more clarity on what this government is abandoning than what it is moving towards."

Dr Slabbert said it appeared that the government had decided on an extensive decentralization of administrative structures, whilst con-

centrating policy and decision-making power at central government level.

The government was not going to allow the new administrators and executive committees to decide on things like education policy or group areas.

Rather, Mr Heunis was saying that they could administer certain functions but that this would have to take place within a framework controlled by the State President.

Democracy

These administrators and executive committees would be appointed by President Botha from the undefined "so-called political arena", giving the President executive discretion to do "whatever he wants".

"To say that this is democracy is stretching the word beyond its acceptable limits."

Provinces and regions would no longer have even accountable representatives.

In addition, there was "no clarity whatsoever" as to what functions would be transferred to these bodies yet opposition parties were expected to approve the scrapping of provincial councils in the absence of such information.

"This is totally untenable," said Dr Slabbert.

"In the light of the obvious degree of concentration of the centralized executive power the PFP cannot support this move. A whole new arena of presidential largesse is being created."

The PFP also objected to the "absolute vagueness" of the alternative to the existing system and to the total absence of any information about the role or accountability of opposition parties, whether coloured, Asian, black, in the new system.

● Later, the leader of the NRP in Natal, Mr Derrick Watterson, said his party objected to the new system for "exactly the same reasons" as the PFP.

● Sapa reports Dr Slabbert as saying it was a "load of nonsense" to say there was greater cultural affinity between Indians and whites in South Africa than between blacks and whites.

He said there was probably more affinity between the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, and businessman Mr Sam Motsuenyane, than between Mr Heunis and the Chairman of the Ministers Council in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi.

Mr Motsuenyane was a westernised black person, a Christian who spoke English and upheld the free market system.

Dr Slabbert said he did not deny that there were differences between the way of life of whites, and that of other races in South Africa.

Privilege

But the reason for this was that whites had used their political power to create economic and other privileges for themselves.

The danger of attempting to bring about constitutional change on the basis of racially defined groups was that these groups would become platforms for comparing rights and privileges.

● The government power grab of provincial functions could lead to an even greater degree of overstaffing and overlapping of duties, the PFP's spokesman on public service, Major Ruben Sive, said yesterday.

The government should have a look at the possibilities now created for thinning out staff numbers and cutting back even more sharply on State spending.

According to Central Statistical Services, 270 000 provincial workers earn more than R2 000 million a year.

'State President will be able to do as he pleases'

Political

Correspondent

CAPE TOWN.—The Progressive Federal Party could not support the move to disband the provincial councils, the leader of the party, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert said yesterday.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, announced on Monday that the four provincial councils would be disbanded between April 29 and June 30 next year.

Speaking during the debate on the Constitutional Development and Planning vote in the House of Assembly, Dr Slabbert said the reasons for this were:

It amounted to a concentration of centralised executive power and a whole 'new arena of presidential jargon'.

Vagueness

The 'absolute vagueness' about the alternative to the existing system; and

The lack of guarantees against the domination of opposition parties.

Dr Slabbert said that more questions were posed than answered by Mr Heunis's announcement on Monday and he was left with a feeling of 'disquiet and apprehension'.

Constitutionally, he said 'we have far more clarity on what this Government is abandoning than what it is moving

PNP against demise of provincial councils

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8/5/85

towards'.

Dr Slabbert said it appeared that the Government had decided in principle on 'an extensive decentralisation of administrative structures while concentrating policy-making and decision-making power'.

Pleased

In place of the provincial councils, he said there would be an administrator and executive committee appointed from the 'political arena' by the President.

In other words, he spelt out, the President had the executive power to do as he pleased.

What this meant, Dr Slabbert said, was that the provinces or regions would no longer have even the 'limited accountable representatives' which they had in the past.

This new body, he said, would have such administrative and financial powers as determined by the executive while a standing committee of Parliament would 'oversee' the activities of the body.

Dr Slabbert said there was 'no clarity' as to which functions were to be transferred to the new body and yet Parliament was being asked to approve scrapping the provincial councils in the absence of such information.

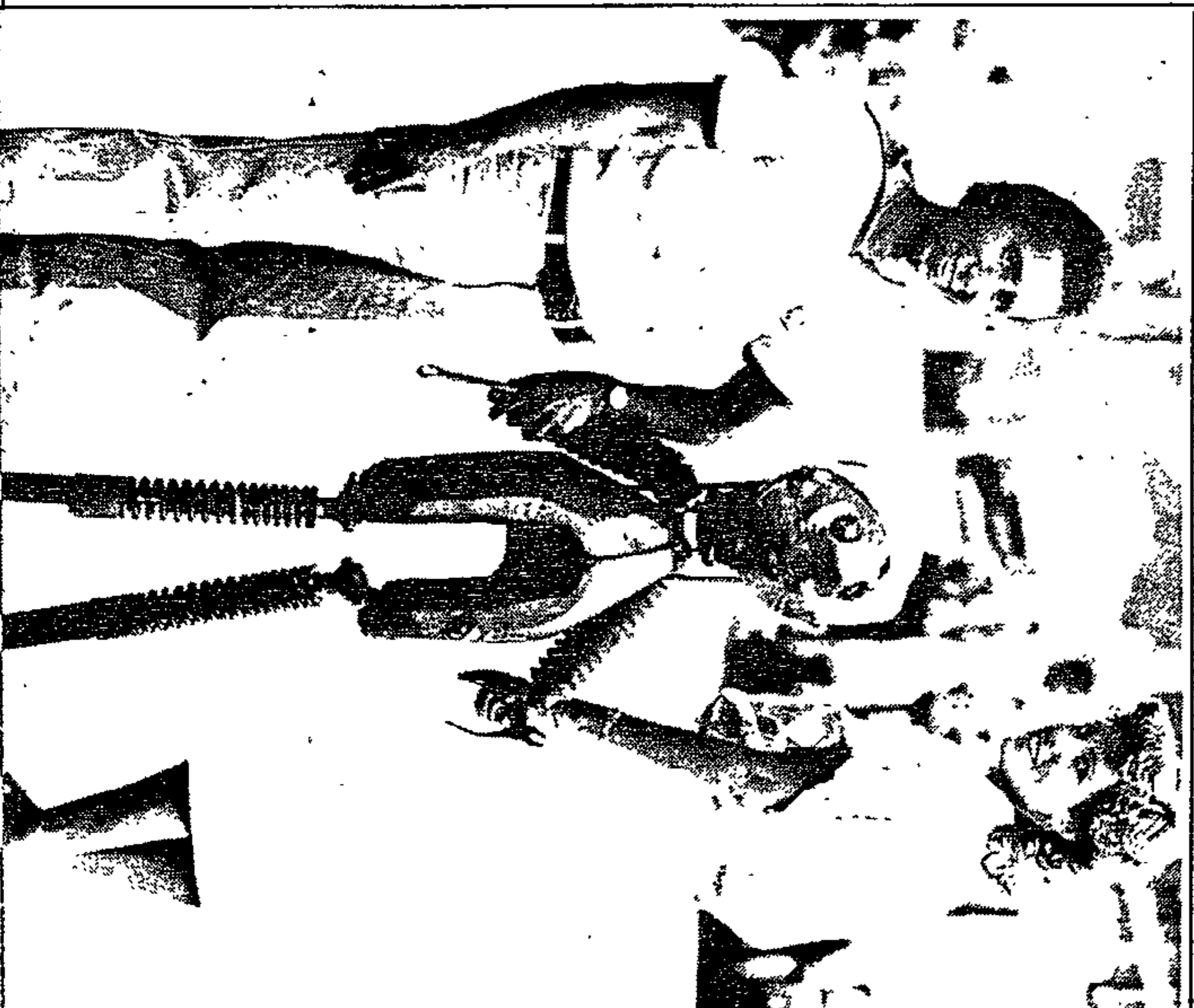
This, he said, was 'wholly untenable'.

Further, he added, it was also not clear how the so-called advisory councils were to be constituted and how they were to be linked to the electorate.

The New Republic Party's spokesman on Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Derrick Watterson said his party accepted that changes had to be made to bring in other racial groups.

But, he said, the NRP felt that the present provincial councils could be adapted in such a way as to achieve this.

He said that since 1948 when the National Party came to power there had been a gradual erosion of the powers of the provincial councils such as the removal of their right to impose taxation.



Wednesday May 8 1985

Race is not the issue, Slabbert tells Assembly

304A Star 8/5/85
Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — The Official Opposition in the House of Assembly strongly challenged the Government's plans to negotiate new constitutional structures on the basis of race.

Speaking during the Constitutional Development Vote, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, the Leader of the Opposition, said the Government was creating structures to negotiate with blacks which would be regarded by them as "the very object of negotiation".

Earlier in the debate, Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, said the reality of South Africa was a non-negotiable point.

The group nature of South African society had to be taken into account.

Dr Alex Boraine (PFP, Pinelands) interjected: "There are different interpretations of that reality."

Replying to earlier points made by Dr Slabbert, Mr Heunis said the accommodation of blacks in the con-

stitutional system was the Government's "highest political priority".

The enlarged Cabinet Committee was to give opposition parties an opportunity to make contributions and seek solutions together with the Ministers concerned, Mr Heunis said.

Replying to Mr Heunis, Dr Slabbert said he had predicted that the Minister would say that the realities of South Africa were non-negotiable.

"But there is a very big difference between whether groups are voluntarily associated, or whether they have no choice in the matter."

Later in the debate, Dr Slabbert challenged the concept of cultural affinity as spelt out by the National Party.

"There might be greater affinity between Sam Motsuenyane (the head of Nafcoc) and the Minister (Mr Heunis) than between Minister (Amichand) Rajbansi and the Minister."

"Mr Motsuenyane is a Western black man. He believes in the free market and is a Christian. Yet you let Mr Rajbansi sit in Parliament, but not Mr Motsuenyane."

Referring to conflicts in the Middle Eastern countries between members of the same ethnic and religious groups, Dr Slabbert said he could not accept that there was inherent ethnic conflict.

"What is a proper Afrikaner, for instance?" he asked. "You cannot work out a checklist for proper Afrikaners."

Chinese should have vote, says Nat

PARLIAMENT — The Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, expressed scepticism in the House of Assembly over apparent concern for the Chinese community in South Africa shown by a National Party member.

Speaking during the Constitution Development Vote, Mr J J Lloyd, the member for Roodeplaat, said he was concerned that the 10 000-strong Chinese community in South Africa did not have the vote.

They could only vote in a referendum, Mr Lloyd said.

The Chinese were a law-abiding

community and there was no reason why they should not be enfranchised, Mr Lloyd added.

Speaking later, Dr Slabbert said he was touched by Mr Lloyd's concern over the Chinese community.

"But is some of his concern not based on a numerical consideration?"

"If there were not 10 000 Chinese, but 1½ million would he be so worried?"

And if he was so concerned about the Chinese, asked Dr Slabbert, why did this concern not extend to other racial groups in the country? — Political Staff.

Well-used strategy that has become a liability

Star 8/5/85

304A

Now that it has become fashionable for the Government to admit the error of policies it has followed for 37 years, it should reconsider what is arguably the most grievous error of all.

This is the policy of manipulating the selection of black leaders so that it gets those it is prepared to deal with, rather than those who are authentic representatives of their communities.

It was a strategy that served the Government well while it was constructing its apartheid system and needed quiescent black leaders to operate it.

But it is proving a liability now that the Government is becoming aware of the need to begin real negotiations. You can't negotiate with unrepresentative leaders and you can't draw real leaders into your negotiating forum when you have tainted the whole system with a collaborationist image.

Some of the manipulations taking place over the removal of "black spot" communities show how deeply ingrained the method of operation has become.

Take the contrasting cases of the kwaNgema community near Wakkerstroom in the Eastern Transvaal, and the Mathopestad community near Koster in the Western Transvaal.

KwaNgema has an elected council which is strongly opposed to Government plans to move the community either to the kwaNgwane or kwaZulu "homelands".

To overcome this opposition, officials of the Department of Co-operation and Development arranged a meeting last October at the home of a discredited community member called Cuthbert Ngema, whom they knew was prepared to agree to the removal.

Eight close relatives gathered at Cuthbert's house while the rest of the 5 000-strong community were attending another meeting, and elected him "leader" of the community. Soon afterwards the authorities recognised Cuthbert as acting chief.

Appalled by this, the Ngema council sought a court order declaring Cuthbert's appointment invalid, but lost the case because of a law

MY VIEW



Allister Sparks

empowering the Government to appoint whoever it pleases as chief of a tribe.

Anyone who has visited kwaNgema can be in no doubt that the overwhelming majority of that community is passionately opposed to being removed from land they have owned for more than 125 years. Yet they may indeed be uprooted in what will be officially regarded as a "voluntary" removal, because a chief is deemed to speak on behalf of his tribe and Chief Cuthbert is willing to give his assent.

Mathopestad is the mirror image of this. There the recognised chief, a young man named Solomon Mathope, aided by his tough-minded uncle, John Mathope, is strongly opposed to Government plans to move them to a resettlement camp in Bophuthatswana. So suddenly the principle that a chief speaks for his tribe disappears.

Instead the department is bussing dissidents to see the new site and officials are already claiming that Solomon and John Mathope are not representative of their tribe.

It is not difficult to find these dissidents. Twenty-two black families bought the Mathopestad farm in 1910 and it belongs to their descendants who have allotments to cultivate. Over the years the landowners have taken in "tenants". Some tenants stay on a sharecropper basis; others lodge there without having any land to work.

It is mainly the tenants who are being bussed to the new site in Bo-

phuthatswana. All seem to have been given the impression that if they agree to the move they will be given farmland there. Not surprisingly, the idea appeals. Everything points to a Government plan to declare that a majority have "volunteered" to move as soon as there are more tenants saying yes to the removal than landowners saying no. And to blazes with what the chief says.

The cynicism of it is breathtaking, but then this is the way the Government has always conducted black affairs. Beginning with the Transkei in the early sixties, homeland constitutions were loaded to give ex-officio chiefs, who were as anxious as the Government to preserve the old order against the new forces of black nationalism, a built-in majority over elected members.

Urban black councils were elected by 10 percent of eligible voters; the coloured and Indian parliamentarians by less than a fifth of their electorates.

In only one instance that I know of has the Government negotiated with authentic leaders freely chosen by their own communities. This was when the much-maligned Mr Timo Bezuidenhout was prepared to talk to the Crossroads and other squatter leaders in Cape Town. It is also a rare example of a viable agreement being reached with a black community.

● Allister Sparks, a former editor of the Rand Daily Mail, writes this regular column and reports for several overseas newspapers.



Mr Raditsela

Mrs Suzman joins call for probe of unionist's death

Star 8/5/85
By Mike Siluma

Trade unions, academics and politicians have called for an inquiry into the death of a leading unionist, Mr Andries Raditsela (29) who, it is claimed, died of head injuries after being arrested at the weekend.

The Progressive Federal Party spokesman on human rights, Mrs Helen Suzman, said she hoped this "ugly" case was not yet another example of police taking the law into their own hands, thereby damaging South Africa's reputation overseas.

"There must obviously be an in-depth investigation at the highest level."

Professor John Dugard, head of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, said:

"This case calls for the prosecution of those responsible for the death of Mr Raditsela."

A spokesman for the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union (CWIU), of which Mr Raditsela was a long-serving leader, warned that Mr Raditsela's death would anger union members.

The Federation of South African Trade Unions yesterday demanded the withdrawal of police and the army from black townships and there was a call for an urgent regional congress of the federation to discuss Mr Raditsela's death.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, could not be reached for comment but police confirmed that the circumstances surrounding the death are being investigated.

● See Page 17.

broke the law

Cap. TIMES 8/5/85
**Reform
'sabotage'**

Political Reporter
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES — An angry MP yesterday said in the House that he was told to use a non-white entrance at a George police station at the weekend.

Mr Peter Hendrickse (LP Addo), the son of the Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said that he was told by a Sergeant Meiring on Friday evening to use the non-white entrance of the police station as he left it to get some documents from his car.

Entering the station for a second time, Mr Hendrickse said he used the entrance which was closest to him — the white one. He told the sergeant that he did not intend to obey his instruction.

"This is the kind of action that sabotages the efforts for reform," said Mr Hendrickse.

Naude: Lift ban on ANC, PAC

Staff Reporter

THE TIME had come for the government to lift the banning order on the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan African Congress (PAC), to allow these movements to operate as political parties inside South Africa, Dr Beyers Naude, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said in Cape Town last night.

Dr Naude, whose seven-year banning order expired in September last year, was given a standing ovation by an audience of more than 2 400 people at the University of Cape Town last night.

Exiles

The Vice-Chancellor of the University, Dr Stuart Saunders, presented Dr Naude with a festschrift containing contributions by more than a dozen leading South African theologians, to mark his 70th birthday.

In return Dr Naude presented the university with the original banning order he received in 1977.

Dr Naude called for all exiles to be invited to return to South Africa and for all political prisoners to be released, as "this

alone would enable meaningful negotiation to deal with the present crisis as a basis for the establishment of a society of justice and peace in South Africa"

He said there was another way to reduce conflict and enhance peace.

Dr Naude said black industrial workers were among those who had been severely exploited in the Republic although they had contributed in a massive way to the building of the economy. In so doing they had, however, received minimal financial return on their labour.

Academic freedom

Surely those black trade unions which represented the rights of black workers must be among the most potent forces for peaceful change in our time, he said.

"I appeal to both government and the business sector to respond to their demands in a creative and imaginative manner. It is quite clear that if their support is not ensured, any attempt to persuade the outside world of industrial reform will rightly fall on deaf ears," Dr Naude said.

Educational institutions had become target areas for political action and debate. Universities needed to respond creatively to this challenge, he said. Universities did not belong to privileged white minorities but they belonged to all the people of South Africa, and academic freedom should become a basis for freedom from injustices both on and beyond the campus.

Trade unions

Universities which affirmed academic freedom were obliged to reach beyond the customary debate on who shall teach, who shall be taught and what should be taught.

Dr Naude said there was a need for an alliance of freedom to be established between those universities, trade unions and political groups which affirmed justice and equality for all people before the law.

"I appeal to those universities in this country, such as the University of Cape Town, which have traditionally supported the freedom of association, to take the initiative in this regard."

Churches

The churches in South Africa had been torn apart by political division, ideological conflicts and doctrinal disputes and it was time for unity of purpose, grounded in the total rejection of the heresy of apartheid.

Unless the church was prepared to do this, it would be rejected as irrelevant by the people of God who reached out for his gift in Christ of justice, freedom and life.

He appealed to the churches of this land "to practise the faith we confess" in a more courageous and meaningful manner.

"Where we go from here is the right of all the people of this land to decide. If this right is denied to some, it will, I fear, ultimately be taken from all, as the country is plunged into total chaos," Dr Naude said.

Cape Times
9/5/85

3067

Crisis in SA: Where do we go from here?

THE crisis which I have seen grow during the years of my banning order continues. I close with a comment on four interrelated areas within this crisis, areas within which I have been engaged for the larger part of my life.

The political crisis of our land intensifies daily. The time has come for the government to lift the banning order on the African National Congress and the Pan African Congress, allowing these movements to operate as political parties in the country. At the same time all exiles must be invited to return to the country and all political prisoners released.

This alone will enable meaningful negotiation to deal with the present crisis as a basis for the establishment of a society of justice and peace in South Africa.

There is no other way to reduce conflict and enhance peace. There is positively nothing to be gained by anyone in prolonging white minority rule. I appeal to the government to face this reality and to act accordingly.

Among those who have been severely exploited in a systematic way in this country are black industrial workers. Their families have been separated from them by group areas legislation and exploited by migratory labour practices while

suade the outside world of industrial reform will rightly fall on deaf ears.

Educational institutions have become a target for political action and debate. Universities need to respond creatively to this challenge.

Universities do not belong to privileged white minorities. They belong to all the people of this land. Academic freedom must become a basis for freedom from injustices both on and beyond the

campus. This means universities which affirm academic freedom are obliged to reach beyond the customary debate on who shall teach, who shall be taught and on what will be taught.

There is a need for an alliance of freedom to be established between those universities, trade unions and political groups which affirm justice and equality for all people

before the law. I appeal to those universities in this country, such as the University of Cape Town, which have traditionally supported the freedom of association, to take the initiative in this regard.

The churches of this land are torn apart by political division, ideological conflicts and doctrinal disputes. Now is the time for unity of purpose grounded in the total rejection of the heresy of apartheid. Unless the



THE Rev Beyers Naude spoke at the University of Cape Town last night about his seven years as a banned person. He concluded his speech with these remarks about where South Africa should go from here.

FROM HERE!

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Among those who have been severely exploited in a systematic way in this country are black industrial workers. Their families have been separated from them by group areas legislation and exploited by migratory labour practices while they have contributed in a massive way to the building of the economy.

Yet, in so doing they have received minimal financial return on their labour.

Now, as this country stands in a perilous economic situation, those trade unions that represent the rights of black workers must surely be among the most potent forces for peaceful change in our time. I appeal to both the government and the business sector to respond to their demands in a creative and imaginative manner. It is quite clear that if their support is not ensured any attempt to per-

suade the outside world of industrial reform will rightly fall on deaf ears.

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Right denied

I appeal to the churches of this land — let us practise the faith we confess in a more courageous and meaningful manner.

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Tattooed to-do for Bishop Tutu

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A group of burly white men with tattoos on their arms staged a demonstration against Bishop Desmond Tutu outside St Mary's Cathedral here.

The group of eight men yesterday held zinc-plate placards saying: "Desmond Tutu for head boy at Pollsmoor Prison", "Disinvest in Tutu" and "Tutu devil in church clothing".

"It's always blacks demonstrating against us whites. Now we're demonstrating against them," said the leader of the group, Mr Cecil Acton.

Asked whether he had heard Bishop Tutu speak anywhere, Mr Acton said, "No, I have not heard him speak personally, but I have seen him on SABC-TV and read some newspapers. The SABC gives me a true reflection of what he says. And I do not agree with what he says."

Another newsman approached one of the men holding up a placard and asked him why he was demonstrating against Bishop Tutu. He replied in English: "I don't speak English." The newsman asked whether he knew what was written on the placard he was holding because it was written in English. The man smiled and looked away.

When demonstrators hung a placard from the cathedral gates, a cathedral employee knocked it down with a huge hammer.

Later the same worker came out of the cathedral with a bucket and mop and wiped the walls where the men were standing. He also knocked down some of the placards and threw party streamers over the demonstrators.

Township situation is sickening, says PFP

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Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — The death of a prominent trade unionist in mysterious circumstances after being detained by the police was raised during the Manpower Vote in the House of Assembly yesterday.

The Official Opposition's chief spokesman on Manpower, Dr Alex Boraine, said the death of Mr Andries Raditsela, the Transvaal vice-chairman of the Federation of South African Trade Unions, was like "putting a match to dry grass".

"It is shocking that there seems no end to persons dying while in custody of the police and of the authorities," Dr Boraine said.

There was something "serious and sickening" going on in South African townships.

"If this man had not been a trade unionist we might not have heard anything at all about his death."

Referring to the recent dismissal of 17 000 striking mineworkers, Dr

Call for investigation

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — The Labour Party has called for a top-level police investigation into the death of trade unionist Mr Andries Raditsela who allegedly died of head injuries after being arrested at the weekend.

In a statement issued at Parliament yesterday the party expressed the "deepest concern".

An investigation should be held "as soon as possible and should be as comprehensive as possible".

The statement continued: "If any person or groups of persons, including the police, are found to have had a hand in the injuries, which allegedly led to his death, then they should be brought to trial at the first opportunity."

Boraine said the incident was "extremely worrying and disturbing".

The giant mining industry was particularly vulnerable in the economy, and it was important that both management and labour kept cool heads.

Black union leaders on the mines had an "awesome responsibility" in the present situation.

"With their newly earned power and status, they can decide whether

there will be a slide towards chaos or a steady march towards the settling of grievances and the scrapping of discrimination."

Issues should be resolved at the bargaining table — not in lock-outs or wildcat strikes, Dr Boraine said.

The Government could assist by "taking its courage in its hands" and scrapping job reservation on the mines, Dr Boraine said.

Referring to staggering figures on black unemployment, Dr Boraine said the situation fanned the flames of anger and resentment in the townships.

Because mainly voteless black people were affected, there were serious political implications.

An employment opportunities commission should be appointed, growth of the informal sector should be encouraged, influx control should be scrapped and a social security system implemented as measures for dealing with the problem, Dr Boraine said.

Attacking Dr Boraine, Mr Koos van der Merwe (CP, Jeppe) said he found it "upsetting" that the police had been "attacked" again.

He added that the politicisation of black trade unions was a serious problem and warned the Government against "nurturing" their development.

The debate continues today.

TAXPAYERS will be hit by a series of new levies to pay for regional services in terms of the major Regional Services Bill which was published today.

The proposed regional services councils will carry a heavy price tag in additional taxes.

The new plans provide for multiracial management of local affairs, including blacks for the first time in South African history, in joint decision-making bodies with whites, coloured people and Indians.

The additional taxes will be in the form of a "regional establishment levy" and a "regional services levy", which a regional council is empowered to claim from each employer, vendor or person in its region.

The State is also regarded as an employer and "person" and will have to pay the levies.

Directors' fees

The levies are to be based on turnover, employers' payrolls, directors' fees and profits paid out to partners or sole traders by means of withdrawals or loans.

The regional services councils established by the new Bill will be controlled by the existing local authorities of all race groups.

Provincial Administrators are to have sweeping powers in the establishment and control of the new councils and they will take the final decision on the number of members on a particular council and on the number of votes they possess.

Their own accord

All decisions taken by the councils have to have a two-thirds majority, but the Administrators can of their own accord give rulings on proposals that do not get the necessary majority.

Proposals which do not achieve majorities may also be debated again or may be postponed for six months before being reconsidered.

The intention of these mechanisms is to ensure that big primary local authorities or a group of smaller bodies that support each other will not dominate the meetings, but that real co-operation and consensus are striven for before a decision is made.

Lose most functions

Existing primary local authorities, such as city councils, are to lose most of their functions to the new regional councils.

The draft legislation lists 21 functions as being the responsibility of the regional councils, and provides for any other service which can be provided jointly to be handled by the new bodies.

● The proposed taxes to fund regional services councils will add to the financial burden of taxpayers, destroy job opportunities and push up prices, the Progressive Federal Party predicted.

Mr Harry Schwarz said today that the proposed measures amounted to adding two further taxes to what had already become an over-taxed country.

Margo Commission

"It seems utterly illogical that these taxes should be established at a time when the Margo Commission is sitting in order to investigate the whole tax structure.

"Before these new levies come into force they should be referred to the commission so that the tax system can be examined in its totality," Mr Schwarz said.

He predicted that the levy on sales would affect living costs as vendors were likely to pass them on to the consumer.

A discouragement

"The employment levy acts as a discouragement to employ more people at the very time when we should be encouraging the creation of more jobs — which issue lies at the root of the solution of most of South Africa's problems."

Mr Schwarz said the Bill would be considered by the parliamentary standing committee on finance. He hoped the committee would refer the levies to the Margo Commission.

"One accepts that local government needs money and that there has to be assistance to local authorities which do not have a proper tax base, but the proposed new forms of tax are likely to create more problems than they solve," he said.

Political Correspondent

Shocks for taxpayer in new local Govt Bill

M&A 9/5/85
3094

Council funding method attacked

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Organized commerce and industry say higher inflation and more unemployment will result from the method of funding regional government proposed by the Regional Services Councils Bill published in Parliament yesterday.

The Bill proposes levies on company wage bills and turnover to pay for the new all-race councils which will take over most of the functions of local authorities — including water, electricity, sewerage, traffic control and libraries — on a regional basis.

The commerce spokesmen were backed by Mr Harry Schwarz, MP for Yeoville and chief finance spokesman for the PFP, who said the turnover tax could have an effect on prices comparable to an increase of up to two percent in GST.

Mr Schwarz said that despite appeals by the minister that the tax not be passed on to the consumer, he had no doubt that, at a time when profits were under pressure, this was inevitable.

● RSC Bill may push up prices, page 4

● Call to refer proposed tax to Margo, page 12

Govt plans to change influx control laws

Political Correspondent

THE government was giving urgent attention to ways of reducing the influx of "illegal" and unemployed immigrants into the Western Cape, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, warned last night.

However, he also announced that draft legislation aimed at a "thorough" softening of influx control legislation — which is likely to ease the hated pass law system — is likely to be submitted to a Parliamentary select committee in the second half of this year.

In a major policy speech to the Cape Employers Association, Dr Viljoen also announced that:

● He did not believe that the scrapping of all influx control would be feasible or practical;

● Efforts were being made to eliminate unnecessarily restrictive regulations which have the effect of creating large numbers of technical transgressions;

● He could see "no reason why a properly upgraded Crossroads could not ultimately

qualify for leasehold together with the rest of Nyanga";

● The number of squatters at Crossroads was "far higher" than initially estimated and that approval had consequently been given for the development of two more informal settlement areas to the north of Khayelitsha;

● Blacks moving to Khayelitsha under the 18-month residential permit system could "resolve the impasse over the legality issue" by becoming economically active during the 18-month period and then have their permit extended.

Dr Viljoen said "urgent attention" was being given to achieving more effective influx control. To this end, he appealed to employers to "studiously avoid" employing persons who were not authorized to work in the Western Cape.

The government would continue with its strategy of stemming the influx of work seekers into the Western Cape by creating employment opportunities in areas like the Eastern Cape and the homelands.

Friday, May 10, 1985

New Bill sets out framework for multiracial local govt

MM 10/5/85

304 A

Parliamentary Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—The Government's constitutional framework for multiracial local government to deal with general affairs was launched yesterday when the Regional Services Councils Bill was published here.

It is the first time in the history of the country that blacks have been included in joint decision-making bodies that will also include whites, coloureds and Asians.

The proposed regional service councils, which will draw their revenue from a wide range of new levies, will be controlled by existing local authorities — such as city councils, community councils, divisional councils, coloured management committees, Indian management committees and other elected and representative bodies.

Provide

Representation on the new bodies will be on a proportional basis, calculated according to the financial contributions the various bodies make to the regional councils.

The functions of the councils will be to provide joint general affairs services on a regional basis. In terms of the draft legislation these could include:

The bulk supply of water, bulk supply of elec-

tricity, roads, passenger transport services, traffic matters, abattoirs, fresh produce markets, refuse dumps, ambulance and fire brigade services, health services, airports and civil defence.

Boundaries

They could probably also include libraries, museums, recreation services, environment conservation, sewerage services, the establishment and maintenance of infrastructural services, promotion of tourism, land usage, and transport planning.

In terms of the draft Bill it will be possible for co-operation on the provision of services to take place across boundaries with independent and national states.

The present provincial administrators, and from next year the appointed administrators of second tier government, will have extensive powers in defining and altering the regions where councils will be established, on the composition and voting rights of members of

the councils and on matters where councils have failed to achieve the necessary two-thirds majority on a decision.

Matters which do not achieve the required majority could also be debated again or postponed for six months before reconsideration.

The Bill states that the three main objectives of regional service councils are:

The more effective rendering of services;

Revenue

Political participation to give all people a say in decision-making affecting their interests; and

The collection and distribution of new additional sources of revenue.

Funds for the new councils will come from 'regional establishment levies' and 'regional services levies'. They will be calculated on the turnover of businesses, directors' fees and profits paid to partners and sole traders, and employees' pay rolls.

Length swings to cities

ARGUS 10/5/85

304A

Political Staff traces the history of the loading of constituencies in South Africa.

1:1,24 but the number of rural seats has dropped significantly to slightly more than half the number of urban seats.

The big loadings are now most noticeable in the Free State with a ratio of 1:1,27 and the Cape with 1:1,32. The disparity is now greater on provincial rather than on rural grounds.

The reason for this has been the enormous swelling of the urban areas caused by the drift from the rural areas as well as the increased number of immigrants.

The power base of the National Party is now in the urban and peri-urban areas with

most of its MPs representing urban voters. The National Party must in making its decisions now give more weight to this lobby than the agricultural lobby.

This does not mean that in refusing to budge on the maize price that this is the only factor the Government considered but it must have played a part.

The reason for the loading in favour of the rural areas goes back to the national convention of 1908.

The architects of the Union of South Africa followed the trend in many democratic countries in writing the loading into the constitution.

The motivation for this was the poor communication networks of the times and the long distances that voters and their public representatives had to cover.

Voting loads are worked out by delimitation commissions within the parameters of the Constitution.

Commissions have to take various circumstances into account when deciding the boundaries of constituencies. These include community interests, density of population and geographical features.

They can then increase the number of voters by 15 percent or even drop them by 15 percent on the average and in cases where a constituency is larger than 25 000sq km the commission may drop the loading by 30 percent.

Surprisingly these stipulations were written into the Republic constitution and again into the new tricameral constitution.

With the growth of the Conservative Party, National Party representatives are likely to present even fewer arguments in favour of loading rural constituencies at the next delimitation — which will sit between next year and 1989.

Rural and urban voters

THE approximate number of voters in rural and urban constituencies in each province indicating the average loading or de-loading in each case.

| | Seats | Voters | Average votes |
|--------------------|-------|-----------|---------------|
| CAPE: | | | |
| Rural | 23 | 292 884 | 12 734 |
| Urban | 32 | 538 359 | 16 824 |
| Total | 55 | 831 243 | 15 113 |
| NATAL: | | | |
| Rural | 6 | 90 127 | 15 021 |
| Urban | 14 | 251 170 | 17 941 |
| Total | 20 | 341 297 | 17 064 |
| FREE STATE: | | | |
| Rural | 9 | 134 963 | 14 996 |
| Urban | 5 | 95 268 | 19 054 |
| Total | 14 | 230 231 | 16 445 |
| TRANS-VAAL: | | | |
| Rural | 20 | 379 793 | 18 990 |
| Urban | 56 | 1 167 685 | 20 851 |
| Total | 76 | 1 547 478 | 20 361 |
| NATION-AL: | | | |
| Rural | 58 | 897 767 | 15 479 |
| Urban | 107 | 2 052 482 | 19 182 |
| Total | 165 | 2 950 249 | 17 880 |

Walvis Bay, which has only 4 603 voters and is considered to be part of the Cape Province has not been included because it is an obvious anomaly and is dealt with as a separate case in the Constitution.

Mr Peter Soal MP (Johannesburg North) recently asked a question in Parliament about the number of voters in each constituency.

The replies given by Minister of Home Affairs Mr F W de Klerk showed a major discrepancy in favour of the provinces.

In terms of the constitution the number of voters in relation to the number of seats in each province should be the same.

But shortly before the last delimitation in 1980 the Government put through legislation freezing the provincial allocations of seats for 10 years.

In an interview Mr Soal said it was totally unfair that there should be any loading either between provinces or between urban and rural areas.

"How can anyone justify that one person's vote should be worth more than another person's? The reasons for this have long since gone."

He said a 15 percent margin either way was far too generous and should be limited to the absolute minimum.

The disparities in the seats of the Houses of Delegates and Representatives are far worse but this is a result of the confusion over voter registration more than anything else.

ALG 10/05/85

3044

POLITICS

Voter stre

BRUCE CAMERON of the Argus

The firm handling of maize farmers, who are part of the traditional grassroots support of the National Party, by the Government on the face of it appears surprising.

It was the farmers who swung the vote in 1948 to give the National Party its victory. Since then they have been well rewarded with the Government going to great lengths to ensure their well-being and continued support.

In 1948 the country areas virtually controlled the Government of South Africa. Most of the seats were rural and the loading in terms of the constitution could be as much as 60 percent more than a city seat.

In 1948 and again in 1953 the United Party won the majority of the votes but failed to win a majority in Parliament. In 1948 the National Party and the Afrikaner Party won a combined 79 seats against the 65 for the United Party with 100 000 fewer votes.

The voters in the rural areas have tended to be more conservative than city dwellers and the Conservative Party is attempting to repeat history starting from a base in the rural areas.

Over the years this overwhelming strength of the rural areas has been slowly eroded. Not only has the ratio in favour of the country areas dropped to

Govt comes up with another New Deal

30417 10/5/85

OWN CORRESPONDENT

THE Government has revealed plans for the multiracial management of local affairs and, for the first time, blacks will serve on joint decision-making bodies with whites, the coloured people and Indians.

Regional services councils, to be controlled by the existing local authorities of all four race groups, are to be established in terms of draft legislation published today.

They will be funded by a new series of taxes on turnover and pay-rolls.

In terms of the Regional Services Councils Bill, the number of votes local bodies will have on the regional councils will be in proportion to their contribution to the total income generated for regional services. No local authority will be allowed to control more than 50 percent of a regional council.

The financial contribution may be derived in the form of "regional establishment levies" and "regional service levies" from local authorities, management bodies or representative bodies, and from their inhabitants, for functions the regional services councils undertake.

Provincial administrators are to have sweeping powers in the establishment and control of the new councils and they will take the final decision on the number of members on a particular council and on the number of votes they have.

Decisions taken by the councils will need a two-thirds majority but administrators can give rulings on proposals that do not obtain the necessary majority.

Proposals which do not obtain majorities may be debated again or may be postponed for six months.

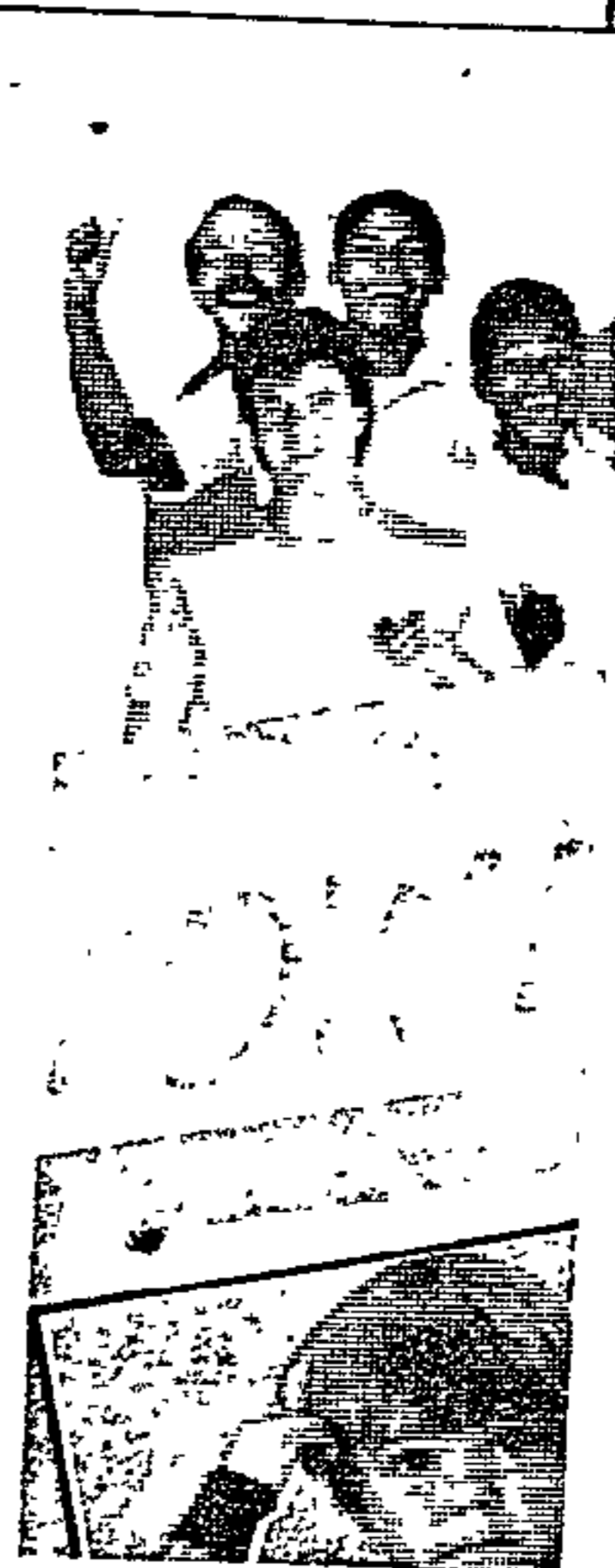
Existing primary local authorities, such as city councils, are to lose most of their functions to the new regional councils.

The new councils will co-operate with local authorities to ensure the best use of scarce resources and to achieve cost-effectiveness and efficiency.

The councils carry a heavy price tag in the form of a new series of taxes which will be in addition to the existing income tax, sales tax

and property rates levied by primary local authorities.

Various levies may be claimed by the councils from each employer, vendor or person in their regions. The levies are to be based on turnover, employers' pay-rolls, directors' fees and profits paid out to partners or sole traders by means of withdrawals or loans.



POLITICS

More power to PW

The latest constitutional moves by government are lifting the curtain on what it really means to have an Executive State President. The announcement that the publicly elected provincial councils are to be scrapped and replaced with a committee of government-appointed politicians implies further concentration of executive power.

ministrator in running the provinces. And, in fact, in terms of the constitution, the President is also empowered to appoint and discharge all State employees.

Government spokesmen argue that the politicians appointed to the new provincial committees will be representative of communities in the region. Whether this will be the



Minister Heunis... neither opening nor closing the door to blacks

This is unleavened by the omission of any mention in Minister Heunis's statement in Parliament that government intends to permit direct participation of blacks in the new second-tier structure. Instead, early indications are that blacks may be invited to serve on "advisory councils" of the provincial executive committees.

Once the provincial councils have been scrapped — by June 30 next year at the latest — the State President will have far-ranging powers of appointment. He will:

- ☐ Appoint members of the Cabinet;
- ☐ Appoint members of the three Ministers' Councils;
- ☐ Appoint 25 members of the President's Council (PC), the final arbiter when the three Houses of Parliament are unable to reach consensus;
- ☐ As leader of the majority party in the (white) House of Assembly, appoint a further 20 members of the PC, making a total of 45 out of 60 appointed by the President;
- ☐ Appoint the provincial administrators; and
- ☐ Appoint hand-picked politicians to the executive committees who will assist the ad-

case has yet to be seen, but the fact remains that the new system empowers the President to dominate every level of government with the exception of the local authorities.

The move will weaken opposition parties. It effectively wipes out the New Republic Party (NRP), which, with only five members in the House of Assembly and its leader, Bill Sutton, in the PC, relies for its power base on the Natal Provincial Council, where it holds 14 of the 20 seats. If the NRP is to survive at all in Natal, it will be with the patronage of the chief executive. This possibility is by no means excluded, given the extraordinary degree of consensus that exists between the NP and the NRP. The lament of the Natal leader of the NRP, Derrick Watterson, that "domination and dictatorship face the electorate in Natal" may well prove groundless.

The PFP is also hard hit by the move, and stands to lose some 20 public representatives. The party says the tragedy of the new structure is that, by their very nature in a democratic system, opposition members at provincial level have for years played a valuable watchdog role in matters of public interest. The new system will significantly curb pub-

lic debate at the provincial level, not to mention the fact it simply bypasses the electoral process. In the words of one Cape MPC, Jan van Eck (PFP Groote Schuur): "The whole country is going *in camera*."

PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert tells the *FM* that centralisation of power is the issue. "Government sets up its framework — along racial lines — and then appoints the people to run it. Chris Heunis (Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning) is quite blatant in his announcement. Central government, he says, will *only* 'formulate policy and monitor' lower levels of government. If that is not centralisation of power, I don't know what is."

The new system is also set to lead to greater regional division. Although the overall provincial boundaries will be retained, it is likely that separate administrators and executive committees will be appointed, for example, for the eastern Cape and perhaps also the northern Cape.

On the issue of black inclusion at provincial level, Heunis tells the *FM* that "we must still negotiate the position of the black people, and that is the responsibility of the special Cabinet committee." Asked whether this meant he was not closing the door to black participation, Heunis replied: "I am not closing the door or opening the door. I am just stating that the future participation by black communities in second-tier government will have to be negotiated. I am not going to be prescriptive."

BLACK MINE UNION

Striking back

National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa has warned of a new direction in the union's strategy that could throw the mining industry into turmoil.

Using a speech at the SA Institute of Race Relations as an opportunity to answer mounting management criticism of the NUM following a number of illegal strikes this year, Ramaphosa launched a sharp attack on practices in the mining industry. The "system" in the industry, he charged, is designed for the "exploitation, control and manipulation" of black miners. But he warned that



Ramaphosa

PFP renews call for integrated education system

Star 10/5/85
(304A)

Political Staff
PARLIAMENT — The call for the integration of all educational institutions and the creation of a single Department of Education was renewed by the Official Opposition in the House of Assembly yesterday.

The PFP spokesman on education, Mr Horace van Rensburg, said during the "own affairs" Vote on education that one of the central recommendations of the De Lange committee was a unitary education department.

APARTHEID

Instead of moving away from apartheid in education, the Government was moving closer towards it with the creation of separate "own affairs" departments to deal with education, Mr van Rensburg said.

"We should be building bridges and there is no better place to start than at school level. With separate education, we are depriving our future citizens of an opportunity of

getting to know each other better."

He appealed to the Government to allow, at least, multiracial sport in schools if they found it impossible at present to move away from segregated schools.

Referring to tertiary education, Mr van Rensburg said there was no excuse for applying apartheid at that level.

Earlier, Mr Stoffel Botha, "own affairs" Minister of Education and Culture in the Assembly, said the Government had accepted the principle of parity among education departments but this would not be achieved at the expense of a drop in standards.

The Department of Education and Culture had prepared itself for the new responsibilities in white education that would fall on it with the abolition of provincial councils, Mr Botha said.

But individual parents and the community would have a shared responsibility in the matter.

'Levies will increase jobless and inflation'

Mercury Reporter NM 10/5/85

ORGANISED commerce and industry yesterday hit out at the method of funding regional government proposed by the Regional Services Councils Bill and said it would increase inflation and put more people out of work.

Spokesmen for the Durban Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce and the Natal Chamber of Industries said the levies would further depress industry and commerce and lead to higher inflation, higher unemployment and more businesses going under.

Chamber of Commerce general manager, Mr Ken Hobson, said the chamber agreed with the concept of regionalisation.

'But we are quite convinced the authorities have no idea of the widespread implications of the two new taxes.'

'It verges on the unbelievable that while the Government is voting considerable funds to relieve unemployment, they can at the same time contemplate a tax on wages, which can only aggravate the existing unemployment.'

But Mr Owen Jones, chairman of the Metropolitan Consultative Committee, said without the power to levy taxes the regional services councils would be 'totally incapable of operating, especially in the Durban area'.

A Metrocom-sponsored financial investigation had last year shown that regionalisation would lead to an overall reduction in the rates burden of R5 000 000 a year, he said.

The executive director of the Natal Chamber of Industries, Mr Roland Freakes said: 'We recognise the need to finance the councils and that they must have an ability to generate income.'

'But industry is already saddled with extremely burdensome taxation and in many ways has its back to the wall at the moment.'

'We have heard that some of this taxation could be levied within the next few months and the timing is very unfortunate.'

'Industry has already retrenched a large number of people.'

'The payroll tax will tend to make people do all they can to limit their payrolls by reducing the number of employees.'

'We were told the levies would be recovered by means of a tax abatement, but instead it is just a deductible expense, so we are only compensated by about 50 percent.'

'The Government said we would get some relief by way of reductions in transport service levies and so on.'

'But none of these concessions have not been spelled out and it looks like we're simply faced with another tax burden, another factor that can only depress industry further.'

Both the Chamber of Commerce and the Chamber of Industries said they had asked the Government not to introduce the new taxes until the Margo Commission investigating the tax structure had examined them and made recommendations.

'The levies take no account of ability to pay. They will have to be paid even if companies are not making a profit or are on the verge of liquidation,' said Mr Hobson.

More companies could be forced into liquidation.

'It could well be the straw that breaks the camel's back.'

Our Parliamentary Correspondent reports that the reservations of commerce and industry were backed by Mr Harry Schwarz, MP for Yeoville and chief finance spokesman for the Progressive Federal Party.

Mr Schwarz said the turnover tax could have an effect on prices comparable to an increase of up to 2 percent in GST.

Mr Schwarz said that in spite of appeals by the minister that the tax not be passed on to the consumer he had no doubt that, at a time when profits were under pressure, this was inevitable.

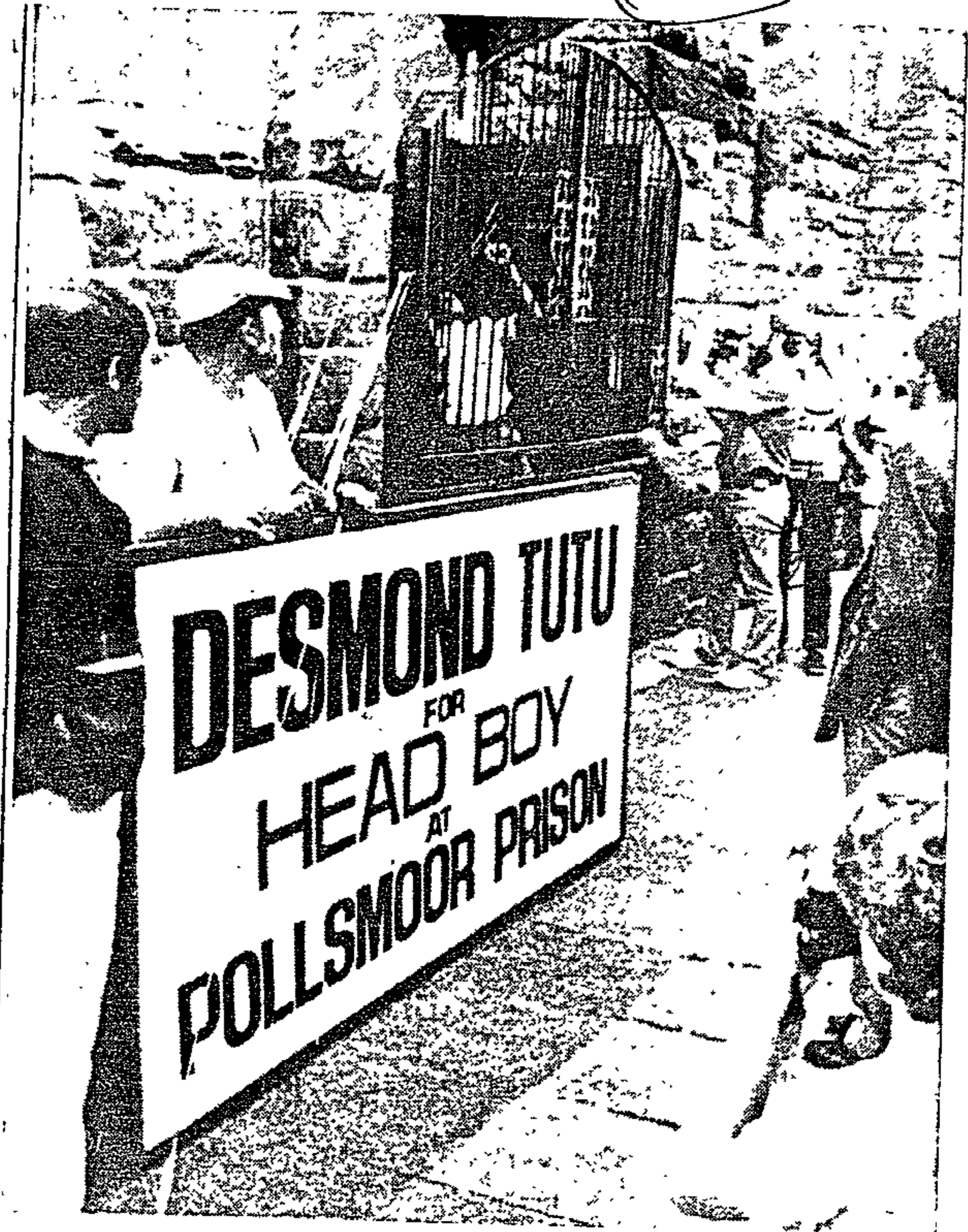
He described the payroll tax as a hindrance to job creation in urban areas: it would encourage an intensification of capital-intensive industry, and act as an incentive to decentralise at a time when the country needed to create jobs as cheaply as possible — which was best achieved in urban areas because of the lower cost of infrastructure.

He also predicted that the Bill's poor definition of the manner in which it would tax non-GST paying vendors would lead to serious problems.

He drew attention to the heavy tax burden carried by business and consumers and called on the Government to refer its proposals to the Margo Commission.

CAPE TOWN 10/5/85

3047



Right-wing demonstrators (left) watch as a church official throws streamers at them outside St Mary's Cathedral in Johannesburg this week. About 10 men demonstrated at the church for about 30 minutes, without incident, against Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Bishop of Johannesburg.

Business

12 ★

FRIDAY, MAY 10

Call to refer proposed local tax to Margo

3047
CAPT Time 10/5/85

By PAUL DOLD
Financial Editor

WHILE supporting the need for local government reform, Assocom has called for the proposed local tax system to be referred to the Margo Commission of Inquiry—which is reviewing the taxation system as a whole.

In a statement last night, Assocom said it was unwise to propose open-ended and radical changes to local government taxation in isolation from the work of the Margo Commission.

The proposed new local taxes are expected to raise more than R1 billion in additional revenue which will not be fully offset by conces-

sions in other directions.

Assocom said that the business community is already alarmed at the extent to which the effective burden of tax has risen in recent years in response to the financing needs of government.

With the intended abolition of the provincial councils next year, it should be possible to effect savings in the costs of government which could be transferred to the running of the regional services councils.

"To introduce new local taxation in the present economic climate is extremely unfortunate, especially with about 70 companies going insolvent weekly.

"Assocom also queries

the wisdom of introducing a payroll tax when unemployment is high and rising and at a time when the government itself has recognized the need to extend unemployment relief to the urban areas."

Commerce is also questioning whether the proposed regional services councils are still the most appropriate local government structures in the light of the recent black urban unrest, and whether they represent true devolution of power.

● These and other aspects will be taken up by Assocom with the relevant standing committee of Parliament which will now be considering the legislation.

CAPT Time 10/5/85
...generally a
...at book value, rose by 23%
...in the sharp
...been made for the low

RSC Bill ^{304A} may push up prices

ARC Twd 10/5/85 (240) (163)

Political Staff

ORGANIZED business is expected to react vigorously to the latest version of the Regional Services Councils Bill which, it is feared, could push up prices and deepen the unemployment crisis.

The bill — presented in Parliament yesterday — provides for turnover and payroll taxes on employers, and for participation of black local authorities.

The intention of the bill is to establish bodies for joint provision of services at local government level.

Two fundamental questions remain to be answered: What tax rates are to be applied, and will black local authorities be able to participate effectively in view of the damage inflicted to black local government by civil unrest in recent months?

The government can also expect a host of other objections concerning the impact on general cost structures and likely disincentives to job creation.

More direct representation

Spokesmen for organized commerce and industry reacted to the tax proposals with serious reservation yesterday: They will continue to press for more direct representation on regional services councils (RSCs) — since their members are funding these bodies — and they would also prefer that the tax proposals be referred to the Margo Commission.

They also do not believe that the lifting of other employer levies will offset the new taxes, which, according to calculations made by commerce, industry and government officials last year on the rate of taxation, could raise at least R1 billion.

Commerce and industry were backed by Mr Harry Schwarz, MP for Yeoville and chief finance spokesman for the Progressive Federal Party, who said the turnover tax could have an effect on prices comparable to an increase of up to two percent in GST. He said despite appeals by the minister that the tax not be passed on to the consumer, he had no doubt that with profits under pressure this was inevitable.

Need to create jobs

He described the payroll tax as a hindrance to job creation in urban areas: It would encourage an intensification of capital-intensive industry, and act as an incentive to decentralize at a time when the country needed to create jobs as cheaply as possible — which was best achieved in urban areas because of the lower cost of infrastructure.

He drew attention to the heavy tax burden carried by business and consumers, and called on the government to refer its proposals to the Margo Commission first.

The turnover tax is described as a regional establishment levy, defined as a levy on the total sales on which a vendor pays GST — including food products on which GST is not paid, and on others not liable to pay GST such as wholesalers and manufacturers.

The tax on the wage/salary bills paid by employers has been described as a regional services levy, and defined as remuneration paid to an employee in service within a RSC region.

Tax-deductible operating expenses

It includes: Amounts paid to directors of private or public companies; all taxable benefits paid to employees; and profits paid out to partners or sole traders by way of withdrawals or loans.

The levies are to be regarded as tax-deductible operating expenses. They may not be added to prices or tariffs as a separate specified item, or be deducted from salaries/wages. Failure to pay them will be punished by a fine of up to R5 000 and/or 12 months' imprisonment.

It is understood that the government intends the bill to be passed by the end of this session of Parliament.

One of the RSCs' highest priorities will be the provision of revenue for development of infrastructure in black urban areas.

tilt at Viljoen's Never Never Land

3044

Star

11/5/65

the single most oppressive, brutal and discriminatory measure of separate development. It is discriminatory not only cause only blacks are subject its harassment but because it created an arbitrary and un-ir division in the black population between those who are allowed inside the urban areas and the "outsiders" who, frequently, must live in remote areas with little means to support a living or to improve their quality of life.

Over the decades in which there has been one or other form of influx control (the National Party did not invent it), various researchers have cal-

culated that more than 17 million people were arrested and became statutory criminals for committing the crime of moving illegally to the cities.

In the past two years alone, 502 000 blacks have been arrested by police and Co-operation and Development Board officials for offences relating to influx control and reference books.

Mrs Suzman regards these laws as the most significant cause of racial friction.

"As they apply to blacks only, they are totally discriminatory. They bedevil relationships between the blacks and the police and between blacks and offi-

cials. They jam our jails. They further impoverish already poverty-stricken homelands. They ignore the importance of informal sector activity among squatters. They are the antithesis of free enterprise," she says.

Worst of all about the laws is that, despite their high cost in terms of suffering and destruction of racial goodwill, they have been a major failure. The black urban population has exploded.

Belatedly, the Government has realised this, hence Dr Viljoen's announcement that the system was to be revised.

A proposal being considered by the Government is that

blacks should qualify to be in urban areas as long as they have a job and somewhere to live (ostensibly to minimise the effects of unemployment and squatting).

Mrs Suzman says this is asking people to be penalised for 40 years of official neglect in providing houses in black townships.

Furthermore, she says, such a system will create problems for people who have both jobs and homes, but who lose one or the other.

Also, such a system will have to be policed, she says, and either police or officials will still have to be given the right to

stop a black person on the street or to raid houses and factories to demand proof of legality.

The list of people who say influx control must go — including leading Afrikaans business leaders — is impressive. Even the police would prefer not to have to implement what is considered to be administrative and political control of blacks.

Mrs Suzman says that an urbanisation strategy must be developed with the co-operation and involvement of the private sector and the black community.

Such a strategy is possible without influx control, she says.



Mrs Suzman

Suzman has a

by

David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, appeared to be indulging in wishful thinking this week if he thought that he could retain a system of influx control while getting rid of the regulations which result in massive arrests for pass offences.

"Influx control," said Progressive Federal Party spokesman on law and order Mrs Helen Suzman, "is like being pregnant. You have it or you don't."

Dr Viljoen said in a major policy speech to the Cape Employers' Association on Thursday night that:

- He did not believe that the scrapping of all influx control would be feasible or practical.
- Efforts were being made to eliminate unnecessarily restrictive regulations which created many technical transgressions.
- Urgent attention was being given to achieving more effective influx control.

The influx control system, which obliges all blacks over 16 to carry reference books as passports to the country's urban areas and employment opportunities, is frequently described

Problems and

Some questions about our erupting world

304A

Star 11/5/85

UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS BY HARVEY TYSON



its way into the bones of Ulster until it became a way of life in that divided and beleaguered society.

For the sake of all our peoples, we should be uniting to prevent it happening here.

● The reason why journalists have been locking themselves in their homes and refusing to communicate with anyone is that they fear for their lives. This is happening in the Eastern Cape hot-spots. Rioting wasn't the problem. Well not at first. But the newsmen became potential targets of the hit-men from both sides in war between Azapo and UDF youth.

● Newsmen, white and black, are growing increasingly wary of going on duty in any riot-torn urban area anywhere. On the East Rand, for instance, even when the rioting is over, civilian motorcars enter some townships at their peril. Bands of youths stop cars. If the occupants are white, they are lucky to leave hurriedly, and much whiter. If they are black, they are lucky to proceed — but usually only after being robbed or forced to contribute funds "for making petrol bombs".

● Have black residents actually welcomed the police and visiting pressmen in the Eastern Cape? Yes, in marked contrast to the previous week. Of course they were different crowds last week-end: ordinary, adult householders, not youths on the march. They told independent news reporters things like: "The police are welcome. They must do their job." And

like: "The problem is a snake in our town, and it must be found and killed." It is not hard to understand the township dichotomy — or the need for reconciliation.

● The hostel vs residents war has nothing to do with politics — and everything to do with the political situation. Increasing violence everywhere is the trigger. I have no space to explain it all here, but I think this is one issue that was succinctly and well covered in *The Star* in the past few days.

If you ask about the reasons for the violence and unrest, you may receive a hundred answers. All may be relevant, including the random list below. But, with the endemic violence of Northern Ireland still in my mind, I constantly point to the alienated youth of our country, especially the teenagers who are impatient to prove themselves men.

Their violence is a product of frustration and indoctrination — and that applies to white kids who kick adult blacks to death on their sports field, just as much as to black kids who not only murder some symbols of authority, but also kill innocent black bystanders.

Deaths in police custody — looming again as another potential scandal — are the result of another form of insidious indoctrination.

South Africa has cultivated its own anarchy.

Here are some finer points and particular "causes of violence", as

gathered in the Eastern Cape lately:

● The UDF/Azapo war for the hearts and minds of the township people.

● Profiteering taxi drivers who fan violence to keep buses off the road.

● No buses, and other malfunctioning community services, make workers feel helpless.

● Anger at community council "opportunists".

● A feeling of "end of the road" with the new Constitution.

● Normal apartheid grievances.

● Unemployment and desperation lead to lawlessness. Lawlessness sparked by police action leads to violence. Violence leads to more desperation ... and the cycle begins again.

Of course there are many more reasons. Perhaps in another column, I may be able to list other causes of violence that have been more scientifically gathered over a longer period in Natal.

★ ★ ★
In dealing with all these life-and-death issues, the Press as a whole, I fear, is not doing an adequate job.

This is not only because the situation has become so complex. It is also because of the "shake-up" in the newspaper industry, and the "shake down" which is by no means complete.

In addition, the whole media spectrum (forgive the jargon) has shifted perceptibly to the Right.

I intended discussing *The Star's* position in this quaking market, but will have to leave that to next week. Instead let me leave you with a thought about the changing fates of so many local journalists.

Martin Spring was recently in controversy over his book on how to get yourself a foreign passport. Another ex-Citizen journalist, Gordon Winter (who has been in the news again recently) went one further and settled in Ireland.

Which allows us to raise the question:

If Winter's there, can Spring be far behind?

Why are journalists in some places in this country refusing to leave their homes, or even phone their offices? Why are others refusing to cover some news events first-hand?

If you can answer that accurately, I have other questions which may give you difficulty in achieving a "pass" mark. Samples:

Why are mealie farmers, intent on breaking the security laws only a few weeks ago, now divided in their stand against the Government? What made the Nationalist MPs for Parys and Schweizer-Reneke back down?

● Is the reform movement progressing, stationary, or going backwards?

● Why are migrant workers and township residents waging a private war?

● Why are black political movements locked in internecine, bloody battle?

● Why are school pupils boycotting some schools; half-boycotting others; and fully supporting the system in many more?

● Why do people stone the police Casspirs in the townships — and then cheer them? DO they cheer the police patrols?

Those questions point to mere straws in the storm that is raging in our country.

The South African political scene has erupted in such complex fashion that few, if any, people can grasp all its implications. TV news long ago gave up trying to cover the news adequately, and the Press is now finding it impossible to report the convoluted detail in succinct, readily understandable form.

The "shake-up" in the newspaper industry, which is by no means over, has made matters worse. I'll come back to that in a moment. But first let me attempt, very sketchily, to answer just one or two of the questions raised above.

I shall deal only with the ones that reflect the growing, uncontrolled violence in our society ... a pervading violence which reminds me sadly of the terror that burnt

Durban RSC could be set up 'in months at minimal cost'

Mercury Reporter

A REGIONAL service council (RSC) could be set up in the Durban area within months and at minimal cost because of the groundwork already done by the Metropolitan Consultative Committee, according to Metrocom chairman Mr Owen Jones.

Metrocom had also prepared the way for the inclusion of blacks in decision making in the Durban region, he said.

'An RSC could be established in the Durban area within months with a minimum of staff. The existing authorities could contribute services as agents of the council,' Mr Jones told the Mercury.

Durban's Mayor, Mr Neil MacLennan, agreed

that Metrocom's work had put the region in a strong position regarding regionalisation.

'But that does not mean everything will go smoothly from the start.

'We will all have to adapt to changes.'

Mr Jones said Metrocom had laid the basis for the inclusion of blacks in the RSC by including township and KwaZulu

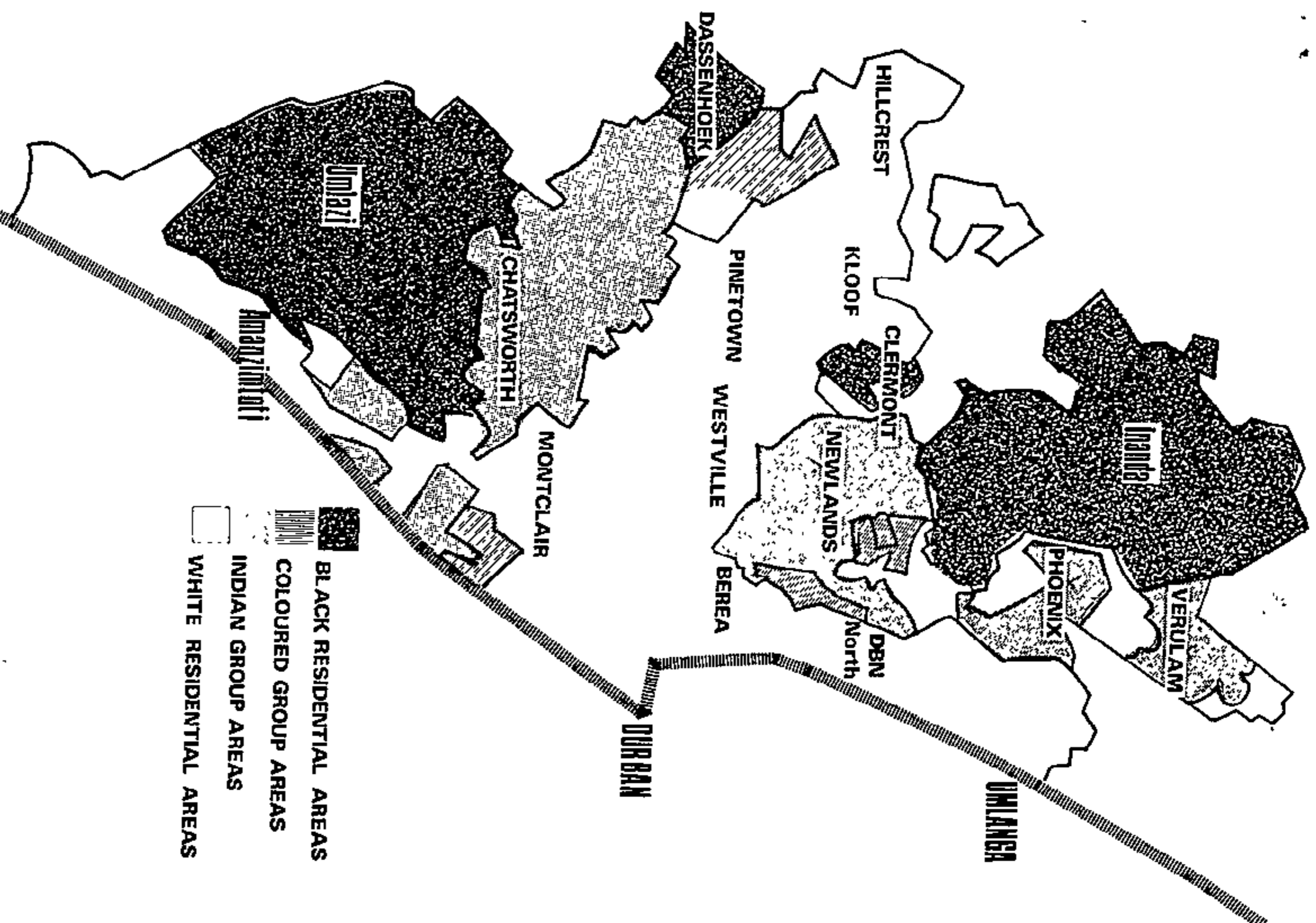
Government representatives in the planning process.

The Regional Services Councils Bill published in Parliament this week provides for full black representation on the councils and the inclusion of black local authorities and homeland areas to be served by the councils.

One of the priorities of an RSC in the Durban area would be the extension of services to black residential areas, Mr Jones said.

He did not agree with criticisms by organised commerce and industry of the way the new councils would be funded.

'Without the additional taxation the RSCs will be totally incapable of functioning, especially in the Durban area.'



The extent of the regional services council for the greater Durban area proposed by the Durban Metropolitan Consultative Committee last year.

New council 'will closely resemble'

'Necessity for consensus between the authorities'

African Affairs Correspondent

ULUNDI—The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, says it is imperative that the authorities in Natal and KwaZulu should be closely involved in formulating policy such as the Draft Bill on regional service councils announced this week.

Responding to the announcement, Chief Buthelezi said it was extremely important that consensus about the structure should be sought before its implementation and that new structures should not be imposed on the region with consensus confined to the period after the structure had been put into operation.

He said he was appalled that the finalising of this Bill was going to be done within the precincts of the tri-cameral Parliament which excluded 72 percent of the population from having any say whatsoever.

Determined

Chief Buthelezi criticised the extent to which the Government found it necessary to arm itself with a 'big brother' presence and to force on the Administrator the 'onerous responsibilities' which the wide powers defined in the Bill thrust on him.

was some recognition of points made by the Buthelezi Commission, including an acknowledgement that there was a necessity for consensus decision-making between the KwaZulu and the Natal authorities.

He was concerned, however, about the nature of representation on the proposed council.

'If this is in any way weighted to favour one group over the other, it

will unavoidably lead to a speedy collapse of the effectiveness of the structure, and will, in fact, militate against the willingness of KwaZulu to participate in it,' Chief Buthelezi said.

He said he was deeply concerned about the consequences of the thinking contained in the Draft Bill for a place like Durban.

There were about 1 400 000 black squatters

in the Greater Durban area, Chief Buthelezi maintained.

'By the nature of the structuring of authority and services rendered by authorities, these people will remain outcasts in decision-making and blacks, now represented to the extent that they are on local black councils, will remain at the bottom end of the scales of influence in decision-making,' he said.

11/5/85

304A

Nearly 2 000 000 black people living in the area had no water supply.

Reduced

'If such development was left to the individual authorities the rates burden would be totally unrealistic, and if it was done by the Government the taxpayers would foot the bill anyway.'

A Metrocom-sponsored financial investigation had shown that regionalisation could have reduced the overall rates burden in the Durban area by R5 000 000 last year.

Mr MacLennan said: 'There is no doubt that we have to pay for development that is going to take place.'

'The development of the black areas around Durban is one of the region's vital necessities.'

'The townships around Durban fall in the Durban metropolitan area and to try to deal with them on a separate basis is sheer nonsense.'

● See Editorial Opinion

Metrocom proposal

Municipal Reporter

THE new regional services council for the greater Durban area will probably include all the areas covered in last year's report from the Durban Metropolitan Consultative Committee (Metrocom).

It will run from Lower Illovo in the south, westwards to Hillcrest and north to Inanda and Verulam, including Kingsburgh, Amanzimtoti, Umhlanga, Chatsworth, Kloof, Pinetown, Newlands and Umhlanga.

Metrocom sources said yesterday that the new RSC Bill introduced in Parliament this week did not appear to deviate substantially from Metrocom's basic recommendations and they were optimistic that the council which evolved would closely resemble that

proposed by Metrocom.

Mr Gordon Haygarth, Durban's Town Clerk and Metrocom secretary, said he had yet to examine the Bill, but it provided for the inclusion of blacks and local authorities acting as agents for the RSC in the provision of services.

Flexibility was a major element, as councils would be able to vary according to the needs of the different regions. Provincial Administrators-in-Executive-Committee would approve the structures after consultation between all parties.

In Durban's case, Metrocom has to a large extent already concluded this negotiation process and needs only to be approved by Province.

Mr Haygarth said ratepayers were not likely to see any major changes in their areas be-

cause if the council followed the Metrocom guidelines, individual municipalities would continue to provide services on an agency basis.

'It does involve some loss in autonomy. For instance Durban will continue to provide electricity to the region, but this service will be governed by RSC decisions.'

'In future municipalities such as Kloof will have a say in the operation of the electricity service in terms of the voting structure of the RSC,' Mr Haygarth said.

'It is becoming increasingly clear to me that the Government is determined to outweigh the progress in any act of devolving power and in any act of establishing multi-racial decision-making bodies with increased centralised powers to rule with what will remain the iron fist of ideological control', he said.

The Chief Minister said it appeared that there

Inland revenue 'could feel strain of collecting levies'

Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—The task of collecting the levies to be imposed by the new regional service councils could put even greater strains on the Department of Inland Revenue, Mr Harry Schwarz, chief spokesman on finance for the Progressive Federal Party, said yesterday.

He said the RSCs did not have the infrastructure to handle it and local authorities — in spite of the Government's intention that they should collect the levies — did not have the experience or the machinery.

The only conclusion that could be drawn from this was that the job would devolve on the Department of Finance and its inland revenue officials, which was already undermanned, overworked and battling to cope with the existing problems of collecting personal, company and general sales tax.

He predicted that the new regional dispensation would be accompa-

nied by a fresh army of bureaucrats just to collect the levies.

According to Mr Schwarz, it seems that the Government intends simply to make taxpayers pay less to the central fiscus — and even that is doubtful — and more to regional authorities.

Mr Schwarz said the Government's plans represented a devolution of taxes, not of power. The Government wished to be seen to be fulfilling its promise to reduce its own fiscal demands, but was actually transferring those demands to lower

tiers of authority.

He also questioned how much money would be left over from the levies for use by the RSCs and local government, if it was first going to deduct up to R600 million in existing transport subsidies.

Even now, most of the transport subsidy was paying for the continued pursuit of ideological policy which most of the people who were taxed to provide the subsidies, had rejected.

The Regional Services Councils Bill had serious financial implications which should be viewed in

terms of the whole tax structure. It was vital, therefore, that the proposed turnover and payroll levies be referred to the Margo Commission on tax.

He said it was also important that the Bill be thrashed through, not only in the Standing Committee on Constitutional Development and Planning, but also in the Standing Committee on Finance.

In fact, the financial aspects of the Bill affected two other departments, including Transport and Local Government (own affairs).

304A 11/05/85

Most whites support form of power-sharing — poll

Political Correspondent
NATIONALIST PARTY
 MPs today welcomed the results of an opinion poll which showed that the vast majority of whites — 75,5 percent — were prepared to accept a form of power-sharing with blacks.

The politicians said that the poll — conducted for an Afrikaans Sunday newspaper — would serve to encourage the Government to speed up reform moves, especially plans to give blacks outside the homelands more political rights.

Some Nationalist MPs believed that the poll results did not come as a surprise because a lot of preparatory work had already been done to get whites to accept the reform moves.

Another finding of the poll was that the National Party's support among white voters has now dipped below the 50 percent mark.

The party now has support of 46,7 percent of whites, compared with 51,7 in February.

Support for the Progressive Federal Party has grown from 17,8 to 19,3 percent.

On the other hand, support for the Conservative Party has grown by only 0,7 percent — from 12,5 percent to 13,2 percent.

Consensus

The Nationalist MPs believed that this drop in support did not come as a surprise in present circumstances. They believed that the reasons for this were mainly economic and did not show permanent disenchantment with the National Party.

The Progressive Federal Party also welcomed the results of the poll.

Mr Roger Hulley, MP, Cape leader of the PFP, said it showed that there was a great degree of consensus among whites on the need for negotiated power-sharing.

It also showed that the Government was moving too slowly for that consensus.

Whites were ready to talk to blacks right across the political spectrum, including the leaders of organisations that had been banned.

The PFP had gained support from the Nationalist side as well as some from the NRP.

Attempts had been made to exploit black unrest against the PFP but the poll showed that many whites were prepared to look beyond the short term.

Power-sharing (30kA) St NM 13/5/85 'acceptable'

JOHANNESBURG—Most whites in South Africa were prepared to accept some form of power-sharing with blacks, according to an opinion poll conducted by Rapport.

The newspaper reported yesterday a random test conducted country-wide showed a vast majority of whites, 75,5

percent, supported constitutional possibilities which moved away from old apartheid models.

The finding, confirmed by the results of other research, offered the Government considerable movement for reform, the newspaper said.

It said Prof Lawrence Schlemmer believed the finding offered big possibilities for the development, of one sort or another, of a unique South African federal model.

Prof Schlemmer, director of Natal University's Centre for Applied Social Sciences, had said the poll tallied completely with his own scientific findings and observations, Rapport said. — (Sapa)

New report calls for urgent reforms in education

Apartment seen as key to unrest and boycotts in black schools

Star 13/5/85 (304A)

Unrest and boycotts in black schools will continue, says a report by Natal University's Centre for Applied Social Sciences.

And, it adds, they will probably escalate so long as the Government continues to enforce racial apartheid.

The report recommends urgent reforms to black education to alleviate black grievances, but says:

"Ultimately education, like other South African institutions, will only gain full legitimacy once the issue of African rights in the central system of decision-making is resolved."

Reforms most urgently needed, the report says, include:

- Unification of educational systems.
- Improving communication between pupils and teachers.
- Developing greater local responsibility for education in schools and communities.
- Improving educational facilities and diversifying extra-curricular activities.

● Introducing management courses for principals.

● Introducing political education for teachers as well as pupils.

The report says the Government has begun to introduce reforms in black education, for example a plan to form a new Department of National Education responsible for a general education policy.

But these reforms still fall short of a major demand by black pupils: formation of a single education department for all races.

"Even changes such as these may not be sufficient," the report says.

"The educational system cannot be viewed in isolation from the wider society."

"A partially desegregated educational system within the wider segregated society may still generate dissent in an increasingly politicised African school population."

The report, entitled "School

Boycotts 1984: the crisis in African education," was written by Monica Bot, an education researcher.

It is based primarily on field research she conducted in Pretoria's Ateridgeville/Saulsville townships.

Her sources include representatives of the Congress of South African Students, a school principal and two officials of the Department of Education and Training.

She rejects as inadequate claims by Government spokesmen that outsiders were responsible for intimidating pupils to boycott schools for their own political ends.

She says: "These simplistic allegations cannot explain the involvement of extremely large numbers of pupils, especially during the second half of 1984."

"Would pupils be willing to risk their education and thereby their future prospects when they could collectively resist

attempts at intimidation by a minority?"

The announcement of intended rent increases in the Vaal Triangle and East Rand last September provoked a boycott by some 140 000 pupils, growing to 220 000 in October.

Six pupils were among 77 people who died in unrest reported from the Vaal Triangle in September alone.

Miss Bot says there is general consensus among researchers, educationalists, pupils' representatives and the Press that the boycotts were an expression of discontent on a much wider level than simply perception of inferior black education.

Pupils said one of the principal causes of the boycotts was the Government's initial refusal to allow formation of democratically elected student representative councils; a consistent demand by the boycotters.

The report identifies other

crucial grievances by pupils as excessive corporal punishment by teachers, poor marking of scripts, sex harassment, textbook shortages and age restrictions on school enrolment.

Added to this, spending on white education continued to be disproportionately higher than that for blacks.

In 1982 the Government spent R1 385 on each white child, compared to R192 for blacks.

The report said that apart from deaths, injuries and damage to property in last year's unrest, the loss of education for thousands of blacks would have serious consequences for an already overloaded school system as those denied teaching for five months tried to catch up in the new year.

It could also worsen unemployment leading to conditions for renewed social unrest, the report added.

Miss Bot traces the history of dissatisfaction in black edu-

cation from formation of the National Union of African Youth in 1939 to the declaration last November of the Education Charter Campaign.

At the same time she notes a growing solidarity between pupils, parents and workers in spite of the widening gap between proponents of black consciousness and Freedom Charter adherents.

Miss Bot says the student movement has accepted school boycotts as one strategy within a wider struggle for democracy.

The Congress of South African Students president, Lulu Johnson, is quoted as saying: "Through these demands we are laying the basis for the long term demands."

"The demand for democratic student representative councils is part of the process of preparing ourselves and building a future South Africa where representation will be genuine and democratic."

(304A) B. Day
15/5/85

GOVERNMENT has long stated that devolution of power is a central tenet of the philosophy inspiring its constitutional development programme. But the shape of devolution now emerging would seem to contradict the philosophy which gave it birth.

It's a style with which the country should be familiar. Find an acceptable phrase, then distort its meaning so that apparent shifts in policy are actually adapted to basic ideology.

Thus devolution of power SA-style seems in fact to be proving to be considerable centralisation of power at central government level. What makes this latest manifestation of that style somewhat more palatable in the minds of some is that the planned new structure of second and third tier authority should strengthen government's hand in implementing political change right down the line.

In this case, devolution of power from Parliament to lower levels of authority began with the abolition last week of the Provincial Councils.

The legislative power of the provincial, second tier of government has been removed. This tier now acts as an agent of the State President and his Cabinet. Power devolves *upwards*, into the hands of central government by means of appointment by the President of his chosen few to key second-tier posts.

Next in line are the Regional Services Councils (RSCs); the new super-councils of the third tier.

And still the long arm of government reaches out. RSC chairmen will in turn be appointed by the Provincial Administrators, themselves Presidential appointees.

Thus the provision of metropolitan and regional "hard services" and the determination of priorities will — almost by definition — be subject to government's overall control. Devolution is more of a matter of *functions* than of *power*.

Because much of the constitutional redesign of lower tiers is being done in the name of change and the extension of rights to blacks, it is surely common sense to assume that Cabinet is determined to exert strong influence at all levels of government. It can hardly do anything else if the reform programme is to succeed. Left to themselves, for example, white local authorities in the Transvaal are hardly likely to distinguish themselves by demonstrations of liberal qualities.

President over all

If nothing else, South Africa's emerging constitutional system is noteworthy for its incredible complexity.

Latest pronouncements on provincial and local government are no exception. Paul Bell, Business Day's Political Correspondent, sets out to explain how the new structures will function

But while the view from above may be fine, the view from below is another matter.

In the name of devolution, Cabinet is now pouring a flood of red tape and taxation out of central government. Those below are in fear, and not without reason, of drowning.

The real sign of devolution is the name of the taxes. Central government calls them by their old name. Government needs more money, yet has promised to trim its fiscal demands. Hence the creation of the RSCs, whose new taxes are called levies. Municipalities call theirs rates.

Certainly government does face real and inescapable demands for development which will put an enormous burden on the national purse. Businessmen question, however, the logic of being taxed out of their capacity to generate growth and create jobs.

Despite the scrapping of various other levies as an act of *quid pro quo*, consumers are bound to face higher prices. Profits will remain under pressure for a good time to come and business will certainly pass on what it loses in RSC turnover levies to the man in the street.

Job creation may be adversely affected because of the added cost of employing staff, imposed on business by the RSC payroll levy.

Municipalities must deal with another tier of government — the RSCs — interposed between them and the provincial authorities, which themselves are Government agents. No longer will city and town councils be entirely answerable to their own ratepayers in terms of "hard services".

Collection of the new taxes could be a nightmare when viewed against the existing difficulties of collecting GST and company/personal taxes.

Local authorities are expected to collect the levies: without the necessary experience, they are likely to lean heavily on the Receivers of Revenue because ultimate responsibility for the gathering lies with the Department of Finance.

Yet the tax offices are already desperately behind with their workload.

Nevertheless, government seems determined to push ahead.

Senior constitutional officials make the point that SA cannot afford to wait too long in extending greater participation to blacks if the tide of violence is to be stemmed. So here's how the new structure should look.

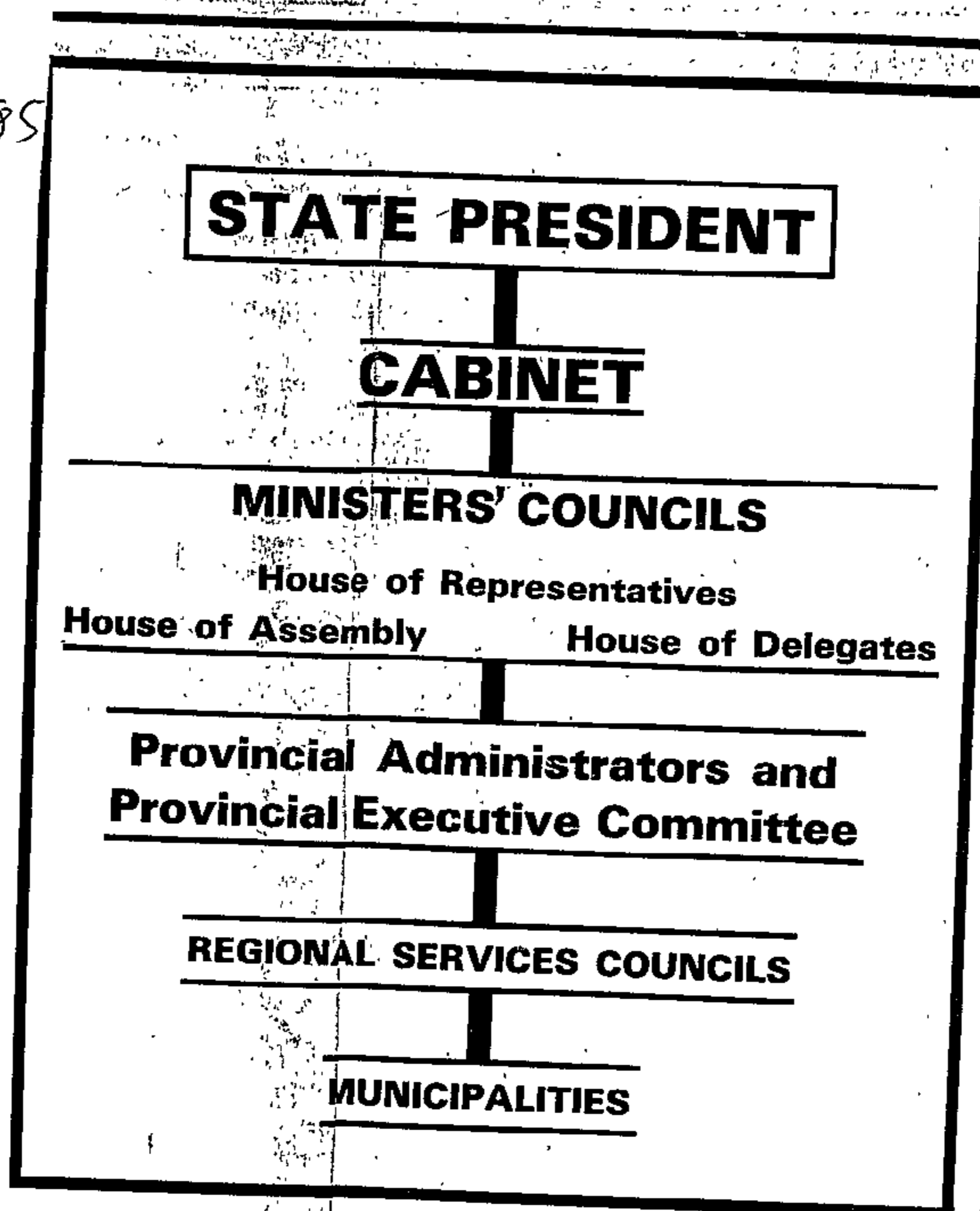
On top, the State President. Below him comes the Cabinet, in which sit Ministers who deal with own affairs and general affairs. And each House of Parliament has its own mini-Cabinet: Ministers' Councils to deal with own affairs. All are appointed by the President.

Below Cabinet, a provincial administrator and his executive committee; all appointed by the President. Members of Exco will act as proxies for Government by looking after general affairs at provincial level.

Own affairs will also be handled by Government appointees, some of whom may sit on Exco. But

15/05/85

304A



THIS is how Government will function in terms of the new constitutional structure for central, second and third tier administration. At the head is the executive State President ... executive indeed, with wide-ranging powers of appointment down the line. He appoints the members of the Cabinet, and of the three Ministers' Council handling own affairs ... one for each of the three houses of Parliament. Then come the Provincial Administrators

and their executive committees ... again, all appointed by the State President from political ranks. Next are the Regional Services Councils (RSCs), whose chairmen are appointed by the Provincial Administrators. Members of the RSCs will be representatives of every municipality within the defined area of a particular RSC, including black municipalities. And finally come the local authorities as the direct link with the people.

those own affairs appointees who sit on Exco will not be operating at Exco's behest in terms of own affairs; for that they will report to their own Ministers.

Below Exco, the RSCs metropolitan super-council responsible for providing up to 21 different types of services ranging through water and power to museums and crematoria.

The RSCs will represent all the municipalities in their areas, with complicated checks and balances to ensure no one local authority unfairly dominates the rest.

The raison d'être for the RSC is two-fold: rationalisation of basic regional services; and development

ment of regional infrastructure in terms on the basis of greatest need.

Exactly who determines the "greatest need" is not immediately apparent from the draft legislation.

Questioned on this, officials blandly wave the constitutional wand and mutter the magic word: 'Consensus!'

Actual services handled by the RSCs will essentially be general affairs, unless a matter listed in the schedule of possible services affects only one of the constituent communities, in which case it is an own affair. All very tidy.

Below the RSC, the municipality — which, it seems, must now fall increasingly into the ambit of own affairs and the Ministers' Councils.

Thus devolution is really a simple affair. From top to bottom the President in effect controls the lot!

Devolution means more state power

(304A) NM 15/5/85

DEVOLUTION of power — a central tenet of the philosophy which determines constitutional development — has finally been given shape, but that shape would seem to contradict the philosophy which gave it birth.

It's a style with which the country should be familiar. Find an acceptable phrase, then distort its meaning so that apparent shifts in policy are actually adapted to basic ideology.

What makes this latest manifestation of that style somewhat more palatable is that the planned new structure of second and third tier authority should strengthen the Government hand as it implements political change.

In this case, devolution of power from Parliament to lower levels of authority began with the abolition last week of the Provincial Councils.

Second tier

The legislative power of the second tier of government has been removed. This tier now acts as an agent of the State President and his Cabinet. Power has now been placed most firmly in the hands of central government through political appointments to key second-tier posts.

The Regional Service Councils will be the new super-councils of the third tier. RSC chairmen will be appointed by Provincial Administrators, themselves Presidential appointees.

The provision of metropolitan and regional 'hard services' and the determination of priorities will — almost by definition — be subject to the general influence of central government.

What central government probably means is devolution of functions, inasmuch as general affairs, where they affect provinces and regions, will be handled by provincial and regional appointees.

Strong grip

It can hardly mean devolution of power, because much of the constitutional redesign of lower tiers is being done in the name of change and the extension of rights to blacks. Commonsense dictates that, to achieve that, Cabinet will require a strong grip at all levels of government.

The view from above is fine, no doubt. The view from below is another matter.

In the name of devolution, Cabinet is now pouring a flood of red tape and taxation out of central government. Those below are in fear, and not without reason, of drowning.

The only other sign of devolution is the name of the taxes. Central government calls them by their old name. Government needs more money, yet had promised to trim its fiscal demands. Hence the creation of the RSCs, whose new taxes are called levies. Municipalities call theirs rates.

It is accepted that Government does face real demands for development which will put an enor-

PAUL BELL reports from Cape Town

mous burden on the national purse. That is incapable. Businessmen question, however, the logic of being taxed out of their capacity to generate growth and create jobs.

Consumers face higher prices. Profits are likely to remain under pressure for a good time to come, and business is unlikely to avoid passing on what it loses in RSC turnover levies to the man in the street.

Job creation may be adversely affected because of the added cost of employing staff, imposed on business by the RSC payroll levy.

Municipalities

Municipalities must deal with another tier of government — the RSCs — interposed between them and the provincial authorities, which themselves are Government agents. No longer are city and town councils entirely answerable to their own ratepayers in terms of 'hard services'.

Collection of the new taxes could be a nightmare when viewed against the existing difficulties of collecting GST and company/personal taxes.

Local authorities are expected to collect the levies: without the necessary experience, they are likely to lean heavily on the Receivers of Revenue because ultimate responsibility for the gathering lies with the Department of Finance.

Here's how the new second and third tiers should look:

On top, Cabinet. In Cabinet sit ministers who deal with own affairs and general affairs. And each House of Parliament has its own mini-Cabinet: Ministers' Council to deal with own affairs.

Exco as proxy

Below Cabinet, a provincial administrator — a party man — and his executive committee, also political appointees. Members of Exco will act as proxies for Government by looking after general affairs at provincial level.

Own affairs will also be handled by Government appointees, some of whom may sit on Exco. But those own affairs appointees who sit on Exco will not be operating at Exco's behest in terms of own affairs, for which they will report to their own Ministers.

Below Exco, the RSC, a metropolitan super-council responsible for providing up to 21 different types of services ranging through water and power to museums and crematoria. Their *raison d'être* is twofold: rationalisation of basic regional services, and the development of regional infrastructure in terms on the basis of greatest need.

General affairs

The services handled by the RSC are essentially a general affair, unless a matter listed in the schedule of possible services affects only one of the constituent communities, in which case it is an own affair.

Below the RSC, the municipality — which, it seems, must now fall increasingly into the ambit of own affairs and the Ministers' Councils.

Devolution is really a simple affair. It has straightened out the lines of authority, from the lowliest community council to the heights of the President's Office.

THE Government is just playing games, says Tutu

STAR 15/5/86

3040

LONDON — Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu has told Britons that he sees no sign that the Government of South Africa is up to the task of returning it to the road of peaceful evolutionary change. "They are past masters at semantic games while the country is burning," he said on BBC TV last night.

"They are playing games with the future of this country.

"They know that their homeland policy is a dismal failure.

"They know that this tricameral thing is a charade. "All they are trying to do is to prolong white minority rule. "In the end it is self-defeating because it means that you are going to get to a point when the people are genuinely leaderless."

Bishop Tutu asked who was going to have enough authority to say "Desist!" to the people in times of unrest?

"Removing credible leaders may mean that we are going to descend to a chaos which the authorities will not be able to control," he said.

Bishop Tutu spoke at the end of a 40-minute programme devoted to the dilemma of South Africa's white population.

Last week the programme dealt with upheavals in the black community.

Earlier BBC reporter Michael Robinson, who compiled the programmes, asked Constitution Minister Mr Chris

The Star-Bureau

Heunis how he defined a leader.

Mr Heunis said the obvious leaders were those who had been elected. These people had some following.

He did not regard the United Democratic Front as leaders in any way. They were self-appointed.

Mr Heunis was asked if the fact that they seemed to have quite a lot of support did not make them worth talking to. He answered. "I'm prepared to talk to any leader who is prepared to renounce violence and accept that peaceful change should come."

Reporter Robinson spoke to Professor John Diggenaar, of Stellenbosch University, who said that so long as the Government did not talk to the United Democratic Front it might as well be talking to itself.

He was convinced the Government's present course could lead only to dangerous self-delusion.

Mr Robinson played a recording of Mrs Helen Suzman addressing a meeting. He said: "Helen Suzman's speeches have the backing of a large section of South African industry who, in recent years, have come to the conclusion that separate development and its attendant mechanisms of the homelands, the Group Areas Act and influx control

are an undesirable luxury the country can no longer afford."

He quoted an official of the South Africa Foundation as saying 250 000 new jobs a year were needed to keep pace with population growth, but none was being created.

South Africa's strength, he said, was being sucked by apartheid's ever-growing bureaucracy.

He added that the State President, Mr P W Botha, wanted to find a gradual, evolutionary path for South Africa, but his reforms were being fiercely resisted by traditional Afrikanerdom.

Mr Robinson went on: "The Government is now in danger of falling between two stools: promising too much reform for conservative whites to stomach and too little to satisfy increasingly militant blacks.

"Excluded by the country's new constitution, they are in angry mood and impatient for political power."

Mr Robinson said that after attending a Conservative Party rally in Pretoria he was told by MP Mr Koos van der Merwe that the Government was like an antelope which had been shot through both lungs: it was still on its feet, but its lifeblood, its grassroot support was draining away. Soon it would collapse and die.

But, said Mr Robinson, only a massive revolt by backbenchers could bring about the Government's downfall.

Disinvestment 'will be silly'

WASHINGTON — Senator Barry Goldwater, doyen of Republican conservatives in America's Senate, has told Congress it would be silly to stop American investment in South Africa.

"If Congress is silly enough to disallow investment by American firms in South Africa, who is it really hurting?" he asked.

"Does Congress think it is hurting the well-off white man in South Africa?

"Does it think it is hurting the Government of South Africa?

"No. What it is doing is eating massive unemployment among blacks who have been hired by American firms

The Star-Bureau

investing in South Africa."

Senator Goldwater, Republican choice for President in a 1960s race against President Lyndon Johnson, said he did not like apartheid.

"I have been to South Africa five or six times," he said, "and I have told the rulers of that Government that I do not like apartheid."

He suggested that similar blunt talk to South Africans would achieve more than the sanctions being considered by Congress.

Of anti-apartheid demonstra-

tions near Washington's South African Embassy which he saw every evening on his way home from work, Senator Goldwater said every American had a right to freedom of speech.

"But," he added, "our people are wrapped up in human rights.

"Nobody can fault them for that, but they sometimes overlook the harm they might do in arguing for rights.

"Let us think this whole thing out carefully because, just as sure as the sun is coming up tomorrow, if we make American investors withdraw from South Africa, we are going to do more harm than good."

Apartheid in S A still far from dead

304A
NM 16/5/85
THERE is still a long way to go before legally enforced racial discrimination is abolished in South Africa.

The Government has decided twice this year to enforce cinema apartheid in Cape Town and Pietermaritzburg, in spite of pressure since 1976 from the two major film chains to abolish racially segregated cinemas in South Africa, giving a clear indication that the end of 'petty apartheid' has not yet taken place.

In Government circles there has been much back-slapping about the moves to scrap sex apartheid, but the following examples show that there is much to do before legally enforced discrimination of what used to be called 'petty apartheid' is ended.

Cinema apartheid

IN both the case of the Three Arts cinema in Cape Town and two Pietermaritzburg cinemas, the Government turned down applications by their owners to admit people of all races on the grounds that separate facilities were available for the various race groups.

Rather than let owners decide who they want to admit, and the people paying for tickets deciding on merit

**HARRY STREEK reports
from Cape Town**

whether they want to see a film when and where they want to, the Government persists in enforcing apartheid.

But in March Mr Timothy Ord of UIP-Warner rejected this view and said there were not enough cinemas in 'non-white' areas, pointing out that Soweto has only two cinemas. Ster-Kinekor, who applied for the opening of two of its cinemas in Pietermaritzburg, has, according to a spokesman, been applying continually since 1976 for its cinemas to be open to all races.

Last year actor Simon Bruiders, one of the stars in the film *Broer Matie*, was unable to take his family and friends to see the movie because it was being shown in whites-only cinemas — and he is classified as 'coloured'.

Hotel apartheid

A FEW luxury hotels in South Africa have been granted international status, which means they can admit local and foreign black people. All hotels are allowed to admit foreign blacks, but hotels without international status may not admit local black people.

The Federated Hotel Association of South Africa (Fedhasa) believes, according to its chairman, Mr Alan Gooderson, 'that all hotels should be allowed to open to all races at the discretion of the licensee'.

'We don't like the outright economic discrimination between hotels where one man can open his doors to local blacks while a hotel next door is empty but may not take local black customers,' Mr Gooderson said in April.

At present, hoteliers have to telephone the the Liquor Board for permission before they can admit local black people. In January, the Leader of the Opposition in the House of Representatives, Mr Denis de la Cruz, was turned away from a Mossel Bay hotel because of his colour.

Train apartheid

THE Minister of Transport, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, said last month that the Government had no intention of doing away with separate facilities on suburban and main-line trains — to prevent friction.

In February, two Rhodes University students, who live in the same residence and use the same bathroom facilities, were refused permission to travel together on a train; and were forced to eat their meals at separate tables in an 'open' dining car.

Bus apartheid

RACIALLY integrated bus services have been allowed in some areas, notably Cape Town, but in February the National Transport Commission rejected an appeal by the Durban Transport Management Board to open certain of its bus routes to all races. The local transportation board also rejected the Durban appeal. Expensive segregated bus services are maintained in other areas, such as Johannesburg.

Last year a 'coloured' man, Dan Cloete, was put in charge of the white municipal bus service in Durban, but he could not legally travel on the buses under his charge without a permit to do so.

Cafe apartheid

LAST year a newly-elected Labour Party MP was invited to lunch by two journalists on the pro-Government Volksblad newspaper in Bloemfontein, but they were turned away by the restaurant owner.

'Why should I, a South African, be prevented from eating in my own

country by an immigrant?' the MP, Mr Benjamin Grobller asked, but the restaurant owner, Mr Nico Theosopoulos, said it was 'of little relevance' that Mr Grobller was an MP.

Although many restaurants are now ignoring apartheid regulations about who they may admit, the technical position is that restaurants should still be segregated, and licensed restaurants should phone the Liquor Board every time a person of colour wishes to eat there.

Beach apartheid

GOVERNMENT policy remains that beaches should be segregated, although some steps have been taken to open some beaches to all races in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Durban, and all the beaches along the Ciskei and Transkei coast.

The Government has adhered to this policy in spite of numerous studies which have demonstrated blatant discrimination by finding that all the best beaches have been reserved for the use of white people.

The new water shute at Muizenberg, potentially the delight of children of all races, is 'whites only' because the Cape Town City Council cannot guarantee that the owner won't be prosecuted if he allows black children to use the slide. The owner says he would be quite happy for everyone to use the shute, provided of course that they pay, but he is not willing to run the risk of prosecution.

Parks apartheid

THE Pretoria city council decided last year to ban black people, including overseas visitors, from its facilities, reversing an earlier decision to open them, and has said that only black diplomats will be able to use its facilities.

When a mixed party of children from a private school went in November last year to the restaurant at an Afrikaner memorial in Pretoria, the Voortrekker Monument, five of the children were refused admission because they were black. And, as a result, a take-away window was installed to serve those not permitted in the restaurant.

What the Pretoria incidents show is that a white local authority can continue to enforce apartheid in regard to public facilities regardless of how racist or insulting these may be. If, for instance, the Conservative Party were to win control of the Cape Town City Council, it could technically reintroduce apartheid into the buses, swimming pools, libraries, and so on, without contravening any law.

The list is longer, but what these incidents show quite clearly, is that social apartheid has not been scrapped, in spite of claims overseas to the contrary.

Botha tells

Chief

of hitches

NM 16/5/85
African Affairs
Correspondent

ULUNDI—The State President has explained to the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the present impediments to his making a 'statement of intent' which the KwaZulu leader is insisting on before he is prepared to take part in a negotiating forum with black leaders.

The Chief Minister said he had reiterated his own position on this issue during his talks with Mr Botha on Tuesday.

He said he had not changed his position on the negotiating forum and the State President understood that.

He said he had emphasised that negotiations should include the issue of real power-sharing between black and white.

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Pik faces live 'grilling' on BBC worldwide telephone-in

London Bureau

THE South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, faces his most challenging media assignment when he takes part in a 45-minute, worldwide BBC live telephone-in on Sunday.

Mr Botha will be the guest in BBC Radio Four's popular telephone-in programme to be broadcast at 1 10 p m S A time.

From the studio in Johannesburg, Mr Botha will face questioners on a wide range of topics from all over the world. The programme presenter, Cape Town-born Sue MacGregor, will co-ordinate the callers from the BBC headquarters, Broadcasting House, in London.

One of the programme producers said yesterday that while hundreds of calls were expected, only between

10 and 20 callers would be chosen to put their questions to Mr Botha.

Callers are invited to telephone the BBC on London 580-4444 and 580-4411 from anywhere in the world from 11 a m S A time on Sunday.

The questions will then be sifted by BBC staff and selected callers will be called back by the BBC to put their questions live to Mr Botha.

It is the seventh of eight telephone-in programmes which started at the beginning of April.

Other guests in the highly successful series have included the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, the Israeli President, Mr Chaim Herzog, the director-general of the Organisation for African Unity, Dr Peter Onu, and the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Dr Mahachir Mohamad.

New boundaries for next election?

By KIN BENTLEY

CONSTITUENCY boundaries will probably be redrawn in South Africa before the next white general election — to counter the electoral challenge of the right-wing.

This is the belief of a leading opposition political organiser who added that for the first time ever, provincial boundaries may be ignored in the new delimitation.

The conservative threat has often been cited as justification for the Government's pedestrian rate of scrapping apartheid.

It has been argued that a right-wing reaction to the rapid removal of major apartheid policies could see the National Party ousted from power by a combined Conservative Party-Herstigte Nasionale Party onslaught in the next general election.

However, a recent survey by Rapport has shown that about 75% of whites support constitutional possibilities which move away from old apartheid models — an indication that the conservative complexion of white political representation is possibly the result of an artificial emphasis of conservatism through delimitation and the "loading" of urban seats.

In terms of parliamentary representation the "loading" of urban seats favours conservative parties whose major power base is the platteland — at the expense of the more liberal cities.

(Such rural representation would include "closet" conservatives within the National Party, many of whom it is believed could join the CP should they feel the NP was moving "too fast" in scrapping apartheid.)

"Unloading" the urban seats would shift the centre of balance in white political representation appreciably to the left, strengthening the verligte wing of the NP and the PFP, and thereby allaying Government fears of losing power to

the right if it speeds up with reform.

The national director of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Neil Ross, is sure there will be a delimitation before the next general election which has to be held before August 1989.

In terms of the South African Constitution, a new delimitation has to occur five to 10 years after the last one, which concluded its work in April, 1980.

Mr Ross, who heads the PFP's delimitation group, said the NP "always uses delimitation as a political weapon".

(A delimitation commission consists of three judges appointed by the State President. The different parties make submissions to it, with incumbent parties in each constituency being favoured in the drawing up of new boundaries.)

Mr Ross said he had heard that with the demise of the provincial councils next year, for the first time provincial boundaries may be crossed in the drawing up of constituencies.

Of particular significance in a new delimitation, he said, would be the redressing of Transvaal's "disadvantaged position". At the moment 1 530 204 voters in the Transvaal elected 76 MPs, against the 56 MPs elected by the 829 948 voters in the Cape Province.

This means a 27% difference between average constituencies in the two provinces — 20 134 voters in an average Transvaal seat as opposed to 14 620 in an average Cape seat.

He said the main reason for this was that at present there were different constituency quotas for each province.

A uniform quota for the country would reduce the number of seats in the Cape and increase the number in Transvaal, giving it a greater concentration of urban seats in particular.

Quoting a 1984

schedule, he said among the largest white polling districts were North Rand (24 028), Pretoria East (24 814) and Bethal (which includes Secunda — 25 739).

Some of the smallest seats were Beaufort West (9 993) and Prieska (9 796), with Walvis Bay having only 4 595 voters.

While the delimitation commission tried to stick to the quota, it was permitted to create constituencies with more voters than the quota (loading) — usually urban seats — or with less than the quota (unloading) — usually rural seats.

Mr Ross said it was possible the maximum loading or unloading percentage throughout the country would be reduced from 15% to 10%, which would close the gap in constituency sizes and acknowledge the massive white urbanisation which had occurred.

In about 12 "special area seats" (greater than 25 000 square kilometres) at present an unloading of up to 30% was permitted, he said. This included seats like Graaff-Reinet and Namaqualand.

In terms of electoral success at the next election, Mr Ross envisaged a new delimitation which would "disadvantage the Conservative Party, slightly improve the PFP's position and entrench the NP".

He believed the same delimitation procedure was likely to be followed as before the last general election in 1981. First there would be a general re-registration of voters. The delimitation commission would then sit and finally, its findings would be released.

It was unlikely these findings would be released more than about five months before the next election, so as not to give the NP's opponents an early indication of their plans, he said.

This delay would also prevent in-fighting within the NP over who would contest altered seats which might become marginal as a result of delimitation.



Mr NEIL ROSS... election expert

Botha labels U S campaign against S A as election ploy

PARIS—Anti-apartheid campaigns in the United States were an 'electoral battlefield' aimed at black voters, President Botha was quoted as saying in an interview published here.

Mr Botha said, however, he did not believe American businessmen were prepared to lose money through disinvestment.

The Paris daily newspaper, Le Figaro, published Mr Botha's replies to a series of questions about the current South African situation, headlining its report 'South Africa — a vital stronghold for the free world'.

Asked about the threats of economic sanctions and disinvestment from the U S, he said: 'We have been made into an electoral battlefield by the Democrats and Republicans to please the black voters in America. But are American businessmen ready to withdraw and lose a lot of money — I don't think so.'

'I can't understand this

negative attitude. If you are a leader of the free world and you want to keep the Soviet Union out of South Africa, then you do not weaken the existing power.'

'If this country should tip over into the Soviet influence, the world's biggest strategic mineral reserves would be controlled by the communists. South Africa is, therefore, of vital importance to the free world,' Mr Botha said.

Mr Botha said the aim of revolutionaries in South Africa was to wreck the daily life of the black population.

Confront

'Their aim, which they have stated publicly, is to make the country ungovernable.'

The only way to restore order, he said, was to confront the revolutionaries, while at the same time developing the country economically with new educational and training systems and new political structures — 'and that is

what we are doing'.

Asked whether he intended releasing Nelson Mandela, he said Mandela had refused to agree to non-violence — 'I think he is under pressure from the communists and the African National Congress, who are forbidding him from accepting my offer. It would be madness on my part to free a man, knowing that he was going to call for insurrection,' he said.

The President described South Africa's relations with black African countries as 'more and more co-operation in all sorts of ways, such as transport and health'. He said the more South Africa was criticised in the United Nations, the more that co-operation increased.

Asked how South Africa reacted to hostile world opinion, Mr Botha replied: 'Politically we are not an island, but we cannot let other powers impose their own solutions. We must find those solutions ourselves.' — (Sapa)

Conflict between moderates ANC — PW

30412

PARIS — Conflict in South Africa was between blacks who accepted evolutionary change and revolutionaries backed by the SA Communist Party and the African Nationalist Congress, President P W Botha has said in an interview published here.

He also publicly told President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, to mind his own business.

Mr Botha was interviewed on Wednesday in the Conservative daily "Figaro", by special writer Marianne Lohse.

She asked what he thought of Mr Kaunda's recent suggestion that Nelson Mandela should be released to prevent a blood bath.

Sowetan 17/5/85
Advise

Mr Botha replied: "I know Mr Kaunda well. His country's economic situation is so disastrous that I would advise him to give all his attention to his own problems rather than mine."

Asked whether he would ever release Mr Mandela, he said: "It would be crazy for me to free a man knowing that he would then call for insurrection."

The President said: "I cannot understand the negative attitude of American businessmen wanting to disinvest in South Africa."

"But if it ever happens we have enough wealth to supply sufficient capital to make up for the loss."

He continued: "If you were the leader of the free world and wanted to keep the Soviet Union out of South Africa, would you then weaken the existing government there?"

Soviet

"If this country toppled into the Soviet sphere of influence, then the world's largest reserves of strategic minerals would be controlled by the communists."

He added: "South Africa is of vital importance to the free world."

Mr Botha pointed out that Swapo, which he said was linked to the Palestine Liberation Organisation and "We have proof of that," was serving as "a tool of Soviet expansion".

Asked if he planned urgent measures over apartheid, he said: "I consider that priority should be given to create jobs, to train and educate. That is why this year we have spent more on education than in the whole of our history."

Engineers fire at Govt policy on a broad front

304A 82
E-Post 18/5/85

Business Editor

GOVERNMENT policy came under fire across a broad front at a meeting in Port Elizabeth this week of the Eastern Cape branch of the SA Association of Consulting Engineers.

Issues raised at the meeting included:

- Concern that the evident relaxation of influx control threatens to place a heavy burden on existing housing and social infrastructures in the Eastern Cape and elsewhere in the country.

- The "stop-go" approach to capital expenditure by the public sector.

- The tardy implementation of a declared policy of "privatisation".

Emphasising that the association had no political views on the issue, a statement from the president, Mr J A de Wet warned "if insufficient housing or serviced plots are not made available at an early stage, the "Crossroads situation" is likely to develop all over South Africa adjacent to the larger centres.

"Money has been provided for the Orange River Canal scheme, in order to provide more work opportunities in the Eastern Cape area.

"A figure of 30 000 new jobs has been mentioned, which is a sound investment in the long term, but it seems likely that people in the area will still tend to move to the towns long before the benefit of such a scheme has filtered through to the general economy.

"It is therefore clear that some of the money allocated for long term projects will have to be redirected towards providing adequate housing or serviced plots near the existing towns."

Association director Mr Colin Spence added in a further statement that official policy was having an "extremely debilitating effect on some sectors of private enterprise in this country".

The first policy problem, said Mr Spence, was the "stop-go" approach by the public sector to capital works as a means of balancing the national Budget.

This aggravated the impact of the economic recession, he said, and could damage the private sector construction industry beyond the point where it could make a "proper contribution towards the development of the national infrastructure when the economy next moves into a phase of expansion".

"The second aspect which is giving cause for concern is in relation to the central Government's declared policy of privatisation.

"As far as the consulting engineering profession is concerned, this policy has not yet filtered down to the lower levels of the public sector bureaucracy, or, alternatively, is being deliberately ignored by the various Government departments involved.

"There are strong signs that not only is there no transfer of work to the private sector but these public sector authorities are busy expanding their in-house capabilities for carrying out the planning, design, and construction of capital works," said Mr Spence.

The association issued an appeal to the public service to reduce its participation in these fields "in order that a strong and healthy private enterprise construction industry can be preserved and encouraged to be ready for the next upsurge in the economy which will surely follow the present recession".

CAPE TOWN—A new plan to consolidate KwaZulu along geographic lines and provide for a federal system of government in Natal as a blueprint for a multiracial federation in the rest of South Africa, is currently being considered by the Cabinet.

The proposed consolidation of KwaZulu will involve an area stretching from Kwa Mashu outside Durban to the Mozambique border and include 'white' towns such as Empangeni and Eshowe, the important harbour at Richards Bay and the Indian towns of Stanger and Tongaat.

It is understood that whites, coloureds and Indians in the new consolidated area would be given the option to remain or leave — but no compensation would be paid to farmers, for example, who opted for the latter course.

This would effectively leave a Northern Natal corridor down to Durban and thereafter incorporating the South Coast and East Griqualand, although it is understood the 'white' area which currently separates two parts of Transkei and which includes Kokstad, would be incorporated into Transkei.

Majority rule

In keeping with the recommendations of the Buthelezi Commission report which emphasised the interdependence of Kwazulu and Natal, it is understood the province as it existed today would, while effectively being divided into two, have a central authority along federal lines.

Such a move, it is understood, would mean the implementation of one-man, one-vote within each of the two areas with black majority rule in one, and white/Indian majority rule in the other.

KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi stated in a television interview on Thursday night that he had met President Botha last November after a long period of tense relations and the two leaders met again last week.

In the interim, it is understood, there has been a flood of emissaries between the two.

Parliamentary Correspondent

A further indication of the thaw in relationships is that Co-operation and Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen this year opened the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly after the Government had refused to send ministers for this purpose for several years.

Chief Buthelezi also stated on Thursday night he was prepared to compromise on the question of one-man, one-vote within a unitary state, an indication that he was prepared to consider an alternative form of government, namely federation.

An indication that the Government was taking a new look at the report of the Buthelezi Commission was given by Dr Viljoen during the vote on his budget in the House of Assembly.

Dr Viljoen said recommendations by the Buthelezi Commission, which had been rejected by the Government, were now being reconsidered.

Another development within what is now an extremely fluid situation in South African politics is that the rift between

Chief Buthelezi and the leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, is rapidly healing.

Originally the Labour Party, Inkatha headed by Chief Buthelezi, and the Reform Party, together formed the Black Alliance.

The Labour Party, however, ceased to be a member of the alliance following its Eshowe decision to participate in the then proposed tricameral Parliament.

Since the beginning of this year, however, there has been contact between Inkatha and the Labour Party and, in a recent interview, Mr Hendrickse said that it was a matter of time before he met Chief Buthelezi.

Chief Buthelezi said last night that the consolidation of KwaZulu had not been discussed at his meeting with the President.

Govt's new plans for Natal

NM 20/5/85

3044

Millions hear that internal reform is to continue

Govt 'does not mind' losing white support

NM 20/5/85 NM 20/5/85 304A

London Bureau

THE South African Government would continue its programme of internal reform as fast as the public was able to absorb the changes, the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, told millions of radio listeners worldwide yesterday.

Mr Botha said the Government did not mind losing white support because it was implementing reforms but it did mind being accused of racial oppression when it was making a sincere attempt at reform.

Speaking on a live BBC international telephone-in programme, Mr Botha faced questions from callers in 10 different countries during the 45-minute link-up.

South African callers included former Nusas president Ian Robertson from London, Mark Guthrie from London, Martin Woolf from Johannesburg and Mrs Dumisile Marimbela from The Hague in the Netherlands.

Earlier, the BBC had to screen 239 callers from 26 countries before the programme went on the air.

Changes

It was Mr Dinesh Singh from Singapore — the

second last caller — who asked Mr Botha: 'How fast can you move towards the achievements you yourself wish for?'

Mr Botha: 'As fast as our public can absorb the changes that we are making.'

'My Government is losing support among a large section of the white population for the reforms we are implementing.'

'We don't mind that. But what we do mind is to be accused of the most horrible intentions and motives and oppression of people simply because of the colour of the skin

while we are making a sincere attempt to ... to train, to uplift and to share decision-making and to bring to every South African a better future and a better life.'

Mr Botha said that his Government was committed to negotiating a new future with the blacks of South Africa — including traditional political opponents.

Replying to a question from Mr Christian Erland in Italy, Mr Botha said it was for this reason that the proposed negotiating forum had to be 'vague, open and informal'.

It was the Government's intention to negotiate structures with black leaders for sharing in decision-making while maintaining the identities and rights of the various communities while removing discrimination based on colour. 'This is a process which we whites alone cannot do.'

'I think we have made mistakes in the past by trying to produce ideologically-based blueprints.'

'We are moving away from this and must negotiate with black leaders. We are full of hope,' Mr



Mr Pik Botha ... facing questions from callers in 10 different countries.

Botha said.

'We have all the reason to believe that the end result will be a South Africa in which decisions will be shared but communities will feel protected,' he said.

Asked by Sue MacGregor, the South African-born presenter of the programme, about the 'vague terms of reference' of the proposed negotiating forum, Mr Botha said:

'It must of necessity be vague because we do not want to create the impression of formalising this forum.'

Support

'It must be seen in its widest possible sense. That is why the State President also invited traditional political opponents to join in discussions in this forum,' Mr Botha said.

Replying to Mr Michael Myij from Brussels, Mr Botha said South Africa was changing because it believed in 'basic fundamental freedoms' and not to please the rest of the world.

He said the Govern-



London—Anti-apartheid demonstrators picket outside the BBC here during the radio broadcast

ment's aim was controlled reform and preventing revolutionary change.

'I believe we have the support of important black leaders in this,' Mr Botha said.

Other points made by Mr Botha during the 45-minute telephone-in programme included:

Political considerations played a major role in the decision to award the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Desmond Tutu.

If the African National Congress took over in South Africa it would lead to a Moscow-aligned tyrannical dictatorship in South Africa.

The South West African internal initiative under the Multi-Party Conference (MPC) should go ahead as long as there were Cubans in Angola, but South Africa would not interfere if the MPC wanted to include Swapo in an interim government, or in discussions about an independence constitution.

South Africa could survive without American investment but would like to attract more United States investment because it was in the interests not only of South African blacks but also those from neighbouring states. It was also in the interests of US trade with other African states, he said.

The Nkomati Accord between two countries with vast ideological differences was a breakthrough because it held out the hope of a similar accord between white and black inside South Africa.

If there was found to be any reasonable chance that allegations of torture by the security forces in South West Africa were

true, the Administrator-General would not hesitate to order an inquiry into the allegations.

304A 304A May 1985

JOHANNESBURG. — Maize farmers threw down the gauntlet yesterday by voting to withhold deliveries for a week in an attempt to force the State President, Mr P W Botha, to increase the price of maize.

At an emotion-charged meeting in Klerksdorp's Markotter Stadium, 5 000 men rose in unison to support the motion.

Their decision means that they are now in a straight conflict with Mr Botha in what could become one of the biggest crises to face the National Party in decades.

The farmers claim that the major granaries will be empty by Monday and unable to supply the maize mills. They believe that keeping their crops on the farms will be a massive bargaining weapon in their fight to force the government to increase the maize price.

'Threats'

They also say that at a meeting on Thursday night with the State President and two cabinet ministers they were threatened on two counts. They were told that all present financial subsidies to farmers, amounting to more than R100-million a year, could be withdrawn. They were also told that maize was a strategic commodity and they would not be allowed to withhold supplies.

The Minister of Agriculture, Mr Greyling Wentzel, said yesterday that the government would not back down on the maize price and would have to consider "drastic action" if farmers persisted in withholding deliveries.

He appealed to farmers "of whom I believe the majority have the required responsibility and loyalty towards their country, to reject this step".

Warning

He wanted to give the public assurance that the government would use "its maximum capacity" to ensure that consumers would not suffer shortages.

Mr Wentzel said he would not like to comment on further steps the government was considering as he felt that the sharp increases in interest on unpaid debts which farmers stood to suffer would curb their actions.

A lot depended on how long the farmers held out but Mr Wentzel warned that "drastic action" would follow if they held out longer than stocks lasted.

Asked whether it was



A maize farmer addresses the meeting in Klerksdorp yesterday.

possible that the government would back down in the face of a prolonged boycott action, he was firm: "Not at all, sir, not at all. We will not back off."

Dr Piet Gouws, managing director of the National Maize Producers' Organization (Nampo), told the farmers: "But who can force you to reap your crop when you say that it is too wet to harvest? We can keep the crops on the land."

Resolution

The farmers resolved:

- To withhold provisionally all maize for one week by keeping it on the lands.

- To keep all silos under observation to discourage farmers, where reasonably possible, from delivering.

- To instruct Nampo to make contact with Mr Wentzel to rediscuss the price of maize and to discuss the future structure of the industry and, in particular, government

involvement and the role of the Maize Board.

Mr Botha's view is that the government granted an exceptionally high price for maize last year under difficult circumstances and that he will not budge on the decision not to increase the current price.

The chairman of Nampo, Mr Hennie de Jager, said: "Our trip to Cape Town to discuss matters with them (the President, Mr Wentzel and another minister) was a waste of time. When we arrived there, we found that a press statement by Mr Botha had already been prepared."

Pickets

"We were warned that we were playing with fire."

"They said mealies were strategic products and that they would not be allowed to be kept from the customers."

One speaker from the audience at the Klerksdorp meeting said: "We must not intimidate people. There might be some people who have to live by their immediate sales and they must have the right to deliver their crops."

It was in consideration of this that the first part of the resolution was drafted to include the word "reasonably".

Farmers intend to picket silos and explain the overall viewpoint to any farmer arriving with a load of maize.

● Anthony Johnson reports that the Progressive Federal Party has supported Mr Botha's blunt rejection of maize farmers' demands.

Obligations

The chief PFP spokesman on agriculture, Mr Errol Moorcroft, said in a statement yesterday that maize farmers had been awarded substantial price increases over the past few years, and had to accept that the State had obligations towards consumers in difficult times.

"It is imperative that the marketing and pricing structures of the maize industry be reviewed as a matter of urgency. Structures which are more acceptable to both consumer and producer must be found," he said. — Own Correspondent, Political Staff and Sapa

OF NATAL considered by cabinet

By PATRICK CULL
Political Staff

A BOLD new plan to consolidate KwaZulu along geographic lines and provide for a federal system of government in Natal is currently being considered by the cabinet as a blueprint for a multi-racial federation in the rest of South Africa.

The proposed consolidation of KwaZulu will involve an area stretching from KwaMashu, outside Durban, to the Mozambique border and includes the towns of Empangeni, Eshowe, Richards Bay, Stanger and Tongaat.

It is understood that whites, coloured people and Indians in the proposed consolidated area will be given the option to remain or leave — but no compensation will be paid to farmers who opt for the latter course.

Natal will be effectively left with a northern corridor down to Durban and will include the South Coast and East Griqualand.

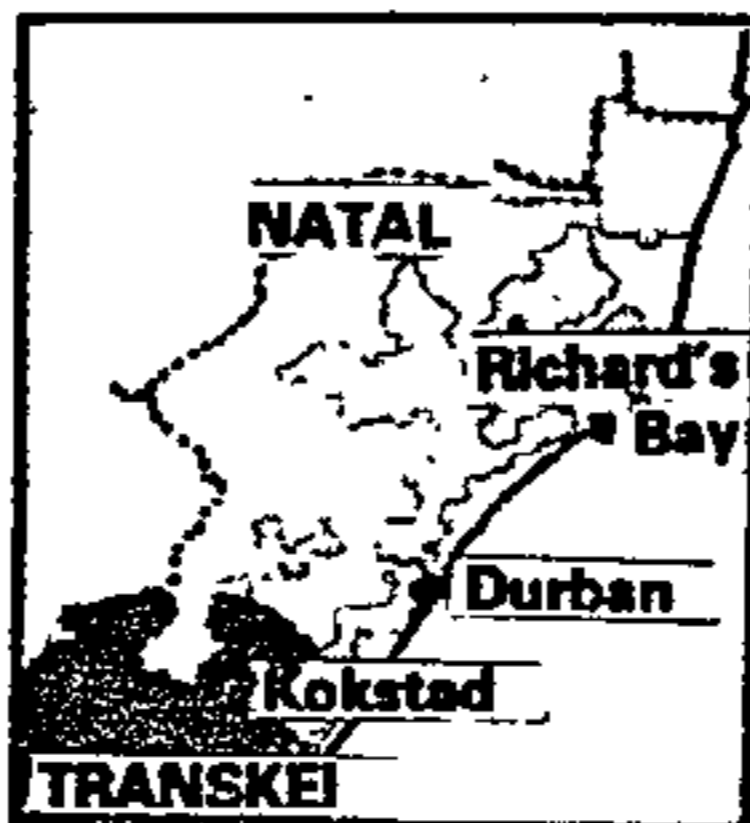
Divided

It is understood that the "white" area near Kokstad, which currently separates two parts of Transkei, will be incorporated into Transkei.

In keeping with the recommendations of the Buthelezi Commission report, which stressed the interdependence of KwaZulu and Natal, it appears that the province will be effectively divided into two parts with a central authority along federal lines.

Such a move will mean the implementation of one man, one vote within each of the two areas — African majority rule in one and white/Indian majority rule in the other.

It is understood that the government feels it can experiment in this way in Natal inasmuch as those areas being incorporated into KwaZulu are not historically "significant" to the Afri-



Map of Natal showing KwaZulu (light shaded areas) and Transkei (dark areas)

kaner power base.

On Thursday night soon after meeting President P W Botha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu said in a television interview that the previous time the two leaders met was last November, after a long period of tense relations.

In the interim, there has apparently been a flood of emissaries between the two.

A further indication of the thaw in relations is that the Co-operation and Development Minister, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, this year opened the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly after the government had refused to send ministers for this purpose for several years.

Chief Buthelezi also stated on Thursday night that he was prepared to compromise on the question of one man, one vote within a unitary state, an indication that he is prepared to consider an alternative form of government, namely, federation.

An indication that the government is taking a new look at the report of the Buthelezi Commis-

sion was given by Dr Viljoen during the vote on his budget in the House of Assembly.

Dr Viljoen said that recommendations of the Buthelezi Commission which had been rejected by the government were now being reconsidered.

While Dr Viljoen declined to spell out which recommendations were being reconsidered, it is understood that they concern the political aspects of the report.

Another development is the rapid healing of the rift between Chief Buthelezi and the leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

The rift was caused by the decision of the Labour Party, which was a member of the Black Alliance along with Inkatha and the Reform Party, to participate in the tricameral Parliament.

However, since the beginning of the year there has been contact between Inkatha and the Labour Party, which also proposes a federal form of government in South Africa.

In a recent interview, Mr Hendrickse said it was a matter of time before he and Chief Buthelezi met.

An announcement of a common citizenship for all South Africans which is expected before the end of the year is also expected to pave the way for the new Natal plan.

There have been several indications from President Botha this year that such a move is on the cards and it is widely expected that an announcement will be made soon.

LONDON — Taking on questioners from round the world in a live BBC radio programme, the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, yesterday defended South African government policy on issues ranging from the country's future to whether he controlled the SABC.

The Minister was linked from Johannesburg to BBC studios in London, broadcasting to millions of listeners on the domestic and world service.

The questions, some hostile but most seeking explanations of current situations, came in from India, California, West Germany, Singapore, Italy, Britain and Johannesburg.

Angry

An angry Mr Mark Guthrie in London, who said he was a South African, told Mr Botha: "One day when the African National Congress is in power, you will stand charged with high treason because you and your regime have com-

mitted crimes against humanity."

The Minister replied that the ANC was not interested in democracy. "They want chaos, they want tyrannical, dictatorial rule to be introduced in this country to govern as a small clique typical of Moscow's henchmen and puppets," he said.

Among the Minister's replies to questions were:

- On the future of blacks and the country itself. "We believe we must negotiate with black leaders in this country and see where

we get. We are full of hope. We have all the reasons to believe the end result will be a South Africa in which decisions will be shared but in which communities will feel protected — in other words self-determination for individual communities and freedom of association for the country as a whole."

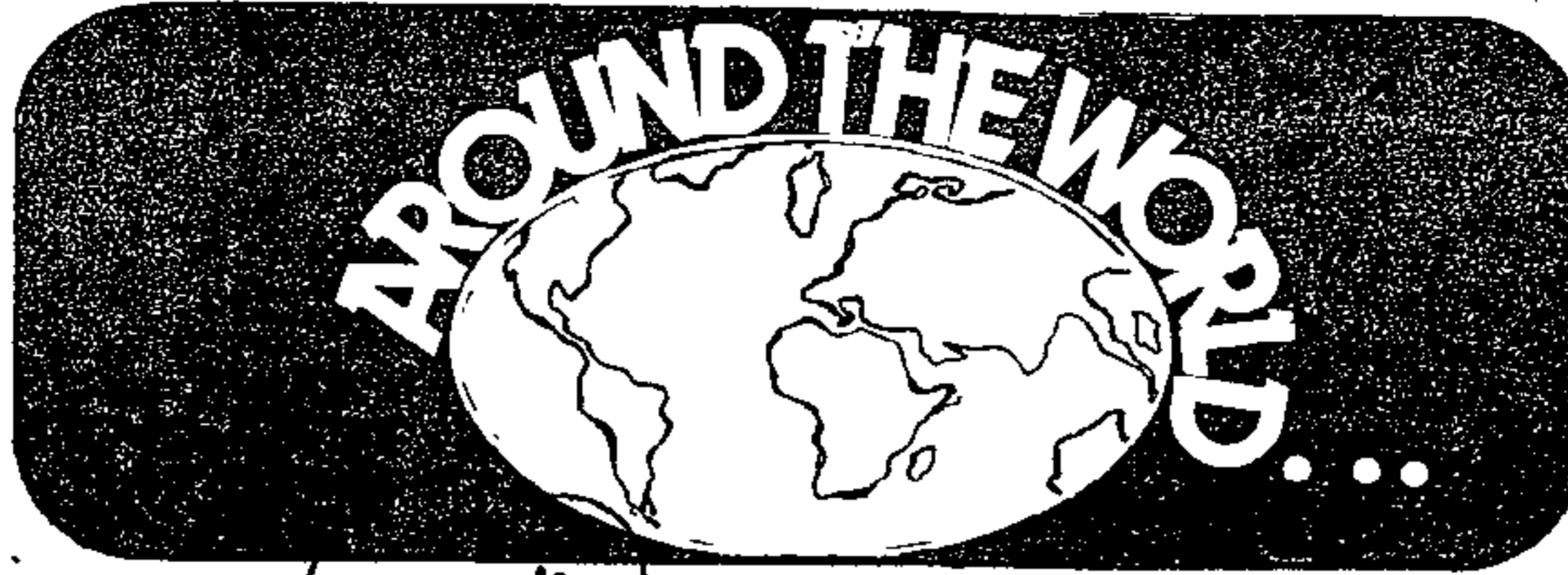
- On the repeal of sex laws and the future of reform. "We are repealing these two Acts because we believe ourselves that we cannot justify these provisions any more. In every re-

spect the South African government is moving away from discrimination based on colour. We are not doing this to please the outside world. We are doing this because we realise that we have got to do it in the interests of all of us and we believe in basic, fundamental freedoms.

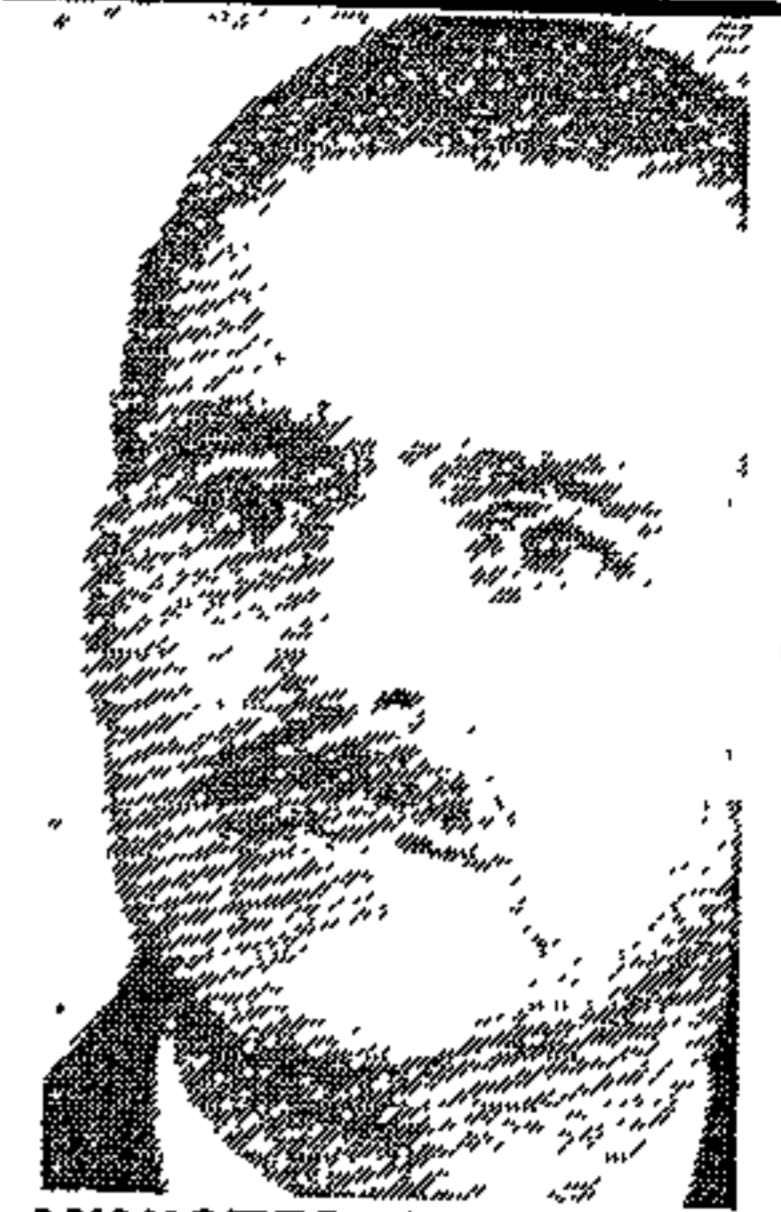
- "We want to do this under conditions which will prevent a revolutionary climate. Controlled change and reform is what we are looking for. We believe we have the support of very important black leaders inside this coun-

try for our moves."

- On where mixed couples would live, and where their children would go to school, if the Group Areas Act remained in force. "They will live and go to school where they now live and go to school, based largely on what I would wish to call a process of natural selection of the community. This is what we have in mind. We will resolve these problems as we go ahead, we will resolve these problems in consultation with the coloured, Asian and black leaders in this country."



Pik defends SA



MINISTER: Pik Botha.

AdGWS 21/5/85

30 4A

'Molly the Mediator' draws furious NP fire

MICHAEL MORRIS and KAREN STANDER of the Provincial Staff report on the unusual impact which the mediating role of an Eastern Cape MPC has had on her NP counterparts

MRS Molly Blackburn — Opposition MPC and a determined campaigner for black rights — has weathered scathing National Party attacks in the Provincial Council over her role as a negotiator in the months-long Eastern Cape unrest.

Mrs Blackburn and Mrs Di Bishop (PFP Gardens) were targets of repeated digs by National Party members of the Provincial Council during the heated no-confidence debate last week.

They were quizzed on their association with the United Democratic Front — blamed by some National Party members for spurring unrest — and on their popularity among blacks.

"Come on, you can do better than that," Mrs Blackburn responded last Friday as NP members fired accusations that she was a "radical" and that her actions did not help resolve conflict.

The Government's handling

of the unrest in the Eastern Cape took a battering from Opposition members in the debate, while NP members attacked the PFP's attitude to the Government and the police.

NP councillors spoke of slogans painted on walls and on a bridge in Port Elizabeth praising Mrs Blackburn, and of people welcoming her at a funeral of unrest victims.

"I was honoured," Mrs Blackburn said of her reception at the funeral, adding that it was no secret she was a member of Black Sash, an affiliate of the UDF.

Mr N Claasen (NP Uitenhage) said it had been reported that Mrs Blackburn was "an embarrassment" to the PFP in the Newton Park by-election and he asked: "What role did the PFP play in the unrest?"

Interjecting, Mr Frank van der Velde (PFP Wynberg) asked: "What did you do to reduce the violence in Uiten-



Molly Blackburn

hage?"

Praising Mrs Blackburn for her role during the unrest, Mr van der Velde said: "Seventy-two hours after the tragedy in Maduna Road, there were still 72 people missing.

"Did the member for Uitenhage (Mr Claasen) do anything

about it? Did the police do anything about it? No. There is only one person who did. Mrs Blackburn.

"She has been condemned here left, right and centre, but she searched for three days in hospitals, police cells, even in the mortuary to find those missing people.

"It is little wonder 70 000 people greeted her with respect when she came to the funeral."

● While critical of irresponsible police action, Mrs Blackburn added: "I want to place on record the respect I have for the ordinary policemen and women who carry out their duties in often most trying and dangerous circumstances.

"I have found them to be courteous and diligent and wish to state that it is most unfortunate their image has been dented in the eyes of many people because of the unlawful actions of some in different sections."

Kwazulu agenda is totally open — Botha

Political Staff

THE agenda for negotiations between Natal and Kwazulu was totally open, President P W Botha said in reaction today to growing speculation on the future of the region.

President Botha did not expand on this remark.

The announcement and the growing speculation over the future of Kwazulu and Natal has sparked calls for the Government to give more details of its plans and to clear up the confusion.

The latest developments follow

reports which started last year with the instruction given by President Botha that senior Cabinet members should look at the Buthelezi Commission report which recommended a jointly-governed Natal and Kwazulu.

The Natal leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Ray Swart, said Mr Botha's statement was "interesting". However, not only should there be an open agenda but there should be open discussions and negotiations, he said.

Mr Derrick Watterson, the Natal leader of the New Republic

Party, which controls the Natal Provincial council, said it was no good just saying there was an open agenda.

"The Government must put its cards on the table. It must give its bottom line, direction and objective."

"I agree with Chief Buthelezi when he says he doesn't mind getting on a train if knows the destination. This is what applies here."

The leader of Solidarity, Dr J N Reddy, welcomed the Government's consideration of the Buthelezi report but said the secrecy was unnecessary.

Woman, children missing after attack

Argus Africa News Service

JOHANNESBURG. — A Mozambique mother and three of her children are missing after an ambush near the South African-Mozambique border last week, only hours after the woman had collected the children from their boarding schools in Nelspruit.

It is not known if Mrs Celeste de Lemos and her children, Rui, 11, George, 13, Claudia, 9, and Monica, 7, were taken captive or killed in the attack.

her home in Maputo to Nelspruit that morning with a Mr Martins.

They collected the children and a schoolfriend, Carla Fernandes, from their schools. Mrs de Lemos took her two sons and Carla in her car while the other children travelled with Mr Martins in another vehicle.

Soon after passing the border post, Mrs de Lemos's vehicle came under fire.

Mr Martins, who was travelling behind, escaped and brought Claudia

Dutch warship resurfaces after 150 years

Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — A ship that sank off here more than 150 years ago has just resurfaced on one of the city's northern beaches.

A combination of high tides and heavy seas has uncovered the remains of the Dutch man o' war Amsterdam, which

THE
MASTERPIECE

PFP gives support to Govt's concept for Natal

NM 21/5/85 304A
Mercury Reporter

PFP Natal leader Mr Ray Swart has welcomed the possibility of the Government considering far-reaching changes to Natal-KwaZulu to bring

about a federal system of government in the region.

It is believed the Government is considering a suggestion to consolidate KwaZulu to include 'white' towns such as Empangeni, Eshowe and the important Richards Bay harbour, as well as the 'Indian' towns of Stanger and Tongaat.

This would effectively leave a 'white' Northern Natal corridor to Durban and down the South Coast.

An area of Natal which

separates two parts of Transkei and includes the town of Kokstad could go to Transkei.

While Natal/KwaZulu would effectively be divided into two it would have a central authority along federal lines with the implementation of one man, one vote principle in each of the two areas.

However, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said yesterday that reports that the Government was considering such proposals were 'wild speculation' and did not deserve comment.

Mr Swart said that he would be 'all in favour' of such proposals.

However, Natal was not going to be satisfied with the new provincial system which, in terms of present proposals, was in no way linked to the electorate of Natal, he said.

And the Government will have to accommodate KwaZulu in some way, especially since KwaZulu will not take independence.

'The Government should get back to the Buthelezi commission report as a basis.'

The Natal leader of the NRP, Mr Derrick Watterson, said his party would be prepared to discuss with the Government any such proposals relating to Natal.

CAPE TOWN 13 21/5/85 30KA

Blacks to be included in second-tier govt

By HILARY VENABLES
Municipal Reporter

BLACKS will definitely be included in the new system for second-tier government.

The MEC for local government, Mr P J Loubser, told the Provincial Council yesterday that according to his information, "good progress" had already been made with negotiating the inclusion of blacks on the Provincial Executive.

This is the first definite official confirmation of the inclusion of blacks in the new system.

"Although it has not been spelt out in so many words ... it is self-evident that all the population groups whose lives will be affected by decisions taken at this level will be represented on the Executive Committee," he said.

Speaking during the no-confidence debate in the council yesterday, Mr Loubser said advisory boards consisting of representatives of various communities would also exercise many of the functions currently ful-



Mr Herbert Hirsch

filled by the Provincial Councils.

"Obviously their points of view will filter through to their respective parliamentary representatives who will, if necessary, take them further," he said.

Mr Loubser denied that Provincial Administrators would not be answerable to the electorate under the new system, or that the "watchdog role" currently played by Provincial Councils would be dispensed with.

"The Administrator has always been appointed and replaced at the discretion of the State President, and not by election, and what is more, in the future he will be answerable to Parliament."

Mr Loubser said the watchdog role currently played by the Province's Select Committee for Public Accounts would be taken over by the Parliamentary Standing Committee for the Province, consisting of representatives from all the population groups, and the Select Committee for Public Accounts.

"It is therefore a misrepresentation to pretend that the Administrator and members of the Executive Committee will not be called to account and will be able to do as they please."

In his reply, the leader of the opposition in the council, Mr Herbert Hirsch, said there was "a great difference between accountability across the council floor and a standing committee".

Row over secret Afrikaner body

ARGUS 22/5/85
300A

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

A HEATED controversy about a new secret organisation has blown up in Afrikaner political circles.

The new ultra-right body, known as Toekomsgesprek, is said to be attempting to infiltrate other Afrikaner bodies such as the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniging (FAK).

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr A P Treurnicht, today denied that the new body had ties with his party.

He said the CP did not have ties with the new body or with any other organisation.

He said he had heard about Toekomsgesprek but was not a member of it and had no knowledge of it.

In disclosures about the new body in the Nationalist Press today it was alleged that it had CP connections and that the other right-wing body, the Afrikanervolkswag, which was started last year, would help it to infiltrate the FAK.

In Pretoria the chairman of the Afrikanervolkswag, Professor Carel Boshoff, denied that it was the front organisation of a secret body.



Dr A P Treurnicht

Professor Boshoff, who was forced out as chairman of the Broederbond in 1983, said the "liberalist" leadership of the Bond was now also forcing out other members of the Volkswag.

He said that, if there was another secret right-wing organisation, it probably consisted of ex-members of the Broederbond who could no longer remain in an organisation which had deviated so much from its original aims.

Ambassador

NM

to Ciskei

725185 3049
Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—Lt-Gen Andries van Deventer has been appointed South Africa's Ambassador to Ciskei, it was announced here yesterday.

He will replace Mr Matthys Botha, who is retiring.

Lt-Gen van Deventer was born in King William's Town in 1930 and matriculated at Afrikaanse Hoër Seunskool in Pretoria in 1947.

At present he is secretary of the State Security Council.

Lt-Gen van Deventer is married and has a son and a daughter.

^{CAK 1m 15} Heirs of Hitler ^{22/5/85} rule SA'

^{(11/11) (30/11)}
Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The spiritual heirs of Adolf Hitler were alive and ruling in South Africa, the leader of the British Liberal Party, Mr David Steel, said yesterday.

Addressing a Commonwealth media workshop here on how to counter South African propaganda, Mr Steel attacked the British Government for its laxity in dealing with South Africa and called on the West to intervene.

"In a world full of tyrannies of various kinds South Africa remains the only nation whose laws and constitution are based on theories of racial superiority," he said.

Mr Steel called on the British Government to heed the proposal of exiled editor Donald Woods that the Gleneagles agreement curbing Commonwealth sporting contact with South Africa should be extended to economic, social and cultural links.

He also called on the British Government to consider the argument for disinvestment in South Africa in consultation with the Commonwealth and the European Economic Community.

Dismissing the United States policy of constructive engagement as a "useless sham", Mr Steel called for a more effective application of the United Nations arms embargo.

He also urged the British Government to support black trade unions in South Africa.

AK645 22/5/85

304A

PFP, Labour agree on non-racial federation

Political Correspondent

A WIDE area of agreement on the question of a non-racial federation in South Africa has emerged between the Labour Party — the ruling party in the House of Representatives — and the Progressive Federal Party, the main Opposition party in the House of Assembly.

The debate on the possibility of a non-racial federation was re-opened when the leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, yesterday called for a commission of experts to examine such a constitutional system.

This was in the debate on the Vote of the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, in the House of Representatives.

Mr Heunis appeared to reject the suggestion out of hand.

The Leader of the Opposition in the Assembly, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, today welcomed Mr Hendrickse's ideas.

He said the PFP had always supported the idea of a non-racial federation and the party had elaborated on this idea in considerable detail in its official policies.

Minority rights

He pointed out that the Labour Party had through the years moved from the idea of one-man, one-vote to include the idea of a federation.

Dr Slabbert said it would be extremely unwise for the Government to dismiss this as a constitutional option out of hand before the process of ne-

gotiation on a new system or changes in the present system had actually commenced.

Mr Heunis said in the debate in the House of Representatives that South Africa could not survive under a "classical" federation because minority rights would not be protected.

Dr Slabbert said he did not quite know what Mr Heunis meant by a "classical" federation. He hoped he had not used the concept in the sense of a genuine federal constitution in which all groups and individuals could participate in a non-discriminatory manner in the Government without one dominating the other.

If he was, he saw great difficulty for the process of negotiation getting off the ground, Dr Slabbert said.

Nats are paying a price for reform, Pik tells US

Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, told millions of American television viewers last night that the Government was paying a price among the white electorate because of its reform programme.

"But we are going ahead," he said. "We are losing seats, or we might lose seats, as a result of this. There is nothing petty about losing seats in Parliament for the things you believe in."

"There is no question about it — we are moving ahead."

Mr Botha was responding to a charge by Mr Andrew Young, former US Ambassador to the United Nations, that reform in South Africa was merely a modification of petty apartheid, leaving in place the basic denial to blacks of power-sharing and the right to vote.

The two men debated the South African issue — described by TV host Ted Koppel as one of the most prominent "causes" in the US — during last night's edition of the popular ABC programme Nightline.

Mr Young, now Mayor of Atlanta, Georgia, and a leader of the anti-apartheid sanctions

movement here, agreed that the South African Government deserved credit for making significant changes, but added: "At the same time, I think the number of killings of blacks has escalated drastically."

"Every time they do something that deserves commendation, their policemen shoot down people in the street who are innocently marching in funeral processions, and it poisons the atmosphere."

Mr Botha said he regretted the killings. He, especially, had a very real idea of the damage it must be doing South Africa abroad.

"It pains me very much," he said. There were judicial inquiries into the shootings in open court, he added.

Sanctions approach

Mr Botha agreed with Mr Young that the sanctions legislation now being considered by the US Congress might not affect South Africa much, but said it hurt him that Americans should think it the right thing to do.

He did not doubt the sincerity of those who wanted sanctions but he said Americans — and Mr Young — should ask themselves who had given a mandate for the sanctions approach.

He did not know to what extent the legislation had the support of the majority of Ameri-

cans and did not think that point had been tested.

Mr Botha appealed to Americans to consider the consequences of sanctions, not so much for the white Government but for the millions of blacks in the Southern Africa subcontinent.

Americans should rather invest more in black education and black upliftment, as American companies in South Africa had been doing.

"Don't retard reform, don't take jobs away. Encourage us so that we can move forward," he said.

When Mr Koppel reminded Mr Botha that a month or so ago he had said disinvestment would have little effect, Mr Botha replied: "It depends where this is going to end. We look on this as possibly only the beginning."

Mr Botha said the South African Government was talking to black leaders, but that it did not like to be prescribed to.

He challenged Mr Young to explain why so many blacks in the US were poor in comparison to whites and said the two countries should not compete with each other on that basis.

The South African Government's purpose was to build up a strong black middle-class of entrepreneurs and (property) owners who could move forward with whites, he said.



Mr Pik Botha



Mr Andrew Young

NATIONAL

Journalist loses appeal on revealing his sources

Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — A court battle to prevent a journalist of The Argus's sister newspaper The Star being forced to reveal his sources has gone in favour of the State. His appeal to the Rand Supreme Court failed.

The application was dismissed with costs.

TRUST

DISCOUNT FURNISHING

CRAZY

PRE-STOCKTAKING

ARGUS 23/5/85

New wide powers for the committees

Parliamentary Staff
THE Cabinet has authorised the introduction of legislation during the present session of Parliament to provide for final decision-making authority to be granted to management committees.

It was also decided by the Cabinet to accept proposals from the House of Representatives that management committees be granted "definite and wider executive powers and that these powers be binding and mandatory".

Announcing this in the House of Representatives the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said he was in "full agreement" with these proposals from a parliamentary select committee on housing projects under the chairmanship of the Minister of Local Government, Mr David Curry.

The Curry committee's report was tabled in the House on Monday.

Mr Heunis also announced in his reply to a debate on his department's budget vote that the Government had accepted proposals for the demarcation of geographic areas of jurisdiction for all local authorities, including regional service councils and management committees.

Legislation would be introduced during the present session of Parliament for the establishment of a council to handle the demarcation of local authority areas.

Interjections

Speaking amid interjections and frequent interruptions, Mr Heunis said management committees had been regarded for too long by some people as "social gatherings".

It had been said that a management committee did not even have the power to take a decision about a stop street in its area.

This was a "totally unsatisfactory position" which had to end.

Labour boycotts House's 100th birthday



Parliamentary Staff

THE Labour Party boycotted a ceremony in the Gallery Hall of the Houses of Parliament where the 100th anniversary of the inauguration of the parliamentary building was commemorated.

In a statement yesterday the caucus said that, from the historical perspective the building was a "monument to the years of injustice and denial, of oppression and repression".

"So many laws of dispossession and discrimination have been passed inside these walls.

"The greatest act of immorality was our removal from the common voters' roll in 1956. It must be remembered that the doors to our participation were closed by the Act of Union in 1910."

■ ■ ■ ■

THE Bill to repeal the Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the Immorality Act was passed in the House of Assembly at its second reading with only the Conservative Party opposing it.

■ ■ ■ ■

THE Government had allocated more than R21-million in the current financial year for the development of holiday resorts, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said yesterday.

■ ■ ■ ■

CINEMA companies had made applications to open their cinemas to all races, the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Piet Badenhorst, said.

Speaking in the Planning vote of the Budget, Mr Badenhorst said this application was being considered. His department would reconsider the question of the 3 Arts being used as a cinema in the light of the attitude of the members of the House of Representatives.

■ ■ ■ ■

ANOTHER R50-million in aid has been allocated by the Government to farmers, the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, said yesterday.

This amount is in addition to the R100-million for drought assistance which the State President, Mr P W Botha, announced on May 2.

■ ■ ■ ■

THE opposition Solidarity party in the House of Delegates has opposed an application to have the duties on imported rice increased.

In a letter sent to the Board of Trade and Industries, party secretary Mr Mamo Rajab MP (S Springfield) said the application made by S Wainstein and Co for an increase in import duties on several categories of imported rice would place a heavy burden on the consumer.

Mr Rajab said the increase in duties, if granted, would completely shut off the importers of processed rice and shield all millers against competition which ensured prices were regulated.

■ ■ ■ ■

THE Government expects an increase in revenue over last year of R5 332 796 000 for the financial year ended March 31 1986, according to estimates tabled in Parliament.

Estimated revenue for 1986 is expected to total R28 344 347 000, compared with R23 011 551 000 in the previous financial year.

The largest part of the estimated revenue is R15 531-million from income tax, compared with R12 799-million in 1984/85, followed by R8 320-million in sales tax (R5 835-million in 1984/85).

AGUS 23/5/85

Mancom autonomy 'not automatic'

Political Staff

LOCAL affairs and management committees are not to be given automatic autonomy overnight, the director of constitutional development, Mr Len Dekker, said today.

Neither would the areas they control be excised from the parent authority.

Mr Dekker was expanding on statements made by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, in Parliament yesterday in which he announced that coloured management com-

mittees would be granted powers to control their own affairs.

Mr Heunis emphasised in his speech that local authorities would not be created if they were not viable.

Mr Dekker said that Mr Heunis's announcement applied also to Indian local affairs and management committees.

What was anticipated was that powers would gradually be handed over as they were sought by the committees and as the committees became capable of handling various issues.

For example, the request by

the coloured own affairs Minister of Housing, Mr David Curry, for control of coloured housing could be met.

But this could differ from area to area.

Any change in powers would be made in consultation with the local authority and committee concerned.

The provincial administrators would be given the power to make the changes in terms of legislation amending the Promotion of Local Government Act, which would come before Parliament soon.



ARCHBISHOP Trevor Huddleston.

Huddleston lashes at liberals

Sowetan 23/5/85

3044

LONDON — Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement has urged the West to drop "Mushy liberalism" and to act decisively to end apartheid in South Africa.

Addressing participants in the Commonwealth Secretariat's media workshop on "Countering Apartheid Propaganda", the 72-year-old campaigner against apartheid said time had run out, words were no longer any good, action was necessary.

He dismissed Mr Harry Oppenheimer's recent address to the South Africa club here as a "very good example of the mushy liberalism the west longs to hear, is

delighted to hear, because it pushes the evil of apartheid far away and allows them to say how enlightened South Africa's great industrial leaders are".

In his address (printed in full in the London Sunday Times a few days later), Mr Oppenheimer detailed the changes that had taken place in South Africa and opposed vigorously economic sanctions which, he said, would increase the level of violence in the country.

Archbishop Huddleston referred to his meeting with Mrs Margaret Thatcher last year (a few days before Mrs Thatcher held discussions with South Africa's Mr P W Botha) and the meeting in 1919

between Britain's liberal Prime Minister, Mr Lloyd George, and an African National Congress delegation led by Mr Sol Plaatje.

Mr Lloyd George had written to the South African prime minister at the time, General Smuts, about the "native problem" and General Smuts had urged him not to listen to the ANC which was not a representative organisation and which had put forward specious arguments.

Rights

General Smuts assured his British counterpart that his government was working on resolving the problems involving South Africa's black people and their political rights.

"In all the years since then, nothing has changed, not even the words, not even the bland assurances between prime ministers... do you wonder that I no longer care to listen to this kind of diplomatic exchange?"

Archbishop Huddleston said the current Western approach to South Africa was "nonsense, a total waste of time".

In more than 70 years there had been no effective action and there would be none until the political will of the West had changed.

"The only difference between 1919 and 1985 is that the British prime minister today is not prepared to meet a delegation from the ANC, although she is prepared to meet the South African prime minister."

Youngs not 'impressed' by SA Govt officials

Sowetan 24/5/85

304H

WASHINGTON — Former American Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr Andrew Young told US senators here that in past private dealings with South African Government officials he had never gained the impression they would back away from apartheid.

SOWETAN Correspondent

...even had the feeling that every SA Government official I talked to felt as though the room was bugged, and they would never say anything privately they would not say publicly. They really believe what they say," he said. Mr Young, a controversial UN Ambassador during the Carter administration from 1976 to 1980 and now mayor of Atlanta, Georgia, was testifying at a senate committee hearing into sanctions against SA.

Change

Asked about the potential for change within the SA government, Mr Young said: "I am not sure how much they can do."

Recalling a visit he made to SA when he was a congressman from Georgia, he said: "I did on one occasion have a two-hour conversation with President P W Botha when he was minis-

ter of defence. He never backed off from his total commitment to apartheid."

Mr Young said that President Botha asked many questions about how things worked in Georgia and was curious about how a predominantly white congressional district had elected Mr Young, who is black.

"He could not understand how that had happened and he was clearly curious about how things worked in the US," Mr Young said.

Urge

Mr Young said the situation in South Africa was much more desperate today than people would have thought possible only six months ago.

He said a national US consensus was developing on the SA issue and urged the senate to provide leadership for that consensus by approving the "moderate" sanctions contained in the bill proposed by Senator Edward Kennedy.

Recalling the civil rights struggle in the US, he said that things had to be done and no elected public official could be seen to do it.

Force

"We had to be forced to do it from outside."

Representatives from both sides often met privately and agreed on steps that would have resulted in their being voted out of office had the meetings been made public.

"In difficult matters of social change, some outside idealistic authority is needed."

"And the US senate in this case becomes that moral authority in the absence of moral authority in the SA political structure," he said.

'Racism leads SA on road to war'

304A

24/5/85

SOUTH Africans would be "morally justified" in "adopting the course of mass disobedience" to destroy laws passed as the result of "the mass sickness of race hate", the Provincial Council

heard. SOWETO
During the Budget debate this week, Mr Jan van Gend (PFP Constantia), said friction, which might be caused by the abolition of train apartheid was the result of white racism, a dislike of coming into contact with people of colour.

He said the sole purpose of ordinances reserving public premises for the exclusive use of persons belonging to a particular race, is to avoid contact not physical contact, but proximity contact.

Mr Neels Ackerman (NP Stellenbosch) said while the National Party would like to give preference to justice, it had a sense of its responsibility.

"We live in a threatened country ... for this reason stability must have priority even when it clashed with justice."

The anger of the black man was not the only anger possible. Anger could also be created in the white man, he said.

The Nationalists' apartheid propaganda had been so successful in the last 37 years that their people were now refusing to let go of these ideas and were voting for the Conservative Party, said Mr Jan van Eck (PFP Groote Schuur).

The closure of the Rand Daily Mail was a disaster, he said.

Those who believed in a free Press had to ensure that it never happened again to any newspaper. They had to accept that the Government was steering South Africa towards a closed, secret society.

The ^{South}flaw in the ^{Sowetan}New Deal

BY SELLO RABOTHATA

THE most notable flaw in the Nationalist's new constitution is that it excludes African people from taking part in government on the assumption that they may justifiably be excluded on the grounds that they have been given the power to govern somewhere else.

This was said by Dr Alan Paton, writer of the famous book "Cry, the Beloved Country," at the University of the Witwatersrand on the topic "Federation or Desolution" during the Hoernle Memorial Lecture last night. He said in an attempt to atone or compensate for the deep flaws in the new constitution, all sorts of new bodies are being created to bring black people into the governing process.

He said Dr Hendrik Verwoerd predicted that by the year 1976 the apparently irresistible flow of black people from the homelands to the industrial cities would be reversed, and black people would begin the irresistible flow back to the homelands. It has not happened, and it is not going to happen. Something quite different has happened.

Slowly the rulers of this country are being forced to the conclusion that the process of urbanisation cannot be halted and further, that it should not be halted.

Dr Paton said: "The trouble is that you cannot compensate for a deep flaw. The only thing to do is to get rid of it. When I think of all the work and time that has been put into constitution-making by Mr Chris Heunis, I find it in my heart to pity him. I am sure that he is a decent man, but he has given some valuable years of his life to creating something that is not going to work. It has no hope of working."

"It perpetuates the colour bar of the conqueror. It perpetuates also the supremacy role of the conqueror. It is already obsolescent. It is the immediate, although not the root cause, of the violence and terror of the townships. I do not like passing such a severe judgement on such an important occasion as this, but I said I would speak the truth. This new constitution is not going to work."

"What alternative is there to this kind of constitution? Easily the best known alternative is that of a unitary state with a universal suffrage. It is a moral, not a pragmatic ideal. It could be realised in South

Africa only by war and revolution, but those South Africans who espouse this ideal are not in any position to wage war and revolution. They will not in the foreseeable future be able to wage war and revolution, and many of them do not want to.

"Those who want to wage war and revolution could not succeed unless they are given powerful aid from outside."

"And who will give it? The nations of the West? I do not think it likely. The USSR? I do not think that likely either, because the USSR knows that intervention would lead to a confrontation with the USA, and would mean the end of us all."

"Any intervention from outside could only take place as the result of a miracle, and that would be an ultimatum from a USA-USSR joint task force, which would say to us 'Introduce universal suffrage in a unitary state immediately, or we will enter your country and destroy utterly your military power.' That is not likely either."

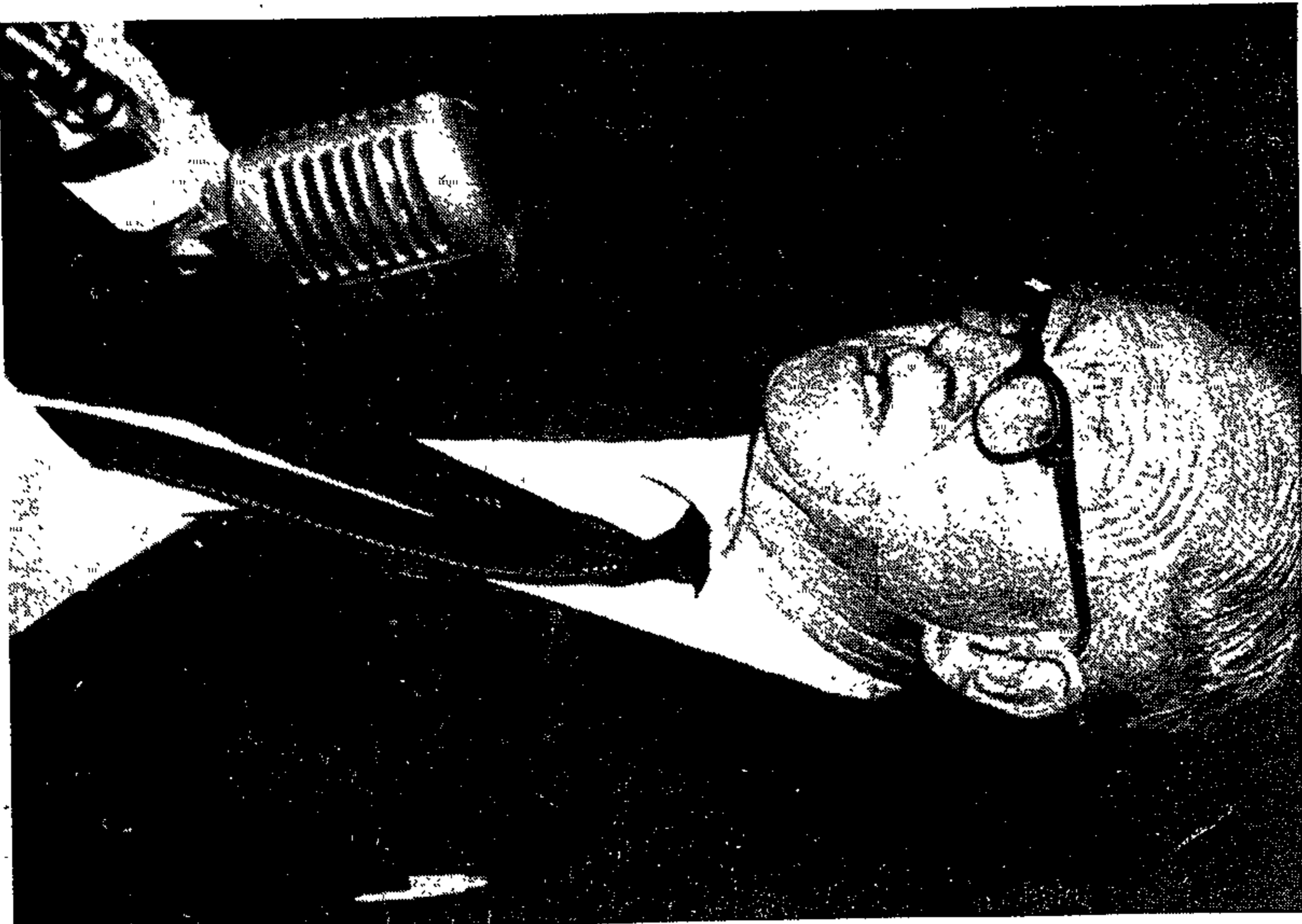
"Therefore I do not see any chance of realising the moral goal of universal suffrage in a unitary state."

"I realise that I am passing two severe judgements, one on the National Party and the other on the United Democratic Front. If there is to be any salvation for South Africa, it will not come from the National Party or the UDF."

"It will not come from any existing party or organisation. Nor do I think it will come from any new organisation dedicated to the task of salvation."

"I have come to the conclusion that the only hope for our salvation lies in an entirely different approach to our constitution itself. I titled this lecture 'Federation or Desolution'. That is what I have come to believe."

"I have come to believe that federation is the only possible form of constitution that holds any hope for this country. I believe that the white people of South Africa made an error of the greatest gravity when they decided on a unitary constitution. I believe that the complexity of our country, the diversity of our peoples, and of our cultures and our languages, demands a federal constitution."



DR ALAN PATON: Spoke on "Federation or Desolution" at Wits University last night.

NR 24/5/85
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Major concession to coloured

The granting of wider executive powers to management committees demands from the House of Representatives for effective power-sharing at local government level.

FRANS ESTERHUYSE of the Argus Political Staff reports.

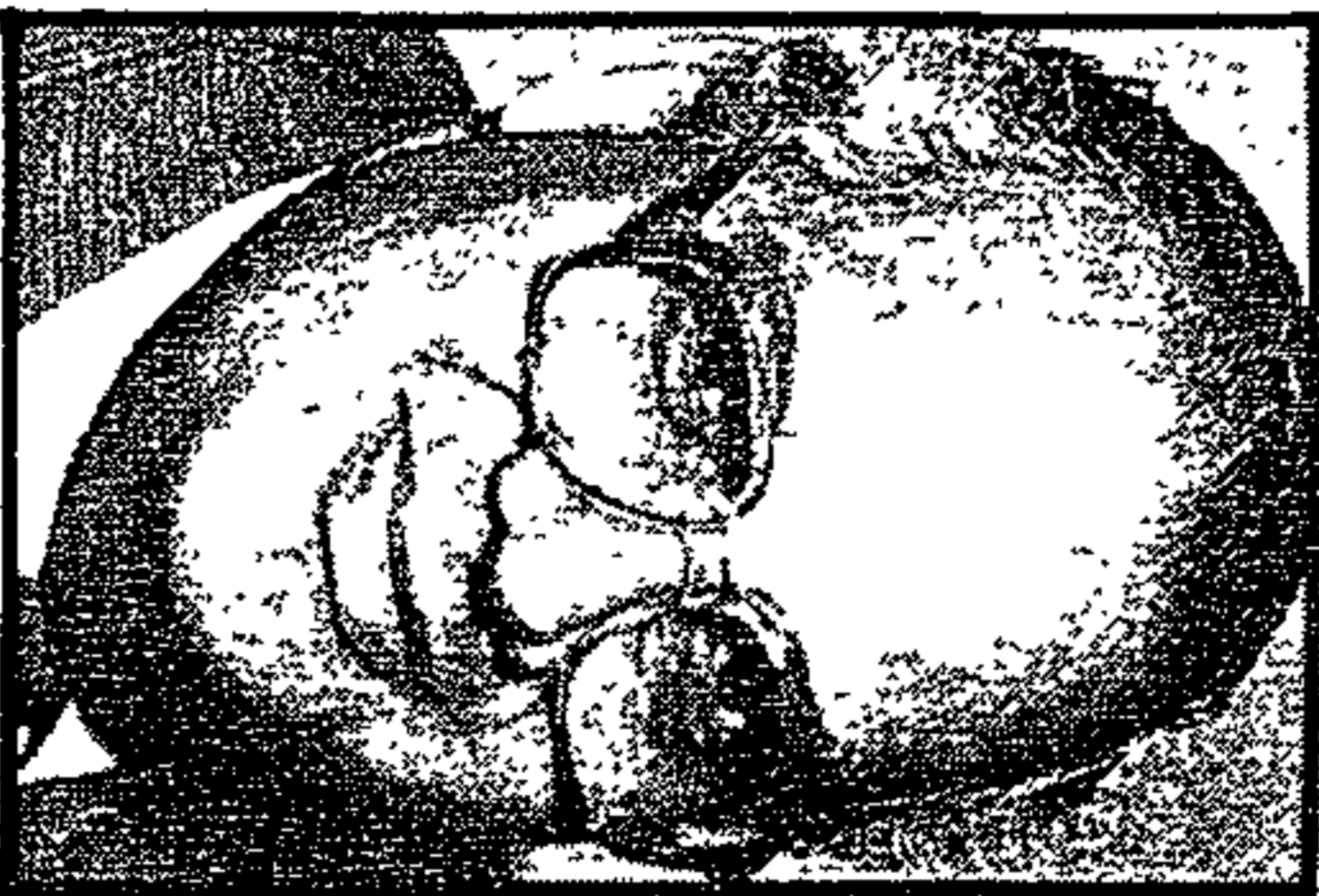
The Cabinet's decision to grant management committees wider executive powers is regarded by some politicians as a major concession to meet demands of coloured leaders for effective participation in local government throughout South Africa.

The announcement by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, that such powers are to be granted came after repeated demands in the House of Representatives for effective power-sharing at local government level.

On several occasions during the present session of Parliament coloured politicians argued that unless the Government opened the way for effective coloured participation in local government, there would be increasing instability and unrest in coloured areas.

One of the most serious warnings on these lines was given by the Minister of Local Government and Housing in the House of Representatives, Mr David Curry.

He told the House earlier this year that under the present system local authorities



Mr David Curry ... middle-of-the-road people were being turned into radicals.

were "turning middle-of-the-road people into radicals."

Mr Curry warned that the attitudes of some white local authorities who were resisting coloured participation in decision-making would "wreck this country."

Under such conditions the "left-wing radicals" in the coloured community would say



Mr Chris Heunis ... "I find myself in full agreement with these recommendations."

that the white community only understood violence, not negotiation politics, not the process of talking across the conference table, not the process of talking in a committee of councils, not the process of good relationships."

It was Mr Curry who took the lead in bringing these urgent problems to the attention of the Government.

As chairman of a parliamentary select committee which investigated aspects of housing in the coloured community, he pressed for a system under which the coloured people would have an effective say in decision-making at local government level.

His committee, which reported to Parliament earlier this week, recommended that management, local affairs and consultative committees be granted "definite and wider executive powers" and that these powers be binding and mandatory.

These are the proposals which have now been accepted by the Government.

Announcing this in the House of Representatives Mr Heunis said: "I find myself in full agreement with these recommendations. I therefore wish to announce that the Cabinet has decided to agree to these proposals."

Behind Mr Curry's pleas for a better deal for coloured people in local government were stories of frustration and despair among coloured communities in towns and cities throughout South Africa.

In debates in the House of Representatives there have been floods of complaints about attitudes of certain white local authorities who refused to listen to requests or recommendations from coloured management committees.

A Labour Party MP, Mr Desmond Lockey, told of an incident in his home town, Vryburg, where there was a sports stadium with eight rugby fields and 18 tennis courts 300 metres from his house.

"There are over 400 active sportsmen in that particular community. We have never had sports facilities, Mr Lockey said.

He then told of his attempts to seek better facilities for the local coloured community.

Mr Lockey said he went to the local authority and asked whether it would not be possible to share the facilities, even if the coloured community had to pay a fee.

The local authority referred him to the MPC, in spite of the fact that the coloured people were not represented in the Provincial Council.

Mr Lockey then had talks with the MPC in Vryburg and

after a few weeks he received a letter saying: "I think you should settle the matter with your own Minister, since this constitutes own affairs."

"Own affairs has just become another word the whites in this country can use to continue with apartheid and what is more they want to be in charge of housing in our communities as well," Mr Lockey remarked.

Numerous other incidents on such lines were described by coloured MPs. In some cases white local authorities were reported even to have refused to talk to local coloured leaders, in other cases municipalities were said to have joked with one another about what they did for coloured housing — and coloured people were said to be living in "matchboxes" provided by white local authorities.

One of the main complaints was that white local authorities fixed rentals for coloured houses which the people could not afford. The rentals were determined without consultation with the coloured communities and those who failed to pay were threatened with eviction.

PFP in all-race power pact move

W/K- ARS 5/5/85

30 QH

Progs to merge with Solidarity, head for alliance with Labour

By DAVID BREIER, Political Staff

THE Progressive Federal Party is to merge with the Indian Solidarity party and is heading for an alliance with the coloured Labour Party.

These highly significant political moves follow the Government's decision to repeal the Prohibition of Political Interference Act.

It could turn the PFP-based alliance into a major political force straddling racial dividing lines.

The PFP merger with Solidarity will make it the official opposition in the Indian chamber of Parliament as well as the white chamber. It is not inconceivable that the PFP could take over the majority in the Indian chamber in future.

"We are both progressive"

The coloured and Indian move to the PFP will be the first break in South Africa's political apartheid logjam since the Political Interference Act was passed in 1968.

Labour Party leaders this weekend opened the way for an election pact with the PFP and an end to tensions between the two parties.

The Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said there were no fundamental differences in its policy with the PFP.

The only differences were in strategy. "We are both progressive," he said.

Mr Hendrickse said there would be no point in the two parties splitting progressive forces by standing against each other in elections and allowing the Nationalists to win PFP seats.

The deputy Labour Party leader, Mr Miley Richards, predicted the Labour Party and the PFP would now launch a joint attack on the Nationalist Government.

He said the two parties would form an election pact along the lines of the Conservative Party and Herstigte Nasionale Party, which do not oppose each other.

The effect of the repeal of the Political Interference Act will be to allow political parties to open membership to all races. However, in terms of the constitution, each race group will exercise separate political rights.

Mr Pat Poovalingam, national chairman of Solidarity, said: "My personal view is that once the Act is repealed, there will be no room for separate parties."

He said Solidarity's policies were modelled on those of the PFP and there were no political differences between the parties.

It is understood from sources in Indian politics that the bulk of Solidarity MPs will swing to the PFP after Solidarity's congress in August.



The Rev Allan Hendrickse



Dr J N Reddy



Mr Miley Richards

The Labour Party has opted for a federal policy which is very close to that of the PFP.

The PFP last year also decided to defy the law by admitting all races. However, few people have risked contravening the law. Now many more may choose to join the party.

In the Transvaal, the PFP has already set up a committee to consider links across the colour line in anticipation of the Political Interference Act going.

Of the 18 Solidarity MPs, only four are still believed to be reluctant to join the PFP. They are P I Devan and Mr A K Pillay.

At least one member of the ruling National People's Party in the Indian House is believed to be considering joining the PFP. He is Mr Somaroo Pachai.

A number of Labour Party MPs used to belong to the old Progressive Party before the political interference law forced them out in 1968.

Slabbert calls for KwaZulu indaba

30411
NIA 25/5/85

Mercury Reporter

PROGRESSIVE Federal Party leader Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert yesterday called on agricultural, business, community and political leaders to start a 'Natal/KwaZulu indaba' to work out a political accommodation for the region.

Dr Slabbert, who was on a visit to Natal, made the call at meetings in Durban Umhlali and Darnall yesterday.

He said it was encouraging that the Government had dusted off the Buthelezi Commission report and President Botha had declared an 'open' agenda for the future of Natal/KwaZulu.

'While the enlarged Cabinet Committee is still planning its own

agenda, I see no reason why the Government should not allow a Natal/KwaZulu indaba to begin,' he said.

All the necessary ingredients were there to make it a political laboratory for the rest of South Africa to look up to, he said.

In the Buthelezi Commission report's recommendations lay the recipe for non-discriminatory and non-racial constitutional co-operation which was valid, not only for Natal/KwaZulu but for the whole of South Africa.

'Here in Natal/KwaZulu we have major interest groups who have declared themselves willing to test this political experiment.

'It would be a great pity for all South Africans if the Government did not allow this opportunity to be seized so that it can have a demonstration effect for the rest of the country.'

Farmers, businessmen, politicians and community leaders had participated on the Buthelezi Commission to produce a first-class report which could form a basis for discussion and negotiation of a new deal.

Negotiation

'But before we can persuade the Government that this is necessary, we will have to create a climate of trust.'

Effective channels of communication would have to be created, he said.

'All parties will have to demonstrate their bonafides and show that they take political negotiation seriously.'

Referring to reports that the Government was considering a special deal for Natal/KwaZulu, Dr Slabbert said he had no privileged information that this was the case. But if it was the case he would support it, he said.

He said the Government had realised it could not go on planning constitutional solutions without the active co-operation of the people who were to live under them.

Mr Chris Heunis, as Minister for Constitutional Development and Planning — the architect of a sweeping new deal for all the people of South Africa — outlined what he called the Government's 'points of departure' before a gathering of diplomats and media representatives.

The points he made were:

- Commitment to a negotiated search for peaceful solutions;
- The maintenance of democracy;
- Political participation for everybody in all decision-making processes affecting their lives;
- Determination to prevent domination of one group by another;
- Rejection of discrimination on the grounds of race, colour or religion;
- Determination to remove it;
- Endorsement of the principle of sovereignty of law;
- Pursuit of a joint declaration of intent to emerge from negotiations.

Last night some veteran political observers drew attention to the method of Mr Heunis's presentation, before a gathering here of diplomats as well as media representatives, and pointed out the signifi-

cance of its timing.

Mr Heunis was speaking less than 24 hours after South Africans had seen Foreign Minister Pik Botha tell an American television audience that the Government was resigned to losing white support in its determination to carry through its reform programme.

The observers also wondered whether Mr Heunis had hinted at preparations for a national convention on South Africa's constitutional future.

He said the Government had already openly invited people of all races to participate in a forum of discussion about constitutional rights for blacks.

The concept of a forum does not imply, in its initial stages, the bringing in of leaders from various communities, Mr Heunis said.

'It implies individual and group negotiations so as to arrive eventually at a formalised meeting and a negotiated agenda for that meeting.'

Although Mr Heunis made it clear that the Government felt a declaration of intent about the political future of black people in South Africa could not be drawn up by it alone, it was pointed out last night that his points of departure amounted, to some extent, to a declaration.

Destruction

However, Mr Heunis said a formal declaration would have to emerge from negotiation with leaders of all races who were committed to peaceful change.

Mr Heunis would not name black leaders who had already accepted the Government's offer of negotiation, but said in reply to a question that no member of the United Democratic Front had approached the forum.

'If there are people in the UDF who subscribe to peaceful change, not only in theory but in practice, they of course can come and discuss their views on peaceful change,' Mr Heunis said.

'But there are people in

PRETORIA—The Government yesterday announced eight principles of commitment for South Africa's future, which some experienced observers interpreted as the end of apartheid.

8-point plan for a new S

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25/5/85

the UDF who are not committed to peaceful change and under the pretext of democratic ideals use these institutions to destroy them.'

When asked whether the Government should not have opened its forum on a basis of who the recognised leaders of the communities were, rather than who had declared their commitment to renounce violence, the minister said: 'I believe you would destroy the credibility of the leaders that opt for peaceful change if you decide to negotiate with people who openly propagate violence, or whose actions must of necessity lead to violence.'

Mr Heunis said the Government did not expect that there would eventually be a uniform solution for all sections of the country. — (Sapa)

25/5/85 (304A)

JOHANNESBURG.— If South Africa was a federation of states, there would be an immediate abatement of the fear, anxiety and mistrust that presently characterised its society, Dr Alan Paton said in Johannesburg this week.

Delivering the Hoernle Memorial Lecture of the South Africa Institute of Race Relations at the University of the Witwatersrand, the 83-year-old author said the salvation of South Africa would not come from the National Party, the United Democratic Front or any new or existing party or organisation.

Dr Paton said he had entitled his lecture *Federation or Desolation* as he believed that federation was the only possible form of constitution that held any hope for the country.

He said the State President, Mr P W Botha, "has been called a hypocrite, his new dispensation has been described as a giant hypocrisy, and a cosmetic swindle."

"I do not believe that Mr Botha is a hypocrite. To me, he is an Afrikaner who is trying to break out of the bondage of his history — a history in which the British and the blacks were two of the greatest determinants."

"The Afrikaners are emerging from the morass of apartheid and one cannot expect them to emerge white and shining," Dr Paton said.

Not fair to stay

South Africans should either make up their minds to travel the hard road ahead, or relapse into despair.

"If we relapse finally into despair, we ought to get out of South Africa as soon as possible. It is not fair to stay and to weaken the spirit of others," he said.

Speaking in defence of language, he said it was a prostitution of language to liken the Republic to Nazi Germany.

If South Africa were Nazi Germany, opponents of apartheid would be dead. "And as I say this, I remember that Steve Biko is dead, Neil Aggett, Andries Raditsela, Siphó Mutsi, Zacha-

riah Mzulane and the people at Crossroads and Uitenhage — they are all dead.

"I remember that, and it fills me with shame, but it will not allow me to say that South Africa is like Nazi Germany."

South Africans would have more confidence if the State President put forward a declaration of intent, which had been called for by many.

This declaration would be called "Rhetoric" and "Cosmetic" and therefore disbelieved, "but I do know that such a declaration would help some people to emerge from the melancholy that afflicts them," Dr Paton said.

Mr P W Botha's new dispensation was an inadequate attempt to moderate the fear of whites who were obsessed by the idea of central power if it got into the hands of someone other than themselves.

"It is another irony of our history that the white people of South Africa, having chosen a unitary state in 1910, are now afraid of the idea of another. They are ... afraid of a new unitary state that might do to them what they have done to others. White people do not like to talk of this fear — some of them even pretend that it does not exist," he said.

Limited power

"I have no doubt that if South Africa became a federation of six or eight or 10 states, with a federal government given as limited power as it is possible for a federal government to have, there would be an immediate — though not complete — abatement of the fear and anxiety and mistrust that so characterises our present society."

"I believe there would be a great increase in confidence, both political and economic. Only then would we have a right to contemplate a federation of Southern Africa," Dr Paton said.

Among the early results of a federation he would expect would be a return to the rule of law, abolition of detention without trial, changes in the security laws, and alterations — if not the abolition of — the Urban Areas, Group Areas and Population Registration Acts.

"I would expect the wounds of conquest to start healing (and) ... a greater measure of ... happiness in our lives, and a change in the attitude towards South Africa on the part of those people, both righteous and self-righteous — who now have little for us but condemnation."

Alfred and Winifred Hoernle — after whom the lecture is entitled — and others established the South African Institute of Race Relations in 1929. — Sapa

25/5/85

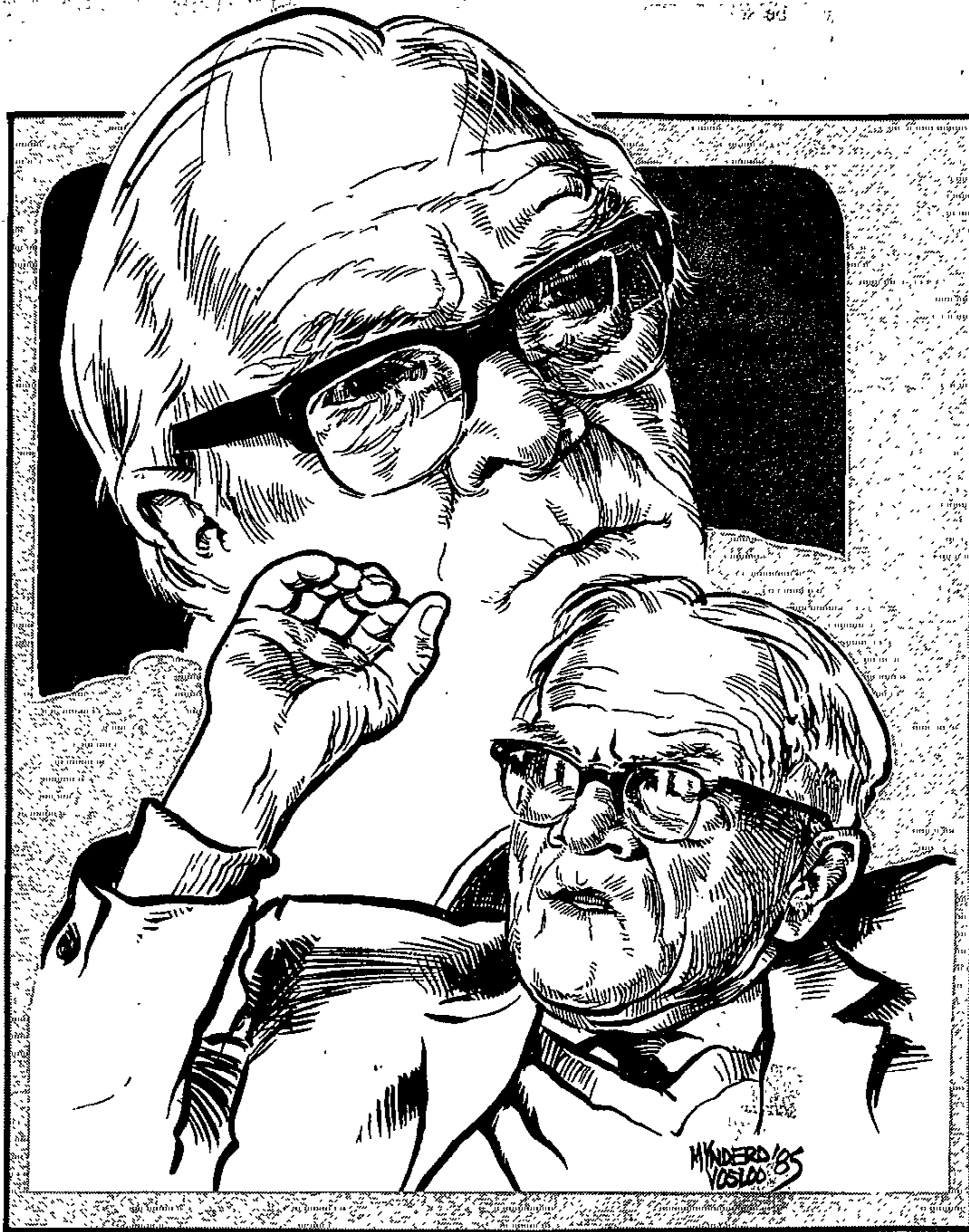
304A

WEEKEND FOCUS

ALAN PATON on his plan for the salvation of South Africa— and the Afrikaner who is trying to break out of the bondage of history

Federation, or nothing

504A 25/5/85



●Alan Paton — as seen by Weekend Argus artist Mynderd Vosloo.

Care Times 25/5/85

Matie 'exposes' Ruiterwag cells

306A

Education Reporter

THE Stellenbosch Student newspaper, Die Matie, has alleged that the secret Broederbond-controlled society, the Ruiterwag, operates on the campus and manipulates student politics.

The latest issue of the fortnightly publication names six lecturers and several students as members of the exclusive all-male society, including two serving members of the Student Parliament, five from the Students' Representative Council, the head students of two hostels and the National Party student branch chairman.

Two of the lecturers alleged to be Ruiterwag members are hostel wardens.

Die Matie quotes as source for its claims an unnamed Ruiterwag member who allegedly broke his oath of secrecy because he could "no longer reconcile the aims of the organization with his Christian beliefs".

The newspaper says minutes of meetings held by the Ruiterwag on campus show the society's most important period of activity to be just before SRC and SP elections.

Die Matie claims Stellenbosch is divided into

"10 or 11" Ruiterwag cells or "guard posts" (wagposte) which are each headed by a "chief guard" (hoofwag) who is "usually a lecturer who also has membership of the Broederbond". The chairmen of all the guard posts allegedly form a central committee.

The newspaper says minutes of the meetings show the Ruiterwag pushed people into leadership positions and manipulated student affairs.

The Ruiterwag is also alleged to have financed "front organizations" and to have provided financial aid for SRC elections.

Die Matie states the Ruiterwag was formed in Bloemfontein in 1956 by the former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Stellenbosch, Professor H B Thom, who was then chairman of the Broederbond.

The society apparently became active on the campus in 1960.

The rector, Professor Mike de Vries, said he was aware that the organization operated on the campus but Stellenbosch was probably not the only Afrikaans university campus where it could be found.

That golden word — federation ...

EVERYBODY is shouting at the Government to spell it out. And the golden word they want to hear from it is "federation".

What is forgotten is that federation has been a swear word to the National Party for most of its existence.

So however much Nationalists of today might want to utter it, they know that to the ear of many of their followers it would still sound like blasphemy.

The Opposition had been scorned and repeatedly defeated at the polling booth on the basis of that word. It was made to seem to voters as being little different from raising the white flag in battle.

As a result federation has never really been given a chance for proper discussion. Its subtleties and whatever protective devices it might offer to minority groupings got drowned out by the battle-cry of apartheid.

It is only now that apartheid has painted itself into a corner that the concept has a chance of coming into its own. Various incidences indicate that this is indeed what is happening.

For instance, when last has one heard the Government attack the federal policies of the Progressive Federal Party, or even the New Republic Party for that matter?

Also, how can a Government persuasively criticise the constitutional policies of its opposition when a member of its own Cabinet has declared his support for those same policies? This is probably the most important implication of this week's announcement by Mr Allan Hendrickse that he is in favour of a geographical federation, which sounds much the same thing as the PFP has been advocating for years.

There is even said to be a growing number of Government members who have taken a positively liking to the federal concept. Their problem, it appears, is finding the words to say so publicly in a manner that would not sound like swearing to their supporters.

Others, too, might have sensed this, as is indicated by calls from Chief Buthelezi, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and various business-

INSIDE POLITICS

It is only now that apartheid has painted itself into a corner that the concept has a chance of coming into its own.

W/C ARGUS 25/5/85 JOKA
men for a statement of intent from the Government.

What they want is probably not a firm declaration of policy. That would sound too much like political prescription, while what is required is rather a broad policy outline that could serve as a commitment to negotiation.

Perhaps it is optimistic to expect the Government to simply come out and say it now favours federation. Making such policy statements has not been its style for years. The last time it happened was when it still firmly believed in apartheid, and that goes back somewhat.

These days its intentions have to be looked for in different ways. They often have to be searched for not in what is said but rather in what is left unsaid. They tend to be found, also, in statements that appear to have been made almost by accident, which of course is rarely the case. Few politicians, least of all Nationalists, are in the habit of saying things about their policies which they would rather have left unsaid.

Perhaps the best way of finding out what the Government is getting at is to look at the response of the Conservatives. They left the ruling party almost three years ago, but they still seem to understand the Nationalist mind well enough to know what they are thinking. Recently they have been putting two and two to-



By LEON MARSHALL
Political Editor

gether which has brought them to the conclusion that it is indeed federation that the Nationalists are thinking about.

The way in which all this is happening must remind them of the way in which the new constitution came about. It started when one day Mr P W Botha announced out of the blue that he believed in power-sharing. Next he said it wasn't power-sharing of the kind the PFP stood for but healthy power-sharing. And before the Conservatives could properly work than one out they were out of the National Party.

The Mixed Marriages Act and the racial clause of the Immorality Act followed much the same procedure. First it was indicated the Government was considering scrapping the acts. This was smartly followed by an assurance that what was in fact meant was not scrapping the acts but improving them. It was only after lengthy investigation proved to everybody that the acts could in fact not be improved that their fate was finally sealed.

Federation is going through the same thing. It is all happening in a round-about way, such as Mr Pik Botha telling the world that the intention is to negotiate structures for sharing in decision-making while maintaining the identities and rights of the various communities.

Probably the closest the Government has yet come to speaking the magic word was when Mr Chris Heunis told Parliament he did not believe in classical federation.

Federations of the nonclassical sort are, of course, a totally different matter. Anybody who knows the difference between power-sharing and healthy power-sharing could see that.

Post Focus

(304A) E-Post 251

CAPE TOWN — Tension — even open hostility — between the Labour Party and the National Party has become pronounced as the first working session of the tricameral Parliament plays out its final weeks.

It is clear that the patience of especially a group of LP "Young Turks" is wearing extremely thin about what they see as an inordinate irritating delay in dismantling apartheid.

And senior Government Ministers can in turn barely conceal their irritation at the LP trying to push them to a faster pace of reform than they feel they can sell to their supporters.

In the process the cosy relationship seen by some observers up to now between the new coalition partners in Government is threatening to bite the dust.

The flexing of the muscles of the LP, which in many ways holds the key to the success of the new constitution, could herald a new phase of hard bargaining and a hardening of attitudes.

It could also lead to a closer working relationship between the LP, which has 81 of the 85 House of Representatives' seats, and opposition parties — like the official Opposition Progressive Federal Party in the House of Assembly, with which it basically shares a common philosophy of non-racialism.

And it could gain for the LP the much-cherished prize of greater acceptance at grass-roots level in the community, such support having been decidedly small and low-key since the party decided to participate in the racially divided constitution.

The growing tension between the LP and the NP was highlighted this week when

● The LP boycotted a ceremony address by President Botha to mark the centenary of the taking into use of the central parliamentary building

Strife and tension appear between and Labour Party

By DIRK VAN ZYL
Political Correspondent



CHRIS HEUNIS

"What have we to celebrate in terms of the past. From the historical perspective it is a monument to the years of injustice and denial, of oppression and repression. So many laws of dispossession and discrimination have been passed inside these walls," the party said in a hard-hitting unanimous caucus statement.

(Some of its critics could, of course, argue that such a stand was called for at the time of the LP's decision to participate in a racist constitution and not after it had taken its place in the parliamentary buildings.)

● The Minister of Constitutional Development and

Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, clearly snubbed his Cabinet colleague, LP leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse, by not announcing in a debate in the House of Representatives the Government's intention to scrap the Prohibition of Political Interference Act.

It had been widely expected by senior Government sources and the Press to be made in the committee stage debate on Mr Heunis's vote in the coloured chamber.

The snub lay in that Mr Hendrickse told a public LP party conference in the Northern Cape last weekend that he expected Mr Heunis to make the announcement in the debate on Tuesday.

With indications that Mr Heunis may now make the announcement in Pretoria this weekend in a statement embargoed for the Sunday Press, many observers can interpret the events as nothing less than an irritated senior Minister telling a "newcomer" in no uncertain terms that he will not be dictated to on when and where to make an important statement.

Yet such a matter must be a Cabinet decision and Mr Heunis and Mr Hen-

drickse are, after all, Cabinet colleagues, other observers point out.

● One of the LP "Young Turks", Mr Peter Hendrickse (MP for Addo and son of the LP leader), in a speech throwing down the gauntlet on beach apartheid, in turn could hardly disguise his irritation at what he sees as National Party double talk and vacillation on reform.

Speaking in Mr Heunis's presence, Mr Hendrickse said "The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning is a master of the art of double talk as he once again demonstrated yesterday (earlier in the debate)."

And from conversations with a number of LP MPs it is clear to this observer that this kind of impatience with NP "double talk" is widespread among them.

Another LP "Young Turk", Mr Desmond Lockey (a nominated MP), told the House of his frustrations in being shunted from pillar to post by white public representatives as he sought access to ample "white" sports facilities for the coloured community in his home town, Vryburg, in the absence of such facilities for coloureds.



ALLAN HENDRICKSE

He first saw the local authority, who referred him to the MPC, who eventually told him by letter that he should take up the matter with "your own Minister, since this constitutes own affairs".

Exclaimed an angry Mr Lockey to the Chamber: "Own affairs has just become another word the whites in this country can use to continue with apartheid and, what is more, they want to be in charge of housing in our communities as well."

As Ministers have appeared in the coloured Chamber for committee stage Budget debates on

(HAA) E-Post 25/5/85

Ice and tension war between NP Labour Party

By DIRK VAN ZYL
Political Correspondent

Mr Chris Heunis, by snubbing his Cabinet colleague, LP leader the Allan Hendrickse, by announcing in a debate the Government's intention to scrap the Prohibition of Political Interference Act had been widely expected by senior Government sources and the Press made in the committee debate on Mr Heunis's vote in the chamber. The snub lay in that Mr Hendrickse told a public party conference in the Cape last week that he expected Mr Heunis to make the movement in the debate Tuesday with indications that Mr Heunis may now make the movement in Pretoria weekend in a statement. He went for the Sunday and many observers can bet the events as less than an irritation. Minister telling a "corner" in no uncertain terms that he will not be stated to on when and to make an important statement. Such a matter must be a Cabinet decision and Heunis and Mr Hendrickse are, after all Cabinet colleagues, other observers point out.

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As Ministers have appeared in the coloured Chamber for committee stage Budget debates on



PETER HENDRICKSE

their votes, they have been subjected increasingly to a grilling on apartheid by LP MPs.

The LP spokesman on Co-operation, Development and Education, Mr Tommy Abrahams (MP for Wentworth), said his party "totally rejects" the Laws on Co-operation and Development Amendment Bill.

It provides, among other things, for the partial lifting of restrictions on the freedom of movement of Section 10 blacks and for the removal of the permit system for non-blacks entering black townships.

But, said Mr Abrahams, illustrating the increasing

visibility of his party's uncompromising stance on matters of principle the LP could see no way in which Section 10 of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945 could be improved.

And then, of course the LP with other political parties earlier in the session — after the March 21 Langa shootings — called for the resignation of the Minister of Law and Order Mr Louis K. Grange.

So what does this all mean?

For one, the LP is slowly but surely showing its critics as well as non-aligned cynics and sceptics, to the fact that it is not the tame lackey they may have thought it would be.

And, secondly, as the classics may say, "the honeymoon is over" between it and the NP.

And, as a senior LP MP told me recently, this could in turn mean a thaw in the tensions there have been between the LP and the PFP, with which it shares the constitutional policy of a non-racial geographic federation.

With the expected scrapping of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act, which forbids non-racial political parties, a Pandora's box of interesting party political permutations and realignments across the colour line, and between parliamentary Houses, could be opened.

And the Government is sure to start taking more seriously the LP's threat that if within five years of the start of the tricameral system there has not been a substantial, fundamental movement away from apartheid, it will withdraw from the system.

And with such a step, the system would collapse politically through a total lack of credibility.

The Government cannot afford to allow this to happen.

Scrapping of law welcomed

By SEFAKO NYAKA

ALL THE political parties in Parliament, with the exception of the Conservative Party, had welcomed the scrapping of the Political Interference Act, but extra-parliamentary groups dismissed the announcement, saying it would

not affect their activities.

"The repeal of the Act does not address itself to the basic inequalities which exist in the system. Repeal of such laws can only be meaningful within a new context wherein the system which facilitates the exploitation and oppression of black people is

completely withdrawn," Azapo president, Mr. Ismael Mkhabela said. And a UDF spokesman, Mr. Murphison Morobe, said there was nothing to celebrate because the Government was still committed to apartheid.

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party,

Dr. Van Zyl Slabbert, described the repeal of the Act as an "exciting challenge" and said his party would immediately begin recruiting members of other population groups.

The leader of the Labour Party, the Reverend Alan Hendrickse, said the legislation, with its enactment in 1968, had been aimed specifically at his party and the former Progressive Party.

The abolition of the Act would give those with similar views across the colour bar the op-

portunity of freedom of political association.

The leader of the National People's Party, Mr. Amichand Rajbansi, welcomed the move as a proud moment in the process of political reform.

A spokesman for the New Republic Party, Mr. Derrick Watterson, said the step was a logical continuation of the reform process in South Africa. He said his party also supported the concept that each group should retain its own political power base.

The leader of the op-

position in the House of Representatives, Mr. Denis de la Cruz, said the abolition of the Act would give creditworthiness to the new Constitution.

Dr. Connie Mulder, spokesman of the Conservative Party said the Government was playing with dynamite and the consequences are alarming.

He said his party "totally rejected" the development and would fight it tooth and nail.

PW tells of plan for local govt

LONDON — President P W Botha said in a television interview broadcast here yesterday that the South African government was "on the brink" of bringing about second-tier government in which urban blacks would have a say and from where the country could move into the future.

Questioned by presenter Brian Walden for Independent Television's "Weekend World" programme, Mr Botha said of his Government's policy:

"What we are working quietly towards is the creation of a system of broadening democracy, to see to it that

every person has a vote, as far as possible, over his own interests, and that structures be created through which it will be possible for joint discussions on matters of mutual concern.

"We are now trying to bring about local authorities of black communities. We are also on the brink of bringing about second-tier government in which they will have a say, and from there we will move into the future after our discussions that we are busy with at present."

During the interview Mr Botha said he totally ruled out a unitary state, whether it was a federation or a union.

"White South Africans and many other minority groups will never accept a unitary state in which they will be dominated by a majority group."

Also interviewed was Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, who advocated power-sharing and said there was no way white South Africans could be regarded as colonialists.

"The black leaders in this country, all the credible ones, believe in one man one vote in a

unitary state," he said.

"But lately I think that I find there are many voices that now seem to favour some kind of federal solution. The first thing Botha should do is to declare a statement of intent."

Chief Buthelezi said his minimum terms were that the State President should agree that he was prepared to share power, in one government and in one chamber. — Sapa.

ALL

By SEFAKO NYAKA

THE ABOLITION of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act will bring about a major realignment in the political arena opening new vistas in terms of freedom of political association of people.

The repeal of the law that prohibits members of different race groups from belonging to the same political party was announced by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Plan-

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All a big mix-up

By SEFAKO NYAKA

THE ABOLITION of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act will bring about a major realignment in the political arena opening new vistas in terms of freedom of political association of people.

The repeal of the law that prohibits members of different race groups from belonging to the same political party was announced by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Plan-

ing. Mr Chris Heunis, in a statement on Saturday night.

Mr Heunis said he hoped the relevant legislation would be introduced in Parliament before the end of the present session.

The move is seen as a singular victory for the Coloured Labour Party, because it was in the forefront in the fight against a piece of legislation that was seen as "interfering in the individuals' freedom of as-

sociation," according to the national vice-president of the party, Mr Charles Radclyff.

Although Mr Heunis said the abolition of the Act reiterates the Government's commitment to abolish unnecessary measures and to carry through the process aimed at the establishment of a society in which all groups have effective participation in all decision-making processes, he was quick to point out that the

Government had not abandoned its declared view that all groups must take part in decision-making processes as groups.

Before the Act was passed in 1968, the Progressive Party and the Liberal Party had members from all race groups.

The Liberal Party, under Dr Allan Paton, was completely destroyed by the Act.

The repeal of the Act will not immediately result in a flood of blacks joining the PFP, "because it is operating within the 'system' and is seen as part of the oppressive machinery," according to an Azapo spokesman.

But there will be greater co-operation between all parties and organisations that "stand for a non-racial South Africa," said Mr Radclyff.

The LP has however denied newspaper reports that it intends forming an election pact with the PFP. "The Labour Party has not had talks with any political party in the country about the possibility of forming alliances so that elections can be formed," the LP leader, the Rev Alan Hendrickse said in a statement.

He said there are obviously many points on which the LP agreed with other political parties, but this does not mean that it would form pacts or alliances with these parties.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement does not represent a broad spectrum of the

country's race groups, and it is unlikely that the repeal will reverse the situation.

As head of the South African Black Alliance, Chief Buthelezi, and Mr Hendrickse had a fall-out soon after the LP announced its intentions of joining in the tri-cameral set-up.

Should the United Democratic Front register as a political party — which is unlikely — it could become the biggest and most representative party in the country.

The Azanian People's Organisation and its black exclusivist stance will not be affected by the repeal of the law, although with the abolition of the Mixed Marriages Act, some political analysts believe Azapo may find itself in a sticky situation where the husband can be a member, but not the wife because she is white or vice versa.

But blacks can forget about membership of the Afrikaners Weerstand Beweging and the Conservative Party — or the Herstigte Nasionale Party. Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the CP, said the repeal of the Act was a further violation of the principles of separate development and proof of the Government's obsession to do away with the white man's rights to separate political freedom.

The possibility of a white president for the banana republic of Venda does not exist as Mr Heunis pointed out that groups must take part in decision-making processes as a group.

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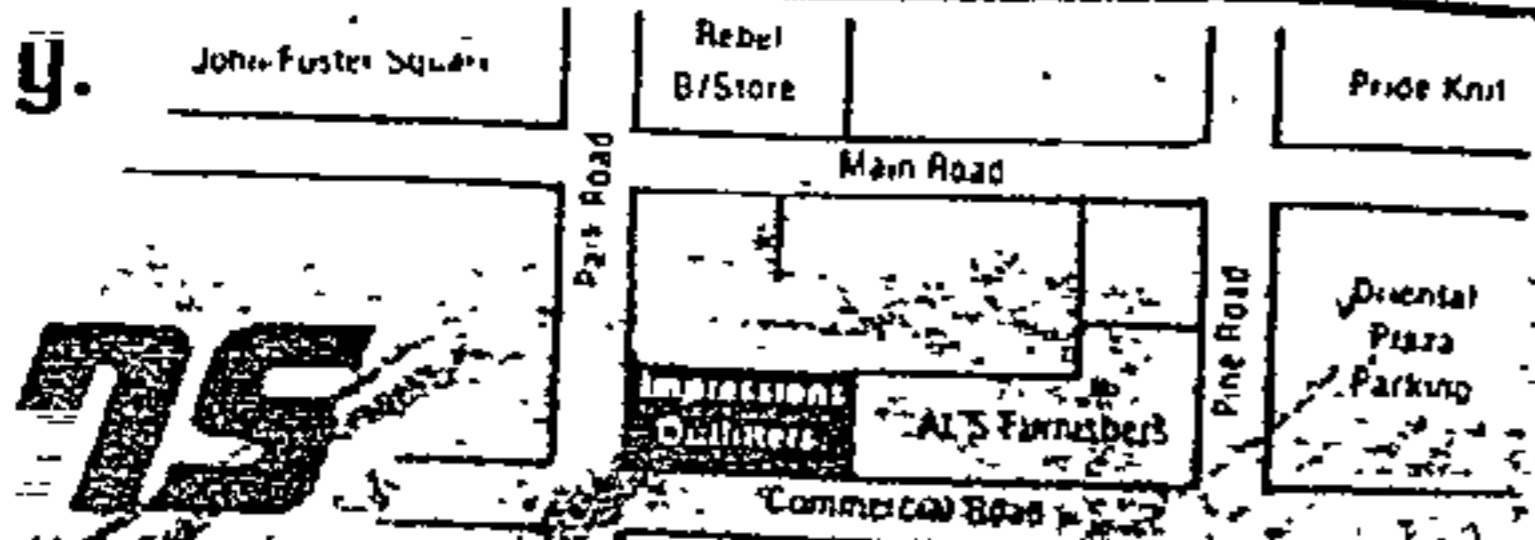
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MP claims Tutu has salted away thousands

304A
P. Disputa
27/5/85

Dispatch Correspondent

ULUNDI — The Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, could afford to advocate disinvestment because he had "salted away" thousands of rands in the bank and he could live on his investments if South Africa was reduced to ashes.

This allegation was made in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly by a leading member, Mr M. A. Nzuza, who represents the Nongoma electoral division.

He was speaking during the debate on the vote of the Minister of Economic Affairs, Chief Gathsa Buthelezi.

Mr Nzuza said members of the Assembly were not the "Tutus of this world" who would be lucky enough, if the situation in South Africa deteriorated through disinvestment, to make use of the money they had invested in the bank.

He said it had been estimated that interest accruing on an investment of R250 000 would, in two years, be sufficient to provide for an individual for the rest of his life.

It was not surprising, therefore, Mr Nzuza claimed, that Bishop Tutu had stated that disinvestment policies ought to be imposed after two years if the South African Government had not made drastic changes in policy.

"Even if they threw him out as Bishop of Johannesburg, he will be very comfortable," the member said.

He said South Africa was being inundated with "half-naked" strategies such as disinvestment. A lot of misguided people had joined the bandwagon, not knowing what the end result would be.

Many people were being attracted by the emotional speeches being made on the subject, Mr Nzuza maintained.

However, these same people never bothered to find out if there was any essence in the arguments which were being spread throughout the country.

Botha rules out unitary state

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — President P W Botha said in a television interview broadcast here yesterday that the South African Government was "on the brink" of bringing about second-tier government in which urban blacks would have a say.

He spelt out quite clearly, however, that there would be no majority rule in South Africa.

Political commentator Mr Brian Walden concluded: "So it seems Mr Botha is willing to let blacks have more of a say. He is prepared to let blacks elect their representatives on one-man-one-vote local and perhaps regional councils.

"But he specifically rules it out at national level, with power-sharing. Nor does he envisage having blacks in any overall legislative control in a federation or a single state embracing all of South Africa."

Summing up the interview, which concluded an hour-long programme investigating the current situation in South Africa and debating whether a bloodbath could be avoided, Mr Walden said: "So the chances of reconciliation in South Africa, on the basis of rapid-enough progress towards political equality, look slim."

Mr Walden's views will be regarded here as informed and unbiased. He is politically moderate, even conservative, and is highly regarded as a skilled interviewer.

Mr Botha said South Africa did not have a white minority as against a black majority. This was a country of different minorities, a white minority and black minorities. Even the Zulus, who in numbers were more than other minority groups, could be viewed as a minority group.

"We are looking for a

solution where every one of these cultural societies will retain their way of life, their language and their traditions."

In reply to questions from Mr Walden, Mr Botha said that the one thing he ruled out totally was a unitary state, whether it was a federation or a union.

"White South Africans, and many other minority groups, would never accept a unitary state in which they would be dominated by a majority group. We believe in the principle of one person, one vote — as long as it is not in one unitary state.

"I believe that the basis for democracy is local government. Without proper local government no democracy can really exist. What we are now doing is to bring about local authorities for black communities in the urban areas. We are also on the brink of bringing about a second-tier government, in which they will have a say. And from there we will move into the future."

Buthelezi

Earlier in the programme, Mr Walden interviewed Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, who stressed that Mr Botha should issue a statement of intent. "He should say that he is prepared, in whatever form, for a sharing of power between black and white," Chief Buthelezi said.

"As far as I am concerned, the State President must agree that he is prepared for me and my people to participate in governing this country, to share power in one government."

NO black majority rule says Botha

304A

MM 27/5/85

London Bureau

PRESIDENT Botha yesterday told Britons that his Government was committed to working out structures for political participation by blacks at every level.

avoided, Mr Walden said: 'So the chances of reconciliation in South Africa, on the basis of rapid enough progress towards political equality, look slim.'

Mr Walden's views will be regarded here as informed and unbiased. He is politically moderate, even conservative, and is highly regarded as a skilled interviewer.

'Open agenda'

Asked by Mr Walden whether he had a federal system in mind for South Africa, Mr Botha said: 'The moment I say I stand for a federation or a confederation I am prejudicing the issue. I am then telling other leaders what they should do and what they should accept.'

'What I have in mind is that we start with an open agenda, providing we all accept that we are a country of multi-cultural societies. Everyone of these multi-cultural societies has certain rights — cultural rights, language rights, our way of life that should be protected.'

'We are looking for a solution where every one of these cultural societies (in South Africa) will retain their way of life, their language rights, their traditions and to a certain extent also maintain their ambitions.'

In reply to questions from Mr Walden, Mr Botha said that the one thing he ruled out totally was a unitary state, whether it was a federation or a union.

'White South Africans, and many other minority groups, would never accept a unitary state in which they would be dominated by a majority group.'

'We believe in the principle of one person one vote, as long as it is not in one unitary state.'

He added: 'I believe that the basis for democracy is local government. Without proper local government no democracy can really exist. What we are now doing is to bring about local authorities for black communities in the urban areas.'

Buthelezi

'We are also on the brink of bringing about a second-tier government, in which they will have a say. And from there we will move into the future, after our discussions.'

But he ruled out that this would be in a unitary state, whether a union or a federal state.

In other words, he spelt out clearly that there would be no black majority rule.

Summing up this key interview with Mr Botha, televised in the current affairs programme *Week-end World*, one of Britain's top TV political commentators, Brian Walden, concluded: 'So it seems Mr Botha is willing to let

blacks have more of a say over their own affairs and some say over matters that concern them and the whites. This would be at what he calls the highest practicable level.'

'He is also prepared to let blacks elect their representatives on one man, one vote local and perhaps regional councils. But he specifically rules it out at national level, with power-sharing. Nor does he envisage having blacks in any overall legislative control in a federation or a single state embracing all of South Africa, as far as he can foresee.'

'In spite of the hints of far-reaching reform then, Mr Botha seems unprepared to meeting even Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's demands, never mind those of more radical blacks,' Mr Walden said.

Summing up the interview, which concluded an hour-long programme investigating the current situation in South Africa and whether a 'bloodbath' could be

Earlier in the programme Mr Walden had interviewed Chief Buthelezi, who emphasized that Mr Botha should declare a statement of intent.

He added: 'He should say that he is prepared to accept, by whatever form, a sharing of power between black and white.'

304A

No rushing into rainbow mergers

Political Staff

THE scrapping of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act could usher in significant party realignments before the opening of the next session of Parliament.

It also opens the way for a measure of indirect parliamentary "representation" for movements excluded so far from the political process at central government level.

While most parliamentary parties have welcomed the government's midnight announcement that it plans to scrap the Act, all but one have indicated that there will be no rushing into rainbow mergers.

Unconvinced

Nevertheless, some informal talking has been going on between certain parties, although only Solidarity, the opposition party in the House of Delegates, has gone so far as to indicate that it will seek amalgamation with the Progressive Federal Party.

Even so, it is understood that not all Solidarity members are convinced about such a merger.

The leader of the PFP, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, has also denied reports of merger plans.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, released his statement early yesterday.

The Act barred members of different race groups from belonging to the same party.

Mr Heunis said amending legislation would probably be introduced in Parliament this session.

Abolition of the Act means blacks, coloureds, Indians and whites may become members of any political party for the first time since 1968.

The parties will now be able to open their doors to members of all races. This implies that blacks, for example, while unable to actually partici-

To page 2

Cape Times 27/5/85

27/5/85

From page 1

pate in the parliamentary system, will be able to influence white, coloured or Indian candidates through participation in the caucuses of the parties they join.

Dr Slabbert said the PFP would immediately begin recruiting members of other population groups.

He said the PFP would consider putting up candidates for seats in the Houses of Representatives and Delegates, but this would be finalized only at the party's national congress in August.

The Labour Party leader, the Rev Alan Hendrickse, whose party dominates the coloured House of Representatives, said he welcomed the scrapping of the Act as an important investment in the country's future.

He denied that a merger with the PFP was in the offing but said that there could be associations and agreements on different issues. All parties who favoured scrapping of the Act wanted a new South Africa — they differed only on strategy.

The leader of the majority National Peoples' Party in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, said he did not believe parties would rush into mergers, and disclaimed rumours that the NPP would be "swallowed up" by the PFP.

He said, however, that he would not rule out the possibility that the PFP could become a majority party in either the Representatives or the Delegates.

His party would also immediately open its doors to all races, he said.

It is understood that Solidarity chairman Mr Pat Poovalingam has said that his party will seek amalgamation with the PFP.

Sources in the PFP have indicated that there have been unofficial discussions with other parties.

The New Republic Party's Mr Derrick Waterson said the step was a logical continuation of the reform process in South Africa.

Rejecting the move, the Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, described it as a further violation of the principle of separate development and proof of the government's obsession with doing away with the white man's right to separate political freedom.

PW wants a vote for all — but not in one system

JOHN D'OLIVEIRA of The Argus Foreign Service in London reports on the broadcast in Britain of a television interview with President P W Botha

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, told millions of British television viewers yesterday that he believed in one-man-one-vote for South Africa — as long as it was not in a unitary state.

Mr Botha was interviewed on Independent Television's prestige Weekend World current affairs programme, which set out to examine whether South Africa could change quickly enough to avert a bloody revolution.

At its close, presenter Brian Walden said that despite the hints at far-reaching reforms in South Africa, Mr Botha did not seem prepared to meet even Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's demands, let alone the more radical demands made by other black leaders.

"So the chances of reconciliation in South Africa on the basis of rapid enough progress towards political equality look slim."

Mr Walden, a former Labour Party MP, interviewed Mr Botha in South Africa.

Mr Botha said that eventually blacks would be accommodated "to the highest level possible".

What would he say was the highest level possible?

"That is a matter we are now embarking on to find a solution with our discussions. We have formed a cabinet committee and we have expanded this committee into an unofficial forum to have discussions with various leaders on this matter.

"I believe it is no use trying to prescribe to people what the future should be.

"In this case there should be joint discussions and joint deliberations to find a solution to our minority problem in South Africa."

Asked whether he envisaged a federal solution to the South African situation, Mr Botha said that he did not want to prejudice the issue.

"What I have in mind is that we will start with an open agenda, providing we accept we are a multi-cultural country and that every one of these cultural societies has certain rights. We are looking for a solution where every one of these cultural societies will retain their way of life, their language rights, their traditions and also, to a certain extent, their own ambitions."

Mr Walden put it to Mr Botha that he had not ruled out a federal solution.

"What I rule out totally is a unitary state whether it is a federation or a union.

"White South Africans and many other minority groups do not accept a unitary state in which they will be dominated by a majority group."

Asked whether he was leaving the door open for the participation of blacks in the highest structures, Mr Botha replied: "As far as practicably possible."

The State President said he believed the basis of democracy was proper local govern-



President Botha

ment. South Africa had been trying to establish local authorities for the black community in the urban areas and was now setting up second-tier structures for them.

"And, from there, we will move into the future."

Mr Walden: "But people want more and you have promised them more."

Mr Botha: "Yes, along evolutionary lines."

Asked whether he was working towards some structure that would include all South Africa's black people, Mr Botha responded:

"What we are working towards is to create a system for the broadening of democracy in South Africa to see to it that everybody has a vote as far as possible over his own interests and that structures are created through which it will be possible for joint decisions

in matters of mutual concern.

Mr Walden: "Does this not involve what people would normally call power sharing?"

Mr Botha: "In the ordinary, liberal sense of the word, no because I am against a unitary state. I am against a unitary state in the form either of a federation or of a union."

The State President spoke of representatives of different groups dealing with matters of common concern and Mr Walden asked whether they would do this in a single body.

Mr Botha: "Not necessarily in a single body but in structures so structured that there will not be domination of one group by another."

Mr Walden: "I am interested that you say 'Not necessarily', that you do not rule a single body out."

Mr Botha: "I cannot foresee the future in 30 to 40 years time.

"If you take an evolutionary process, it is not for me to describe what will happen after the discussions (with black leaders) have been completed."

Told that many people believed he was too cautious, that he was not going fast enough, Mr Botha said he was not cautious, but responsible.

"In South Africa we have a unique situation.

"We have a whole world in miniature form in South Africa. You must be very careful not to allow South Africa to be exploded."

Angolans make no reply to Pik's call

ARGUS
27/5/85
306A

Argus Political Staff
SOURCES in the Department of Foreign Affairs said today Angola had still not replied officially to Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha's message sent on Friday requesting an urgent meeting to negotiate the return of the wounded and dead South Africans ambushed in Cabinda earlier in the week.

The incident has whipped up a storm of international condemnation and has knocked South Africa's credibility five weeks after giving public and private assurances that it had withdrawn all its forces from Angola.

REJECTED

The Angolan news agency Angop reported at the weekend that Angolan government officials had rejected direct negotiations. Angola was instead demanding an explanation for "this criminal act".

The Defence Force has denied that South Africans were involved in sabotage but has admitted that reconnaissance units were in Angola to monitor ANC and Swapo activities.

The Portuguese news agency Anop reported in Lisbon that official Angolan sources promised to give more details of the incident soon. They also promised the captured soldier, Wynand du Toit, would be presented to the Press but gave no date.

● A Department of Foreign Affairs spokesman said today there were diplomatic options open if Angola continued to withhold a response.

● Mother in dark — Page 3.

Local 'riddle of the Sphinx' — what is treason in SA?

LONDON. — For the past week I and many others who have lived through South African politics of the '50s have been waking up to the morning paper with a certain sense of expectation.

This expectation was that we would be given an answer to the South African version of the "riddle of the Sphinx". By now most of us are becoming sadly resigned to having to wait a little bit longer, if any answer is about to come at all.

The question, or rather the riddle, is one for which we awaited an answer from 1956 to 1961 — and even then received no answer.

The conundrum was: "What is treason in South Africa?"

During that time it was asked repeatedly on behalf of 156 black, coloured and white South Africans gathered together in the Treason Trial for all those long tedious years. At the end of which they got no answer.

No charges

All manner of men and women had to face that enquiry, including doctors, lawyers, journalists, clergymen, teachers, trade unionists, but at the end of it all, at the end of the whole process, every man and woman of them all were sent home again without ever having the charge of treason, or any other charge, reliably pinned on him or her.

Legally, they must have been the most faultless and distinguished band of South Africans ever assembled.

So when we heard that the inquisitors of our loyalty were, quite regardless of their past profound failure, about to start

the same examination all over again with a new Treason Trial, most of us believed they might have got it right this time

Not about the same people, or even the same kind of people — there seemed to be more lawyers this time, and a greater sprinkling of trade unionists — but, we were convinced, our rulers must have got the legal formula largely correct

Guesswork

Another long-drawn-out failure was unthinkable.

Yet, as the guesswork started again among the great new crowd of journalists, observers, broadcasters, and so on assembled at a new point of trial — Maritzburg — doubts began to circulate or, at least, cautions.

Going on past form, our informers warned us the new Treason Trial could take anything up to 18 months to assemble its charges. The leaders of various political groups could be kept away from alleged treasonous activities for that much longer.

With a bit of luck, some of them might die of old age or discouragement long before it became legally accepted that they had been correctly charged. So the keen edge of our expectation has become blunted and the thought has seized us that many of us, too, may have died before we dis-

cover the true meaning of treason and a proper care for it.

Meanwhile, the South African government appears to have provided an arena of thought to build up solidarity among various groups who would like to see its policies destroyed.

Thought arena

There both the Azanian and the UDF factions will be able to build up their strategies and arguments, designed to destroy the apartheid order. Maritzburg will become a veritable Athens of political and intellectual activity to plot the downfall of the racial system.

The UDF will be able to refine its rationale for doing so in co-operation with the whites, coloureds and various groups of Indians and blacks, and the Azanians practice their build-up of a veritable Verwoerdian black party.

Messages will pass from that other centre of subversion, Lusaka, giving advice on tactics and organization. Leading members of the ANC's political military council sent forth strategic advice over the last week.

General strike

They urged, on behalf of the ANC, that black youths prepare for a long general strike, with small armed bands prepared to turn the townships into "no-go"

areas.

The messages from the political military council sought to cheer their audience with summaries of how the situation on the ground was turning to their advantage. The blacks, councillors, policemen, security-men, and so on, without whose help the whites are unable to run the townships, are beginning to lose heart in making a profit from the white need for such service, and may be ready to trade with both sides.

About 20 years ago I learned some respect for the acuteness with which refugee black politicians observe reactions at home.

There were plenty of these refugees at the foundation meeting of the Organization of African Unity. An Algerian leader declared at one discussion:

'10 000 men'

"Give me 10 000 men and I will march straight down Africa to liberate our black brothers in South Africa!"

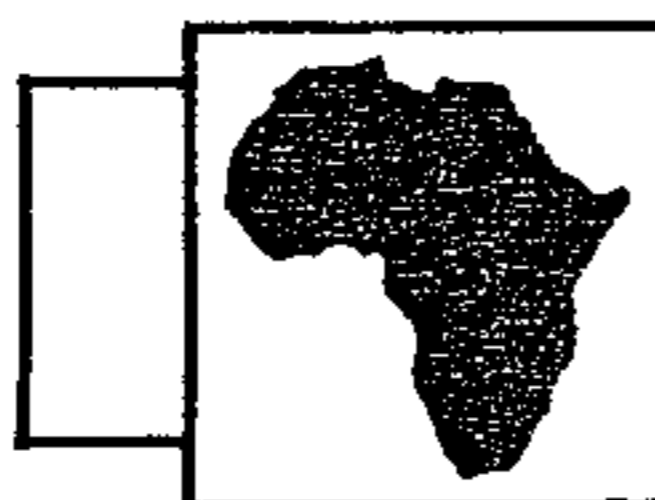
I was just sitting down to send this news off to the Cape Times when I looked up to find a group of ANC men regarding me anxiously.

"You're not going to send what that Algerian fellow's just said," they asked.

"Yes," I said. "Why not?"

"Don't do it!" one begged me. "You'll have all our fellows stopping whatever they're doing and sitting down to wait for the 10 000 Algerians to turn up!"

In the last score of years, I guess, the blacks have learnt enough not to expect African promises to be fulfilled so promptly.



Africa Report

By ANTHONY DELIUS

Cape Times 27/5/85

304A

These men must go, says Meer

SIR — In attempting to justify his incredible salary Mr Rajbansi compares his position with that of white parliamentarians in South Africa and the United Kingdom. This is an absurd comparison.

The white electorate supports and elects the candidates most able to serve its own needs of continued white power and privilege. In paying parliamentarians the white electorate obtains value for its money.

Conversely, Mr Rajbansi and his colleagues in the House of Delegates enjoy little if any support among the Indian electorate and depend almost entirely for their privilege and power on a white minority government and its police force and army.

A paltry 15 percent of the Indian community voted in members to the House of Delegates, notwithstanding massive coercion on the part of the Nationalists to obtain a large Indian vote.

Anger

Mr Rajbansi himself attracted a miserly 1 088 votes in a 14,1 percent poll.

There is rising anger that the community is compelled to contribute towards its own oppression by paying fancy salaries to people they do not want and who do not represent them.

To add insult to injury Mr Rajbansi and his colleagues, as we correctly predicted at the time of the elections, have been unable to keep a single election promise:

- More employment was promised — unemployment is on the increase.

- Improved living standards were promised — living standards have fallen and the cost of living has increased.

Housing

- More houses at affordable prices were promised — Mr Dookie now says that the days of cheap housing are over and unashamedly implements the Nationalist Government's housing policy.

- A lowering of GST was promised — GST has increased.

Indians are contributing to pay a Mr Rajbansi who:

- Agrees to sending the SADF into the African townships;

- Supports Minister le Grange even after the Uitenhage massacre;

- Is responsible for the implementation of inhuman security laws and who shares responsibility for the recent deaths in detention and charges of

treason against the NIC and UDF leaders;

- Is responsible for the detention of Mr Lekota and Popo Molefe of the UDF;

- Endorsed, in the budget debate, the principle of discrimination in financial disbursements in respect of housing, education, social welfare and pension.

The community does not want Mr Rajbansi and his fellow delegates. It cannot squander money on people perceived as political opportunists while the recession bites deeper.

These men must go.
F M MEER (Dr)
Executive: Natal Indian Congress

Dormerton

Call to scrap influx control

(304A)
28/5/85
D. Dispute

Dispatch Reporter

GRAHAMSTOWN — Retaining influx control would mean that South African urban areas would remain in perpetual crisis, the senior research officer for the Urban Foundation, Mrs Anne Bernstein, said here at the weekend.

She was giving the lead-in address at a one-day conference on urbanisation organised by the Institute of Social and Economic Research at Rhodes University.

She said influx control prevented forward planning, undermined the quality of life of all black residents in urban areas and inhibited the market for employment and housing. It was also ineffective and had serious negative consequences.

The present policy created "a vicious circle" — a paradox, because with the deterioration of conditions in the homelands, pressures were driving people to the cities.

"Removing influx control is the only way to cure this impasse — and we include all variants of influx control," Mrs Bernstein said.

South Africa did not have the worst of the Third World problems. South African cities were relatively small and South Africa was better placed to deal productively with urbanisation, she said.

Black urbanisation was the most important factor of the problem. There were several forms to consider: The natural growth rate of existing urban populations and migration to the cities, for which statistics were unreliable.

There was also homelands' urbanisation, which was occurring extremely rapidly in two directions — the establishment of formal towns and informal settlements, fringe or border settlements.

"There lies the pointer to future homelands' urbanisation," Mrs Bernstein said.

Examples were the Winterveld and KwaNdalele squatter camps. These housed commuter workers for Pretoria and the East Rand and provided patterns of the future. Ms Bernstein also cited the Durban area, with its adjacent KwaZulu population of 1½ million, and East London with Mdantsane on its doorstep.

"Homeland urbanisation is largely artificial because it provides dormitory towns to the white areas," she said.

The major causes of urbanisation were an economic pattern of racial capitalism and tremendous pressure on land. Other factors were rural poverty and a lack of opportunity in the rural areas.

"The population on the land must be diminished. Only by reducing it can serious productivity begin," she said.

Conditions in the homelands were deteriorating. Increasing landlessness and small landholdings resulted in a decline in agricultural production. The environment was being destroyed and at least 20 per cent of the workforce were unemployed.

Urbanisation was the sound, rational and economic alternative, Mrs Bernstein said. Rapid urbanisation was also inevitable and public policy should be built on an acceptance of these motives.

She said internal evidence showed that urbanisation occurred for economic reasons. The quality of life in cities was superior.

The service provisions might be inadequate, but were worse in rural areas.

Migrants coped far better in cities than was generally thought. Migrants were usually risk-

takers and in being so were assets to the urban economy and should be recognised as such.

She said attempts across the world to stop urbanisation had been unsuccessful, expensive and counter-productive.

Methods to stop it included restrictions on movement, prohibitions, demolishing illegal shacks in prescribed areas, mass removals and deportations.

"Usually the return tide keeps coming because we are tackling the symptoms and not the causes," Mrs Bernstein said.

In any case it was expensive, increased corruption and friction and made for disrespect of the law.

Defence issue raises problems within PFP

Cape Times 29/5/85 (3246)

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

— The thorny issue of Defence once again seems set to cause divisions within the Opposition Progressive Federal Party.

Yesterday, former Defence spokesman Mr Harry Schwarz stalked from the House of Assembly after the MP for Maritzburg North, Mr Graham McIntosh, had launched a vitriolic attack on the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.

While calling for the release of convicted Defence Force spy Roland Hunter, and describing the dilemma he must have found himself in when he realized that the SADF was supporting the Mozambiquan resistance movement Renamo, Mr McIntosh said Hunter must have felt "the same moral agony that a decent German must have felt when he realized that the SS was gassing Jews, Slavs and gypsies".

'Gaddafi'

It is understood that the reference to nazi Germany clearly upset Mr Schwarz who apparently said to Mr McIntosh as he left the chamber that he did not approve of his analogy.

Mr McIntosh also described General Malan as "the Gaddafi of Southern Africa".

Mr Schwarz will speak today when the debate on the Defence Vote continues while the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, will wind up the PFP's attack.

Yesterday, describing the relationship between the Defence Force and Parliament, Dr Slabbert said with regard to the Angolan war of 1974/5 and with the question of destabilization in Mozambique the truth had not been told to Parliament.

What, he asked "is Parliament expected to believe as officially true from this minister and this department?"

Stating that he would not publicly probe or expose issues that could harm the interests of South Africa, Dr Slabbert said that if, however, the matter was widely accepted as public knowledge inside or outside South Africa, "I am damned if I am going to allow the Parliament of my own country to be kept in ignorance".

In a hard-hitting speech, Dr Slabbert said the average South African "must find himself in a state of complete confusion and disbelief

when he hears statements from the SADF".

The SADF, he added, was creating both for itself and for South Africa "a major crisis of credibility".

Incident

The matter of timing in clandestine surveillance was crucial if the operation was not to become a threat to the very interests it was supposed to protect.

With the most recent incident in Cabinda, he said:

- There was a problem of political credibility because the official position was contradicted by the actions of those who were supposed to uphold this position;

Cubans

- It would give further justification for the retention of Cubans in Angola, an issue which was bedevilling a SWA/Namibian settlement.

- contradicted the stated position that with the end of the Joint Monitoring Commission all South African troops were out of Angola, and

- enforced the position of South Africa as a regional destabilizer and thus fanned the flames of disinvestment.

New Bill opens ^{17/26/65} parties to all races ^{29/5/85} ^{304A}

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

POLITICAL parties will in future be allowed to have members of all races and they will be able to hold mixed political meetings.

But they will still not be allowed funds from abroad.

These are the implications of a Bill published in Cape Town today to repeal the Prohibition of Political Interference Act, with the exception of one clause.

The sections of the Bill which are being repealed are those prohibiting mixed political parties, aid by members of one population group to another group and mixed political meetings.

FINANCIAL AID

The Constitution Affairs Amendment Bill retains the section which prohibits the receipt by a political party of financial aid from abroad.

The penalties for this are being increased considerably from a fine of between R300 and R600 and imprisonment of not less than six months to a fine of up to R3 000 and imprisonment of up to a year.

In the case of second or subsequent offences the fine is increased from not less than R1 000 or more than R2000 to up to R10 000 and the prison sentence from not less than a year to a maximum of two years.

The present Act will in future be known as the Prohibition of Foreign Financing of Political Parties Act.

The constitution reserves the House of Assembly for whites, the House of Representatives for coloured people and the House of Delegates for Indians.

PROHIBITION

There is also a provision in the Electoral Act which has so far been interpreted as a prohibition on political parties putting up candidates under the same banner for all three houses.

This is why two members of the Labour party in the House of Delegates have to sit as independents, although they are in the party's parliamentary caucus.

Legal experts said today that this provision is open to another interpretation — that it prohibits only the registration of more than one party with the same name in one specific House of Parliament.

If this interpretation is accepted it would mean that parties such as the Progressive Party and the Labour Party could put up candidates in all houses under the same name.

Commenting on the Bill, the United Democratic Front said today that for most blacks in South Africa the repeal of the Prohibition on Improper Political Interference Act was nothing to celebrate.

'Laws a threat to Afrikaners'

NM 29/4/85 304A

JOHANNESBURG—Afrikaner survival now depended on the elimination of discriminatory legislation, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Co-operation, Development and Education, said on Saturday.

Addressing graduates at the Rand Afrikaans University where he was being inaugurated as chancellor, he said they had a particular responsibility to ensure earnings on merit through fair competition.

They could contribute to Afrikaner's survival, the circumstances of which were being radically changed.

Graduates had to contribute to the achievement of equal opportunity within a free enterprise system in spite of international pressures against the country and the radical power shifts resulting from constitutional changes.

Afrikaners had always had to cope with political disunity in the past and

were being called to do so at present.

They would also have to adapt to black urbanisation in the next two decades and the changes in demography.

Dr Viljoen said academic freedom was wrongly said to give a university, or a person associated with it, greater political free will and privilege than the general public.

Actually it protected academics involved in

significant scientific work from intra or extramural interference.

Dr Viljoen said electing a politician to the chancellorship could inhibit the university's academic responsibilities.

'In our time it is difficult to keep politics and education separate. In fact it is politics that influences lifestyles and education directly.

'Militant political elements have started misusing and have practically raped black education to make it as a mere instrument for reaching particular political goals,' he said. — (Sapa)

Koude in 61

CP, HNP still to decide on 2041A by-election nomination

Political Reporter

THE Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party have still to decide among themselves which of the two parties will contest the forthcoming Port Natal by-election.

An election agreement exists between the two parties whereby senior officials from both decide jointly which party will contest any by-election. The rationale is to avoid splitting the Right-wing vote.

The election follows the resignation of the National Party MP for Port Natal, the Deputy Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Pierre Cronje, last weekend.

Last week a potentially bitter election row between the CP and HNP, following what some HNP members regarded as a violation of this agreement, was averted.

The Natal vice-chairman of the CP, Mr Pat Mohr, announced soon after Mr Cronje's resignation that 'a conservative' would contest the seat.

This was interpreted in HNP circles as a Conservative Party candidate and was seen as a violation of the agreement as no consultation on candidates had occurred.

The HNP says the CP has already once violated the agreement when it announced its candidature for the Newton Park by-election in the Eastern Cape without prior consultation.

Mr Mohr later clarified his statement. He had used the word 'conservative' in its broader sense.

Yesterday, he said he expected 'clarity' on who would contest the by-election this week, although the

general secretary of the HNP, Mr Louis Stofberg, said it could take longer.

It is understood Mr Mohr would be the CP's candidate and Mr Martin Louw, of Durban and a prominent member of the HNP, would be the HNP's candidate.

There is a feeling among HNP supporters that it should be given the Port Natal election because it is unrepresented in Parliament, although it polled about 200 000 votes countrywide in the last general election in 1981.

So far, the National Party, the New Republic Party and an independent, Mr Dave McNaught, have confirmed they will be contesting the election and indications are the Progressive Federal Party will as well. This means a five-way fight is likely.

How to respond to US sanctions

By DAVID WELSH

This is the last of two extracts from an extended article by Professor Welsh which appears in the journal Leadership (first quarter 1985).

IT WOULD be a serious mistake to dismiss the disinvestment lobby at least in the United States, as a bunch of misguided radicals.

True enough, there are radicals among them, but there are also many sober-minded and relatively moderate people who argue for some form of sanctions not as a means of destabilizing South Africa into a revolutionary situation but rather as a means of inducing non-violent change.

Apart from any other concerns, politicians are perceiving that disinvestment is an issue that will run and that they should exploit it for their own political purposes. Even significant numbers of Republicans are quite likely to line up in support of the imposition of some form of sanctions. Increasingly the debate is going to become less about whether or not sanctions are imposed, but over how far-reaching they ought to be.

Answer may be negative

How should we respond to the mounting threat? In my view the major thrust of the response ought to be to demonstrate that not only are sanctions unlikely to achieve any of the goals that their proponents claim, but that they are likely to hinder reform in South Africa. This has to be a subtle argument that relies on nice distinctions, because I have already conceded, as I think one must, that the threat of disinvestment has been one factor in spurring reform.

On the other hand, those who believe that damaging the South African economy, whether by threat or by deed (or both), have an obligation to show how this will induce change. Can they show that sanctions have played a significant part in promoting desired political change in other states against which they have been applied? Virtually all the evidence suggests that the answer must be in the negative.

The apparently endemic violence that has marked South Africa since mid-1976 should not be confused with revolutionary violence.

For all the horrifying loss of life and the destruction of property, most of the violence has been a relatively inchoate expression of anger and frustration rather than a planned, systematic attempt to overthrow the state.

The question of sanctions has an indirect though real pertinence here. Imagine a hypothetical situation in which all of the real grievances of urban blacks (rentals, education, lack of effective local authorities, etc.) were held constant but unemployment was very small. Would you have had the violence? One cannot be very certain but I am inclined strongly to doubt it.

Now, if sanctions increase unemployment, there is consequently every chance of increasing violence in the already tense urban areas.

Port Elizabeth is an unfortunate prospective case in point. Already it has a black unemployment rate of over 30 percent, and with the contraction of its motor car industry, several thousand more unemployed will swell the pool. Its black townships have been the scene of sporadic violence for nearly a decade, and this new development can only aggravate matters. Endemic violence reduced Port Elizabeth's locational attractiveness to entrepreneurs, so that its chances of breaking out of the vicious circle are proportionately reduced.

If applied, sanctions may well make it virtually impossible to cope with the massive problems of

the provision of jobs for the burgeoning population.

With its population likely to double in 29 years and with a need to create at least 250 000 jobs per annum (others project an even higher figure) just to provide employment for new entrants into the labour market, South Africa needs a growth rate of seven to eight percent.

In recent years however, the economy's performance has been poor. Annual growth rates have been nowhere near the targeted 5.5 percent; investment has been declining, and unemployment

has taken on alarming proportions. Far from creating 250 000 jobs annually, the number of black-occupied jobs may well have shrunk. Fears of disinvestment, among other factors, have made their contribution to this dismal picture.

An alternative view of change points to the leverage that blacks might acquire in an expanding economy.

In making this argument the assumption is that the strategy of armed struggle or liberation through violence will not succeed. If this is so, blacks have to look at alternative strategies, and none is more promising than seeking to maximize their economic bargaining power.

With the steady abolition of statutory restrictions on black upward occupational mobility (only in the mining industry do restrictions remain) and the chronic shortage of skilled and other highly trained personnel, the next decades should see striking black advance.

Indeed, a Human Sciences Research Council projection is that by the year 2000 eight out of 10 skilled jobs will be performed by blacks. Other projections suggest that blacks will constitute a sizeable minority in the managerial stratum by the same time. Black urbanization will probably double in the next 20 years, despite efforts to curb it. Another important index is black consumer power, which is now roughly at the same level as white consumer power.

Black economic muscle

The unionization of the black urban labour force has also proceeded apace over the past five years since the government's recognition of the right of blacks to participate in statutory industrial bargaining. Some 20 to 25 percent of urban black workers (excluding domestic workers) belong to registered and unregistered trade unions. This figure is likely to grow quite rapidly.

To point to these indices of actual and potential black economic advance is not to overlook the growth of unemployment and the deteriorating conditions in black rural areas.

On balance, however, the indices suggest growing black economic muscle. It could not be argued that this growing muscle converts automatically into political power, but it is highly likely that the more economically advanced and better educated a population group becomes, the more it will demand a share of political power and the less easily it will allow itself to be discriminated against.

If this argument is correct then it largely undermines whatever case might be made for sanctions as a source of change. More than this, indeed, it can be contended that sanctions run clean counter to the most hopeful strategy that blacks can pursue to secure their own liberation.

I believe that it is possible to demolish or seriously to discredit every single argument that has so far been advanced in support of the idea of sanctions. In the interests of all South Africans this must be done. But the most convincing answer of all would be to demonstrate that we are serious and sincere in our proclaimed desire to abolish racial discrimination and to create a decent and compassionate society firmly based on a respect for human freedom.



Prof David Welsh

INTERFERENCE ACT

Rainbow parties 304A

The scrapping of the Political Interference Act will not only result in a major realignment of political parties in Parliament; it is also seen as a possible first step towards a single chamber Parliament, and the broadening of the ruling National Party's (NP) base among conservative coloured people.

The first moves are expected to come from the Progressive Federal Party (PFP). The party has been discussing strategy for some time, and is about to launch an ambitious membership drive among coloureds and blacks. It is also planning to merge with the Indian Solidarity Party — the opposition party in the House of Delegates.

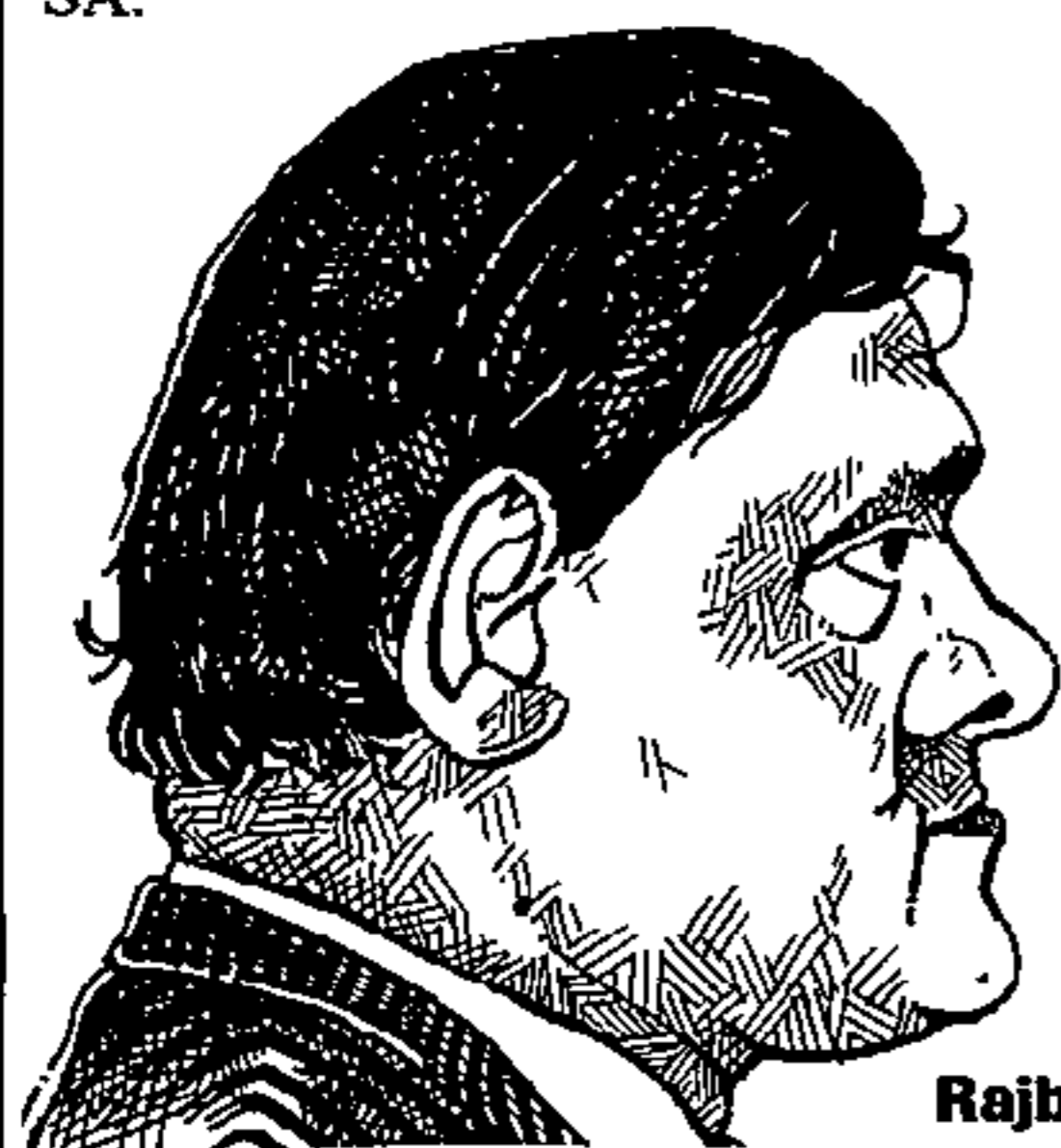
There is a strong possibility that several members of the ruling National People's Party (NPP) will defect to the PFP, which could make the PFP the ruling party in the Indian House.

If that happens, the PFP could have NPP leader Amichand Rajbansi replaced as a member of the Cabinet. That would mean a PFP caucus member will sit in on all Cabinet decisions.

All this could, however, make the PFP's informal ties with the United Democratic Front (UDF) even more problematic. The UDF is vehemently opposed to the coloured and Indian parties participating in the tricameral Parliament. But the PFP will probably use the argument that this would be a very effective way to white-ant the system.

The FM understands the PFP is also to launch a major fund-raising campaign to finance the new role it sees for itself in SA politics. Political scientists agree that with the party's considerable political and organisational skills and the financial backing it already has, it could play a pioneering role in changing the face of politics in the next few years.

It also seems certain the scrapping of the Act will blur the distinction between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics in SA.



Rajbansi

Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis says the Act will be scrapped before the end of the present session.

Head of Natal University's Centre for Applied Social Sciences Lawrence Schlemmer says it will be a very good thing for black

en its base by recruiting coloureds and changing the present Parliament to one house only. ■



Heunis

politics if the PFP gets actively involved. "There is definitely a vacuum in black politics that the PFP could move into. I also think it will be good for the PFP: it will make them more relevant in the eyes of the voter on the left and they could very well experience an increase in white membership.

"What is more important, the new PFP could act as an advance guard for the NP and government. Government will have the advantage to watch the kites the PFP will be flying in black politics."

Suddenly, the retention of three chambers in Parliament becomes less feasible. Rand Afrikaans University political scientist Hennie Kotze believes it will develop into one chamber even before the next general election in 1989.

"I don't think it is so obvious that the scrapping of the Interference Act will mean an alliance between the PFP and the Labour Party. I think we will see many brown Nats in the next year or two, especially if the NP keeps on scrapping the remaining discriminatory measures as far as coloureds are concerned. There are many conservative coloured people who would rather join the NP than the PFP. This will become more true as the constitutional position of the blacks develops further — many coloureds feel they are caught between the whites and the blacks."

Rightwing leaders, like the Conservative Party's Andries Treurnicht and the Afrikaner Weestandsbeweging's Eugene Terre'Blanche, have said for some time that the NP's strategy to stay in power, despite the growth of the white rightwing, was to broad-

The real leaders

FEATURE

State President P W Botha's proposed all-race national forum which appears to enjoy a large measure of white support — significantly among leading businessmen — raises the question: Which black leaders will he bring into the peace indaba?

Government will obviously talk to established leaders like KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Lebowa's Cedric Phatudi and Enos Mabuza of KaNgwane who are at the cutting edge of his long-term peace initiative.

But what of the others, most of whom are regarded with deep suspicion by the establishment?

Botha has already indicated that he is not prepared to include leaders of the banned African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), because they refuse to renounce violence, and the United Democratic Front (UDF) which he believes to be an "internal extension of the ANC and the SA Communist Party."

However, there is ample evidence that a peace forum without these leaders will be at a disadvantage. Despite all the bitterness that has been engendered between black and white nationalists, and the unease with which the business community regards radical black movements, many are now beginning to accept that without the Mandelas, the Pokelas, the Gumede in the negotiating forum the "real voice of the people" may never be heard.

The *FM* has compiled a list, partly based on a recent survey by the black paper *City Press*, of leaders who seem to have a firm constituency in the black community, who have the essential requirements of legitimacy and credibility.

They include:

- The ANC: Jailed leader Nelson Mandela and external president Oliver Tambo, John Makhatini, a younger man now heading the New York ANC office, and Thabo Mbeki of the organisation's London office, who is the son of the veteran Govan Mbeki now serving a life sentence with Mandela and others;
- PAC: Nyathi Pokela, who left the country a couple of years ago after completing a 13-year prison sentence and now heads the external mission; jailed Zephaniah Motho-

peng, who was elected to the national executive when the organisation was formed in 1959, and young Martin Mabiletsa, a Johannesburg lawyer who fled the country in the late Seventies, now resident in London;

□ UDF: President Archie Gumede, who is among the 16 UDF, Natal Indian Congress members and trade unionists standing trial for treason, and detained publicity secretary Patrick "Terror" Lekota;

□ Azapo: President Ishmael Mkhabela and former vice-president Saths Cooper, a clinical psychology student at the University of the Witwatersrand;

□ Church leaders: Johannesburg Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu, and Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed

today as divided as never before.

Members of government-created black institutions, such as community councils and other local authorities live in fear of their lives because of opposition and rejection in the black community. Many have died in the course of duty, many have resigned or will resign.

Local government structures, with a few stout-hearted exceptions, are in a state of collapse. This is as dangerous as it is tragic for it will sever one of the few communication links between government and black people at grassroots level.

The fact that the putative guest list is dominated by hardliners of the ANC and UDF should not deter the authorities. The

important thing is that they are the leaders who, like it or not, are preferred by blacks.

It is also noteworthy and perhaps even significant that, while three homeland leaders — Chief Buthelezi, Phatudi and Mabuza — are identified by blacks to be worthy of the appellation "real leaders," no single councillor or member of a local authority has been preferred.

A disturbing aspect is that both UDF and Azapo, as well as independent individual black leaders such as Motlana, don't seem to take President Botha's proposal seriously. Even Chief Buthelezi has so far rejected participation.

The UDF has said "unconditional dismantling of apartheid (not a national forum) is the only way to bring about

peace in SA" while Azapo accuses Botha of trying to create a deferential middle class among blacks.

Motlana, on the other hand, has said blacks are not about to be seduced into participating in a national forum but want the constitution rewritten to "provide for representation for all without regard to race, creed or colour."

Government's insistence on ANC leadership renouncing violence before it can be called to the negotiating table, while understandable, is not helpful either.

As Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda has said (*FM* April 26), a weak Nelson Mandela would be of no use. Not even to government.



Dlamini



Gumede



Motlana



Mabiletsa



Mkhabela



Tambo



Ramaphosa



Pokela



Sisulu

Churches; and

□ Trade Unions: Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, and Chris Dlamini, president of the Federation of SA Trade Unions.

Others whose inclusion would also be supported by blacks are Beyers Naude, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, Soweto Civic Association chairman Nthato Motlana, and awaiting treason trialist Albertina Sisulu, UDF patron and wife of jailed ANC leader Walter Sisulu.

But the question of who to talk to is not as simple as it may seem. Not only are internal relations between the race groups going through one of the most troubled periods in 20 years, black political activist groups are

P W BOTHA

Through the looking-glass



State President P W Botha spoke cautiously this week on future political developments in SA to Brian Walden of *London Weekend Television*. Here are excerpts from the interview:

Walden: You have said that you accept many of the blacks now as permanent residents of SA and that they must be given political participation and a say at a higher level. Can I take that to mean that you are seeing some form of black involvement at national level?

Botha: You will find that more than half of the black numbers in SA live in either self-governing states or independent states. But outside these states you have, mostly in metropolitan areas, more or less 9m-10m black people forming not one mass, but belonging to different cultural groups. Most of them were born in the Republic of SA. Most of them work here, and we take the attitude that these people by birth are SA citizens and we must make provision on as many tiers of government as possible for them to take part and have a say, in their own affairs firstly, but also to have a say in those matters of common concern with us.

So what is the say at national level for those blacks?

Eventually I would say to the highest level possible.

And what would you think was the highest level possible?

That is a matter that we are now embarking upon to find a solution. With our discussions, we have formed a Cabinet committee. I announced that we intend expanding this committee into an unofficial forum and to have discussions with various leaders on these matters, because I believe it is no use trying to prescribe to people what the future should be. In this case, there should be joint discussions and deliberations to find a solution for our minority problems in SA.

You have said the government's general constitutional aim is to give all the country's people a say in decision-making that affects their interest. And while I read it, I thought, "Well I have seldom read a better description of federalism." Without being too tied on the word, are you perhaps moving eventually to some federal solution?

No, I would not like to express myself on that point. Because the moment I say I stand for a federation, or the moment I say I stand for a confederation, I am prejudicing the issue. I am then telling them, the other leaders, what they should do and what they should accept. What I have in mind is that we start with an open agenda, provided we all accept that we are a country of multi-

cultural societies. Every one of these multi-cultural societies has certain rights — cultural rights, language rights, a way of life that should be protected. In SA, you do not have a white minority as against a black majority. That is quite a wrong way of looking at things in SA. We have a country of different minorities — a white minority and black minorities.

You say you want the agenda open, and so you don't want (to tie yourself to) a federation, a confederation, a devolution of power, because that would appear to prescribe ahead of time. But do you rule out the possibility of one of these things happening?

I rule out one kind of state. I rule out totally a unitary state, whether it is a federation or not, or a union. White South Africans and many other minority groups will never accept a unitary state in which they will be dominated by a majority group. We believe in the principle of one person, one vote as long as it is not in one unitary state. I think that is the problem that you have in Northern Ireland today, and I can't use a better example to describe our problem. With this one difference: that there you have two groups, in SA you have a multi-cultural society.

Chief Buthelezi has said to us that he would be prepared to accept a federal solution if, in fact, that meant black participation at the highest level. Now, will the views of people like Chief Buthelezi have an impact on the discussions that you will have?

Well, I have had many talks already with Chief Minister Buthelezi. I had talks with him only a couple of weeks ago, and I explained to him that we have some differences, and I think that he will acknowledge that we have some differences. But that does not mean that we can't discuss our problems together. We have much in common that we should discuss: economic interests, and security interests and labour interests. And I have embarked on discussions with all responsible leaders in SA, and I cannot for one moment see that Chief Minister Buthelezi should be excluded from these discussions. It's all a question of what you are discussing, and I would say that he himself would say that certain matters he is not prepared to discuss. Well, I have my provisos too.

Is it possible that the urban blacks, many of whom you now accept as permanent residents of SA, can move into this structure (of central government) in the same way that the homelands do? Would you say it is possible?

I would say it is possible too.

When is it going to happen, Mr President?

But I am not going to tell them to do so. I believe that the basis of democracy is local government. And without proper local government, no democracy can really exist, and what we are doing is that we are now trying,

as we have been doing over the past few years, to bring about local authorities for black communities in the urban areas in SA. We are also on the brink of bringing out second-tier government in which they will have a say, and from there we will move into the future after our discussions. That we are busy with at present.

Do I take it that, in the end, what is going to happen, after you have had the discussions, is that there is going to be an overarching structure, some joint decision-making structure that will include all the blacks — the blacks of the homelands, the blacks who are permanent residents in South Africa — that is what you are quietly working towards?

What we are quietly working towards is to create a system of the broadening of democracy in SA; to see to it that every person has a vote as far as possible over his own interests and that structures be created through which it will be possible to have joint discussions on matters of mutual concern.

And joint decision-making as well, Mr President?

If that is necessary. We have already joint decision-making today in various forms.

Does this involve what people normally call power-sharing?

In the ordinary liberal sense of the word — no. Because I am against a unitary state. But in what sense does it mean it?

Well, I can quote you an example. If you take the (British) Commonwealth of Nations, you find that they have joint decision-making and they discuss matters of common concern with each other, and they have even two types of citizenships. Each of the independent countries has its own citizenship, but they have a joint citizenship too. SA shared that citizenship in the past until we were forced to leave the Commonwealth of Nations.

You have said that you are anxious that there should be a local-level one man, one vote democracy, but that when one moves up to fulfil your pledge of co-operation at a higher national level, you would like representatives of those democratically elected people to come together to make joint decisions.

Yes, on matters of common concern, certainly yes.

In a single body, Mr President?

Not necessarily in a single body, but in structures so structured that there will not be domination by one of the other.

I am interested that you say "not necessarily." You don't entirely rule it out?

Well, I cannot foresee the future. If you take in evolutionary process, it is not for me to describe what will happen after the discussions have been completed. But what I can say is: these different multi-cultural groups have their own specific problems to deal with.

PAGE
10 FACE

304A

Cabinet reshuffle and major move for colour

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

IN a significant cabinet reshuffle and reassignment of ministerial responsibilities, President P W Botha has appointed the first coloured and Indian deputy ministers for general affairs.

Mr Luwellyn Landers, the MP for Mitchells Plain, has been appointed the new deputy minister of Population Development, and Mr Soobramoney Naicker, MP for Northern Natal and chairman of the House of Delegates, is to become deputy minister of Environmental Affairs.

The move is significant in that it is the first time that people of colour are to be given executive and administrative authority over all races. As such the new deputy ministers will be responsible for handling legislation in all three Houses — a development likely to spark furious objections from the Conservative Party.

In other changes to take effect from July 1:

● The Minister of the Budget in the white Ministers' Council, Mr Eli Louw, is promoted to a new central cabinet portfolio of Minister of



Mr Llewellyn Landers



Mr Soobramoney Naicker

Administration and Economic Advice Services to the State President.

● Dr Willie van Niekerk, the Administrator-General of SWA/Namibia, will be appointed to the cabinet as Minister of National Health and Population Planning.

● Mr Louis Pienaar, a member of the President's Council and former South African ambassador to France, will replace Dr Van Niekerk as Advocate-General.

● Mr Stoffel Botha, the Minister of Education and Culture in the white Ministers' Council, is promoted to Minister of Home Affairs in the central cabinet.

● The National Party chief whip, Mr Piet Clase, is to be promoted to Minister of Education and Culture in the white Ministers' Council.

● The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, will take over land consolidation, macro-statistics, physical planning and black local affairs from the Co-operation and Development portfolio.

● Mr F W de Klerk is to lose the Home Affairs portfolio but will retain National Education. However, Mr De Klerk is also to become the chairman of the white Ministers' Council and Minister of National Health and Population Planning.

● Mr F W de Klerk is to lose the Home Affairs portfolio but will retain National Education. However, Mr De Klerk is also to become the chairman of the white Ministers' Council and Minister of National Health and Population Planning.

To Page 4

crack of dawn



"Does this mean a new Orientation in government thinking?"

This was the second blast in central Johannesburg this week Tuesday, at least 10 people were injured when a limpet mine of Soviet origin exploded the offices housing the South African Defence Force medical centre.

● The African National Congress claimed responsibility for last night's blast the one on Tuesday. Sapa



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Mr Eli Louw

ronmental Affairs and Tourism, Mr John Wiley, will have marine affairs and conservation added to his portfolio.

President Botha also said that the Commission for Administration was considering removing internal information from the portfolio of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr P W Botha. Mr Botha would retain the responsibility for the SABC, but the President said he would decide what was to become of internal information later this year.

The changes announced by Mr Botha come at a time when there is considerable jockeying for position between senior cabinet ministers for the State President's position.

It is understood that Mr Botha is anxious to lay down the reins before the next general election, scheduled for 1989.

The major contender for his position at this stage is the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen. The second-seed at this stage appears to be the Foreign Minister, Mr P W Botha.



Dr Willie van Niekerk

ter of the Budget in this council.

The shift in Mr De Klerk's responsibilities was interpreted in some quarters as a 'demotion' and a significant blow to the political ambitions of the man that was only recently tipped as possible successor to President Botha.

However, his appointment as chairman of the white Ministers' Council was seen by some as an attempt to upgrade what has been regarded up to now as the "second-class, mini-cabinet".

One of the ministers standing to gain most influence from the reassignment of responsibilities and portfolios is constitutional supremo Mr Chris Heunis.

The addition of land consolidation and black local affairs to his portfolio will put him in a very powerful position to shepherd through many of the major political changes expected in coming years.

The Minister of En-

L5

500 g

39

per kg

From page 1

as a newspaper.)

YOUNG & RUBICAM HEDLEY BYRNE

STOREWIDE STOCK TAKING

Council to set up ^{CAPE TIMES 31/5/85} 'local govt' body?

^{304A}
Municipal Reporter

THE City Council is considering challenging the government's plans for local government by trying to establish a Western Cape commission on "government at the local level", similar to the Buthelezi Commission in Natal.

Council member Mrs Joan Kantey proposed a motion yesterday calling on the Executive Committee to consider approaching neighbouring local authorities and civic organizations to investigate the possibility of setting up "a commission on the government in the Cape Peninsula".

The aim of the commission should be to "ensure growth, stability, peace, prosperity and participation at local government level".

Mrs Kantey said the Western Cape faced

similar problems to those experienced in Durban, as it had also to reconcile both First and Third World societies.

The region was now having a new system of government "thrust upon it", without the implications being fully investigated.

She said the future Regional Services Councils would not succeed unless everyone in the region was allowed to participate on them, and described the Management Committees as the "Achilles heel" of the new system.

"We have to talk to everyone — from the government and businessmen to the people of Khayelitsha, trade unions and the UDF, to find out what they want.

"And if our findings conflict with the existing situation, we must have the courage to say so."

Cape Times 31/5/85 (306A)

'Surprise' for deputy minister

Political Reporter

MR Luwellyn Landers (LP Mitchells Plain) is the first coloured person to be appointed to a general affairs deputy minister portfolio following President P W Botha's cabinet reshuffle yesterday.

The 38-year-old former insurance consultant said his appointment as deputy minister of population development came as a "complete surprise" to him.

"We expected the appointment of own affairs deputies which was widely rumoured for some time, but not general affairs," Mr Landers said.

According to him, the move itself is a major departure in terms of Afrikanerdom's pace of reform. He said the National Party's reform efforts were taking place at "snail's pace".

Commenting on his newly-created post, he said: "It is a new portfolio and I need time to look at it."

Mr Landers joined the Labour Party in 1976 and moved from Durban to Cape Town where he became chairman of the Peninsula region in 1983/84. He contested the Mitchells Plain seat as LP candidate in the August elections last year.

LP man
quits over
Landers

Political Staff

THE national vice-chairman of the Labour Party, Mr Charles Redcliffe, has resigned his position in the wake of widespread dissatisfaction with the appointment of the MP for Mitchells Plain, Mr Luwellyn Landers, as the Deputy Minister of Population Development.

Mr Redcliffe said last night that he resigned because he had been repeatedly ignored by the party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, when it came to appointments of this nature.

And as the groundswell of dissension within the party grows following Mr Landers's appointment, it is understood that a group of Labour Party MPs will propose a motion of no confidence in the leader of the party at the caucus meeting on Monday.

One source suggested last night that the extent of the dissatisfaction was such that more than 50 MPs might vote against the party leader in the no-confidence motion.

It is understood that should Monday morning's motion fail — it is hoped that voting will be done by secret ballot — a motion of no confidence could be introduced in the House of Representatives by the dissident MPs.

Should such a motion succeed, then in terms of the constitution, new elections would have to be held.

Did influx control prompt reshuffle?

304A 2/6/85 S. Times

SOUTH AFRICA'S constitutional "Mr Fixit", Minister Chris Heunis, is likely to take responsibility for the most-controversial legislation on the statute book — influx control.

This week's reshuffle of ministerial responsibility has brought development boards — at present the chief enforcement arm of influx control — under the Department of Constitutional Development.

But the portfolio shake-up now makes it likely that the policing of influx control will fall to another department altogether — Home Affairs, which is to be headed by Mr Stoffel Botha.

The present Department of Co-operation and Development under Dr Gerrit Viljoen has been responsible for the reformulation of influx control.

A Co-operation and Devel-

By BRIAN POTTINGER
Political Correspondent

opment source confirmed this week that the basic influx criteria set by the Riekert Commission report — availability of housing and jobs — which has not been entrenched in legislation, would have to be "adapted".

The Government's greater willingness to allow squatters, its moratorium on "illegal" occupation and its commitment to expand the informal economic sector make the Riekert determinants difficult to apply.

Evidence

But a complete scrapping of the laws — as strongly urged by employer organisations and the Urban Foundation in evidence to the President's Council last week — is not on the cards.

The legislation itself is at the centre of what appears to be conflicting attitudes by State departments — on the one hand the President-sanctioned move towards relaxing the laws and, on the other, police wishes to expel unemployed blacks from urban areas for security reasons.

In a remarkable deposition to a PC inquiry into the security aspects of influx control, organised industry, commerce and the Urban Foundation warned emphatically against any attempts to tighten influx control.

A summary of the evidence given before the PC makes their stand clear: "The organisations are concerned at thinking which has arisen in some quarters that the instability in black urban areas justifies a security clamp-down and the repatriation of unemployed workers to rural areas".

Employer sources have confirmed that the sentence is aimed at what they see as police attempts to tighten, rather than relax, influx control.

But this week Dr. Viljoen said any attempt to thwart the Government's reform moves on influx control would be opposed.

U-K fight

against
apart²⁰⁴⁸heid
NM 3/6/85
hots up

London Bureau

ONE hundred-and-twenty British local authorities representing 66 percent of the population have joined the fight against apartheid.

This is revealed in the first-ever comprehensive survey of anti-apartheid action in Britain published today.

The survey, commissioned by the UN Centre Against Apartheid, was published by the Labour-controlled Sheffield Metropolitan District Council and provides detailed evidence of wide-ranging measures already adopted by British local authorities in the fight against apartheid.

Measures adopted by local councils include disinvestment from companies operating in South Africa or South West Africa and supporting the Anti-Apartheid Movement's boycott campaign by refusing to buy South African and South West African products.

Other steps adopted include enforcing the cultural boycott by denying the use of council facilities to performers listed on the UN register, enforcing the Gleneagles Agreement by denying facilities to council employees planning to compete in South Africa, countering South African propaganda by preventing its distribution in schools and libraries, and honouring opponents of apartheid.

The current campaign to involve British local authorities in anti-apartheid action got underway in 1981 on the initiative of the Sheffield City Council.

The following year the Labour Party gave its official support to the campaign.

Commenting on the publication of the survey Mr Mike Pye, a councillor from Sheffield said: 'We hope our efforts at a local level in Britain will soon have a similar impact on the British Government and will spur more local authorities into action against apartheid.'

12

Jewish Board rejects racism

THE SOUTH African Jewish Board of Deputies Congress yesterday rejected apartheid and said provisions in laws which discriminated on grounds of colour and race should be removed.

The congress, being held in Johannesburg, also unanimously supported the actions of the board's national executive "in seeking to have dialogue with other sections of the South African population."

"Congress also records its support . . . and appreciation for steps already taken in the process of peaceful reform and expresses its dismay at current violence . . . in the country and calls upon all concerned to do everything possible to ensure the establishment of a climate of peace and calm in which dialogue, negotiation and processes of reform can be continued," a congress resolution stated.

The congress also recorded its "support and commitment to justice, equal opportunity and removal of all provisions in the laws of South Africa which discriminate on grounds of colour and race, and rejects apartheid."

The congress believed constitutional, economic and social reforms were indivisible and "records its views that nothing should be done to hinder progress in any such directions." — Sapa.

11/6/85 4/6/85 3047

'The new dispensation is already obsolescent'

The distinguished author and former leader of the Liberal Party, Dr ALAN PATON, takes a look at the South African political scene in the light of the imminent repeal of the Prevention of Political Interference Act

IT seems almost certain that the Prevention of Political Interference Act of 1968 will be repealed this year.

This act of 17 years ago made it illegal for a person to belong, not merely to a mixed political party, but to any kind of mixed racial organisation which involved itself in political matters.

The Act was an example of the arrogant political excesses of the Verwoerd-Vorster era.

Mr P W Botha in his new dispensation, however imperfect it may be, recognises the absurdity of making it a crime for South Africans of one racial group to associate with others in an attempt to plan for the future of a very complex society.

Absurdity

It should however be noted that Mr P W Botha himself created another absurdity known as "own affairs".

But that is a difficulty that confronts every half-emancipated Afrikaner nationalist.

He wants things to be different but he wants them to stay the same. He wants to be more just, but he wants to remain the boss.

It just cannot be done.

It was the Act of 1968 that brought the Liberal Party to an end.

We decided unanimously that we could not break into "own parties".

It is said, by people who ought to know better, that we went defunct. We didn't. We were killed by the NP.

One should remember — with charity I suppose — that in 1968 the NP knew everything.

In 1985 the



Dr Alan Paton

One thing is certain — it knows too much for its own and our good.

Will the repeal of the Act bring about any change? Yes it will, but nothing overwhelming.

It could bring about a closer link, or a fusion, of the PFP and Solidarity. It could mean the opening of the doors of Inkatha to all people.

Cohesive

It could mean that the UDF might become a more cohesive organisation, and might be able to spell out its policies and programmes more clearly.

Could the repeal of the Act bring about the launching of a new Liberal Party? I can't answer this question for any-

political philosophy of Malan, Strijdom, Verwoerd, and Vorster.

Motive

The powerful motive has gone. We are no longer confronted by an arrogant and relentless juggernaut, but by a shambling giant who doesn't know where he is going.

There is another reason why the Liberal Party could not be resurrected. For 17 years many young people who would have joined the party, have gone to the PFP, the UDF, or to no place at all. Some have gone abroad.

Some — and very brave they are — have gone to prison because they will not fight for a colour bar country, or for the maintenance of white

opinion I have considerable regard, has said that "the time is not ripe" for a resurrection.

Ripe

I do not think the time will ever be ripe. I do not believe that any resurrection of any old party, or any fusion of any existing parties, or any creation of any new party, will be the salvation of our country.

I believe that we need a new and bold approach to the whole question of the constitution.

I think the "new dispensation" is already obsolescent. It is too contrived, too artificial. It is too obviously an attempt to give and to keep it all.

Federal

I do not see any hope for the future except in a federal constitution, with a federal government that is given the minimum of power.

If the NP is afraid of such a mighty task let it start by allowing either the unification of Natal and Zululand, or the creation of a federal link between them.

The repeal of the Political Interference Act of 1968 is a relatively small step. So would be the repeal of the Mixed Marriages Act and racial clause of the Immorality Act (though the repeal of the first might mean a new life for some people).

Obstacles

The real obstacles to the creation of a new South Africa are the Urban Areas Act and its pass laws, the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act, three giant pillars buttressed by the infamous security laws.

However, let me say that I welcome the repeal of the Act.

I welcome the admission by our rulers that they have made serious mistakes in the past.

I am waiting to welcome some word of apology, some

ARGUS

4/6/85

304A

NP has grown more humble, and now only claims to know almost everything.

My answer is No. The powerful motive behind the Liberal Party of 1953-1968 was a total rejection of the policies of apartheid, and of the

supremacy.

The political scene has altered beyond recall.

I hear that Mr Ernie Wentzel, a leading member of the old Liberal Party, for whose

act of reparation, to those people on whom they inflicted such hardship and suffering.

They might as well do the job properly.

Anti-SA moves to be stepped up

GENEVA — Anti-Apartheid and Third World support groups in Switzerland are staging a "South Africa boycott action week" from June 8 to 15.

The programme includes public meetings in all the larger cities and towns. Azizah Seedat of the African National Congress will be guest speaker at the series of meetings which begin on Saturday in the town of Solothurn.

The 22 groups involved include women's associations, university organisations and Protestant and Catholic Church Committees.

Boycotts

The meetings will centre on calls for boycotts of fruit and other South African produce sold in Switzerland, and for people to withdraw their accounts from Swiss banks active in the Republic.

Organisers charge that the three biggest Swiss banks — Union Bank, Swiss Bank Corporation and Credit Suisse — are helping South Africa at a time

when US, Dutch, English and Canadian banks are withdrawing from the credit and loan field.

"We believe that apartheid-friendly behaviour by the banks is due to their gold dealings with South Africa. More than half of South Africa's gold sales are handled by the Zurich Gold Pool," the boycott organisers claimed.

Deposits

"We therefore call on all people and institutions to withdraw their deposits for as long as the banks refuse to modify their business practices."

They claimed that the attitude of the banks was "cynical and scandalous".

Consumers were asked to stop buying fruit, fruit preserves, nuts and flowers imported from South Africa.

"This also serves the interests of Swiss growers. There are no restrictions on imports of citrus and tropical fruits and Swiss apples are being forced off the market by foreign fruit."

MAG 6/6/85 (3048)

A re-cutting of the SA prosperity cake

DAVID BRAUN of the Political Staff reports on proposals to re-distribute South Africa's wealth

IMPORTANT industrial assets are likely to be transferred from white to black local authorities in a major reshaping of South Africa's system of local government later this year.

It is hoped that the significant redistribution of income will boost the development of the country's least affluent areas and contribute to restoring order and tranquility in the riot-torn townships.

Multiracial demarcation boards are soon to be appointed by the Government for the purpose of redefining the boundaries of local authorities to achieve an equitable balance of representation in the proposed regional services councils (RSCs).

The RSCs, to be established in legislation which will go through Parliament this month,

are to be composed of the representatives of the primary local authorities of all the race groups, including blacks.

The basis of their representation depends on how much money they are able to raise in their own areas by means of two new regional levies — a tax on company turnover and a tax on payrolls.

Senior Government officials have pointed out that the proposed levies would vary according to each region's needs but that they should not be in excess of one percent of any employer's total wage bill or more than a quarter of one percent of any company's turnover.

They said that this was not too high a price to pay for political stability and that in any event if the levies were not

raised normal taxation would have had to be increased to pay for essential expenditure.

The advantage of introducing a system of regional levies is that each region will raise what it needs to spend and there will be greater autonomy in how those resources are allocated.

The demarcation boards are expected to be appointed soon and it is hoped that they will complete their work by the end of the year. Their task will be to decide on the boundaries of the various primary local authorities which will make up each regional services council. It is expected that the boards will transfer substantial industrial assets to black, coloured and Indian local authorities in order to provide essentially dormitory towns with a sufficient base to impose the re-

gional levies and boost their representation on the RSCs.

The primary functions of the RSCs will be to provide regional services for all the local authorities in their regions and to make it a priority to upgrade those areas which are most in need of development and an infrastructure.

If the RSCs do impose a one percent levy on payrolls and a quarter percent levy on turnover it is expected that countrywide they will raise R1 300-million a year.

Government sources say that even after compensation for the loss of certain traditional sources of revenue, such as licence fees, the RSCs should be in a position to spend up to R300-million a year just on development of areas which need it most.

Cold comfort for reformists

Heunis's Statement

Mercury 6/6/85

of Intent

that Never Was

AS ANY DEVOTEE of Sherlock Holmes knows only too well, the significant clue was that the dog did not bark in the night. Likewise those observers anxiously scrutinising the Government's statements for possible indications of its reformist objectives may do well to ponder the official Statement of Intent that Never Was.

Political perspective

André du Toit

Chris Heunis, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, addressed a special Press conference in Pretoria and spelled out some of the Government's basic principles regarding constitutional change and the political future of black people in South Africa.

These principles included: a commitment to the realisation of the democratic ideal, a commitment to the politics of negotiation, an endorsement of the rule of law, rejection of discrimination on the basis of race or ethnicity, and a rejection of imposed political solutions.

In the context of modern South African politics, and especially of the declared ideology and policy of National Party government since 1948, these are, to say the least, astonishing statements from such an authoritative source.

Sundays, too

One would confidently expect them to make banner headlines on the front pages both in South Africa and abroad. Yet nothing of the kind happened. In most cases the reports of Mr Heunis's Press conference did not even make the front pages.

Even those Sunday papers that time and again will splash major stories about the Government's bold reformist initiatives on the basis of unnamed sources or some oblique indication of the inner circle's real thinking hardly mentioned this public commitment to basic principles for political change by the senior Cabinet minister in charge of Constitutional Development.

It was not as if there was no need for an authoritative statement of intent from the Government. On the contrary, in recent months and weeks we have witnessed a number of crucial — but ambiguous — moves at other levels which cry out for just such a clarificatory resolution of their thrust and implications.

On the one hand the Government has been prepared to go ahead with the piecemeal abolition or amendment of some of the specific legislation that has long been regarded as crucial to the whole statutory framework of the apartheid system. The best known instance of this is, of

course, the abolition of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and of Section 16 of the Immorality Act. This is now to be followed by the repeal of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act.

Also before Parliament are significant extensions of the statutory rights of urban blacks, in particular regarding their property rights and freedom of movement. In each case these are legislative reforms whose immediate significance pales before their potential long-term political implications — but just what those implications are no one in the Government has attempted to spell out at all.

On the other hand, and at a different level, the Government has indicated that it is prepared to reconsider its basic policy approaches to some of the most crucial issues now facing the country. Thus Dr Gerrit Viljoen has signalled that the Government is in the process of rethinking its approach to something as basic as the system of influx control, and that it recognises the need for a positive policy of orderly urbanisation to replace the massive and harsh constraints of the pass laws.

Turnaround

Dr Viljoen has also announced what appears to be a major turnaround on the resettlement policy, with a moratorium on some of the most controversial 'black spots' facing removal and a reprieve of many other settlements under threat. Likewise the Government has given every indication that it is serious, at long last, about providing more effective mechanisms for urban blacks to participate in local government and at 'second tier' level.

The 'Natal option', which had been propounded with considerable enthusiasm by the Buthelezi Commission and before that in the Lombard Plan, has apparently been taken up again by virtually the same NP Cabinet that shot it down in 1982. And the State President, in his opening address to Parliament, indicated that the issue of black political rights at national level must be recognised and could not

be solved in terms of homeland citizenship only.

Individually and collectively these are crucial aspects of President Botha's reformist strategy. But just what do they amount to? What is missing is some coherent framework and recognisable goal which can give sense and structure to the many and various changes in government policy. On the one hand we are told that there will be re-orientations in matters of basic policy from influx control to black political rights but we are not enlightened as to the institutional structures and mechanisms that will, or will not, give effect to this.

On the other hand we are confronted with the specifics of legislative changes without any clear indication of where this is supposed to get us in the medium or long term.

Credibility

It is for just this reason that many of the Government's liberal critics and many of its *verligte* supporters have been pressing for an official Statement of Intent. Surely that would go a long way towards dispelling the many uncertainties and ambivalences in the current transitional situation. Time and again reformist intellectuals have called on the Gov-

ernment to spell out its agenda for change: that would provide the credibility for its hard-pressed allies at home and abroad which they so desperately need.

Mr Heunis's Press conference on May 24 was the Government's considered response, at long last, to this repeated call for an official Statement of Intent. It was a characteristically ambivalent move. To start with it was significant that it was given by Mr Heunis, not President Botha, and at a Press conference, not to the assembled Houses of Parliament.

Next, Mr Heunis prefaced his statement of the Government's basic principles for political change with an emphatic explanation why the Government was not prepared to issue any definite Statement of Intent. This was not possible, Mr Heunis said, because it would prejudice the whole process of negotiation that still had to take place — an enigmatic statement which makes sense only if it is assumed that such a statement of intent would amount to either a unilateral blueprint or a list of non-negotiables.

In any case Mr Heunis then proceeded to list an apparently momentous list of principles for political change to which the Government was committed. But what can and

P.T.O.

CME Times 6/6/85 (304A) ~~(S)~~

Speech report 'erroneous'

THE Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Louis Nel, yesterday denied that he had threatened to "retaliate" against US disinvestment by sending more than one million foreign black workers out of South Africa.

He said in a statement last night after viewing a TV video of a speech he made in Fort Beaufort on Tuesday night, which has created an international reaction, that news reports of the speech had been "erroneous".

Mr Nel explained that what he had said was that if the disinvestment campaign succeeded and led to greater unemployment, South Africa would have to look after its own citizens first.

This would mean that more than one million blacks of neighbouring countries, excluding Transkei, Bophutswana, Venda and Ciskei, who were working here illegally would have to be sent home.

Organizations campaigning for US disinvestment in South Africa would, if successful, be contributing to instability and suffering.

● In Johannesburg, SABC-TV news yesterday corrected a report it broadcast on Tuesday night that Mr Nel had told the meeting at Fort Beaufort South Africa would expel the million or so black workers from other Southern African states who were in this

country illegally to seek a living, if the US went ahead with disinvestment legislation.

The SABC's corrected report says:

The possibility of retaliation by South Africa, if the US goes ahead with legislation to enforce disinvestment, has been raised by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Louis Nel.

Mr Nel told a meeting at Fort Beaufort that if the disinvestment measures became law in the US, one of the options open to South Africa would be to expel the one million or so black workers from other Southern African states, who were in this country illegally.

Mr Nel said America would have to realize that if it went ahead with the disinvestment campaign South Africa would have to consider taking steps to protect itself, in a way that would make the world realize that South Africa was the regional power of Africa.
— Political Staff and Sapa

Mandela refusal 'planned'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — Nelson Mandela's refusal of President P. W. Botha's conditional offer of freedom had been orchestrated by outside influences, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, claimed yesterday.

Before Mr Mandela had had the opportunity to respond to Mr Botha's offer, the leader of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, indicated that it should be rejected.

He said it was tragic but clear that Mr Mandela was of greater use to his people inside prison than out.

Mr Coetsee's remarks followed an appeal by Mrs Helen Suzman, the PFP's spokesperson on Law and Order, for the government to reconsider the unconditional release of Mr Mandela and other long-term security prisoners as such a move could help defuse civil unrest in black townships.

However, Mr Coetsee failed to respond to a plea issued by Mrs Suzman for urgent permission to visit the ANC leader in Pollsmoor Prison as he was reported to be receiving unfair treatment.

Introducing the debate on the Justice vote, Mrs Suzman asked Mr Coetsee to arrange a meeting with the ANC leader before the end of the parliamentary session to check the accuracy of reports that he had been refused leave to see his attorney and that his letters were being subjected to delays and stricter censorship than in the past.

Mrs Suzman said she had not been able to visit Mandela since June 1983 despite repeated requests during 1984 and 1985 to Mr Coetsee who "keeps putting me off".

She was subject to "constant irritations" in trying to arrange a visit and had been forced to resort to "nagging and cornering" the minister.

Mrs Suzman said she was not interested in making a high-profile visit as part of a large delegation of MPs but wished to have a private discussion with Mandela as the Official Opposition's spokesperson on Prisons to find out what his complaints were.

She pointed out to Mr Coetsee that her 1983 visit had enabled her to correct some exaggerated reports about Mandela — for example, that his spirit was being broken.

"The stories were not true and I was able to say so. The visit, however, did result in certain improvements. I now hear again that he is being unfairly treated."

Not longer than 20 years

Mrs Suzman also appealed to Mr Coetsee to disclose how many prisoners — apart from four PAC members and Mr Denis Goldberg — had been released in terms of President Botha's offer to long-term security prisoners.

"In no civilized country are people kept locked up for periods of over 20 years, no matter what their sentence or what their crime, unless they are a real menace to society and likely to commit acts of violence.

"No one who has met and spoken to Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and others in that category of prisoner would seriously believe that they constitute such a menace.

"On the contrary, their unconditional release would defuse the present unrest in the townships."

Mr Coetsee said in reply that nine people — he declined to give their races or names — had already been released from prison following the conditional offer from President Botha.

More than a bogyman?

304A

For more than a decade, the threat of a rightwing backlash has affected virtually every decision at government level. How real is the threat? Or, put another way, isn't it time the P W Botha administration forgets its fear of the Right — and moves ahead on real power-sharing?

The truth is that if there was going to be a backlash, it would have come by now. The last few months have seen a revolution in the ruling National Party (NP). The ideological pillars of old-style apartheid, to a large extent the *raison d'être* of the party, have crumbled one by one. Even under severe recessionary conditions — and confrontations with civil servants and maize farmers — there was no sign of a significant backlash in the by-elections in Newton Park and Har-rismith.



Terre 'Blanche and policemen... what support in the force?

What is more, a recent nationwide poll found that about 75% of white voters will accept black participation in central government.

Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party (CP) does have 18 seats in the House of Assembly — and could well gain several more in elections to come. But at present the NP still has 128 seats, the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) 27, and the New Republic Party five.

The split in the NP — and the growth of

the rightwing to its present state — was a natural development. It allowed the NP far more room to manoeuvre than before, and to become more of a non-sectarian, centrist party. It is also a true reflection of the traumatic divisions within Afrikanerdom itself.

When SA became a republic in 1961, this signified the fulfilment of probably the strongest strand of Afrikaner ideology — and hence the exhaustion of a major emotional source of Afrikaner nationalism. So, despite the appearance of unity and harmony in the years immediately after the achievement of Republic, there were deep undercurrents of discontent within Afrikaner nationalism. Only an unassailable leader like the fanatical but charismatic Hendrik Verwoerd kept them in check. His almost messianic domination of Afrikanerdom was total from 1961 until his death in 1966.

Within weeks of John Vorster's election as PM in September 1966, major conflict in the party came to the surface. It was more than an ideological dispute. Urbanisation, education and greatly improved standards of living had changed the nature of Afrikaner nationalism, and the relative socio-economic uniformity of Afrikaners had become a thing of the past.

Albert Hertzog's Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) broke away in 1969, but the party had a distinct blue-collar tinge and it was soon clear that the split was not complete.

In the years to come, Treurnicht, an extremely ambitious and shrewd ex-dominee, built his base in the NP. He chose his time well and broke away in 1982 to form the CP. This time it was not so easy to hang a class tag around the neck of the party. The split also went right through the Afrikaner Broederbond and the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (FAK), and is set to happen also in the Afrikaans churches.

The head of Natal University's Centre for Applied Social Sciences, Lawrence Schlemmer, believes the rightwing has been totally overestimated. He says the combined forces of the CP and HNP are capable of gaining some seats in by-elections in the Transvaal and Free State platteland, and even some working class urban constituencies; but he does not see this as a permanent trend. Nor does he see the CP taking over as the official white opposition from the PFP.

Schlemmer points out that it is character-

istic of all multi-party democracies that opposition parties do better between major elections. Voters tend to see by-elections as an opportunity to make a point to government — and that is not necessarily a commitment.

Rand Afrikaans University political scientist Hennie Kotzé agrees that the growth

potential of the rightwing is now very limited. Urbanisation has had a strong influence on the Afrikaner, and most Afrikaners realise that bold action is needed to keep SA stable and prosperous. But, says Kotzé the white voter will only go along with rapid change if they see it as a concerted, controlled strategy rather than concessions under pressure.

Kotzé points to another important factor that favours the NP: the very strong position of

President Botha "He may not have the popular mass appeal of a P. W. Botha, but in the party he stands very, very strongly. That is where it really counts. His caucus is very loyal to him, and he has subtly moved even the potential defectors to compromise themselves totally so they cannot possibly defect to the CP."

Not that the NP leadership can rest easy. Far from it. Unisa political scientist Willem Kleynhans comments: "The central theme of the NP since 1934 was separation. Vorster and Botha deviated from that and did not take the right steps to take the party with them. The NP of today does not have a clear, easily understandable ideology, while the CP and HNP do. But instead of dealing with this, the NP leadership treats its supporters very badly. The devoted, hard-working supporter who made the NP — the kind of person who would use all his spare time for the party in canvassing and fund-raising — is now with the CP and HNP."

This may be true. But Kotzé points out that the NP has one really big canvasser — SABC TV and radio — and several smaller ones in the form of the Afrikaans newspapers. "One must remember that all the media in SA either support government or stand to the left of it. Of course it has an influence on attitudes."

Treurnicht and HNP leader Jaap Marais believe that the CP-HNP coalition will become the official opposition in the next general election. But perhaps they are underestimating two important factors: the effect an economic upswing will have on voters, and the coming delimitation of constituencies be-



304A

FEATURE

cause of the increased urbanisation.

Transvaal NP leader FW de Klerk remarked in Parliament recently that a new delimitation of constituencies is overdue. This could be a lethal blow to the rightwing if demographic shifts are taken strictly into account and rural constituencies are given their correct weighting. Past NP governments, which have always enjoyed the total support of the rural areas, have loaded urban constituencies heavily, and this will certainly be undone now. It is a fact that the rightwing parties mostly have support in constituencies with a low density of voters.

The real danger of rightwing growth is that they will gain a strong base in the civil service and the armed forces. Marais tells the *FM* that the SA Police is "undoubtedly strongly rightwing" and that "many civil servants, also very senior ones," support him or the CP. However, this does not seem to be true of the higher echelons of the SADF.

Rightwing fanatics like the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) and the Koppiekommando seem less relevant, although there is concern about pockets of AWB support in the police. AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche refuses to be drawn on that. "I can only say that the AWB consists of white Christians who believe in the struggle for survival. Our enemy is the Left which is against law and order."

However, Kotzé does not believe this is all that dangerous. The long tradition of the forces as servants of the broad public, the strict discipline and the intricate structures exclude the possibility of organised action by rightwing soldiers or policemen. What is more, says Kotzé, the senior officers tend to be more in line with government thinking.

In any modern nation, what is happening to its intelligentsia — academics, writers, theologians, professional people, businessmen, journalists — is an important indicator of what is going to happen to the group. Looking at Afrikanerdom, it is clear that the only real intellectual debate is one considerably to the left of the mainstream of the NP.

CP and HNP leaders seem to be underestimating the development of the Afrikaner into a more sophisticated political persona than in the years of DF Malan and Verwoerd. Even ordinary Nats who support much of the CP sentiment, just don't fall for the antics of rightwing fanatics on Afrikaner Volkswag (AV) stages, nor do they swallow the infantile claptrap like an Afrikaner homeland and the dangers of American "liberalism" as proclaimed at last weekend's AV congress.

Schlemmer says it is likely that if the referendum of November 1983 were to be held today there would be an even bigger yes note. Kotzé agrees. ■



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MINE JOB BARS

Behind the pact

Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs Danie Steyn was able to announce with confidence in Parliament that December 31 is the target date for scrapping remaining elements of job reservation on the mines — because he had made a deal with a representative of the white Mineworkers' Union (MWU).

The FM has established that it was in fact the arch-opponent of the change — general secretary Arrie Paulus.

For the mining industry, the implications of the Minister's move are immense. Talks on the issue between the Chamber of Mines and the established trade unions in the industry have been taking place for the past four years, ever since government instructed them to do so in a White Paper on the sixth Wiehahn Commission report.

At the heart of the debate is the Mines and Works Act's definition of "scheduled person," which prevents blacks from obtaining certificates of competency to perform skilled work. There are 13 such certificates, the best-known of which is the blasting certificate, or red ticket. The commission's recommendation — which government accepted

— is that the definition should be changed to a non-racial one of "competent person."

The "scheduled person" definition is the last remaining job reservation provision in the mining industry and is the most tricky to change, since it touches on the very sensitive nerves of political-

ly conservative white miners, who fear being undercut by cheap black labour.

The MWU's members — who generally have no higher qualification than a blasting certificate — stand to lose the most if the definition is changed and the trauma of 1922 is not forgotten. That is precisely why government gave the employers and unions a "reasonable time" to conclude the negotiations and also instructed them to ensure that "adequate measures" to protect the job security of white miners is included on the agenda.

The negotiations got under way in 1982, but did not really begin in earnest until early last year. By agreement, the talks cover three issues:

- The future industrial relations structure of the mining industry. This is prompted by concern that there are no adequate structures to ensure that agreements are monitored and enforced;
- Measures to protect white miners' job security; and

□ Changing the definition. This will only occur once the other two issues have been settled.

According to chamber industrial relations adviser Johann Liebenberg, the discussions on the future industrial relations structure have reached an advanced stage. This may lead to the establishment of an industrial council or some similar type of body. Liebenberg says the talks on security of employment have "progressed."

Nevertheless, it appears that government's patience is running out, and the Minister has exercised his prerogative to step in to speed up the talks. He has also asked all the unions involved for recommendations on

the wording of a new non-racial "competent person" definition. Says Louw Alberts, director general of Mineral and Energy Affairs: "We feel the situation has now arisen where a target date must be settled. The 'reasonable time' should come to an end at the end of December."



Ramaphosa

The Minister's agreement with Paulus seems to have given a new impetus to what appears to be stalled negotiations. Says Liebenberg: "We are not aware of the details of any agreement which may have been reached between the Minister and certain trade unions. We understand from press reports that the Minister has now given the parties concerned up to December 31 to conclude the negotiations."

Liebenberg says the chamber will do its very best to negotiate a satisfactory solution within the time limits set by the Minister, "which enables us to utilise all the human resources at our disposal effectively and equally without taking race into account, but in such a manner that fears regarding security of employment are not heightened."

Despite Liebenberg's comments, it could well happen that the deadline will not be met. If so, the Minister will have to act to settle the issue for once and for all.

Severe pressure must have forced the Minister to intervene in the talks. Several mining houses — and in particular Anglo American Corporation — have in the past expressed dissatisfaction with the slow progress. But lately there have been important new developments. The black National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) — which has been excluded from the talks — has placed a demand that the definition be changed on its list for its forthcoming wage negotiations with the chamber.

The issue is complicated by the fact that black miners actually perform many of the functions of blasting certificate holders in terms of exemptions to the Mines and Works

Act. NUM general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa has claimed that the Act's regulations are being violated.

Ramaphosa also says that several strikes have centered on this issue and that his members will in future work to rule. If they carry this out, it has ominous implications for mine productions levels.

Says Ramaphosa about the agreement with Paulus: "We have heard that agreement has been reached — but we don't know what its terms are. In our view, it is just too little too late."

He says his union's demand still stands. "If they want us to back down, they will have to come up with very clear assurances, and the Minister will have to tell us exactly what the agreement will be. Without that, we are not prepared to back down."

Ramaphosa fears that whatever definition of "competent person" is finally settled on — whether it be by agreement between the parties or by ministerial decree — may involve changes to the job descriptions of the various mining job categories. This, he believes, could mean that blacks will not gain much by way of pay or status.

Liebenberg, however, dismisses these fears. He says the chamber has already given the other unions an undertaking that the principle of equal pay for work of equal value will apply if the definition is changed.

Nevertheless, the FM understands from other sources that job descriptions could be changed and that because the chamber would have to negotiate this with the established mine unions, certain issues could be non-negotiable.

Whatever the upshot, it is clear that by obtaining Paulus's agreement, Minister

Steyn has scored a major coup. Whether Paulus is perceived to have capitulated will depend on what undertakings he receives from employers about white workers' job security.

Confusion still surrounds Paulus's reasons for "retiring" from the MWU earlier this

year and then resuming his position some weeks later. But an informed source outside the chamber says he came back because of differences between two factions in the union over who should succeed him and what stance the MWU should take on the "scheduled person" issue. The source says it is believed that the problems have now been sorted out.

If this interpretation is correct, Paulus's talks with the Minister must be seen as him giving in to the inevitable and victory for the MWU's pragmatists.

□ Paulus says this article is inaccurate but would not make any other comment. ■



Paulus

Liebenberg



Three impressions of how the constitution is working

Cape Times 8/6/85 304A

THE new constitutional dispensation's first full parliamentary session is drawing to a close. It has become possible to assess the new constitution's initial impact and to investigate pointers to the shape of future politics.

The most immediate impression is that the complex constitution is functioning more smoothly than was expected.

Before the referendum of 1983 dire predictions were made about constitutional deadlocks, the hardening of attitudes and walk-outs by coloured and Indian members.

None of this has happened. The reason is simple: The government has not introduced any verkrampste legislation that would incense the coloured and Indian houses, and is unlikely to do so in future. This is a gain, although the uncharitable would maintain that the government already has all the controls it needs.

Crucial developments

The second impression is that the new constitution in operation has failed really to catch the public imagination. Partly this is due to President Botha's uninspiring cabinet recruits from the coloured and the Indian population, and also to the scrapping of the racial sex laws being presented by Mr F W de Klerk as a grudging retreat rather than a gesture of reconciliation.

More significant, however, is the fact that the crucial political developments have occurred outside Parliament — the disturbances, the mass resignations of black mayors and councillors, and the Botha-Buthlezi initiative.

Every government attempt to draw blacks into black local authorities has been countered by the argument, first powerfully expressed 40 years ago by I B Tabata, that non-collaboration at least ensured "that people did not help maintain the political instruments of their own oppression".

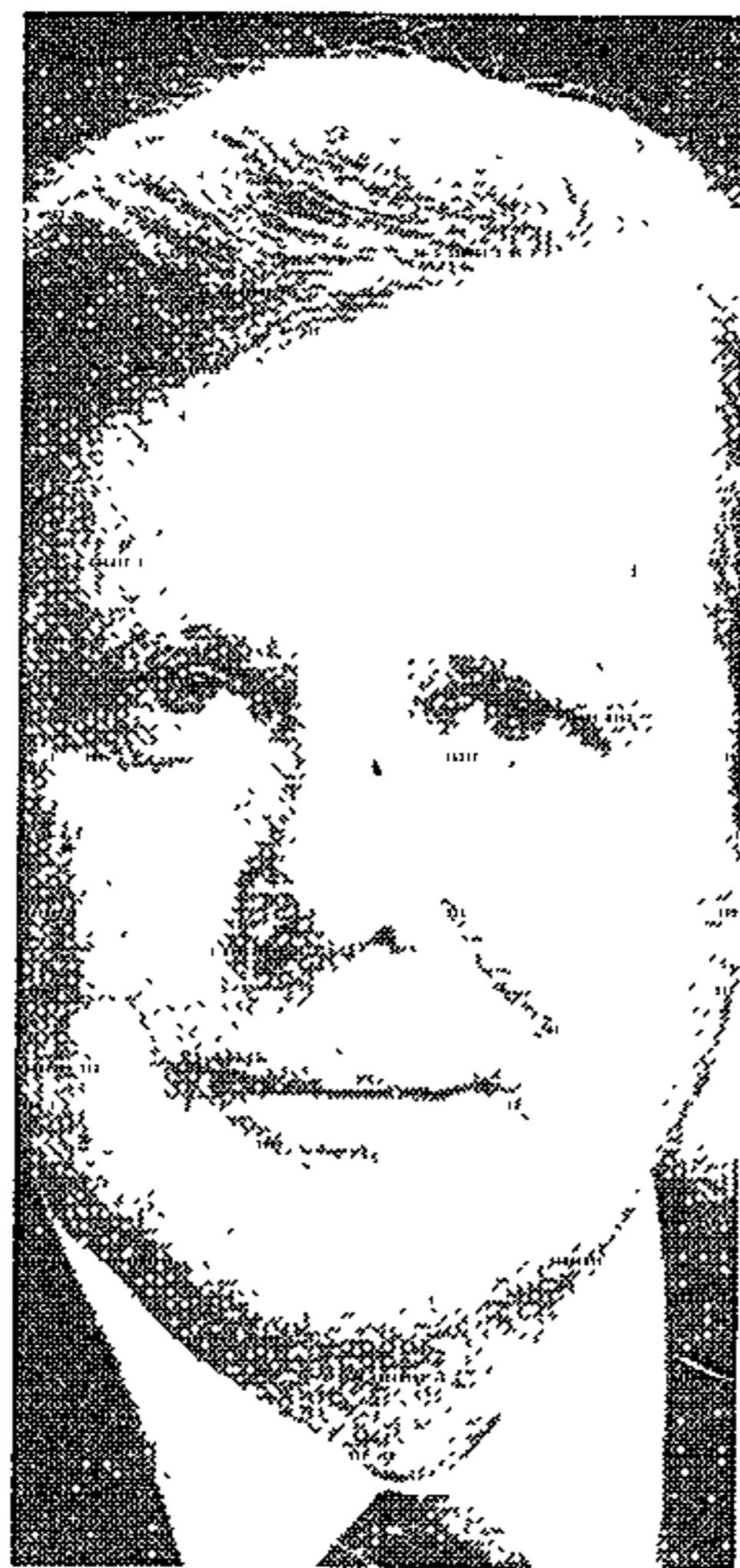
This links up with a third impression. The new Parliament has not been able to demonstrate to the public that it is making a real difference in either the political process or in redistributing the "spoils of modernity" — jobs, houses and above all education where the government's insistence on segregated schools and departments remains a major source of conflict.

Important coloured opinion-



Pattern of politics

By HERMANN GILIOME



Mr Chris Heunis, a shrewd constitutional strategist



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, enhanced political reputation

formers who had been prepared to give the new constitution a try have been greatly disappointed that the coloured representatives in Parliament have more and more come to speak like Nationalists.

They feel that there is no real gap between what white cabinet ministers, out of their own accord, are prepared to concede and what the coloured representatives are demanding and getting. These representatives have failed to set their own reform agenda or to project themselves as an indispensable part of the reform process.

The result of all this is that coloured and Indian interest in Parliament has greatly declined over the last six months.

Shrewd constitutional strategists within government, like Mr Chris Heunis, must view with trepidation the prospect of fighting the next general election with the current collection of coloured and Indian parties. There is an all too real prospect of the dismally low

coloured and Indian polls of 1984 slumping even further in 1989. This is what happened in the case of the Coloured Persons Representative Council where the number of voters participating in the election of 1975 was between 30 and 40 per cent lower than in 1969.

It is against this background that one must view the major reform initiative of the session — the scrapping of the Political Interference Act.

This reform opens the possibility of turning the waning coloured and Indian interest in the new constitution around by allowing the Progressive Federal Party and the National Party (supported by the SABC) to contest the elections for the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates.

Cynical observers may even conclude that the PFP is being summoned to rescue the new constitution from a serious reverse by putting up candidates for all three houses in the next general election, and thus ensure that the polls will at least

not be lower.

The PFP is already gearing itself for a major membership drive among coloured and Indian voters in Durban, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town. In these cities there will be a renewed debate (but much more vehement this time) about participation in the constitutional process. This time the debate will be between the PFP, on the one hand, and, on the other, the left wing of the United Democratic Front, the Natal Indian Congress and the Unity Movement which has been strongly influenced by Tabata's views on non-collaboration.

For the PFP the battle will not be an easy one. It will have to shed its image as a white party and appeal to the other strong principle in coloured and Indian politics, that of non-racialism. It will also have to persuade the voters that it can deliver what the current coloured and Indian parties have as yet failed to do: To confront the government on the crucial issues of schools apartheid, Group Areas and black citizenship, and try to collapse the system if the government remains intransigent.

Credible brokers

The PFP's trump card in the intriguing battle which lies ahead will undoubtedly be the leadership of Dr F van Zyl Slabbert. No one can question his opposition to this constitution, his insistence on equal political rights for blacks in a common system, and his political integrity. Written off by some at the time of the referendum, he has in fact acquired a greatly enhanced political reputation and today is one of the very few credible brokers in the white-black political struggle.

And credible brokers are what South Africa needs above all. For there is one thing which has become abundantly clear over the last year: the new constitution has made the resolution of the white-black conflict more, not less, difficult.

Not surprisingly, the finding of a recent study undertaken by RAU in Johannesburg was that blacks are much more opposed to this constitution than they ever were when whites ruled alone.

(Professor Giliomee teaches Political Studies at UCT and is co-editor of the new publication "Up Against the Fences: Poverty, Passes and Privilege in SA", David Philip.)

South Africa could be facing mini-election

Ormande Pollok

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—The country could be facing a 'mini-election' soon as speculation mounted that at least another two Nationalist MPs were planning to resign their seats at the end of this session.

This will mean that five Parliamentary seats — all of them Nationalist — will be vacant and open to strong attacks from either the Herstigte or Conservative Parties at the worst possible time for by-elections as far as the Government is concerned.

It is thought highly likely that the elections will all be held on the same day — probably on Wednesday, September 4.

Vacant already are Bethlehem, formerly held by the late Dr Nak van der Merwe, and Port Natal, which was held by former Deputy Minister of Home Affairs Pierre Cronje.

Apart from these, Mr J H B Ungerer, MP for Sasolburg, has already announced that he would resign at the end of June and there is now speculation that two more of his colleagues, Mr G J van

der Merwe of Springs, and former Speaker, Mr J P du Toit, of Vryburg, are also about to resign.

It would mean that urban and rural seats right across the country would be involved, giving all parties another chance to test their individual strengths following the recent Harris Smith provincial and Newton Park Parliamentary campaigns.

The National Party only won the Harris Smith provincial seat — which is about half of the Parliamentary constituency — by 247 votes against the CP. It is thought that Mr T Pienaar will be the CP's

candidate again.

While the Witteberg half of the seat is thought to be more favourable for the Nationalists, as it includes the town of Bethlehem, it will still be a close run thing.

Vryburg could prove even tougher for the Nationalists to retain and it is expected that the HNP will contest the seat. In terms of an election pact the HNP has with the CP, Mr Louis Stoffberg, the HNP's general secretary, will be fighting in Sasolburg.

It will be his ninth by-election since being expelled from the NP in 1969 as MP for Worcester.

Springs is also likely to be an extremely tough contest.

Probably the easiest seat for the NP in the mini-election will be Durban's Port Natal, where provincial leader, Mr Stoffel Botha, Minister of Education and Culture in the white Ministers' Council.

This could be a five-way fight between the NP, NRP, PFP, CP and the independent Mr Dave McNaught.

Mr Ray Swart, PFP Natal leader, said yesterday no final decision had yet been made but it seems the party will be in the campaign.

South Africa

PFP-Inkatha-LP set for politic

TRADITIONAL South African politics will start to take on a whole new complexion when the Prohibition of Political Interference Act goes, bringing to an end to an era where one's political party affiliation was determined by one's skin colour.

Although this might not mean the disappearance of some political parties opposed to apartheid, an alliance among these cannot be ruled out.

At present these parties can be clearly categorised according to racial groups. The Progressive Federal Party (PFP) is for whites, the Labour Party (LP) for coloureds and Solidarity and the National People's Party (NPP) for Indians.

System

Inkatha is on the fringes of the "system" and is avowedly multi-racial although its membership is predominantly Zulu.

The United Democratic Front has been fully multiracial since it was formed in 1983. But then the UDF is completely outside the system.

With the repeal of the Act, several questions come up. Will the PFP Inkatha, Solidarity and the Labour Party enter into a formal alliance to fight the apartheid system?

Will the repeal of the Act see the revival of the now dormant South African Black Alliance?

The Alliance went the way of all flesh when the LP decided to enter the tricameral parliament. The LP was ejected for "betraying" blacks.

Inkatha has retained its friendly relations with the PFP despite occasional differences such as when the PFP reported that Zulu policemen were used during the Uitenhage shootings.

Policy

What fuels speculation that there might be a PFP-Inkatha-LP link-up is the fact that all three parties have opted for a policy of geographic federation.

Many people are asking whether there will be a "federal alliance" between like-minded people.

"The PFP's director of research and "indirectly" elected MP, Prof Nic Olivier, said such an issue could only be decided by the PFP federal congress in August.

Races

"The question of a formal alliance has not come up for discussion or decision. But I doubt whether there will be that kind of arrangement," he said.

Last year the PFP announced that membership was open to all races. "When one applies for membership of the Party, we make no enquiries about one's race or religion," Prof Olivier said.

A Labour Party

spokesman said the LP will definitely not link up with any political party.

Despite the LP's ideological closeness to the PFP, it has in practice played along with the National Party.

And this week the leader of the LP, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, staved off an onslaught on his leadership. He had to exercise all his leadership qualities to quell the open revolt in the party over the flagrant failure of the leadership to consult the caucus on major issues.

Dissent

The Party's national vice-president, Mr Charles Redcliffe, also withdrew his resignation. He had earlier resigned after the appointment of Mr Lewellyn Landers, the MP for Mitchell's Plain, as Deputy Minister of Population Development.

Both the LP and the PFP face internal dissent and the possibility of Natal and Transvaal Labour Party MP's who feel left out in the cold, joining the PFP, cannot be ruled out.

Uneasy

PFP moderates, who feel uneasy about the "considerable" number of leftwing PFP members who have thrown in their lot with the UDF, may be forced out of the party and link up with fellow moderates in both the LP and the Solidarity Party.



SEFAKO NYAKA, SOWETAN writer, takes another look at the scrapping of the Political Interference Act as Parliament debates its demise.

But there is also a possibility that the ruling Eastern Cape clique of the LP could link up with the Nats — or at the most forge some form of alliance.

"THE question of a formal alliance has not come up for discussion. But I doubt whether there will be that kind of arrangement," says the PFP's director of research, Prof. Nic Olivier

The hostility between the Western Cape LP and the PFP is caused by the latter's rejection of the coloured management committee system.

Some political analysts feel that the bulk of the Solidarity Party members, which bases its policy on that of the PFP, will join the PFP when the Act goes.

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CHIEF GATSHA BUTHELEZI, leader of the predominantly Zulu Inkatha Movement.

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Policy

But the NP will continue its policy of co-operation and dialogue with other parties, Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, has addressed Labour Party meetings and Mr Hendrickse has addressed groups of Nat MP's.

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tainly be no white faces in the Azanian People's Organisation's ranks.

The rest of the party's — save the UDF — will definitely have a complete change of colour.



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Grudging

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Rescue move

Cynical observers may even conclude that the PFP is being summoned to rescue the new constitution from a serious reverse by putting up candidates for all three Houses in the next general election, and thus ensure that the polls will at least not be lower.

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SACC concern over violence, killings

AKG-3 12/6/85 304
JOHANNESBURG. — Leaders of the South African Council of Churches have expressed grave concern about the violence between black political groups and have called for reconciliation.

In a statement today following a meeting of church leaders yesterday the SACC said such inter-group violence hampered the cause of justice and peace.

The church leaders expressed concern at "the violence, political murders and destruction of private property going on between different black political groups at this time" and at "the violence, murder and destruction of property where schoolchildren have allegedly taken the law into their own hands".

They called on leaders of the respective groups to "restrain" their people.

"It must be realised that such inter-group violence only hampers the cause of justice and peace we all so earnestly seek. Also, it creates opportunity for other groups to exploit and manipulate the situation. The divisions and factions are a manifestation of the policy of divide and rule.

"We welcome all endeavours to secure peace among our people in the townships.

"We call on our members to work strenuously for reconciliation in their communities throughout South Africa," the statement said — Sapa.

CAPE TOWN
Thursday, June 13, 1985

Call for safety to be reviewed after attack

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE bombings of the Cape Town homes of two Labour Party MPs met with unanimous condemnation in Parliament yesterday and led to a call for an urgent review of safety measures at MPs' homes.

It was understood last night that beefed-up security arrangements were already being investigated, and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, could make an announcement in this regard when he speaks during the special debate on the Kannemeyer Commission Report today.

Most coloured politicians have in the past been opposed to the undue attention that would result from an overt police presence outside their homes, but MPs in the House of Representatives yesterday resolved not to be intimidated by the latest attacks.

Convey his sympathy

President P W Botha yesterday expressed his shock and regret at "the cowardly acts of terror" against the MP for Mitchells Plain and deputy minister-designate, Mr Luwellyn Landers, and the Labour Party's secretary and MP for Silvertown, Mr Fred Peters.

Mr Botha, who visited Mr Landers at Groote Schuur Hospital yesterday afternoon, earlier telephoned Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse to convey his sympathy to two MPs and their families.

Mr Le Grange said in a statement that the "cowardly acts" on the homes of the politicians and the Langa police station "confirms the ANC's policy to eliminate civic and political leaders".

Mr Le Grange said the hand-grenades used in the attacks were manufactured in Russia, as was the limpet mine defused by police in a building adjacent to Langa police station.

He said he had "no doubt" that the attacks had been launched by the ANC but a group calling itself the Western Cape Suicide Squad yesterday

claimed responsibility for the attack in a call to Sapa's Cape Town office.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said in the House of Assembly yesterday that it was appropriate that the entire House express its "absolute abhorrence" at the "despicable deeds" that had been perpetrated.

In the House of Representatives, Mr Hendrickse condemned the "cowardly acts" that had been perpetrated by "forces of darkness" and resolved that Labour Party members would not allow grenade attacks to intimidate them or deter them from participation in the tri-cameral Parliament.

He expressed his party's "shock, outrage and condemnation" at and of those who resorted to violence against people they differed with politically.

The leader of the Democratic Workers Party, Mr Dennis de la Cruz, said such "callous, premeditated and barbaric acts of terrorism cannot be condoned" and called for a review of security measures at MPs' homes.

The leader of the Freedom Party, Mr Arthur Booysse, said the attack should be regarded as an assault on Parliament and the government and urged the government to do everything in its power "to outlaw these gangs of stealthy terrorists".

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said the attack was "totally reprehensible and beneath contempt".

'Law of the jungle'

"No matter how strongly one may feel about another person's political opinions, South Africa cannot afford to let the law of the jungle and of terror settle such differences."

The PFP's spokeswoman on law and order, Mrs Helen Suzman, condemned the act and said "this sort of mindless violence — political or otherwise — can only further increase tension".

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said any such attack had to be strongly condemned, no matter who was involved.

Possible shift in ANC strategy

Chief Reporter

IF the African National Congress was responsible for the early-morning attacks on the homes of Mr Luwellyn Landers and Mr Fred Peters, this could indicate a significant shift in ANC strategy in the Western Cape, in which till now the ANC has aimed at installations and "soft targets" rather than at people.

While ANC activity has been stepped up in other parts of the Republic, the Western Cape has been relatively free of attacks linked with them.

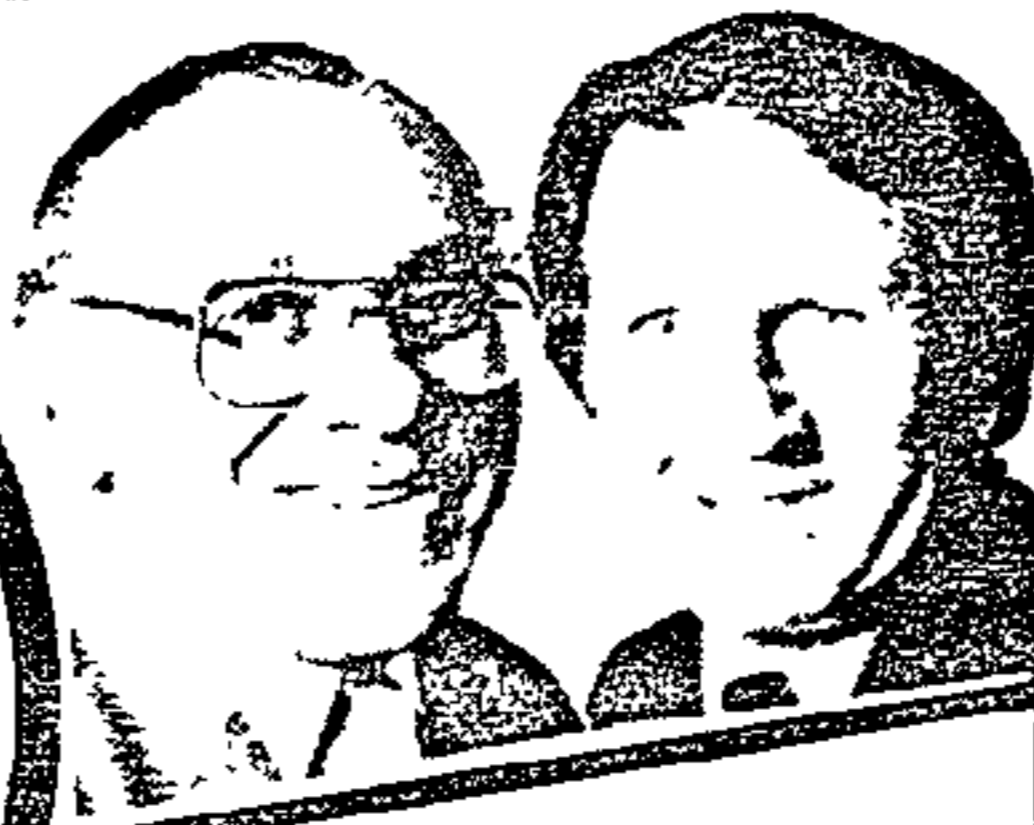
Confirmed or suspected ANC activity in the region has been sporadic.

● In January 1979 an unexploded bomb was found near Pierie railway station, and four months later a bomb exploded in a toilet in the Supreme Court building in Cape Town. A member of the ANC was subsequently convicted under the Terrorism Act and jailed for 20 years.

● About the same period, early-morning or weekend bomb blasts caused damage at the Langa Commissioner's Court building and at the Administration Board's offices in Observatory. The ANC was blamed in both cases.

● In December 1982, a series of four explosions rocked the Koeberg nuclear power station. The Koeberg blasts caused considerable damage but no one was injured. A subsequent ANC statement issued in Dar-es-Salaam claimed responsibility for planting limpet mines at the Koeberg plant.

● Those responsible for a blast in a lift in Cape Town Centre, which housed the President's Council at the time, in December 1982, have not been identified. A SA Defence Force spokesman denied at the time that there was an ANC link. The blast killed Mr Michael Younghusband, who was in the lift.



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Assocom backs federal system

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — In its second foray into the political arena this year, organized commerce has thrown its weight behind a system of federalism or confederalism as a possible solution to South Africa's constitutional dilemma.

Assocom said such a system would provide the necessary checks and balances, safeguards for the protection of minorities, and the preservation of the private-enterprise ethic.

A report, "Removal of discrimination against blacks in the political economy of the Republic of South Africa", authored by University of Pretoria academics Jan Lombard and Johann du Pisanie, was released in Johannesburg on Monday.

It was based on the assumption that the continued legitimacy of South Africa depended on the urgent removal of racial discrimination and that reform should be governed by evolutionary change.

The bottom line for political stability in South Africa was a balance of powers in the system, so that those who insisted

on government according to common norms remained in a position to protect the system. This was best achieved in a federal or confederal system, the report said.

The research was initiated after government asked the private sector for help in ensuring peaceful change in South Africa. "This document is our response," the Assocom chief executive, Mr Raymond Parsons, said.

Mr Parsons emphasized that the report should be seen as an agenda for negotiation and not as a constitutional blueprint.

Aspects detailed by the report included the entrenchment of basic principles as well as the federal and confederal options.

To retain the best of the market-related economic order in any future constitutional dispensation, the following norms should be recognized and consensus should be reached: Personal freedom, freedom of property and contract and personal culpability, the basic rules about the standard of the national currency and the principles of taxation.

make to specifications with

AN "agenda for negotiations" on political rights for blacks and the removal of all racial discrimination in a new political system was unveiled this week by the Association of Chambers of Commerce.

The document calls for negotiating parties to begin with a declaration of recognition of acceptable "norms", based on the common law rights to personal freedom, freedom of property and contract, and the law of personal culpability, and proposes the extension of "acceptable" elements of the existing order in a federal or confederal system of government.

Negotiating parties are called to recognise that reform should be governed by adherence to sound principles of statehood and evolutionary, rather than revolutionary changes.

The document, drawn up for Assocom by Professor Jan Lombard and Dr J A du Pisanie of the Bureau for Economic Policy and Analysis at the University of Pretoria, was presented at a media conference in Johannesburg by Assocom's chief executive, Mr Raymond Parsons, and the organisation's past president, Mr D G Paxton.

Copies of the document have been sent to the State President, Mr P W Botha, members of the Cabinet and a wide range of black political leaders.

Agenda

"On the assumption that the continued legitimacy of the Republic of South Africa, both internally and externally, depends on the urgent removal of racial discrimination in all affairs of state, the document recommends a particular agenda for negotiation," Mr Parsons said.

"This could be useful for discussion by the Black Forum, as proposed by the State President".

"The memorandum suggests that the philosophy behind the common law norms, which currently govern the basic character of the private enterprise system of South Africa, be extended to form the basis for the new political structures within which blacks will participate on equal terms with other citizens of the RSA," Mr Parsons said.

"The report says that, since the philosophy behind the common law of South Africa seems to lead logically to the political principles of federalism or confederalism, it is proposed that these principles be properly investigated with a view to their application in South African circumstances."

The memorandum says the fundamental common law norms should not only be recognised by all groups, but should be strictly en-

Equality for all

trenched, possibly in a bill of rights.
Emphasis is also placed on the need to strengthen the independence of the courts and economy.

the principle of equality before the law.
Local governments are seen as basically an extension of the market.

The establishment by Government of the proposed regional services councils, rather than through negotiation among the communities.

involved, "are obviously in conflict with the principle of devolution of power, the report says. Devolution simply of the location of the ul-

mate centre of authority in the society.

It calls for clarification of basic rules governing the value of the currency and the prin-

of individual property and contractual rights in a private enterprise economy can be nullified by hyperinflation or confiscatory taxation.

ciples of taxation, and makes a case for strict discipline in monetary and fiscal matters, saying the most rigorous constitutional protection

Really open for business?

In both the economic and political spheres, there can be little doubt that the parliamentary session drawing to a close in Cape Town has been the most significant since Union in 1910.

It was the first full session under the new Constitution, and, in the wake of embarrassingly low polls in last year's coloured and Indian elections, the pressure was on government to show that the system had some credibility as a basis for further reform. The new parliamentarians of colour *had* to go home with something — some evidence that participation was worthwhile. By and large this has happened, or can be said to have happened.

Labour Party (LP) leader Allan Hendrickse made little secret before the convening of the tricameral Parliament that his immediate targets were the Mixed Marriages Act, Section 16 of the Immorality Act, and the Prohibition of Improper Political Interference Act. Their abolition — along with the repeal of the coloured labour preference policy in the western Cape, and certain softening of influx control — does indeed represent a victory for reason and reform.

But it is unlikely the LP can claim anything more than a catalytic role. After all, over the past year organised commerce and industry has been clamouring as never before for evidence that apartheid is changing. The

The parliamentary session currently winding down has been paradoxical — too little reform for some, too much for others. There has certainly been a blur of movement: but to what lasting effect?

As significant, for business, is the fact that government has shown clear determination to cut its spending, loosen economic shackles, and free-up the financial markets. Such resolution has manifested itself *inter alia* in the showdown with the maize farmers, and resistance (so far) to pressure groups who want a "quick fix" of interest rates. There remain, however, historical dangers if the National-

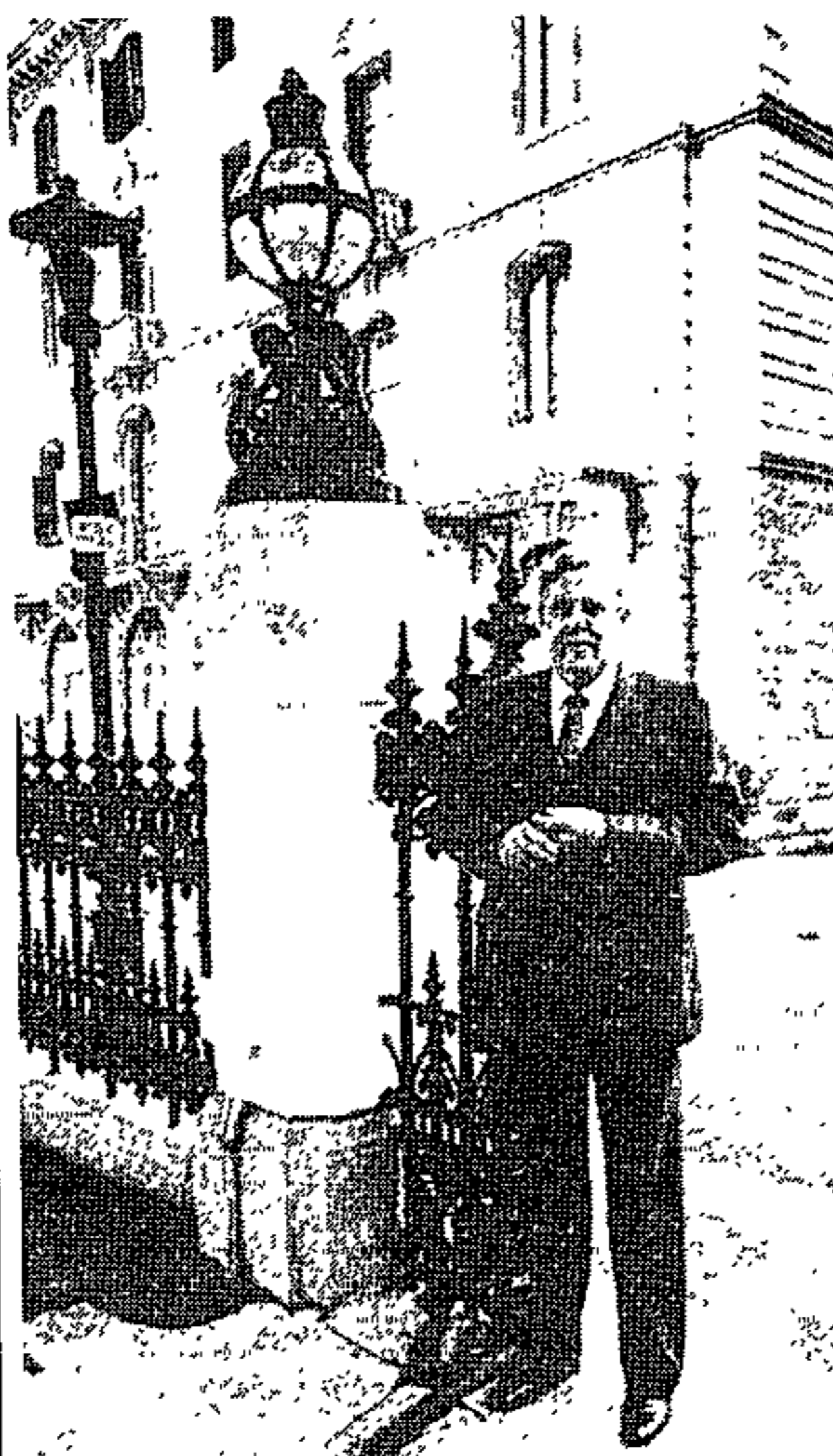
ly, is yes.

Government moved further and faster than ever before away from apartheid as it existed until the end of last year. And there can be no denying that the P W Botha administration sternly resisted pressures from the Right: good news in most people's books. That its true interests — naturally involving the survival of Afrikanerdom — may yet be best served by cross-ethnic party alliances (an implication of the scrapping of the Political Interference Act) should not detract from the significance of its achieve-



President Botha ... start-stop pattern of progress

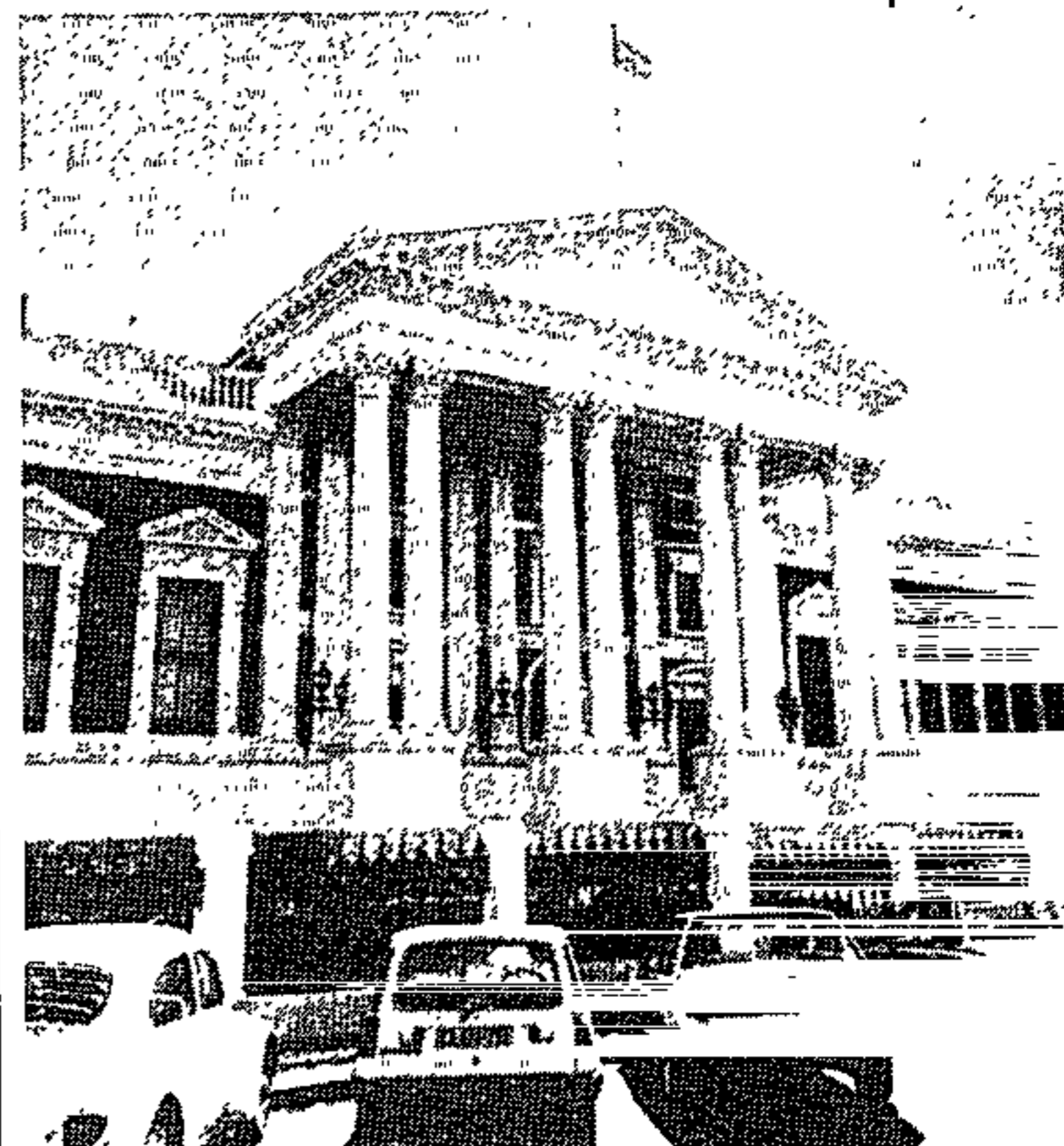
reforms which have been made were called for as strongly by business as by any of the minority houses. After all, disinvestment pressures were — and are — there to be countered; and advocacy of free enterprise by Pretoria did not sit well with continued restraints on labour mobility.



Minister Heunis ... hints of a federal option

ists perceive economic reform in "small is beautiful" ideologies which will in the long run make SA uncompetitive on world markets, and underpin inflation locally.

The problem in assessing the session — and in so doing, the tricameral system itself — is that there are probably as many arguments to prove it is the start of a new era as there are to dismiss it as merely a more subtle process to entrench the broader framework of apartheid. Reform there was: but the real points of contention are whether that reform was "meaningful," and whether there is more to come. The answer, tentative-



Parliament ... a conclave of expectations

ments. It has, fortunately, gone too far for some.

If the session tested government, it also put pressure on the other participants, not least on the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), to prove it retains a role in the era of "consensus" politics. And while the LP can, as we have suggested, lay claim to some progress in the dismantling of apartheid from within, the Indian parties have yet to build credible images out of the tatters of their particularly poor electoral showings.

There were also fundamental shifts in government's efforts to politically and constitutionally accommodate blacks by seeking to improve the climate for co-operation and negotiation. These shifts were evident in moves to ease harsh restrictions on black mobility, urban residential and trading rights, property ownership, and a commitment to virtually scrap forced removals.

There were also unprecedented moves to establish a "forum" for negotiating political reform with representative leaders of all South Africans. The concept, punted openly

For the first time by State President Botha at the opening of Parliament in January, evolved with amazing swiftness from an informal "talk shop" to discuss the constitutional position of "urban" blacks, to an enlarged Special Cabinet Committee on which opposition leaders — including the PFP's Frederik van Zyl Slabbert — were invited to serve.

But, on the other hand, the Nationalists remain bogged down in "non-negotiables." They were adamant that some of the cornerstones of apartheid — including racially separate schools and residential areas — would remain, and continued to flatly reject a unitary state/universal franchise system.

This stance appeared to clash irreconcilably with an otherwise apparently strong commitment to "open-ended" negotiations with black leaders — free of "pre-conditions."

And in a related and similarly puzzling move, President Botha rejected an offer by Slabbert to use what influence he had to sound out the African National Congress's attitude to negotiations. Slabbert's offer was seen as an important move by him away from old-style adversarial politics to an acceptance that a joint effort was needed to break SA's political logjam.

Botha's rejection went against all he seemed to have been working towards and immediately raised questions as to how serious he was about talking to his more radical critics. Admittedly, the postures of the various extra-parliamentary opponents of apartheid were as unyielding, if not more so, than the NP's — but then it is government that is under pressure and seems set to remain so.

Secret agendas again

It is probably in the area of government intentions that the picture of the future is most unclear and difficult to assess.

For the time being, a "declaration of intent" seems out of the question. In many senses government is gambling — and it is accepted that no gambler shows more cards than necessary at any one time. What is "non-negotiable" today could easily become "negotiable" tomorrow.

This has given rise once more to the "secret agenda" theory which was so popular during the 1983 referendum campaign. Only now, it seems to have even more foundation.

The man most likely to have such an agenda is arch-reformer Chris Heunis, whose Constitutional Development and Planning portfolio was significantly supplemented in the latest Cabinet reshuffle.

It was not surprising to learn that in the wake of the reshuffle Heunis was said to be more optimistic about the future of SA than ever before. He now controls all the means to engineer far wider political reform — particularly regarding blacks — than was ever contemplated in the new Constitution.

Among Heunis's new duties is land consolidation, which seems to explain why federalism is a word mentioned rather often these days in his department.



jected offer to help draw the ANC into negotiations, the party seemed out of touch with much of what was actually taking place. PFP MPs, however, claim significant unseen achievements in key Standing Committees where they say they were able to influence government decisions. The problem is that LP MPs claim just as much credit for these changes.

Credibility gaps

Labour, however, still has the problem that it is perceived as government's ally in power — and the perception is not softened by excuses that it has to compromise in some areas to achieve change in others.

The general impression of the Indian parties was that they lacked the muscle to have any real influence on the course of government action. Their strong opposition to apartheid was relatively impressive, but largely ineffectual.

So while the session — unlike any before it — has left all parties with much to think about, the real strength of the reform programme remains to be tested. Ahead lie the



PFP's Slabbert (top), Labour's Hendrickse ... the quest for relevance

The PFP seems to have either been caught napping, dragged along in the wake of the NP's sudden forward surges, or to have stumbled ahead in what one senior member likes to call "leading the way."

The party had one undeniable moment of glory. Its prompt investigation and fearless exposure of what happened during the Langa shootings was a refreshing example of just how much of a watchdog role an opposition party can play in South African circumstances.

But apart from Langa and Slabbert's re-

Groups Areas Act, population registration, the dynamics of black aspirations and the impediments that lie in their path.

And here, of course, will come the real electoral test for the NP. Any sign that government is "giving too much" will provoke a serious rightwing stand at the polls.

Some "hurtful" discrimination is clearly on its way out — and perhaps the basis for future economic health will underpin reform — but the question the FM posed earlier this year — "Where are we going, Mr Botha?" — has yet to be fully answered. ■

Marketing federalism

Assocom this week made a major contribution to the search for a new constitution which would provide for real black participation in national affairs. It suggests the answer may lie in federalism and entrenched free enterprise principles.

It arises out of Assocom's submissions to the Cabinet Committee on the political future of urban blacks. Assocom's "agenda for negotiation" is based on a report entitled "Removal of Discrimination Against Blacks in the Political Economy of the RSA" which it commissioned from professors Jan Lombard and Andre du Pisanie of Pretoria.

Given the inherent conservatism of Assocom and its members, the document is a bold, even courageous statement to government. Perhaps its most valued contribution to the current search for acceptable options is that it goes beyond mere cant, or lip service, to reform. Some might even call it a quantum leap in the extraordinary relationship that exists between government and the business sector. If government has lost its way in the search for options, Assocom's paper, cautious though it is, could point the way.

In its review of the report, Assocom "endorses the view that economic freedom and the private enterprise ethic — as well as the norms with which they are associated — are best entrenched in a future political system embodying the principles of federalism or confederalism."

It is essential, Assocom adds, that any future political system in SA provides for: "the necessary checks and balances; safeguards basic human rights; and the protection of minority groups against domination."

In their trail-blazing report, Lombard and Du Pisanie say negotiations for the establishment of a new non-racial political order should start with an "agenda for negotiation," on which "the first point for consideration should be a 'declaration of recognition' of the acceptable fundamental elements of the existing order."

To retain "the best of the market-orientated economic order" in a future constitution, say the authors, the "declaration of recognition" should include the basic norms of the existing SA common law, particularly those concerning personal freedom, freedom of property and contract, and personal culpability.

Two further issues should be cleared, they say: the basic rules about the standard value of the national currency, and the principles of taxation.

"Once initial consensus about the validity of these five basic elements of SA civilisation has been reached, the negotiators should

proceed to consider:

□ The procedures required to remove racial discrimination from the statutes of the Republic;

□ Procedures required to entrench these norms, so that future governments cannot reintroduce rules that offend them; and

□ The extension of the philosophy of these norms into public (or political) institutions on the local, regional and central levels of government."

These general legal principles, the authors reckon, "are quite capable of accommodating the legitimate claims of blacks in the economy and the structure of local authorities of SA." They explain that a characteristic of reform through a process of "healthy evolution" is the retention of the best elements of the old order, and attempts to expand upon them to meet the challenges of the new situation.

Applying the principles of individual freedom and responsibility, and of contractual co-operation among individuals, to the politics of local authorities "may be useful in approaching the problem of co-operation among citizens at the highest level of government," say the authors. While acknowledging that "difficulties" are presented, the report nevertheless emphasises the "very close logical link between the jurisprudence of SA common law and the political philosophy of federalism." The solution to the problems of central government in a plural SA democracy, they add, may be found in that direction.

For in the present system of government, based on the philosophy which presumes that there must be "some single, ultimate centre of authority," the government of the day has "unrestricted monopoly power." Practically, this means that: "any group which has captured the central, single source of authority can legitimately dominate the whole society..."

The federal alternative, explain Lombard and Du Pisanie, "accepts that the government sector may be polycentric in structure with several concurrent, competing sources of power, each limited to particular fields of competence by a constitution or social contract which is enforceable by the courts of law.

"The practical implication of this is that no single group would be able to dominate the whole society, unless it captures every unit of government in the whole country. That is the the federal alternative."

LANGA KILLINGS

Kannemeyer reports

Blame for the circumstances that led to the Langa shootings on March 21 in which 20 black funeral mourners were killed has been laid largely on the police by the Kannemeyer Commission. The commission's report was tabled in Parliament this week.

Mr Justice Donald Kannemeyer, appoint-



Riot policeman ... shouldering the blame

DOUG ANDERSON

Money matters

The past year hasn't been easy for bankers, and Doug Anderson, Senbank's new CE, doesn't hold out much hope that things will look up in the near future.

"There are some positive signs of recovery," Anderson (47) says, "but the earliest we can expect an improvement is the second half of 1986. Then we're only talking of modest recovery, not of the economy moving back into growth of 4% or 5%. I'm not overly optimistic about recovery in the short term.

"We need to build up our balance of payments so we don't land ourselves in a rapid stop-go situation. SA will have a surplus in the current account this year, but the proceeds will be needed to redeem short-term foreign debt, meaning our net reserves won't be sufficient to allow us to reflate."

Though forex losses have hit across the corporate spectrum, and Senbank has been instrumental in organising offshore loans for many of its clients, losses to the bank have been moderate. Assuming the gold price doesn't fall further, the rand could move into the 55c range, with an optimistic outside of 60c by year's end, Anderson believes.

"But the major uncertainty is what happens to the capital account if we have a massive outflow of funds," he says. "This could temper an improvement in the rand. If our inflation rate remains where it is relative to our trading partners, the rand has to be on a downward path over the long term."

With an asset base of approximately R1 billion, Anderson says, Senbank is SA's largest merchant bank today. "We believe that in a developing country, it's advisable to show a reasonably smooth trend to engender confidence," he explains. "In a developing country, the risk profile of lending is much greater than in a mature economy.

"Nonetheless, we hold the major market share in bankers' acceptances, the major share in the primary capital market and have a good market share in corporate finance. We can't really measure market share in foreign banking activities, but we're satisfied with progress made in that area."

As a former senior GM, Anderson has played a significant role in the bank's strategic planning for the past few years. "We have a solid foundation," he says. "There'll be some fine tuning to the management structure but nothing earth-shattering."

After graduating with a Wits B Comm, Anderson joined the then newly formed Accepting Bank of Industry (ABI) and was later seconded to National Discount House to help with its establishment. When Central Accepting Bank merged with ABI, Anderson became executive assistant to the GM. When Senbank in its present form emerged

from a second merger with City Merchant Bank in 1976, Anderson was promoted to assistant GM and became senior GM two years ago.

He's certainly seen some changes in his 25 years in banking, not least the fudging of the once clear guidelines differentiating commercial and merchant banking — today the essential characteristics differentiating merchant banking from commercial banking are



Anderson ... a modest recovery in the second half of 1986

corporate financing activities and activities in the primary capital market.

In spite of the major threat of larger institutions establishing in-house corporate financing departments, Anderson is adamant there'll always be a place for merchant banking activities and a need for an outside party to investigate mergers, takeovers and acquisitions.

But banking is in flux and he recognises that areas that have been major profit contributors will be entirely different in four or

five years. "The emphasis will shift away from banking-based activities to more trading-type activities dealing with government stock both in the primary and secondary markets, money markets and futures," he explains.

"The hallmark of merchant banks is that they react swiftly to changes in the environment, and one has to be pretty wide awake to change threats into opportunities." For example, Senbank was instrumental in the development of the options market and brought a measure of standardisation into the market that hadn't existed previously.

Anderson believes that interest rates will come down further before the year's end: "SA is trying to curb credit through high interest rates as well as Ladofca. If demand is kept under control through the use of Ladofca, then there's no reason why interest rates shouldn't fall to 15% fairly rapidly. However, I don't believe interest rates need have risen so high to achieve the same end."

JOHN KING

Minding the presses

SA Associated Newspapers (Saan) has "no desperate straits that management can't handle," says the group's new MD, John King.

However, he's certainly inherited a number of dilemmas: "We've had problems, what with the press war and the recession hitting revenue when we'd embarked on a fairly ambitious programme of expanding our capital and plant base. In January 1984, the market was uncommonly buoyant, encouraging us to undertake this. We were caught over-extended, but the situation isn't critical — we can work it through."

A likeable, direct man with a measured manner, King returns straight answers to questions about Saan. His first objective is reducing the burden of short-term debt and getting the group into a liquid state again. "I don't think our debt:equity ratio is intolerable, though it's higher than I want. Like many other companies at present, we have a degree of short-term debt to be eliminated as soon as possible. Our long-term debt is low."

What about rumours of a possible merger? There will be no merger, King says flatly. "In any case, talk of a Saan-Argus merger in John Vorster's day caused an uproar, with government talking of preventive legislation. We have no reason to expect that it'll be any different today.

"But it wouldn't be inconceivable for com-

peting newspapers to share production facilities. Very few papers today can claim substantial profitability. With costs rising and revenues plummeting, all experienced executives are looking at ways and means of reducing costs.

"Hypothetically, we could invite *The Star* to print at Saan or, conversely, we could arrange to print at Sauer Street. Obstacles — such as tighter afternoon printing schedules — would have to be ironed out, and any arrangement must fit with both groups' philosophies. At present, we have continuing talks with Argus around practical areas of co-operation in cost-cutting," he explains.

How does King see *Business Day's* prospects and performance? "In the ballyhoo at the start of *Business Day*, a number of people

got the impression that it was intended to be a large-circulation paper. But it's a specialist publication — a rifle, not a shotgun. We'll be happy to see it reach circulation of 35 000, in the same ballpark as the *FM*. Sales at present are 30 000."

Thus far, King says, predictions that *Business Day* would cut into the circulation of other Saan publications are unrealised. "True, some coastal papers' circulations have dropped, but this is the result of raised cover prices. In any case, we don't anticipate a mass circulation for *Business Day* on the coast. We'll be content with a circulation of between 2 000 and 2 500 in Cape Town and Durban."

Asked whether he has in mind any significant restructuring of Saan's management

team, King responds that he's investigating and will take time to come to conclusions. However, he is taking steps to combat staff demoralisation: "When a company has gone through a traumatic phase, as Saan has, with financial problems and the loss of its CE, there's considerable insecurity and rumour. I'm regularly having in groups of employees from across the company spectrum for drinks, to spread a positive message about group prospects — that there's no cause for despair, that Saan is coming back onto an even keel."

At the time of his appointment as MD, King had been group GM in charge of technical operations for three years. He began in the early Sixties as a journalist in Saan's magazine division and became editor of

LUWELLYN LANDERS

Some people regard Luwellyn Landers as a guinea-pig. However, he prefers to believe his appointment as Deputy Minister of Population Planning was based on merit and not the need for State President P W Botha to test reaction to coloureds and Indians holding executive positions in "general affairs" portfolios.

The 37-year-old Labour Party (LP) MP for Mitchells Plain, will be deputy to the newly appointed Minister of National Health and Population Planning, Dr Willie van Niekerk, who returns from his current post as Administrator General of Namibia at month's end.

His appointment comes after what is generally regarded as a phenomenal rise in LP ranks. Landers joined the party only nine years ago and has been chairman of the Cape Peninsula region for less than two years — having moved to Cape Town from Natal about six years ago.

When the new constitutional system was introduced last year, Landers was appointed to the relatively senior position of vice-chairman of the (all-party) Standing Committee on Communications and Public Works.

He claims his appointment as Deputy Minister came virtually out of the blue. "All the State President said to me was: 'We've been watching you and we like what we see.'"

"I can't say I have any particular interest in the subject of population development," he says.

He has few interests outside politics, though, as a younger man, soccer was the "alpha and omega" of his life. He represented Natal Schools in 1962 and Southern Natal in 1972, and captained Manning Rangers Football Club in Durban. He was forced to give up soccer six years ago after a serious leg injury.

Like his newly appointed counterpart in the House of Delegates, Soobramoney Naicker, Landers isn't shy about having

to face MPs in all three Houses. "I look forward to it," he says, when asked about the probability of the Conservative Party, in particular, being after his political blood — especially when he's called on, as he surely must be, to defend government policy, or guide Bills through the House of Assembly.

He believes his appointment has added to the credibility of the LP's decision to participate in the new constitutional system and regards it as a sign of real progress on the road to reform. "The appointment has many positive and im-

portant implications. But whichever way you look at it, it is significant," he says.

Apart from the regular duties Landers and Naicker face, Landers believes they'll be under added pressure, because they're the first MPs other than whites to be appointed to executive positions in "general affairs" portfolios.

"I like to think that my appointment was purely on merit and not a cosmetic one. I believe it wasn't cosmetic," he says. "But if people say: 'You're a guinea-pig,' fine, okay, I'm not going to dispute that," he says.





King ... no cause for despair at Saan

several technical journals. Six years later, he moved into technical management as Saan communications director. Then he became

group technical manager, retaining the communications portfolio, as well as overseeing engineering facilities and all production. He

supervised the installation of the Metro presses in the early Seventies and later the installation of the computerised editing system.

"In 1978, I took a sabbatical from Saan, going over to Kohler as group technical manager. With 28 factories, this provided excellent experience of a broader canvas." In 1982, his predecessor Clive Kinsley invited him back to run Saan's technical operations. Hopefully, his experience of getting systems to work will help him fine-tune the Saan machine. ■

WYNAND CLAASSEN

Tackling the peaks

Former Springbok rugby captain Wynand Claassen sees business as a game for winners. So when his brainchild, the first luxury hotel in the Drakensberg, was turned down by the Natal provincial authorities, Claassen stuck with his project in the best sporting tradition. In the end, the authorities capitulated and gave the scheme the go-ahead.

Their decision reaffirmed Claassen's belief that if you want to succeed in business you have to apply a good rugby maxim: put your head down and go for it. "In many

SOOBARAMONEY NAICKER

304A

Soobramoney Naicker, newly appointed Deputy Minister of Environmental Affairs, entered politics reluctantly four years ago. Today he's almost reached the top.

He and fellow coloured MP Luwellyn Landers became the first politicians other than whites to be appointed to executive positions in State departments controlling "general affairs."

Naicker (54), a quietly spoken businessman, holds the Northern Natal seat for Amichand Rajbansi's National People's Party (NPP) in the House of Delegates. He's proud of his seat and his achievement in winning it in last year's Indian general election.

The Northern Natal seat covers 45 000 km² and includes 21 magisterial districts — the largest geographical area of any seat in the House of Delegates. Naicker won it in a 38% poll which was the third highest of the 40 seats contested in the election.

He believes his close involvement in local affairs — particularly welfare issues in which he takes a special interest as a result of his underprivileged background — gives him community support.

Naicker was born at Nkwalini in the

Eshowe district and has deep roots in the region. His involvement in community affairs has included seats on the Zululand and Newark Advisory Committees, the Zululand Indian Welfare Association and other school and welfare organisations.



From 1981 until its dissolution last year, Naicker was a member of the SA Indian Council and served for a time on its executive. Until 1981 he had never considered entering politics. He says he was virtually forced into public life by community pressure and the realisation that he had to take an active part in the struggle to

improve the lot of SA Indians and other politically underprivileged people.

His relatively low profile to date belies his position and influence in the NPP. He is the party's Natal leader, national chairman and caucus chairman and was appointed Leader of the House of Delegates last year.

Strangely though, he was apparently overlooked last year when Rajbansi selected his Ministers' Council to control Indian "own" affairs. Naicker explains his omission quite frankly as a sacrifice he made to promote party unity at a time when Rajbansi was struggling to muster a

majority in the House. Senior posts had to be offered not only to secure the support of some MPs but also to give some regional balance to the appointment of office bearers. Naicker decided to stand back then. Now he's been well rewarded.

His appointment as deputy to John Wiley should, in retrospect, not have come as too much of a surprise. Last year he was the only non-white MP to be appointed chairman of the (all party) Standing Committee on Tourism and the Environment. With no background in this area, he admits having studied hard and taken much advice from officials to brush up his knowledge.

Naicker accepts that in the House of Assembly, in particular, he's probably in for a hard ride from the Conservative Party. "But," he says, "we have entered the political arena. We appreciate possible reactions and will face up to the realities. I won't run away."

Naicker sees his appointment and that of Landers as a good sign that people other than whites will now be drawn in more rapidly to positions of real power in government, and will also give added credibility to Indian and coloured participation in Parliament.

He'll also serve as the "own" affairs Deputy Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture in the House of Delegates.

POLITICS

Federalism brews

30KA
Fm 14/10/85
The National Party's agenda in the next six months has three main items: arresting the growth of the rightwing by winning the five by-elections scheduled for September; crystallising their thinking on some form of federal proposal to accommodate black participation at central level; and starting meaningful negotiations with credible black leaders.

The first item will probably have a temporary inhibiting effect on the other two. In four of the five by-elections the combined forces of the Conservative Party and Herstigte Nasionale Party could do very well.

By-elections already announced will take place in Bethlehem, where the MP, Nak van der Merwe, died recently, and Sasolburg and Port Natal, where sitting MPs Hans Ungerer and Pierre Cronje have resigned. The other two by-elections soon to be announced are Springs on the East Rand where MP Gerrie van der Merwe may soon get a senior government posting, and Vryburg in the northern Cape where MP Hannes du Toit has indicated that he wants to retire.

The NP is abuzz with talk of federalism, and several leading thinkers in the party, and academics close to it, are known to be working on papers with suggestions how it could be done. Several private "think-tanks" are being organised to discuss the issue. And apparently Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis and senior officials in his department have already started formulating some ideas.

Labour Party leader and Cabinet member Allen Hendrickse recently hinted that the Cabinet is toying with federal proposals, but that they "have not finalised anything." And in his recent interview with London Weekend Television, State President P W Botha confirmed that his party wants to create central government structures where all South Africans will make joint decisions on common matters as long as it makes provision for the "multi-cultural" nature of SA society.

Natal political scientist Lawrence Schlemmer believes that, in spite of government denials, the federal formula is still very much on the agenda. Government, he says, "is edging towards what we call a federal model, only they are not going to call it that."

The central government, he says, is still wedded to the concept of own affairs. Federalism, which implies a unitary state and common voters' roll, remains anathema. He believes government is "trying to work federalism into the framework of own affairs," but he expects it won't be "for another 18 months or so" before their model is ready.

There is also a strong feeling in *verligte* circles in the party that the national forum of which there has been such a lot of talk, should become a reality before the end of the year. The increased US and European pressure on SA and the threat of US economic sanctions if reform is not sped up, could prompt a faster pace. It seems likely that a round of behind-the-scenes negotiations with leaders like KwaZulu's Gatsha Buthelezi will precede any formal meetings.

Many leading Nationalists are looking with new eyes to the Buthelezi Commission recommendations for a federal relationship between Natal and KwaZulu. It seems as if majority Afrikaner support in the province can be canvassed for the idea, Botha will not be totally opposed to it.

Many Natalians firmly believe that the only way the complex juxtaposition of Natal and KwaZulu can be effectively managed and administered is through some form of federalism. If something tangible emerges from the debate now taking place, it could, the supporters of this idea argue, help point the way to a new blueprint for SA.

Schlemmer says while government is grappling with new ideas on power sharing and federalism, the reform initiatives currently taking place in Natal should be encouraged and broadened. He notes there is already top level consultation and joint planning between the administrations of Natal and KwaZulu. Further, the proposed new regional services councils hold out the prospect of truly multiracial regional government.

Schlemmer seems to think government will in the end be prepared to allow a separate solution for Natal. ■

National Party to remain all white

ARLW 18/6/85 (30 RA)

Political Correspondent

THE National Party does not plan to open its white membership to other race groups, even though Parliament will this week abolish the Prohibition of Political Interference Act.

The official party mouth-piece, The Nationalist, states this.

The Constitutional Affairs Amendment Bill, which is before Parliament today abolishes the restriction on multiracial party politics and retains only the provision that parties may not receive overseas financial aid.

Political parties will be able open membership to all races although the three separate houses in Parliament will remain.

The Nationalist says it is surprising that many people are running riot with the idea that there will now be political integration "and even one-man, one-vote and a common, mixed voters roll", while the Prohibition of Political Interference Act never had anything to do with this.

The scrapping of the Act does mean that coloured and Indians can join the PFP and that the Labour Party can have white members.

However, the Houses of Parliament would remain reserved for specific race groups.

It could be expected that the Conservative Party and other reactionaries would use the abolition of the Act to try to create integration bogeys.

Doubts on Langa police action, poll shows

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Only 51 percent of white South Africans believed the police handled the Langa situation on March 21 in a satisfactory way, according to a survey conducted before the release of the Kanne Meyer Commission report last week.

Forty-seven percent believed the inquiry raised doubts about the police handling of the situation. But, three out of every four are confident the police are doing a good job in handling unrest in general.

These are some of the findings of a Gallup poll conducted by the Markinor

research group in May among 1 000 urban whites.

The results show marked differences in opinion according to language and income groups and residential area.

Fifty-eight percent of English speakers felt police methods at Langa were not entirely satisfactory while only 34 percent of Afrikaans speakers felt so. Concern about police methods is greatest among those in the above-R3 500 monthly income bracket (63 percent) and decreases among those earning less than R1 250 (39 percent).

Further, dissatisfaction is greatest in Johannesburg (57 percent), Cape metropolitan centres (54 percent), Durban (51

percent), Reef/Vaal (38 percent), Pretoria (37 percent) and Bloemfontein (33 percent) are less critical.

Only 11 percent of those polled felt the strife would have a beneficial effect.

The poll also found that less than one in every 10 white South Africans knows the names of the three houses of Parliament and less than 50 percent of them believe they have a "clear" idea of how the constitution works.

Whereas 63 percent of Afrikaans-speaking people believe the new dispensation will lead to substantial change, only 38 percent of their English counterparts share this opinion. People

from Bloemfontein are most optimistic (70 percent expect major change).

Other findings are:

● More men than women say they know how the dispensation works (17 as opposed to eight percent).

● Twice as many men as women are able to name the three houses of Parliament.

● English-speaking respondents displayed slightly more knowledge than Afrikaners.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports from Johannesburg that 37 percent of urban white South Africans are in favour of an increase in defence spending, according

to a poll conducted by Market Research Africa (MRA).

MRA's sample poll of 1 000 urban white adults found 42 percent believed the country's defence expenditure was "about right".

And 19 percent supported a decrease. Support for greater spending is much higher among Afrikaans speakers (46 percent) and those in the lower-income groups (43 percent), the poll found.

The manager of MRA's Omnibus Division, Miss Sue Scott, said: "The defence force in South Africa is held in high regard and the awareness of the need for a strong defence force is clearly appreciated."

PARLIAMENT

Constitution passes

ARGUS 19/6/85

304A

South Africa's new constitutional system has been seen to work — with some awkwardness. Politicians at the first session of the new Parliament

THE new constitutional system passed an important first test in the session of Parliament which ends tonight.

It has been shown to work, awkwardly in some instances, but in other cases in a more streamlined way than the old system.

The awkwardness came through the duplication of debates on Bills and reports in the three Houses which called for careful planning and timing and which occasionally stretched the abilities of Ministers to the limit.

There was awkwardness too in joint second reading sessions of the Houses where Ministers introduced legislation with the Houses then adjourning to debate these measures separately.

Instead of moving in the direction of joint second reading debates as well as the official Opposition had hoped, a decision was taken at the end of the session to have fewer of these with second reading speeches given in one House being tabled in the others.

The streamlining came through the system of standing committees of the three Houses which vetted Bills before they were debated in public.

Here a lot of the real work was done in bargaining sessions with a lot of give and take leading to considerable consensus and, consequently, shorter public debates than in the past.

Behind the scenes in the committee sessions there developed, at a personal level, what the Rev Allan Hendrickse described as a better understanding between people of various groups who had previously not understood one another's thinking. This was a process of political "cross-pollination."

MPs of the coloured House of Representatives and the Indian House of Delegates can claim part of the credit for a number of controversial apartheid measures which bit the dust during the session — the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, the sex-across-the-colour-bar clause of the Immorality Act and the Prohibition of Political Interference Act.

The lot of urban blacks was also improved partly through the efforts of coloured MPs. In future they will have more mobility in the urban areas and a

shorter period in which to earn permanent rights.

The Progressive Federal Party, who through the years fought for these improvements, also deserves some credit.

Although not represented in the new Parliament, blacks and their problems featured largely, as they did in the old system. Among the other important steps was the announcement of freehold rights for blacks in areas where they already qualify for leasehold rights. They will also have decision-making powers on the new regional councils.

There was also President Botha's announcement of a forum to negotiate on black political rights and later the idea to expand the Cabinet committee on blacks outside the homelands to all parties in Parliament who want to participate.

This followed Mr Botha's announcement in his opening speech on January 25 that the permanence of blacks outside the homelands was accepted and that citizenship would be investigated.

At the end of the session little was being heard about the forum idea, mainly because the Government is having difficulty in getting black leaders to come forward.

In the House of Assembly a lack of expertise in certain fields, especially the legal one, was evident, but performances here are bound to improve as the new MPs get more parliamentary "in-service" training.

In the House of Delegates legislation went through quickly most of the time while National People's Party and Solidarity members often got bogged down in slanging matches with allegations of bribery and corruption.

This was hardly calculated to improve the credibility of Indian politicians in the outside world where many of them had low polls in the elections.

Some of the manoeuvres the Labour Party was involved in such as the attempts early on to create a bogus official opposition in the House of Representatives and squabbles later about the appointment of Mr Luwellyn Landers as a deputy minister also did little to enhance the party's credibility.

Both the Labour Party and the NPP seemed to find it difficult to come to terms with the



idea that they were in fact in Government, with a Minister each in the Cabinet, however critical they may be of many apartheid aspects of Government policy.

These parties often seem to want the best of both political worlds, trying to behave as if they were opposition parties with an observer in the Cabinet.

Although repeatedly coming with calls for apartheid to be scrapped these two new Houses were rather muted in their criticism of the Government on other occasions.

Thus it was only the PFP in the House of Assembly who stuck to its guns with its demand for the resignation of the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, following the Uitenhage shootings and the Kannemeyer report.

The fact that parity in pen-

sion increases for all race groups was achieved for the first time, a paraffin price increase was kept down to the minimum, rice was freed from GST, practical assistance was given to home owners and tenants who have financial difficulties were practical achievements of coloured and Indian leaders in the session.

In the House of Assembly the main themes were economic problems, constitutional development and consensus politics.

The continuing squabbles between the National Party and

exclusion from the

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19/6/85

304A

first test

cal Correspondent TOS WENTZEL reviews the

The leaders — President P W Botha,
the Rev Allan Hendrickse,
Mr Amichand Rajbansi and
Dr Van Zyl Slabbert



the Conservative Party made the Leader of the Opposition, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, remark that "when I think of this, and given the circumstances in our country outside Parliament, I wonder what our children will say when in 10 or 15 years time they read what we talked about in Parliament".

In the debate on the Kanne-meyer Report the Nationalist side again showed their predilection with petty politics when they tried to turn the debate into an indictment of the PFP instead of the criticism of police

methods and attitudes that it in fact was.

Under the able leadership of Dr Slabbert the PFP remained the most effective opposition to the National Party in this session.

Apart from the party political squabbles the one dominant theme of the session was that of negotiation politics.

The need for negotiation and consultation was emphasised more instead of one-sided decision-making by the Government and the forcing of such decisions on other groups.

Slabbert 'shares' chief's commitment

304A NM 19/6/85

African Affairs Correspondent

ULUNDI—The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, says he shares Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's commitment to a declaration of intent on the part of the South African Government.

Addressing members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday, Dr Slabbert said he did not believe that those involved in such a declaration should get bogged down in fine detail.

A declaration of intent is not a final document. It is a common point of departure, he said.

Dr Slabbert said the report of the Buthelezi commission was an excellent exercise in the process of negotiation and the South African Government would do well to learn from it.

Explored

The minimum conditions for a declaration of intent, he maintained, would be a statement that there would be one constitution and, as a result, one citizenship for all the peoples of South Africa.

Just as one citizenship follows one constitution, so one system of franchise based on power-

sharing is inevitable, Dr Slabbert said.

With such a background, a whole range of constitutional arrangements which would meet the needs of the people of South Africa could be explored.

He said that if the Government was prepared to consider such a declaration it could demonstrate its good faith by stating that it would scrap influx control in its entirety.

Important

He said that misunderstandings which had arisen between the two groups in the past had been resolved as a result of meeting Chief Buthelezi and the KwaZulu Cabinet.

It was important, he said, that the two sides should avoid statements which could lead to misunderstanding or which could be abused by those people who did not share the goal of the two movements.

Replying to Dr Slabbert's speech, Chief Buthelezi challenged the PFP on whether it would be able to establish a regional base in Natal.

He said Inkatha perceived the PFP as a scattering of political commonsense across the

length and breadth of South Africa.

He said it was important to establish whether the PFP could set up such a base at a time when Inkatha was engaged in forging a new endeavour between Natal and KwaZulu to bring about real change.

Chief Buthelezi said he became uneasy when people praised him for the relative quiet which had prevailed in KwaZulu and Natal during the past month of unrest.

It was a false analysis which claimed that it was his restraining hand which controlled black anger in this part of South Africa.

It was similarly not true that Zulus were more submissive than their black brothers and sisters elsewhere.

These people fail to understand that our quietness, if it can be called that, is the quietness of the strong.

We understand the meaning of violence, we ourselves have been subjected to the violence of wars.

Were we to unleash the kind of vagrant violent forces we see everywhere in South Africa, this country would never be the same again, he said.

Future is up to regions — PW

354A B. Dang
20/6/85

PRESIDENT P W Botha yesterday hinted at the direction of constitutional development, indicating that different races would be permitted to act in concert in individual regions if they chose to.

He also warned "elements in Washington who think South Africa is going to be run by the United States" that they were heading for a run-in with Pretoria.

In a wide-ranging end-of-session address to a joint sitting of the three houses of Parliament, Botha said each race group would be able to choose how it would vote.

This is being interpreted as a further pointer to the possibility that the government will permit Natal and KwaZulu to join in a form of state government which could become a model for regional constitutional and political development in a national federal-type system.

Botha said the government had no rigid ideas about the type of franchise to be enjoyed by each group.

"It may be universal adult franchise or a qualified one or a mixture of systems. That is a matter on which the group in question may indicate its own preferences even if the result be a system of election and voting procedures which has no exact counterpart in western democratic countries."

Stressing the government's commitment to political models based on South Africa's particular circumstances, Botha said this left the way open for "unlimited possibilities compatible with the choices which each population group — or community — may eventually wish to make".

"There is no question of forcing together peoples who do not wish to be joined, or of keeping peoples apart who wish to come together," he said.

By PAUL BELL
Political Correspondent

On the other hand, any attempt to "force" all of South Africa's peoples into an "artificial unit to be ruled on the basis of one man, one vote would be disastrous".

Commenting on disinvestment, Botha appeared to be warning the Reagan administration as well as the campaign's proponents that they were heading for a run-in with South Africa.

He said: "If there are elements in Washington who think South Africa is going to be run by the United States, then it must be made clear that those elements are heading for a confrontation with the South African government and people."

He fired a broadside at the western powers, accusing them of double standards, opportunism, and of having been manoeuvred into promoting Soviet aims in southern Africa.

They were ignoring "incontrovertible evidence" about ANC activities in Botswana, and propounded a "warped" concept of sovereignty by accepting Botswana's right to harbour "terrorists" and denying South Africa's right to take steps which accorded with "the fundamental principles of international law".

But he renewed offers of peace with the frontline states if they agreed on an unqualified ban on support for cross-border violence, the removal of foreign forces hostile to any country of the region, the peaceful resolution of disputes, regional co-operation, and toleration of different socio-economic and political systems.

President hints at 'options'

Carl Timb 20/6/85

304A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha yesterday gave the strongest indication to date that his government might be prepared to consider a federal system as a model for South Africa's constitutional future.

But he flatly ruled out any system based on one man, one vote as "artificial", arguing that any such attempt would be "disastrous" for all South Africans.

Rigid approach

In a special address to a joint sitting of the three Houses of Parliament, Mr Botha indicated that the government would not necessarily adopt a rigid approach if groups pursued localized constitutional options.

Mr Botha's remarks, although vague, fuelled speculation in political circles that the government was considering a form of "mixed administration" on a regional basis to replace the provincial council system.

Mr Botha stressed that his government's approach to a search for viable political institutions left the way open for "unlimited possibilities compatible with the choices which each population group or community may eventually wish to take.

"In other words, we

stand for participation without domination.

"The South African Government has no rigid ideas about the type of franchise to be enjoyed by each of our peoples and communities. It may be universal adult franchise or a qualified franchise or a mixture of systems. This is a matter on which the group in question may indicate its own preferences."

Mr Botha's comments also gave new credence to earlier indications that the cabinet was considering a new plan to consolidate KwaZulu along geographic lines and provide for a federal system of government in Natal.

Federation

Such an experiment was seen in political circles as a possible prelude to a multi-racial federation for the rest of the country.

Referring to the recent SADF raid on Botswana, Mr Botha warned that South Africa would retaliate against neighbouring states who merely paid "lip service" to the principle that states should not make their territories available for the launching of terrorist attacks against their neighbours.

● More on Mr Botha's address, page 4

● Buthelezi slates Botha speech, page 2

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Buthelezi slates Botha speech

Cape Times 20/6/83 304K

ULUNDI. — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, says yesterday's speech in Parliament by the State President, Mr P W Botha, rules out the concept of a unitary state and makes it impossible for him to negotiate with the President at present.

Chief Buthelezi said in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly that Mr Botha's comments had ruled out the prospect of one constitution and one parliamentary system.

This sort of statement pulled the rug from under his feet, the Chief Minister declared.

He expressed his

grave concern about the future.

Chief Buthelezi said it was tragic that the State President had intimated that, in future, he would rely on the support of the South African Police, the Defence Force, the security police and intelligence services.

He expressed his disappointment at the language used by Mr Botha in relation to the American Government when he spoke of "meddling".

Numerical strength

President Ronald Reagan had been "lambasted" not only in the United States but also in other parts of Africa for "collaborating with the apartheid system", Chief Buthelezi pointed out.

On the other hand, he said, the Reagan Administration was the first one which had tried to be helpful in formulating a policy on South Africa.

Earlier, at the Amati-gulu Youth Camp, Chief Buthelezi said black South Africa's real

power did not lie in "guns and bombs", but in its numerical strength.

"Blacks are all-powerful as workers and consumers and this fact demands the use of politics and not bombs to achieve victory. The real power of black South Africa is only employable in non-violent tactics and strategies, and this is why Inkatha is committed to non-violence," the chief said.

Condemning "black-on-black violence" in townships around the country, Chief Buthelezi said black anger at apartheid had to be conserved and "employed with all the wisdom we can muster".

He condemned last week's SADF raid on alleged African National Congress targets in Botswana but said he was not blind to the fact that South Africa's Defence Force was capable and "very willing" to make cross-border raids.

No armed struggle

"The totality of international opinion will not deter them, and there is no army in the whole of Southern Africa capable of deterring them," he said.

Yet thousands of young men and women "sit in training camps in Africa who can never be employed in the armed struggle because there is no armed struggle."

"Now that this is becoming clear to everybody, there are those who are using what arms they have against their fellow blacks simply because they cannot face the might of the South African army and they are looking for what appears to be easy options."

"A wise general does not send his battalions into suicidal action, and this is just what those who champion the armed struggle are doing." — Own Correspondent and Sapa

President renews speculation on federation

TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha has started renewed speculation that the Government does not rule out a federal concept in South Africa, but political opponents criticised him today for the vagueness of his ideas.

In a speech near the end of Parliament Mr Botha yesterday ruled out an "artificial unit" based on one man, one vote.

He added, however, that the Government had no rigid ideas about the type of franchise to be enjoyed by "each of our peoples and communities".

He indicated that each group could exercise options on a universally adult franchise or a qualified one or a mixture of systems.

The Leader of the Opposition, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, warned today that it would be wrong to read into Mr Botha's speech too much of a possibility of federalism being accepted by the Government.



Dr Slabbert

He said the President's whole statement was in fact vague on issues such as one constitution, federalism and one basic citizenship for all South Africans.

"Once again one comes away from listening to the President appreciating his good intentions and sentiments but totally confused as to how they are going to be applied in the constitutional and political spheres."

Glimpses

Separate racial structures with separate voting procedures appear to be non-negotiables for the Government.

On the other hand there appears to be glimpses where this could be contradicted when he suggests that groups cannot be compelled but should be free to decide how they wish to associate.

Cape Times 20/6/85 (304A)

Recruitment drive by PFP

Political Staff

A MASSIVE recruitment campaign to establish the Progressive Federal Party as a broad-based non-racial political party was announced yesterday by the leader of the PFP, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert.

In addition, Dr Alex Boraine, chairman of the party's federal council, announced that there had been "a large number" of inquiries and requests for membership forms.

A financial target of R10-million, which will be used in the recruitment campaign and to provide necessary constituency infrastructure, was also announced.

Buthelezi

The PFP hopes to raise this amount before the end of the year.

As the Prohibition of Political Interference Act came under the parliamentary axe yesterday, Dr Slabbert also announced that he had had discussions with the KwaZulu leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the Natal Indian Congress and some components of the United Democratic Front.

He stressed that any



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert

decision as to whether the PFP would contest elections for the House of Representatives and House of Delegates would be made only in August at the Federal Congress of the party but noted that there was "nothing in principle" preventing the party from doing this.

Dr Slabbert said talks he had had with extra-parliamentary organizations had been on questions of strategy and did not imply that these organizations necessarily supported the PFP.

Yesterday's repeal of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act,



Dr Alex Boraine

which came into effect in 1969, ended the ban on racial cross-pollination within a political party.

Stating that the repeal of the Act, under which there had never been a prosecution, heralded "a new era" for the PFP, Dr Slabbert said the party was determined to try to become "the largest and most broad-based" political party in the history of the South African Parliament.

He said the PFP was convinced it could achieve this "because the principles and policy we stand for are shared by the vast ma-

jority of the people in South Africa".

Dr Slabbert said that if there was to be a peaceful future in South Africa it would be based on the philosophy and principles of the PFP "enshrined in one constitution for all South Africans".

Obstacles

He said that as the PFP was now involved in a massive recruitment campaign it had no intention of merging with any existing parties within Parliament or movements outside, but would "co-operate with those who wish to promote the politics of negotiation".

The PFP accepted that there would be practical difficulties and obstacles to overcome.

"South Africa is slowly and painfully emerging from decades of racial prejudice and racial compartmentalization. Many have been brutalized and destroyed by racism and racial exploitation."

But, he added, the PFP was prepared to accept the challenge to overcome these problems from South Africa's past to work for a better future.

S, Post 21/6/85

304A

Hendrickse happy with achievements in first tricameral session

LP sets new targets

By DIRK VAN ZYL, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The repeal of influx control laws and the Separate Amenities Act are high on the Labour Party's list of priorities for the next parliamentary session.

In a wide-ranging interview yesterday, the party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, listed what he saw as highlights of the first working session of the tricameral Parliament, in which he played a key role as chairman of the House of Representatives Ministers' Council.

● The repeal of three apartheid laws — Section 16 of the Immorality Act, the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and the Prohibition of Political Interference Act.

"For years there have been protests by other parties and individuals against these laws and I have no doubt that our presence and participation in the new Parliament was the deciding factor in their repeal. This was for me the greatest attainment of the session," Mr Hendrickse said.

● The LP being part of

decision-taking on such aspects as an easing of the application of influx control — by increasing "Section 10" blacks' mobility and reducing their qualification period.

He said the party's participation in the parliamentary standing committees was particularly useful. "Our chaps had an excellent response there," he said.

The process of participation had been an "educative" one, as most LP MPs had come in "raw" to parliamentary procedures and related matters.

"At the beginning of the session many members were nervous during their maiden speeches, but it progressed then, they showed increasing confidence and a greater willingness to participate in the standing committees, and in their contact with people generally," said Mr Hendrickse.

He believed the process of participation had also been educative for established white MPs, and cited the example of a senior Nationalist who

had told him he had become aware for the first time that Nkosi Sikelel' i Afrika was a hymn ("God Bless Africa") when Mr Hendrickse mentioned this in the debate on the Kámmeyer Report in the House of Representatives.

● The problem of the LP's credibility in the community had decreased and in the Cape Peninsula, for instance, where some of the lowest polls had been recorded in last August's elections, the party had in the past three months formed 15 new branches. Some of these were in "elitist" areas where people had previously adopted an "I'm all right, Jack" attitude.

Another example of increased LP acceptance in the community was an invitation by the coloured Public Servants' League to the Minister of the Budget, the Rev Andrew Julius, to open its congress in George today.

A major church, which had previously shunned the LP, had also now made contact with the party, Mr Hendrickse said.



The Rev ALLAN HENDRICKSE
... growing acceptance of LP

● The acceptance in the Regional Services Council Bill of black participation in a decision-making process.

Mr Hendrickse said the LP's overwhelming majority in the House of Representatives meant "we could do far more work".

Two disappointments of the session had been the fact that not all parliamentary facilities had been opened to MPs of all races ("and we will not

the ultimate goal was the restoration of the municipal franchise to people of colour who had been deprived of it, and its extension to blacks.

He had found it disappointing that the Separate Amenities Act, which covered such aspects as separate beaches, had not been addressed.

Looking ahead, he said the LP would focus strongly on influx control laws and the Separate Amenities Act during the session starting next January.

During the recess, the party's constitutional committee would look at details of the LP's proposals for a non-racial geographic federation for South Africa, such as working out the geographic boundaries of the "states".

The committee chaired by Mr Peter Mopp (MP for Border), which was reviewing racially discriminatory legislation, would continue its work.

"They have now had the experience of being in Parliament and will contact people outside during the recess," Mr Hendrickse said.

Turning to constitu-

tional matters, he said it was now accepted by all parties except the CP and HNP that the way to accommodate "white fears and black aspirations" was through a federal structure with one man, one vote in each particular state.

On the PFP's drive for membership among all race groups, he said: "I've got no problem concerning any recruitment by them of coloured members."

It was healthy that individuals could make their own choice on political affiliations, but he felt the PFP would have difficulty in getting through to coloured voters at grass-roots level.

He said he had been a "Prog supporter" in the 1960s, although not a member of the party.

During the recess, he would base his office in Cape Town but would travel to Pretoria regularly for Cabinet and standing committee meetings, as well as to his Swartkops constituency, which includes Uitenhage.

There would also be a number of LP congresses to attend.

Zulus' right, says Botha

Political Staff

THE KwaZulu Government had the right to decide who was welcome in its country, President P W Botha said yesterday in reply to a decision by the Legislative Assembly to ask him to "defer" a planned tour of the area in November.

Mr Botha said the decision endorsed the principle of independence for the Zulu nation.

The Legislative Assembly's decision was taken after Mr Botha's "State of the Nation" address on Wednesday in which he ruled out a unitary state but appeared to be paving the way for mixed government at regional level.

His speech was slated by KwaZulu's Chief Minister, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, who said that by ruling out the unitary state, Mr Botha had made it impossible for him to negotiate with him at present.

He expressed "grave concern" for the future.

Within the rights

Mr Botha said yesterday: "It is within the rights of the Zulu Government to declare who are welcome in their country and who are not."

"My viewpoint against the principle of one-man-one-vote in a unitary state agrees with this. I definitely do not intend changing it."

"I stand by the viewpoints I expressed in three addresses I have delivered this year."

The latest confrontation between the two leaders has come just when tensions between them appeared to be easing and hopes were rising that Chief Buthelezi might participate in Mr Botha's "forum" which is to deal with future black political rights.

Nationalist MPs and other observers have attached great significance to Mr Botha's latest speech and hope the President's planned tour of development projects in KwaZulu will still be able to go ahead.

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WALVIS BAY — The government does not intend to introduce a common voters' role and voting will continue to take place on a racially segregated basis in Parliament, according to the Home Affairs Minister, Mr F. W. de Klerk.

At the opening of a Home Affairs office in Walvis Bay yesterday, Mr de Klerk said the government was considering the amendment of the Electoral Act.

He said the Act gave effect to the new constitution, which specified the principle of political participation on a racial basis in the tricameral parliament.

"None of this has been changed and no changes are being planned," Mr de Klerk said, referring to the recent scrapping

of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act, which will allow political parties to accept members from all races.

He said attention would also be given to the status of political organisations that worked outside the parliamentary system.

Mr de Klerk did not give any details, but said amendments would be introduced before the 1986 parliamentary session.

Minister: voting to continue on racial basis

The status of Walvis Bay as an electoral division in South Africa would not be changed as a result of a government inquiry into the delimitation of white constituencies, Mr de Klerk said.

He said the government was at present investigating the division of electoral seats for the House of Assembly and final submissions would be made soon to the cabinet.

While no decisions had yet been taken on

the future of any of the seats, Mr De Klerk assured the audience that Walvis Bay would remain part of the South African constitutional system.

"The submissions to which I referred do not include an amendment of the status quo of the Walvis Bay constituency. It is so for obvious reasons," Mr De Klerk said without elaborating.

After passage of the South West Africa Constitution Act of 1977 Walvis Bay became part of the Green Point constituency. In 1981 Walvis Bay was delimited as a separate, independent constituency for the House of Assembly and in 1982 the seat was won by the National Party in a by-election.— Sapa

The tricameral Parliament

RECENTLY I spent several days at the new tricameral Parliament searching for own affairs. The quest was not productive.

There was an abundance of general affairs, constitutional affairs and economic affairs, and since the repeal of section 16 of the Immorality Act there can even be interracial affairs, but there was very little evidence of own affairs.

The 1983 constitution divides State powers between own and general affairs. The former are ostensibly controlled by whites, coloureds and Indians separately, the latter by the three groups together, subject to overall white control. The constitution links own affairs to cultural factors and contains a lengthy list of own affairs in its first schedule, all other matters being general.

About 120 statutes were enacted during the parliamentary session. Of these nine were routine appropriation Bills, three being passed by each House individually. The coloured and Indian Houses each amended an applicable education statute, the white House passed two private Acts relating to Stellenbosch University and St Andrew's College, and the white House also passed a housing law. All the other laws were general affairs.

Anomalies

Business was also reportedly slow in the administrative departments for own affairs where some basic anomalies became apparent. Although the constitution defines correspondence colleges as the own affairs of each group it was revealed during the session that all 46 registered colleges and their mixed student bodies fall under the control of the white Ministers' Council. In fact some topics in the schedule of own affairs are themselves its give-away. It is absurd to speak of Indian water supplies or coloured agriculture, nor do these matters have anything to do with culture or group identity.

These realities of the new system expose government assurances made during its long genesis. In 1978 Dr Denis

Worrall, an architect of the constitution, indicated that most powers would be exercised by the individual white, coloured and Indian Parliaments and their Cabinets. Similar assurances were given in its subsequent development, partly to placate the Right wing and partly because the ideology of group identity and self-determination preoccupied those concerned.

More significantly, the flimsiness of the own-affairs concept exposes the shallow foundations of not only the tricameral Parliament but also the whole constitutional policy of the Government. There are so few own affairs simply because there can be so few own affairs in a single political system. Even where authority is divided geographically in federal systems the tendency is to exercise it co-operatively and not co-ordinately. In South Africa it is divided on a corporate basis, which is far more difficult to follow through in practice.

Two responses

There are two responses to this critique. The first is that when the provincial councils disappear next year matters such as education and health will expand, and give respectability to, the own affairs of the three groups. But as to health, it would clearly be inefficient, expensive and confusing to have four State hospital authorities in, say, the Natal region, while private hospitals are becoming increasingly integrated.

Moreover, even since the new constitution illness and disease continue to strike indiscriminately and have been unco-operative in organising themselves into its four ethnic/colour

Where were the own affairs?

BY

Laurence Boule

Professor of Public Law, University of Natal

categories. As to education, while the National Party is committed to retaining separate school systems this contradicts the recommendations of the De Lange commission, and the constitution itself provides that any own-affairs legislation in this area is subject to standards, norms and conditions laid down in general laws.

The second response is that the appointment of Mr de Klerk as chairman of the white Ministers' Council signifies the Government's intention to boost own affairs in the near future. Apart from its bold assumptions about the direction Mr de Klerk's political career is taking, this view is based on a boot-straps logic.

Not watertight

Or, to mix the metaphor, old skins will not even hold old wine unless they are watertight.

Own affairs is therefore a constitutional myth. Unlike many other myths which abound in the constitutions of the world it has not only a symbolic significance but also a very practical function — it allows the dominant group to retain power even although it is in an overall minority in the new Parliament. Own affairs is the ultimate gerrymander. It justifies the perpetuation of separate parliaments, separate Cabinets, separate departments, and even separate institutions are used to consider and determine all general-affairs laws. And Parliament conducts its deliberative functions in the same way as its legislative function. Even the Kannemeyer Report was

discussed separately in the three chambers.

An opportunity to partially redress some anomalies was lost in the closing stages of the past session. Bills have been introduced by the ministers at joint sittings of the three Houses to save them repeating second-reading speeches in each House.

Discomfort

Apart from the seating discomfort involved, these have been deadly affairs as no debate is allowed and there can be numerous successive soliloquys when the legislative programme is heavy. Thereafter the members convene in the individual Houses to debate the legislation separately; this entails the non-whites leaving the House of Assembly, which is factually and symbolically where power lies in the new Parliament.

An obvious solution to these problems would have been to allow continuous joint sittings, with full debating opportunities for all general-affairs laws. But this would have logically implied joint voting as well, and would have deprived the Government of the President's Council's good services. Instead, the rules have been changed to allow future Bills to be introduced by the minister personally in a single House, with a copy of his speech being tabled in the other two. The fiction has, if anything, been strengthened.

The same problems are bedevilling the next instalment of the Government's constitutional programme. Provision is being made for separate

local authorities for blacks, coloureds, whites and Indians, but own affairs is an even less viable possibility at this level.

The Regional Services Councils are designed to provide a partial solution to the impasse. They will undertake general local affairs for the respective bodies within their jurisdiction, although some of the general affairs which can be regulated regionally by the RSCs appear to be simultaneously own affairs at the national level. Likewise, an own-affairs ideology continues to undermine the homelands policy despite corresponding problems there.

Indispensable

While the short practice of the new constitution has exposed the incongruity of the own-affairs ideology it remains indispensable for the constitution's existence. This, despite the fact that heralded reforms such as the repeal of the Mixed Marriages Act and Prohibition of Political Interference Act further erode the notional rationale for its existence. In this respect the contradictions of the system threaten to engulf it.

More disconcerting is the diversionary role played by own-affairs ideology. It serves to define, narrow and constrain the political process by placing false issues and alternatives before participants and the public. The pressing issues facing the country relate to political rights, citizenship, unemployment, poverty and industrial relations. These are indubitably general affairs and they overshadow any problems of cultural identity. The new constitution will be a boondoggle if it disguises these realities.

Australian firm hired to raise R10 million for PFP

Mercury Correspondent

MELBOURNE—An Australian firm has been engaged by the Progressive Federal Party to raise R10 million towards a four-year plan to scuttle apartheid.

Queensland businessman Mr Everal Compton, chairman of directors of Compton Associates, which is listed in the telephone directory as 'fund raising consultants', recently returned from South Africa after signing a contract with the PFP in Cape Town.

Now or never

'My job as a fund raising consultant is not to get emotionally involved in the issues, and I'm not going to get involved in the apartheid issue,' said Mr Compton from Brisbane last night.

'The facts are that I did a survey in South Africa among PFP members and worked out what I thought they could raise, because until now they have never really got themselves organised financially to win a general election.

'I decided they had the potential of R10 million in pledges over three years, when the next election is about due, a campaign designed towards getting the party ready to run the biggest campaign of its life — a sort of now or never campaign for the PFP.'

Mr Compton, who admits to having raised massive amounts of money in 15 countries around the world, including funds for an election campaign in New Zealand, said he had been particularly impressed with the PFP leader, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert.

'There are two factors which make me feel the PFP can raise this money. The first is Van Zyl Slabbert. I have worked for 30 years in all sorts of fund raising in all political climes.

'I have looked at Dr Slabbert and I reckon that he is one of the most marketable political commodities that I have struck in a long time. I believe that he has outstanding leadership qualities and I believe that he is the sort of guy that I can raise funds for.

'I am basing the entire fund-raising campaign around his leadership. In fact, the trust fund that the PFP has set up at my recommendation to fill the coffers for the next election is known as the Van Zyl Slabbert Trust.

'Now, I am backing my judgement on the fact that a lot of South Africans will be willing to support Dr Slabbert, when they might not even be prepared to support the PFP. That is a cold, clinical, professional decision,' Mr Compton said.

After more than a quarter century in the political wilderness, Mr Compton said, the PFP believed it could become a significant force in South Africa if an anticipated split continued to develop in the ranks of the ruling National Party and the far-Right parties.

'It so happens that the PFP's policy is that it will abandon apartheid and rewrite the constitution should it win government — that's been its policy for a number of years and I can state that for a fact,' said Mr Compton.

'But there is no reason why people should give money to a party that is comfortable in opposition. Money only flows to where power is or where power is likely to be. And so our campaign fund-raising strategy is being promoted around a balance of power situation developing between the conservatives and the Nationalists.'

He said the strategists had calculated it might take only 34 percent of the vote to win certain seats, and if the PFP voted at its annual congress in August to contest seats in the coloured and Indian parliaments, the PFP could become a very significant force.

'The idea, if they contest them, would be to use their power in both these Houses to try to get the constitution changed. The PFP may very well succeed in its goal of dismantling apartheid just by winning government,' Mr Compton said.

Campaign will win

He plans to send a team of three to Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town from September to begin collecting pledges from those committed to political change.

'There is to be a massive visiting programme in which my people will be knocking on doors, not just any doors, but the doors of people we reckon are PFP members or pro-PFP, to get a pledge out of them. We aim to be finished by Christmas and out of there.

'No one must be able to accuse me or my company of getting involved in South African politics. I think our campaign will win — we'll raise their R10 million — but as soon as I become emotionally involved in this thing I won't be worth a cracker to the PFP.'

Govt sends six Indian MPs to woo Americans

Mercury Reporter
A SIX-MEMBER team from the National People's Party and Solidarity has been selected to visit the United States — at South African State expense — in an attempt to stem the growing call for American disinvestment in South Africa.

President's Council members Mr TL Gounden of Umzinto and Mr Perry Chetty of the Transvaal have already gone

abroad and will be followed by another President's Council member, Mr Ismail Omar and House of Delegates MPs Mr JN Reddy, Mr Samaroo Pachai and Mr Abraham Salam-Mayat.

Mr Gounden, Mr Pachai, Mr Chetty and Mr Mayat are National People's Party members and Mr Reddy and Mr Omar belong to the Opposition Solidarity.

The six men are among the latest MPs and Presi-

dent's Council members to be sent to the United States on an all-expenses-paid trip while the Government tries to fight off the growing disinvestment campaign.

Mr Pachai confirmed yesterday that the Department of Foreign Affairs had handpicked three Indian President's Council members and three House of Delegates MPs for the United States at State expense.

'We are not the only people going over,' said Mr Pachai, adding that white and coloured MPs were also on the list for a Government-funded trip to the U.S.

Apartheid

Mr Pachai said he would meet people who were pro-investment and those against it.

He denied he was going over to 'sell' South Africa and its apartheid policy.

'I will be straightforward and tell the

Americans that South Africa's apartheid policy stinks.

'But at the same time I am going to ask them to give President Botha a chance to bring further reform in South Africa,' he said.

Mr Pachai emphasised that he was going to tell the Americans disinvestment was an issue which affected all South Africans and a campaign for it would not bring about the downfall of the South African Government.

Mr Reddy also confirmed that he had been chosen by the State to travel to America, but said he was not going as a spokesman for the Government.

Dr Farouk Meer, an executive member of the Natal Indian Congress, said it was not surprising that NPP and Solidarity members were going abroad to bolster apartheid at State expense.

ARGUS 21/6/85 304A

CP, HNP at loggerheads over Vryburg poll — Nats delighted

Political Staff

THE Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party are at it again — unable to decide which of them should have the sole right of fighting the National Party in a marginal by-election.

To the glee of the Nationalists, the two far right-wing parties are at odds about the pending parliamentary by-election at Vryburg in the Cape.

There is a series of five by-elections to be held in October or November — Bethlehem, Sasolburg, Vryburg, Springs and Port Natal. All are regarded as safe NP seats, although the Nationalists would obviously be happier if their opponents were in disarray.

Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader

of the Conservatives, said today that it had been agreed that the HNP would contest the by-election in Sasolburg, while the CP would take on the Nationalists in Bethlehem.

"It is known that Sasolburg and Vryburg are the best chances for (the rightist parties) winning. We believe that they should be shared, with the HNP taking one and us taking the other," he said.

Mr Jaap Marais, HNP leader, rejected this.

"The CP has no claim whatsoever to put up a candidate in Vryburg. We have been fighting that seat since 1970 and already hold the same number of town council seats as the National Party does.

"The CP has nothing to show for itself in the seat, so we are contesting Vryburg in the next election," Mr Marais declared.

He said the HNP had stood back for the CP in most by-elections in recent years.

In this round of by-elections, Mr Marais said, it had been agreed that the CP would fight Port Natal and Bethlehem, and the HNP would take on Sasolburg. It was now only fair that the Herstigtes should take Vryburg and the CP Springs.

The failure to reach an agreement on Vryburg, however, has made both leaders adamant that their parties will fight that seat and Springs, even if this dilutes the chances of the right-wing parties.

'Guns of Gaborone' may backfire on us — warns Slabbert

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, warned this week that nothing but a steady drift into a siege in which violence became the most dominant mode of addressing the problems of change and stability.

He said in a statement that the counter-propaganda against South Africa and the increasing hostility between the races inside South Africa eventually outweighed the short-term advantage of demonstrating the Government's ability to strike back indiscriminately when acts of violence occurred inside the country's borders.

"I believe it is in the interests of us all to apply our minds to the problem of combating terrorism and violence in such a manner that it does not escalate the very violence and terrorism which we all believe should be ripped out of our society."

Dr Slabbert said that one of the most worrying developments of the recent session has undoubtedly been the political and international consequences of independent

Recent Defence Force strikes into neighbouring territories have damaged South Africa internationally as well as domestically, warns PFP leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert. Political Staff writer TOS WENTZEL (right) reports that the Leader of the Opposition believes that in this climate attitudes become hardened into ones of matching violence with counter-violence and this in turn results in increasing isolation.



Defence Force actions in neighbouring territories. The repercussions had severely damaged South Africa internationally as well as domestically.

It was difficult to understand the timing, the necessity and the logic behind raids such as those into Cabinda and Gaborone.

No country would hesitate to act pre-emptively should it have conclusive evidence that specific bases were busy planning imminent

acts of violence or terror within its borders. But it was not clear whether Cabinda or Gaborone were instances of this pre-emptive principle.

The Gaborone raid in particular appeared to be a clear act of reprisal for the grenade attacks on the homes of two MPs, Mr L Landers and Mr F Peters — and its long-term repercussions for the country could be extremely serious.

Domestically, it hardened attitudes into ones of violence and

counter-violence and internationally it led to increasing isolation.

"No one would deny that those responsible for the Landers and Peters bombings should be sought out and apprehended as quickly as possible and brought to justice."

But this was not the same as "arbitrarily extracting vengeance" for the bomb attacks on the MPs. This extraction of vengeance would be made to look specially bad, said Dr Slabbert, if it were shown that those killed were not related to the attack.

304H Star 28/6/85

PFP's new image

The Progressive Federal Party (PFP) is gearing itself to become a driving force for peaceful political change in SA.

Party leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert believes the scrapping of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act has opened the way for the PFP to become the biggest and most broadly based political party in Parliament's history.

To ensure success, he has launched a drive to raise R10m before the end of the year.

The party's federal congress in Durban in August will decide the exact nature of the PFP's continued participation in the tricameral Parliament.

But Slabbert made it clear in an interview with the *FM* that he is in favour of fighting seats in the coloured and Indian Houses.

It could be a touchy subject at the PFP congress — possibly even a "make-or-break" issue.

Some PFP "leftwingers" believe there is a difference between fighting for change from within the white House only, and giving added credibility to the whole system by being drawn into the other two Houses as well.

Slabbert believes congress will have to find "very persuasive reasons" why the party should not participate fully in the system.

But he does not see the party opting, in principle, to contest government structures on all levels in all communities.

"For me there is a clear distinction be-

tween using the central political institution to try to create a new overall constitution, and using other political institutions to reinforce the logic and the assumptions of the old order," he says.

"My argument has always been that we go to the centre of power, which is Parliament, and use our leverage there to try to re-



PFP's Slabbert ... new determination

structure the constitution."

But he is prepared to consider other opportunities on merit as they arise.

Slabbert is not seeking confrontation with the United Democratic Front (UDF) over PFP recruitment forays into coloured and Indian communities, but says the party has the right to determine its support wherever it can.

The UDF's Professor Jerry Coovadia recently warned the PFP not to "corrupt and erode" the "sense of unity" in coloured and Indian communities by considering contesting all parliamentary seats.

Slabbert says he found it strange that the UDF could speak with such conviction on behalf of other communities, and that the organisation had tried to prescribe to the PFP what their strategy and principles should be.

He is convinced the PFP has a recipe for peace in its plan for a federal structure, a Bill of Rights tested and protected by an independent judiciary, full adult suffrage based on power-sharing and no domination, and a free enterprise economy with freedom of movement and bargaining for all.

The PFP will not merge with parties in Parliament or movements outside the Houses, but will co-operate with all who share the party's ideals.

Slabbert says the PFP is "uncompromisingly committed" to one constitution and one citizenship for all South Africans, and a scrapping of the Population Registration and

Group Areas Acts, compulsory racial grouping, separate constitutional arrangements for blacks, and influx control.

The party was "unequivocally" opposed to violence, whether by the State or against it.

"We are determined to pursue the politics of negotiation until we succeed or circumstances make it impossible," he says. ■

Whites ignorant of extent of black suffering in SA

Cape Times
29/6/85

EULALIE STOTT, a member of the City Council executive committee and an Alderman of the City of Cape Town, writes on how to beat disinvestment.

304A



THE debate on disinvestment, so usefully started by the Cape Times when they published the Cambridge University discussion between Mr Donald Woods and Mr Denis Worrall, is vital for us all.

Those of us who burn with indignation and antagonism towards those who advocate disinvestment should perhaps ask ourselves what we have been able to do in the past 36 years to stop the injustices perpetrated against the majority of our citizens. And are we now able to offer those who suffer injustice a more effective and peaceful solution?

We should also ask ourselves honestly whether, if we and our families were subject to the laws Africans suffer in our country, we would after 36 years not be looking to leaders who advocate strategies such as disinvestment or who even support violence to bring about change.

After all, our erstwhile Prime Minister and State President, Mr B J Vorster, greatly revered in some circles, set a bad example. Even though he did not suffer the hardships he visited upon the blacks and he had the vote, he belonged to an organization that advocated extra-parliamentary activity during the last war. He and his fellows were not even conscripted to fight the nazis and were certainly not subject to the laws under which Africans now suffer.

Yet those who shout about double standards made him Prime Minister and State President. Who has double standards?

Categories

Can we claim to be ignorant of the hardships of our fellows?

All citizens were forced into racial categories by the Population Registration Act which still exists. In my ward, families who still live in our town were torn asunder as one brother was white and another was coloured. Mothers were embarrassed to visit their white sons.

Many Africans, because of group areas, were forced out of their homes in District Six, Kensington, Welcome Estate, Cooks Bush, Claremont and Retreat, and moved to places where there was no electricity, no baths, etc. Those who owned their own homes were forced to go and rent in an African township.

Those who attended schools in the vicinity were forced to go to bantu education schools. Many who were in so-called coloured schools, were forced to leave and some that I know of who were at NGK schools never ever went to school again — as they were not Xhosa-speaking and could not cope with bantu home language schools. (Appeals to the people responsible brought no reprieve.)

Those who were declared "coloured" or Indian also found themselves forced out of their homes in Sea Point, Green Point, Woodstock, Salt River, Mowbray, Rosebank, Rondebosch, Newlands, Claremont, Kenilworth, Wynberg, Diep River, Kalk Bay, etc. Many of them had been forced to leave the schools they had been attending before the Population Registration Act gave them the wrong identity card.

Hundreds of coloured people found themselves denied coloured identity cards and were consequently required to be Africans. Many to this day are identity-cardless because of their unwillingness to become Africans, with all the resultant influx control regulations to which they would then have become subject.

Have we forgotten that since 1952 no African woman anywhere in this land has had the right to take work in a town where there was work unless she had been born in that town and had never been out for more than six months?

Thousands of African children, born in towns to women working legally and illegally there, have never had the right to return after they had been sent away to grandparents to be cared for: sent away since they were unable to live with their parents as their parents were unable to get a house and permission to live as a family.

Thousands of the citizens of our country have been made foreigners against their wishes.

Thousands have been moved to new areas for resettlement. Families where the man was a foreign African, working and resident here for decades, were torn apart because the coloured wives were unwilling to leave their birthplace for the unknown when the men were forced to leave.

Such people pass us in the street or work with us or for us. These are the ongoing hardships of grand apartheid.

It is just as well for us whites that most of those who have in fact been driven out are more forgiving and tolerant than are the vociferous people who feel themselves "driven off" the beaches at Sea Point.

There were job reservation decrees that denied our citizens job opportunities and the government pay scales which denied equal pay for equal qualifications and work and the prohibition on Africans having trade unions.

Thank goodness apartheid in the job situation is being phased out and that the coloured labour preference policy and "no ownership of land for urban Africans" is changing. The repeal of the Mixed Marriages Act and the Political Interference Act are also welcome improvements. But it should be remembered that for the vast majority of Africans, the Mixed Marriages Act was a non-event, since most of them had no intention of marrying whites (or vice versa), and the same applies to the Political Interference Act. The Pass Laws are a different issue; they legally "chain" every African to some area or another.

The crux of the matter is what effective peaceful options are open to those who are now no longer willing to suffer the outrageous discriminatory Nationalist laws and how, if a discussion on pro-disinvestment is illegal, are the disenfranchised and enfranchised, to be able to judge reasonably whether a policy of disinvestment will bring about peaceful change and a better life under majority rule now or at least soon.

Discriminatory

For a number of years it has been good to hear premiers saying more acceptable things, but the talk of reform is, we are told, to take place within the principles of declared and accepted National Party policy.

It is difficult to know what that means and without tangible evidence of the repeal of the unjust discriminatory and usually harsh laws from which the majority of the population suffer, it is inevitable that the talk should seem to be empty promises to most blacks. Only the repeal of all discriminatory legislation can change that or a declaration of intent to do so — soon. Then disinvestment will no longer be an issue.

So how can we get the government to do that? If they don't want disinvestment, the solution lies with them!

Unfortunately, for those who have come to expect that when apartheid goes there will be no more hardships and no more poverty there will be another sad awakening ahead.

As our neighbours have learnt, the end of colonialism and so-called exploitation and the beginning of liberation have not brought Utopia or freedom from want.

But we can only take one step at a time.

S. A. GOVT. AND POLITICS
1985

APRIL MONTH

LONDON. — It is scarcely a month since fate handed a chance to the rulers of South Africa to stave off the racial cataclysm that has been threatening the country down the 20th century.

In the first decade of the century the British missed their chance to bring the whites and blacks together at the creation of Union after the South African War.

Recent circumstances offered a black leader (Nelson Mandela) and a white leader (President P W Botha) an opportunity to make a deal on behalf of their peoples which could have led to them living in Southern Africa in comparative amiability.

The occasion has been let slip. Instead, the land has now been plunged into a bloody uproar from north of the Transvaal to the Eastern Cape.

Officials of the last great power engaged in a hapless attempt to bring about a settlement in the country, even at this late hour, have been forced to warn the South African government that things are headed for a "blow-up".

Intensified retaliation

A former British foreign minister now offers plans to end the staving off of trade sanctions against South Africa.

Meanwhile, the ominous development of blacks murdering blacks and retaliating against whites as well has intensified.

President Botha, after toying with concepts of diplomacy, has turned on the world with the gratifying statement: "I'm going to keep order in South Africa and nobody in the world is going to stop me keeping order."

This statement is not a very impressive announcement considering the latest outburst of chaos.

It is now almost 37 years since Mr Botha's party came to power with the policy of apartheid and 25 years after the first mass killing of blacks in pursuit of "keeping order" in the country.

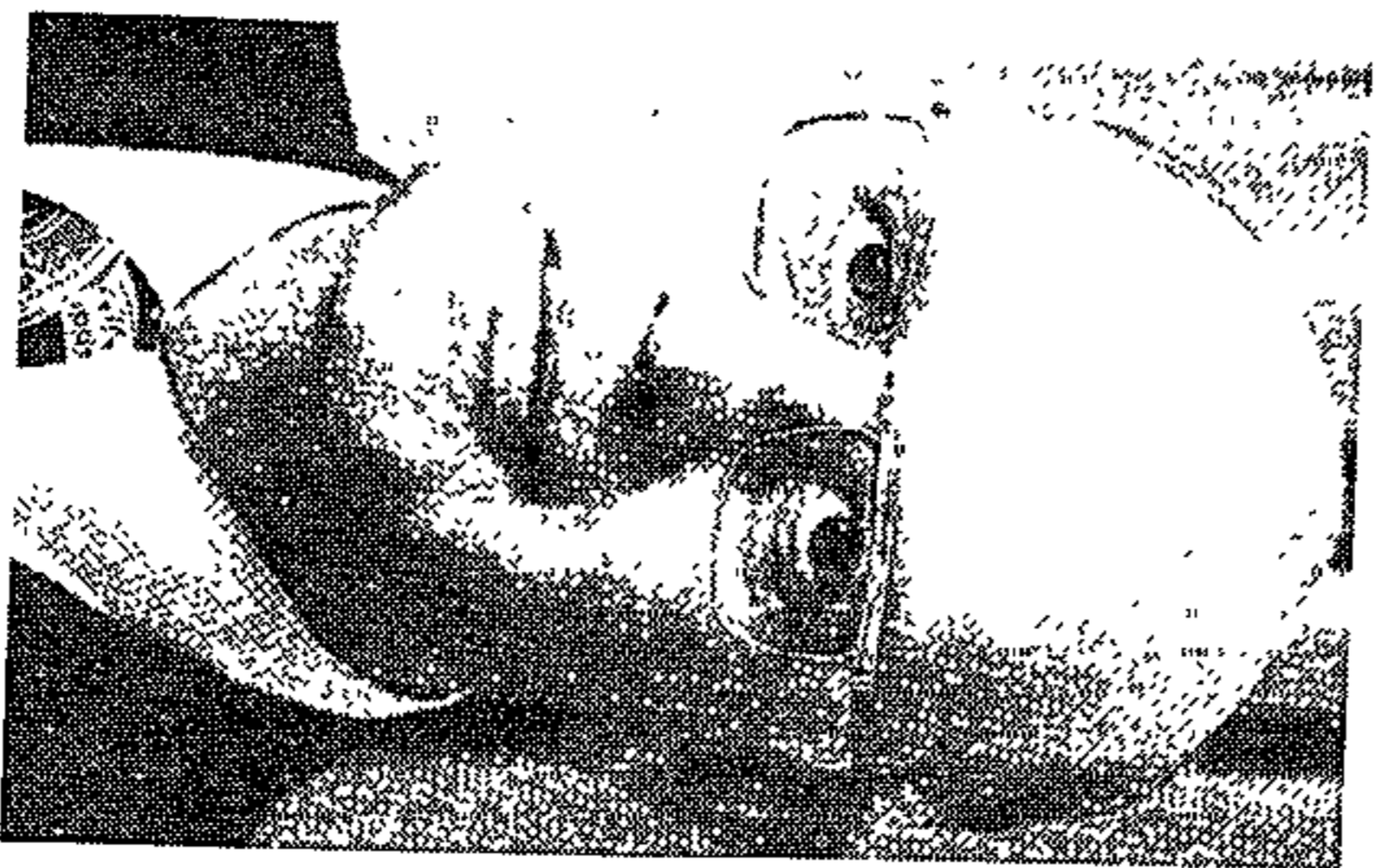
The scandal of that event took the name of Sharpeville and almost identical circumstances on

Valuable chance for peace in SA let slip



Africa Report

By ANTHONY DELIUS



Mr P W Botha

the latest anniversary of that grim event have brought about a similar shudder of outrage around the world.

Sharpeville is now regarded as a familiar example of South Africa's methods of "keeping order", with the added familiar scene of policemen wielding those traditional South African peace-keeping instruments — sjamboks — rushing about among the blacks.



Dr Chester Crocker

There was, for a moment, a short-lived hope that the government might distance itself from the latest example of keeping law and order and maintaining its incidents were only another example of racial hysteria.

A group of opposition MPs went off immediately to establish the facts of events at Uitenhage, headed by Mrs Helen Suzman, and the government appointed a one-man



Mrs Helen Suzman

judicial commission.

But, alas, Mr Botha lost his cool by seizing the occasion to follow up with a sort of war-dance on American TV and blustered about "keeping order".

This has had the immediate effect of cancelling hopes that South Africa might at last have got itself a common-sense politician, capable of keeping his head for the sake of the country.

He presented himself as reverting to the dreary old type of the last 37 years by claiming that the police action was a normal South African example of upholding law and order amid excited masses.

The world will believe that Mr Botha's days of change are over and that South Africa's attempt to switch to another course has been abandoned.

That reaction could be very tough indeed because the general feeling would be that Mr Botha, with all his talk of reform, was simply playing some sort of hoax on mankind.

Oil

sanctions

Dr Chester Crocker, the United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, still has high hopes of change in South African policy.

Although he feels it necessary to warn the government against the present disorder in the country continuing lest it lead to what he calls a "blow-up", he still believes it worthwhile to caution the United States Congress against pressing on with measures to bring about disinvestment.

He points out that the threat of oil sanctions led South Africa to undertake the creation of Sasol. He appears to cling to earlier hopes that South Africa can be influenced into reform by remaining friendly with her.

However, Dr Crocker seems to be hoping against hope, and begging the South African government to bring about changes of policy as soon as possible to calm the feverish racial condition into which the country has sunk.

He may even be relying on the South African ambassador to London as a true reflection of official opinion when he appeared to say that events in the Eastern Cape were some kind of hiccup.

Let us hope he was right and the government recovers rapidly. Nelson Mandela is still around to be consulted.

Let us hope he is not too revolted to be spoken to.

One can broadly define three categories of social actors in South Africa today.

There are people on the right and the left of the political spectrum who will resort to violent action outside the legal system in order to impose their views on society.

Secondly, there are those who wish simply to maintain the status quo in South Africa. Here I refer to all those who wish to maintain a society structured along rigid racial lines.

The third group of social actors are those who can be defined as people who seek real and fundamental change in South Africa, but who emphatically reject violence as a means of bringing this about. Attitude surveys and opinion polls from various different sources show that the majority of black and white South Africans fall into this third category of social actors.

Values

Let us turn first to the issue of values. The core of firmly held principles common to this group would include a commitment to

- Equal social, political and economic opportunity for all citizens
- The promulgation of a Bill of Rights enforced by an independent judiciary
- Protection of freedom of speech, (including a free press), freedom of association and freedom of movement
- a belief in the process of democracy
- as to the important

Forging ^(204K) reform to build th

issue of the economic system there would be a spectrum of views ranging from those who would favour minimal state intervention in the market system to others who would support a pre-eminent role for the State in a mixed economy.

In essence these values are in turn based on a conviction that South Africa comprises a unified economic and social entity and that it is the individual whom the society should cherish and the State should serve.

Means and Strategies

The second defining characteristic of this group concerns the relationship between ends and means in human action.

Members of this group totally reject the idea that the end justifies the means. Rather, they argue a contrary position: that sound means contribute to good ends.

They believe that the manner in which South Africa does change, the kinds of experience of emerging leaders, the attitudes developed and the length of time it takes, will greatly affect the nature of the future society and the degree of conflict that may accompany its formation.

South Africa is in the process of a transition.

But there is one aspect about which I am sure. We can build (and are

building) viable progressive institutions and linkages across our racial divides, and we can sustain the values and ideas that will play an important part in helping to create the fabric of the new South Africa.

However, we cannot hope that this transition will simply 'happen'. Action must be taken on strategies

This third characteristic of strategic action concerns a matter of principle and a pragmatic approach to power. The principle involves a high value given to a process of reform by incremental change (however rapid), rather than revolution.

Among the many different people who are working for incremental reform in South Africa, there are divergent strategies, different ways of translating these beliefs into action.

Coalition

Having described the characteristics of the reform group of actors, I turn now to consider a specific strategy to promote reform. This strategy involves the forging of a reform coalition of a particular kind, the identification of its members and the broad

By the HON J.H. STEYN,
former Cape Supreme Court
Judge and now Chief executive
of the Urban Foundation.



definition of both the process and the product of reform.

Why is the time now opportune for the forging of a reform coalition? This may be answered by referring to the following factors:

The changing attitudes

of white people concerning race relations; the changing structure and needs of our economy; greater black involvement at higher levels in the economy and thus increasing labour and purchasing power; the visible inability of past policies to cope with the

11/4/88

coalition the future

realities of rapidly changing South Africa; and the instability caused by this policy failure in the face of vast social and economic development.

This is a time, therefore, when the stability of the assumptions underlying 'classical apartheid' is in doubt.

Therefore, in this period of uncertainty and confusion, opportunities emerge for appropriate strategic intervention by a wide range of actors, including those who may for a variety of reasons have traditionally been excluded from the formulation of policy or its implementation.

An important element then of such a thrust is the forging of pro-change coalitions. These coalitions need a coherent strategy and a realistic theory of change.

- In the absence of such coalitions, we run the risk of missing critical opportunities.

But let me emphasise that from a reformist view it is a matter of strategy, not principle. In principle, increasing involvement is a process with potentially important results, both symbolically and actually critical to the formation of coalitions.

The second question is who are the potential participants in such a coalition?

My understanding of reform in South Africa is a mixture of two components. On the one hand, I would argue that there are some fundamental changes that need to take place and soon. On the other hand there are many elements of the present system mandatory to preserve; not least among these are our industrial base and our institutional capacity.

The composition of the reform coalition will therefore comprise groups with an interest in both the conserving and changing components of reform.

The nature of this coalition would not be an exclusionary alliance, but a core of committed supporters with different partners, in respect of specific issues. It is an alliance of people who are in many respects 'unlike-minded' but who will build on what they share in common rather than emphasising their differences.

This reform coalition, then, is not something waiting to be discovered, but an entity which already exists seeking only identification and consolidation through appropriate action.

The product

You will have realised by now that my approach to reform is essentially 'non-prescriptive'. In admitting a process of negotiation and co-operation I admit the possibility of the product being different from anything we could formulate at this stage. However, to admit the possibility of different outcomes does not entail going in without a broad framework of objectives. I would therefore identify four long-term goals for reform:

- First, the elimination of institutionalised discrimination and its attendant injustices.
- Second, a redistribution of economic and political power through a gradualist process.
- Third, the elimination of the system of administrative intervention with the liberty of the subject and a return to the supremacy of the Law, and
- Fourth, the maintenance and extension to all of an economic system based on a market economy.

I have time only to add a detail on the last of these. The commitment to the market is a point of principle as well as a strategy. At the present time in South Africa it is impossible to envisage a coalition for reform such as I have described that could form around a system not based on the market.

Secondly, it is my belief that while a market system is by no means perfect, it remains the most efficient and effective means for the production and allocation of goods and services in a society.

My third question is what is the nature of the reform which this coalition can strive to attain?

Reform process

My approach to reform starts from the assumption that there is no 'true' analysis, policy or reform 'package' waiting to be articulated. Rather we need to initiate an appropriate process involving diverse and selected groups which will form compromises that are workable and represent advances over current situations.

This is an important area of difference between those who believe in the power of reason to discover the road to progress (an assumption inherent in centrally communist systems) and those who would argue that one needs a method — the market — in order to manage the multiple and conflicting preferences and needs of the different interest groups in a pluralistic society.

The history of post-colonial Africa has shown that Nkrumah's statement — "seek ye first the political kingdom and all things else shall be added unto you" — is a delusion and does not express the real relation between socio-economic advance and political action.

One of the great advantages of the market is that it organises and co-ordinates the activities of millions of people without exposing them to authoritarian commands from a single central source.

Conclusion

This paper has argued that profound reforms are required in South Africa if we are to address our many problems.

In the approach I have outlined, there is of course always the danger of mistaking a shallow adaptation for a genuine reform. In the end, this possibility can only be guarded against by a firm set of commitments to widening at each stage the area of acknowledged, common concern between black and white.

Advocacy of a reform process such as I have outlined, contradicts the destructive sense of inevitability in both radical rightist and violent revolutionary philosophies.

South Africa's future is not cast in some pre-determined mould which we must wait to see revealed; rather is it being created now by determined South Africans working together.

1/4/85

304A

Urgent appeal to SA by EEC leaders

By JOHN BATTERSBY
London Bureau

LONDON. — The 10 heads of government of the European Economic Community have made an urgent appeal to the South African Government to initiate a dialogue leading to the "full and equal participation of all in the political process".

The appeal was made during a meeting of the European Council — the highest decision-making body of the EEC — attended by the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, in Brussels at the weekend.

The text of the appeal was not released in Brussels but was handed to the London Bureau by diplomatic sources yesterday.

The sources said the European Council's statement would be conveyed to the South African Government through "diplomatic channels".

A spokesman for the South African Mission to the European Community in Brussels said that a copy of the communique had been sent to Cape Town.

He said the Italian mission — currently president of the EEC — had not made the text of the communique available in the usual way.

The Brussels communique expressed "grave concern" at the "increased tension which is presently developing in South Africa as a result of the continued enforcement of the policy of apartheid".

"The council recently launched a fresh appeal for the ending of the apartheid system."

"The latest tragedies which led them to condemn the recent violent actions of the South African police at Uitenhage re-inforces the importance of that message," the communique said.

While agreeing that the United States must remain "engaged" in South Africa, President Ronald Reagan and the Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz continue to differ publicly in their perspectives on the current bloodshed, reports SIMON BARBER from Washington.

In an interview with the Washington Post published yesterday, Mr Reagan again placed much of the

Police load UCT "art reaction" dummies, representing unrest victims shot at Langa, into a police van in Cape Town yesterday.

Dummy demo dispersed

Mail Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — A large lunchtime crowd watched in amusement yesterday afternoon as police stuffed about 40 dummies — scattered on Greenmarket Square by students of the Michaelis School of Art at the University of Cape Town — into three police vehicles.

The dummies had been scattered on the cobbled stones of the square before 1pm as an "art reaction" to the shootings at Langa, Uitenhage, on March 21.

Two police constables arrived at the scene shortly

Maputo plans war economy

By JOSE CAETANO

THE Mozambican Government yesterday issued a major policy communique announcing the "building of a war economy" that will allocate a larger slice of the national resources towards the fight against the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) rebels.

The government also intends to increase revenue-generating exports, as well as to improve economic management.

The communique, containing a planned series of wide-ranging measures, was issued after meetings — under the chairmanship of President Samora Machel — of the Mozambican Cabinet, the Permanent Commission of the National Assembly and the 11-man Politburo.

mental year for the building of a war economy" and added that a number of as yet unspecified measures were to be taken to ensure a significant increase in the production of agricultural goods.

The steps to intensify the fight against MNR rebels operating in Mozambique — and the fact that no reference was made to the Nkomati Accord — are seen as clear indication that the Mozambican Government has hardened its stance towards the rebels and that it no longer sees the accord as the main factor in its fight against the rebels.

Well-informed sources in Maputo pointed out yesterday that all Mozambique expected from South Africa with regard to security was that MNR fighters

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In an interview with the Washington Post published yesterday, Mr Reagan again placed much of the blame on "an element that wants an overthrow of the government by violence and is not just limiting its fighting to the government".

Mr Schultz, in a speech delivered late on Monday, strongly criticised South Africa's actions and said the US must continue to push the Government to "answer the demands of the black majority with negotiations".

"Apartheid must end," Mr Shultz told a conference of 300 black US College officials. "South Africa needs peace — not violence, not confrontation and repression."

Mr Reagan, in his Washington Post interview, did

□ To Page 2



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Dummy demo dispersed

Mall Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — A large lunchtime crowd watched in amusement yesterday afternoon as police stuffed about 40 dummies — scattered on Greenmarket Square by students of the Michaelis School of Art at the University of Cape Town — into three police vehicles.

The dummies had been scattered on the cobbled stones of the square before 1pm as an "art reaction" to the shootings at Langa, Uitenhage, on March 21.

Two police constables arrived at the scene shortly after 2pm and, after an attempt to find out who had placed the dummies on the square, telephoned for a police van.

A police patrol van arrived 15 minutes later with three policemen. They started loading the dummies into the van.

When the patrol van could take no more it drove off, leaving a plainclothes policeman behind to watch over an untidy heap of dummies.

Unflattering remarks could be heard from the crowd gathered on the steps and one man remarked that "law and order must be maintained".

Shortly afterwards the last few dummies were stuffed into the boots of two police cars, to laughter from the crowd.

Maputo plans war econ

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The communique, containing a planned series of wide-ranging measures, was issued after meetings — under the chairmanship of President Samora Machel — of the Mozambican Cabinet, the Permanent Commission of the National Assembly and the 11-man Political Bureau of Frelimo.

It said 1985 "must be a fundamental year for the building of a war economy" and added that a number of as yet unspecified measures were to be taken to ensure a significant increase in the production of agricultural goods.

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Well-informed sources in Maputo pointed out yesterday that all Mozambique expected from South Africa with regard to security was that MNR fighters received no aid from South African territory.

Among the special measures to be taken to Mozambican are "the transfer of power and of the military to the supplying army".

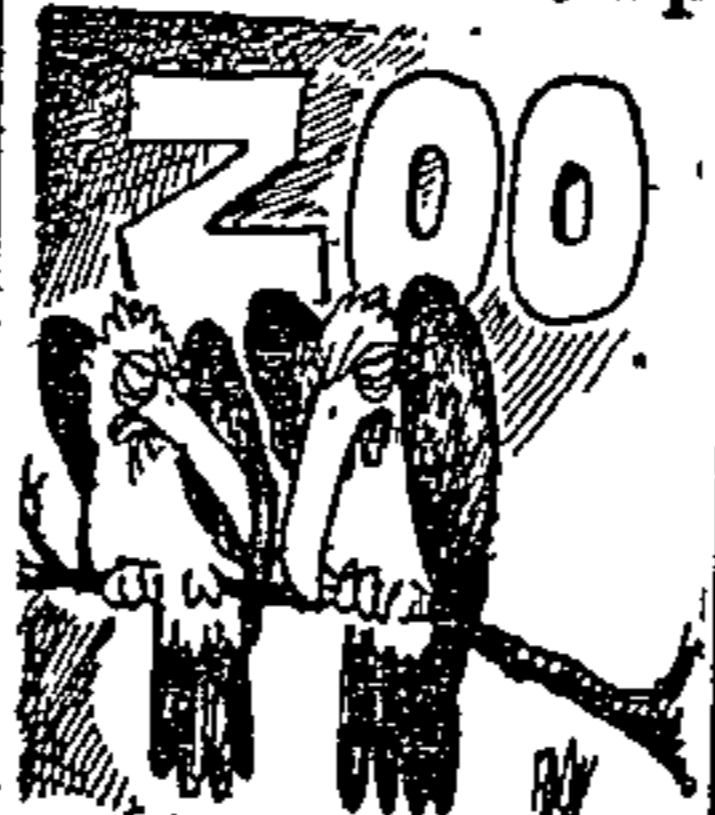
This is under the "civilian skills" will be various branches of the country's defence force.

"The training of the people's army also be speeded up."

Explaining the communique, the "economy and the military" are "inextricably linked".

"The fight against the rebels and the guarantee of economic installations tribute towards

Breakfast Quip



"Why don't they go to Hillbrow to view nocturnal animals?"

Woman's pets have

By LINDA ENSOR

DESPERATE attempts by a Johannesburg flat owner to resist demands that she give up her two beloved pet dogs — including hiding them away during the day — have finally failed.

The controlling body of Despen Village in Haddon Extension One obtained an order in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday which compels Miss Shelley Anne Backhouse to remove the dogs from the building.

For more than a year, Miss Backhouse contravened the rules of the block which required that she apply for permission to keep pets.

Complaints that her dogs wandered around the communal gar-

den and the lawn swimming pool, "marrying" them up, have since January last.

However, despite letters and representations from members of the board, Miss Backhouse would not give up her dogs.

It was only in May that she applied for a licence. This was refused and she was ordered to remove them.

But they stayed on. Attempts to contact her yesterday were fruitless.

She was ordered by the court to pay the costs of the action.

EEC leaders head appeal for restraint

From Page 1

not refer to the State Department's frequently and strongly stated call for negotiations.

The closest he came was: "We think apartheid is the main problem that must be resolved and we're going to continue doing all we can to encourage the Government in its course."

The president's statement closely mirrored his controversial remarks at a Press conference two weeks ago. Afterwards, the leader of the Free South Africa Movement, Mr Randall Robinson, denounced him as "a racist".

In the latest interview, Mr Reagan denied he was condoning apartheid. His accusers, he said, "maybe have a political bias".

● The World Council of Churches yesterday criticised new measures taken by the South African Government to enforce law and order, and said that it would spark new despair and violence, reports Sapa-Renter.

In a news release, WCC General-Secretary, Mr Emilio Castro, told South

African State President P W Botha a new three-month ban on meetings in the Eastern Cape of the United Democratic Front and other organisations "means driving people to despair and tragic violence".

The WCC has in the past raised controversy through its contributions to Swapo.

● Disinvestment by foreign companies operating in South Africa would not make the black majority's situation any worse than it is now, a black opposition spokesman said in Stockholm, Sweden, yesterday.

UDF spokesman, Mr Murphy Morobe, told a news conference a pullout by foreign companies would not cause mass unemployment as so few worked in such firms, and would be an effective protest against the apartheid system.

"Blacks would not suffer more from disinvestment than they suffer now," Mr Morobe said.

A Swedish bill toughening the country's already stringent laws on investments in South Africa came into force on Monday.

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3/4/85

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Council ban on posters

Staff Reporter

POSTERS advertising an End Conscription Committee (ECC) public meeting which carried the words "Civil War Protest" were last week rejected by the City Council on the grounds that they were objectionable.

The posters were eventually put up on Sunday afternoon, simply advertising a protest meeting held at the Claremont Civic Centre at 8pm last night.

Mr Michael Evans, Western Cape chairman of the ECC, said a sample

poster, reading "Civil War Protest" and giving the time and place of the meeting, had been submitted to the City Council on Thursday last week.

He said this was rejected and a second poster submitted, reading "Civil War? Protest Meeting" had also been rejected, although the ECC felt they had dealt with Council's original objections

that the poster was objectionable and that it was not clear that a meeting was being advertised.

A spokesman for the City Engineers department, which dealt with the matter, confirmed that these two posters had not been approved.

He said: "The regulation, dating from 1959, which controls the put-

ting up of posters reads, in part: 'No person shall exhibit in any place to which the public has access or shall expose to public view any advertisement, placard, poster, engraving, picture, drawing, print or photograph of an indecent, obscene, repulsive, revolting or objectionable character, or of a nature calculated to produce a pernicious

or injurious effect on the public or any particular class of person'.

"In this case, the posters were deemed to fall under the objectionable category and we did not authorize them. Also, in the case of the first poster it was not completely clear that a meeting was being announced," he said.

"A poster is allowed to announce meetings, and to give the time and place, but it should be reasonably bland in character."

Mr Evans, however, said the ECC did not feel the original poster was objectionable in the light of the evidence now before the Kannermeier Commission.

He said the ECC meet-

ing was held in response to the recent shootings at Uitenhage and the growing condition of crisis in the country.

The ECC would present its perspective on the current situation in South Africa and offer suggestions as to how the conflict in the country might be resolved.

Speakers included Mr Trevor Manuel, Western Cape secretary of the United Democratic Front, and Mr Laurie Nathan, national organizer of the ECC.

Cape Times 3/4/85

UDF warns on civil war

Staff Reporter

SOUTH AFRICA would be engulfed in a civil war by the end of 1986, the United Democratic Front's Western Cape secretary, Mr Trevor Manuel, said last night.

Speaking to about 300 people at the End Conscription Committee's civil-war protest meeting at Claremont Civic Hall, Mr Manuel expressed the opinion that the violence in the Eastern Cape, of which the events at Langa on March 21 had been only the "tip of the iceberg", would soon spread to other parts of the country.

Welkom and Kroonstad would be the next areas of unrest, Mr Manuel predicted.

He blamed the establishment of black community councils — "essentially shifting the terrain of conflict from a black/white confrontation to a black/black confrontation" — as a cause of much of the unrest.

"And so the situation of unrest in the Eastern Cape will shift to other parts of the country. By the end of next year all of our country will be engulfed in civil war."

Reacting to President P W Botha's "state of the nation" security address in Parliament, Mr Manuel said the "unrest situations — often with heavy political-overtones" had been created by State "over-reaction" to the voicing of grievances — "usually small economic grievances".

"Conflict and confrontation is inherent in apartheid and, given the economic situation, the conflict will escalate."

Commenting on the presence of troops in Uitenhage and, in particular, addressing white youths faced with national service, he said: "There is no middle road. You either stand for justice or stand against it."

Earlier, both The Argus and Cape Times newspapers were attacked by the chairman of the End Conscription Committee, Mr Michael Evans.

He said that, like Cape Town City Council, which had refused permission for posters with the "Civil War Protest" legend to be put up, The Argus had entirely rejected advertising for the meeting, while the Cape Times insisted that the advertisement be watered down.

Sanctum 3/4/85

'Apply pressure on racist SA Govt'

By JOSHUA
RABOROKO

THE vice-president of the National Automobile and Allied Workers' Union, Mr John Gomomo, has urged Americans to continue to demonstrate against the racist policies of the South African Government.

Speaking at a church service in Detroit, the heart of the American car industry in the United States, Mr Gomomo, said international pressure was a means of challenging apartheid's racism.

In an article in the latest newsletter, Fosatu Workers News, Mr Gomomo, who also joined American demonstrators outside the SA Embassy, said black and white Americans should continue what they were doing.

He said the anti-apartheid demonstrations had heartened apartheid opponents in SA and surprised them, because they had thought that the American protest movement had died or grown impotent.

He added that these demonstrations had begun to pay dividends by focusing the spotlight on the South Afri-

can Government, forcing it to explain its indefensible policies to the world.

"The goal of my opinion and other opponents of apartheid is an end to all apartheid laws and the establishment of a constitution that protects people irrespective of sex, colour or creed," he said.

During his visit to the US, Mr Gomomo met with leaders and shop stewards of the United Auto Workers.

Meanwhile Naawu has made a scathing attack on Ford Motor Company for its closure in Port Elizabeth of the plant which is likely to affect about 200 workers.

The union says the closure reveals the multinationals have absolutely no interest in the welfare of workers and the communities in countries where they operate.

The plant closures which are to take place over the next 18 months, are a result of the merger of Ford and Amcar to form Samcor (South African Motor Corporation).

The union said the communities of PE and Uitenhage were already "reeling" under the effects of high unemployment and the serious recession. Ford has a notorious record of plant closure worldwide, the union added.

Inkatha youth and ASB to have joint political meeting

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — In a move to create better relations between black and white student bodies, the conservative Afrikaanse Studentebond (ASB) has announced its decision to hold a joint political conference with the Inkatha Youth Brigade (IYB) this month.

The president of the ASB, Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk, said there was an eagerness among young Afrikaners to speak to different population groups about South Africa's problems.

"The future of South Africa lies in the hands of the youth and the time has come for the ASB to meet other student organisations," he said yesterday.

Formed in 1977 and with a membership of about 430 000 people, the IYB is the student wing of Chief Gatsha Buthele-

zi's Inkatha movement. The ASB is the only national body for Afrikaans students and 15 universities, colleges and technikons are affiliated to the organisation.

"CONCERN"

The president of the IYB, Mr Musa Zondi, said his organisation had accepted the ASB's offer to hold a joint political conference because "many black people had not had the opportunity to discuss issues with white people which were of mutual concern."

Mr Zondi pointed out that there had been a "great change" in the ASB's policy over the past few years.

"When we first met the ASB about five years ago they took us as wolves in sheepskins who were trying to hijack them for our own motives.

NGK: 'Political' clergy should resign

CLERGYMEN who openly involved themselves in politics should remove their robes, resign and enter politics, according to the Rev Tappies Möller, editor of the Kerkbode, the official newspaper of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (NGK).

In an editorial responding to last week's

march on Parliament led by Dr Allan Boesak, Dr Beyers Naude and the Rev Abel Hendricks, Mr Möller said there had been marches in the City before and police had stopped them because they were not permitted for security reasons.

Clergymen should not convey the decisions of like-minded people to

the authorities through political demonstrations. Adequate channels existed, he said.

"Clergy who openly involve themselves in politics should remove their robes, resign from office and enter politics," Mr Möller said.

The Kerkbode editorial said it too was shocked by the violence and loss

of life in the Eastern Cape and expressed its condolences with the bereaved.

● Dr. Naude, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said from Johannesburg yesterday that the Kerkbode displayed a lack of understanding of the real motivation and concern of the

people involved.

The Christians who took part were "urged to undertake this act of witness with the suffering people of Uitenhage in order to draw the attention of the State President and Parliament" to the crisis in Uitenhage.

Dr Boesak could not be contacted for comment yesterday.

State President Botha to attend 75th anniversary of black church

About two million people are expected to attend this weekend's gathering of the Zion Christian Church near Pietersburg in the Northern Transvaal. The Argus Correspondent reports.

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, will address one of Africa's largest — and most peaceful — mass gatherings this weekend when he attends the 75th anniversary celebrations of the Zion Christian Church (ZCC) at Moria, near Pietersburg.

About two million people are expected at this special Easter Convention, which has necessitated drastic traffic measures to avoid bottlenecks on the roads to the Northern Transvaal.

Mr Botha is the second leading white South African political figure to address the Zionists in recent years.

Dr Piet Koornhof, when Minister of Co-operation and Development in 1980, spoke at the church's 70th anniversary.

The church has about four million followers scattered across South Africa, Zimbabwe, Malawi and Swaziland and was founded in 1910 by Engenas Lekganyane of the Church of Scotland and grandfather of the present Bishop.

Engenas Lekganyane said he responded to what he termed 'a vision from God'. Members of the Lekganyane family have led the church throughout its development to become one of the largest religious organisations on the continent.

The founder was succeeded by his son Edward, but a younger son, Joseph, established a smaller rival church in the 1950s which still exists.

When Edward died the mantle of authority fell upon the present Bishop, Barnabas.

At 30 years of age Bishop Barnabas, a diploma graduate of the All Africa School of Theology at Witbank, though youthful, is highly respected and revered by his followers, some of whom have elevated him to the same status as Christ.

The bishop will deliver his main Easter sermon on Sunday morning when the Freedom of Moria will be conferred on the State President.

The ZCC, which officially has a reformed Protestant theological stance, integrates traditional customs into its worship services and has a major emphasis on healing and neighbourly love.

Some theologians have described it as an interesting alternative for black Christians who are not at home in traditional western churches.

One historian sees the ZCC as having a particular role in combating marxist communism on the sub-continent.

Preparations to receive the masses of believers started several weeks ago with the clearance of large areas on the mountainside where most of the convention-goers will camp for the weekend.

Huge supplies of food started to arrive in delivery vans at Moria yesterday but many

church members said they would be providing their own meals.

Loudspeakers have been installed over an area of about two hectares where the

main open-air services will be held.

The church's outstanding brass band and a mass choir will feature during the climax programme.

There IS change

but not all perceive

it in same light

UDF

bitter

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6/4/85

The polarisation of attitudes towards reform in South Africa is reflected in these two articles written by the secretary of one of the main movements outside Parliament, and the editor of a pro-Government newspaper printed here from The South Africa Press.

By HAROLD PAKENDORF
Editor, Die Vaderland

CHANGE in a country is difficult to measure only if your expectation of change is set unrealistically high.

To someone who regards "change" as a transition from a white minority government to a black majority there has clearly been little progress of late.

To someone who regards "change" as the systematic reduction of privileges for whites, there is an abundance of evidence of it.

Change is question of perception — what one person experiences as continuing oppression another considers the "selling out" of his protected position.

It is certain that the truth lies somewhere between the two.

The question of change cannot be settled merely by a factual investigation of whether or not there has been change.

Equally important is the question whether the Government is serious about change. These two are closely related, even if only because some maintain that the changes that have occurred are merely cosmetic and do not penetrate to the core of the country's problems.

In response to this one is inclined to shout: some cosmetics!

- Free trade unions, voting rights for Indians and coloureds, opening of business districts, scrapping of job reservation — is this merely cosmetic?

- That the Government is already talking of an umbrella political structure that will include white, brown and black — is this merely cosmetic?

- The proposed scrapping of the Mixed Marriages Act and the Immorality Act, including the consequences that will certainly affect the Group Areas Act and other similar Acts — is this merely cosmetic?

- That the Government wants to talk to blacks about their political future, wants to talk without an agenda, without prescription — is this cosmetic?

No, those who want to argue that there is no change in South Africa do not want change but rather a one-step recipe — one step to a black majority government, almost as if this is the only way to provide justice, prosperity and security for the black majority.

There IS change.

Reform, if it is to produce lasting results, should never be overhasty. And it can scarcely be that in South Africa, for it must be remembered that the Government that at the moment is removing discriminatory legislation is the very Government that introduced these laws in past decades.

It is almost as if one would have expected the southern United States to rid itself of segregation on its own — which did not happen, for it took court orders and action from the federal government to enforce desegregation. And even then the path was not easy.

In South Africa reform is being initiated by those who control power, who have to work against the will of a large

part of the electorate — and the reformers put their political leadership at stake. This is an important factor when the pace of reform is assessed.

There is also no doubt that change is keenly felt by the white man and that in his perception — or at any rate that of a significant number of white — movement has already occurred too far and too fast.

You have only to look at the most recent speeches of Dr A P Treurnicht and Professor Carel Boshoff. The one is the political leader and the other the cultural leader of those on the right, and both refer to the "selling out" of the whites.

This kind of language will strike a strong chord amongst the voters, possibly even strong enough to make the right wing the official Opposition in the next election.

It is hardly necessary to put up an argument for change as it affects coloureds and Indians. Just read the speeches of their parliamentary representatives and it will be realised that they are now in a position to decide on matters that relate to themselves — even though they cannot change everything overnight as they might wish.

The question is rather whether the black man feels there is any change.

There will certainly be those who think that there can be no change until the first step is taken on the road to a black government. But for the ordinary black man there have been changes — perhaps few and perhaps so leisurely that he does not perceive them as revolutionary. But local government has been introduced, education standards have been raised, salaries and wages have risen sharply, apartheid structures are crumbling, upward mobility has been facilitated.

Essential to all the speculation about change is the question whether the Government is sincere, or whether it is merely seeking another way of entrenching white control, a kind of apartheid with a sweetener.

The answer to this question is "yes" and "no"

The "yes" obviously derives from the fact that the Government feels that its previous approach of securing white privilege and maintaining Western standards has failed. Otherwise it would not have swerved away from its own past.

Just as obvious is the fact that it hopes the new path it has chosen will also secure white privileges and maintain Western standards — but this time it hopes to achieve this with other South Africans in one dispensation.

Herein resides the "no", because the new path has the same goal as the old one, but it breaks clear of separation and moves towards joint decision-making and living together in one country — even though it is not the one-man-one-vote situation in a one-party state demanded by those on the far left.

The path is strewn with rocks, the Government often stumbles on the way and sometimes steps back a little, but by and large it remains on the path. Whoever denies this wants something other than evolutionary change.

(Report by H Pakendorf, 28 Heigh Street, Doornfontein.)

By MOSIUOA
"TERROR" LEKOTA
publicity secretary, United Democratic Front

THE United Democratic Front has two major objectives: to expose the serious shortcomings in the new constitutional dispensation and to pressure the Government into calling a national convention of all the people of South Africa that would lead to the adoption of a democratic constitution.

We in the UDF seek a negotiated settlement because we believe that the less bitter the methods adopted to resolve the present problem, the easier will be the process of reconciliation. The longer the Government resists a programme of guided negotiation, the more it creates the chance for a deepening of the conflict and acrimonious circumstances. The process of reconciliation then becomes more difficult.

The reason for the existence of the UDF is to help the various sections of the public to learn to live together, to move towards a democratic society with all participating.

The UDF will not participate in the forum announced by President Botha because that forum is founded on apartheid and does nothing to eliminate the problem. Certainly while acknowledged leaders like Nelson Mandela remain in prison there cannot be a solution capable of bringing about lasting peace. Consultation up to now has failed to eliminate armed conflict for this reason: we need a process of well-founded negotiation.

In a country where people carry arms to further their political aims, the non-violent UDF cannot be considered radical. Some black groups would

seek democracy not business, says publicity secretary

Political change
two articles, one
the largest political
the other by the
per. They are re-
foundation News.

deny a place for whites in their new society but we in the UDF will want to go for a negotiated settlement, with rights for black and white. We are, I believe, the most reconciliatory black organisation presently operating. To ignore the UDF now is to ignore the most meaningful black initiative.

We cannot accept the division of Africans into urban and rural, firstly because this implies the continued disenfranchisement of the African majority confined to these areas.

The homeland structures were imposed by Pretoria and never enjoyed legitimacy in the eyes of the people. Secondly, these areas remain utterly unviable economically and can never stand on their own. Since the homelands are accepted by the forum, we



Mr M LEKOTA

cannot participate in the forum.

Apartheid undermines the economic development of the country as a whole, thereby retarding the economic benefit to all. The President talks of freehold rights to urban blacks. But what is the meaning of freehold while the 1936 Land Act restricts African land ownership? The Acts themselves must be scrapped so that Africans are free to own land anywhere and so that there will be no more forced removals.

Talk of removing the discriminatory aspects of influx control is empty rhetoric. Influx control is by its very nature discriminatory since it is directed at Africans. The only way to remove discriminatory aspects of the policy is to eliminate it entirely.

The crisis confronting the Government is forcing it to make a number of statements that on the face of it appear to be steps in the right direction, but that do not bear closer scrutiny.

Consider the promise to equalise education among the races. Africans have to pay for schooling from the first year, but whites do not; the standard of black schools and the quality of teachers are low. Minister De Klerk's statement is laudable, but an equalisation simply cannot be effected in the foreseeable future given the racial economic imbalance, the present state of the eco-

nomy and resistance from the Afrikaner right wing.

The Government clearly perceives the need for reform, but is concerned about the Conservative Party. The promises made in Parliament cannot come to pass in the foreseeable future. The Government has done nothing to justify optimism.

The lack of confidence in the Government is not founded on rash youthful impatience. The history of interaction between the Government and the disenfranchised has shown repeatedly that the Government never really intends to meet our people half way.

We gave them a chance after the so-called national convention of 1909, after 1936 with the Native Representative Councils, in the South African Indian Council and the Coloured Representative Council, and at every turn the hopes of our

people were dashed.

For the past 75 years history is strewn with dashed hopes. Even the new dispensation, hailed in 1983, has already left the people in despair.

The present collapse of the black town councils (witness the resignations of councillors, the attacks on them and their property, the low polls in elections) is the result of a long history of disappointed hopes, of trust confidently placed in the Government that the Government has violated.

The Government should strive to create an atmosphere necessary for a national convention. Let the accepted leaders represent their constituencies, black and white, let there be representation on the basis of popular support, and let us create an open forum for all the peoples of South Africa without exception.

(Report by M Lekota, 42 de Villiers St, Johannesburg)



Mr P W Botha and Bishop Lekganyane after the ceremony in which the State President was given the freedom of the ZCC capital, Moria City.

MORIA CITY, Transvaal. — The State President, Mr P W Botha, yesterday addressed a meeting of black pilgrims estimated at more than 1,5 million and urged blacks and whites to "come together and talk to each other".

The President was granted the freedom of Moria City, headquarters of the four-million-strong black Zionist Christian Church (ZCC), where the followers of church leader Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane gathered for their annual four-day Easter pilgrimage.

An official crowd size count is being made and some observers expect it to top two million.

Small village

Moria City is little more than a small village in the dusty hills near Pietersburg, about 320km north of Johannesburg.

Botha talks to black pilgrims

Mr Botha was invited to address the ZCC members on the 75th anniversary of the church founded by Bishop Lekganyane's grandfather, Bishop Engenas Lekganyane, who was a member of the Church of Scotland.

Leadership of the ZCC has remained in the Lekganyane family, which has created one of the largest churches in Africa with followers in Zimbabwe, Malawi, Swaziland and South Africa.

It has a strongly conservative policy and forbids its members to smoke or drink. Bishop Lekganyane rarely ap-

pears in public and allowed invited journalists into Moria City yesterday as a rare exception.

In a clear reference to unrest simmering in black townships around the country, Mr Botha told the pilgrims South Africa would "not tolerate people who come from far away with evil minds to kill and injure innocent people. We must not allow them to burn our houses and destroy our property".

He told his huge audience: "In the past we have not really talked to each other. Let us come together and talk to each other as we are doing now."

The races of South Africa had to "jointly strive to find solutions to our problems", Mr Botha said.

He said South Africans had to stand together against the "messengers of terror".

South Africa's people were being cared for and protected, and this care and protection would continue.

Peace and love

The award of the Freedom of Moria was "a symbol of the peace and love I see here today, and also the peace I would like to see as a huge blanket covering South Africa".

Mr Botha told Bishop Lekganyane that the ZCC and all that it stood for were well known.

"I have come to you to express my appreciation to you for the positive spirit shown by you and your followers." — Sapa and UPI

There's an accident at Walter's oil rig.

Post Focus

Steps the Government

By ANDREW SAVAGE, MP

WHATEVER the result of the inquiry into the Langa shooting, it is important that the following factors be remembered:

- The incident has done immeasurable damage to black/white relations. People who have to live together have had the gulf separating them dug even deeper.

- The tragedy has assisted those trying to isolate South Africa as much as any other single event in 38 years.

- It has struck us at a time when our mismanaged economy is weak and debilitated and the disinvestment campaign is at its most intense.

- The terms of reference of the inquiry are to investigate the incident itself, not the social and political background against which it took place.

Because of this last point, there is a danger that the public's attention is so focused on the particulars of a specific event that it overlooks the Government's responsibility. Just as a board and managing director, not their employees, are responsible to the shareholders for the results of their policies, so

the State President and Cabinet must be held accountable for the consequences of theirs.

A government that makes discriminatory laws is doomed to implement them by force, because the human spirit cannot accept the arbitrary judgment of inferiority implicit in such legislation. The inevitable passage to confrontation goes something like this:

- Initially there is an attempt to achieve reform by reason and dialogue. (It is worth remembering that the ANC repudiated violence for 40 years).

- There is a search for allies — ultimately on the basis that "anyone who is the enemy of my enemy must be a friend".

- "Stay aways" and selective boycotts are organised.

- As anger rises the struggle becomes radicalised. The Government insists on negotiating with leaders it recognises. These are repudiated as puppets and there is a total breakdown of communication.

- The emphasis moves to rejection of all Government-created administrative



Mr ANDREW SAVAGE, MP for Walmer

live structures.

- External groups are encouraged to implement disinvestment and international boycotts.

- Unrest becomes endemic. Rioting and violence feed on themselves and intensify. Freedom of movement is restricted and personal safety is threatened.

We have come a long way down this path and the

responsibility rests with the Government. The State President, unless he is to bequeath to his successors a Lebanon-like cauldron, must tell us how he envisages South African society 35 years down the track and what role he sees whites playing in that society. He must describe the steps by which he proposes to achieve the necessary changes.

can take towards a solution

In the year 2020 we know that the population will be between 70 and 80 million and whites will number approximately six million. It is inconceivable that blacks will accept the position of second-class citizens — crowded into the Sowetos, Langas and Zwides, that they will submissively come out to man our factories, keep off the beaches, and come to town to spend their money. We cannot be that naive!

To maintain that type of society would be beyond our resources, would require Nazi-like suppression and not conform to the ambition of the majority of whites. In that scenario we

would have a stagnant siege economy, unable to supply even food or job opportunities to maintain a reasonable quality of life.

Political wisdom in South Africa begins with an appreciation of the limitations of force as a means of government. The alternative scenario is government with the consent of the governed.

This requires some difficult Government decisions.

Firstly, it must make a clear statement of intent that it intends to phase in a constitution that will give all people participation in the government of their country, yet will prevent

domination of one group by another.

Secondly, it must declare its willingness to negotiate that constitution with genuine elected black leaders. (You cannot negotiate with leaders of your own choice. You can give them neither credibility nor even protection).

Thirdly, as an indication of its sincerity to blacks and our trading partners overseas and to create a reasonable climate for negotiation, it must set about dismantling, without delay, the pernicious apartheid legislation which has brought us to the brink of disaster.

(Written by Andrew Savage, MP, House of Assembly, Cape Town)

Cape Times 8/4/85

Botha 'can lead another trek'

304A

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The State President, Mr P W Botha, is the type of intelligent, confident statesman who can lead the Afrikaners on another great trek, this time into the political unknown.

This is the view of Mr Peregrine Worsthorne, associate editor of the Sunday Telegraph, who recently visited South Africa.

The newspaper yesterday carried an extensive diary of Mr Worsthorne's trip as well as a column devoted to his views on South Africa. His forecast of a government victory, despite the recent unrest, is confident.

Mr Worsthorne concludes that apartheid has helped create a situation in which the white minority need not fear being swamped by the black masses.

Mr Worsthorne starts his column by asking: "What are the chances of the Afrikaners maintaining white supremacy in South Africa on a more acceptable basis — that

is to say, with at least enough black, brown and coloured consent to make the kind of intolerably cruel repression practised by the Nationalist Government during the past 30 years no longer necessary?

"Judging by the recent township police killings the chances may not seem very good. Having just returned from a three-week visit there, I would like to suggest that this appearance may belie the reality."

Mr Worsthorne comes to the conclusion that "a black-white accommodation is no longer absolutely outside the bounds of practical Afrikaner politics".

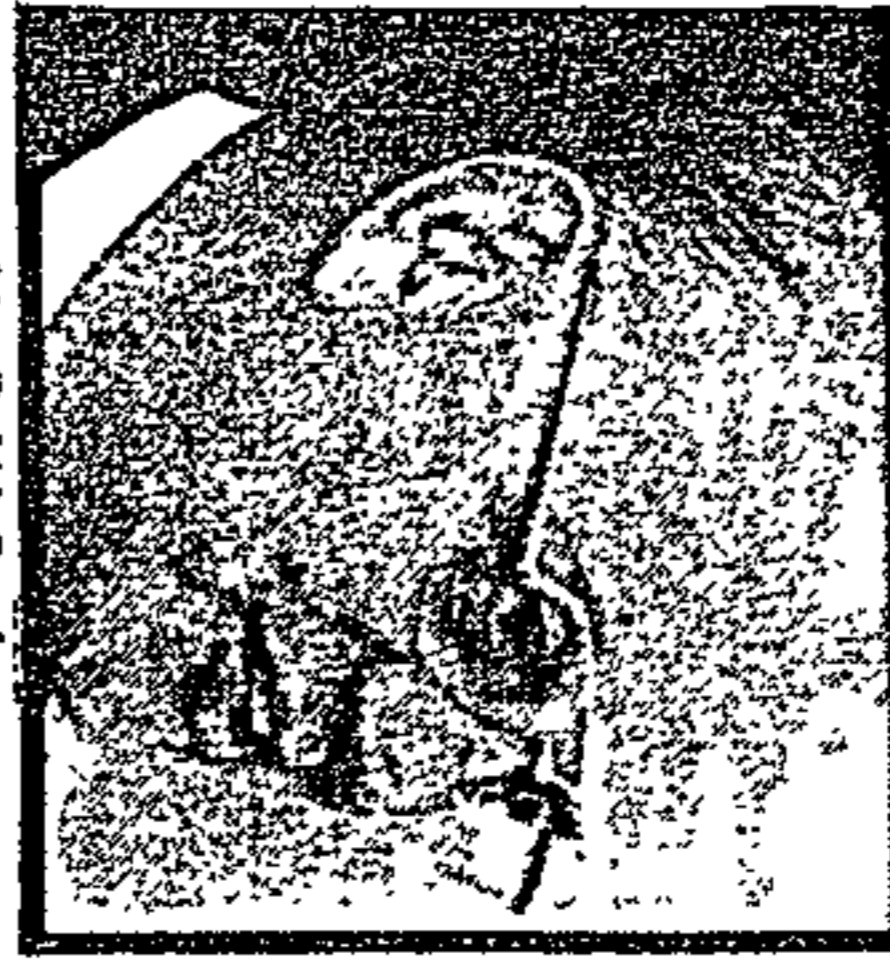
Concessions

He says: "In the hands of stupid white rulers such overwhelming power might seem a good enough reason not to make concessions. But to an intelligent, confident statesman, might it as well be an argument for believing that concessions can be made with impunity?"

"In my view, the State President, P W Botha, is such a statesman, preparing to lead the Afrikaners out on to another great trek, this time into the political unknown."

Orderly gathering of millions

ANDRE MEYEROWITZ of the Argus Political Staff looks at Zion City and the Zion Christian Church. More than two million members of the church were addressed by the State President, Mr P W Botha.



Mr P W Botha

THE SIGN at the gates of Zion City says in bold letters: "Non-Europeans and Europeans are not allowed to take photographs or news. Non-members to report to non-members' office."

Zion City, 40km east of Pietersburg at the Moria settlement, is the headquarters of the secretive and reputedly wealthy Zion Christian Church. Yesterday some exceptions were made to the rule posted at the entrance. Selected journalists — European and non-European — were invited to record the visit of the State President, Mr P W Botha, during the annual Easter celebration. Those without special gold-scripted invitations were turned away.

Just inside the gates there is another sign: "You are peacefully welcome." Peaceful it certainly was, as ZCC marshals controlled a vast and happy crowd of millions of pilgrims. Church sources said there were 4 million, provincial traffic officers reckoned about 3 million and most of the invited newsmen settled for "more than 2 million."

The precise figure can probably never be determined. A host of church adherents gathered in the valley in front of the roofed podium where dignitaries sat.

Many more milled in the

have come to tell you that we see this — we respect you for this."

Before going in to a private lunch with Bishop Lekganyane, Mr Botha gave him a leather-bound Afrikaans Bible.

"May you and your church continue to prosper," he said.

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Blacks, whites 'must talk to each other'

Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Blacks and whites had to talk to each other but had to stand together against "messengers of evil", the State President, Mr P W Botha, told the biggest crowd ever gathered in South Africa.

Mr Botha was speaking yesterday at the annual Easter celebration of the Zion Christian Church in Moria, near Pietersburg.

More than 2-million blacks made the pilgrimage to Moria to hear him and to celebrate the indigenous church's 75th anniversary.

Members of the ZCC frequently punctuated his address with applause.

Mr Botha said black and white should strive jointly to find solutions to South Africa's problems.

He said: "No single community can be the only winner. We must be winners together or we shall all be losers."

"There is no more place for hatred and fear, no more time for suspicion and conflict."

"In the past we have not really talked to each other. Let us come together and talk to each other, let us start listening to each other as we are doing now."

'Learn from past'

Mr Botha told his vast audience that it was necessary to learn from the past to avoid past mistakes.

In an apparent reference to the banned ANC and other activists he warned against "forces of darkness" which he said stood in the way of peaceful development.

"We must not tolerate people who come from far away with evil minds to kill and injure innocent people."

"We must not allow them to burn our houses and destroy our property — we must all stand together against these messengers of evil."

"We must also have trust in our mutual intentions. Until we learn to really trust each other we shall not be able to realise our full potential," Mr Botha said.

The head of the Zion church, Bishop B E Lekganyane, gave Mr Botha a scroll conferring honorary citizenship of Moria.

Mr Botha said: "To me this is a symbol of the peace and love I see here today and also the peace I would like to see as a huge blanket covering South Africa and our neighbouring countries"

dusty roadway leading to the stage. Countless thousands teemed on the mountain slopes or found shade under trees and next to the buses which had brought them from many parts of the country as well as neighbouring states.

Some camped for the weekend, others just made do in the open air. Food was provided but most of the pilgrims brought their own.

Everything was orderly as the multitude waited for Mr Botha and his wife Elize to arrive by helicopter at a makeshift landing pad.

The head of the church, His Grace the Right Rev Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane, went to the landing pad in an extra-long American limousine to greet his visitors. On the short drive from there back to the podium, Mr and Mrs Botha looked pleased and happy as they acknowledged warm applause from the throng, its members dressed mainly in uniforms of lemon-yellow and dark green.

Bishop Lekganyane gave Mr Botha a scroll conferring on him the first-ever honorary citizenship of Moria "in appreciation of his efforts to spread peace and love and to prove the high esteem in which he is held".

Again there was applause, and a South African Government aide commented as an aside: "Bishop Tutu can eat his heart out."

The Zion Christian Church, with about 5-million adherents, has a nominally Reformed Protestant stance but weaves traditional African customs into its services. Some theologians see it as an interesting alternative for black Christians who do not feel at home in conventional western churches.

Conservative

Although it shuns political activism, it is clearly a conservative body. Bishop Lekganyane — his grandfather founded the ZCC 75 years ago — believes in respect for authority.

He says: "A Christian must recognise that civil government is of Divine appointment. It is not for the individual to judge the law, it is for the individual to obey the law."

"This is what I always teach and stress as the spiritual head of Zion Christian Church. This is what has built this church to be as strong as it is."

Mr Botha told his mass audience: "You have a sincere and healthy lifestyle. You respect law, order and authority. I

Botha puzzles PFP, HNP

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — White opposition to the Nationalist government reacted with puzzlement yesterday to the speech by the State President, Mr P W Botha, at the Zion Christian Church (ZCC) headquarters near Pietersburg.

Mr Botha addressed about 2 500 000 members of the church at Moria on Sunday during its 75th anniversary celebrations.

Mrs Helen Suzman, Progressive Federal Party spokesman for Law and Order, said she was "astonished" that President Botha selected that particular independent black church to "give his blessing".

And Mr Jaap Marais, leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, said he could not understand Mr Botha's almost pleading "attitude for peace" after his recent appearance on American television where he said he would maintain law and order at all costs.

Mr Marais also questioned a part of the speech where Mr Botha reportedly said: "In the past we have not really talked to each other. Let us come together and talk to each other as we are doing now."

Mr Marais said he accepted that Mr Botha is a good Christian, but the statement implied that previous prime ministers failed as Christians — with which he disagrees.

'Sermonized'

He said he did not fully understand the reasons for Mr Botha's appearance because Mr Botha sermonized while, at the same time, failing to clarify the government's policy on black political rights.

Perhaps Mr Botha meant that he wanted to address the blacks as he was doing at Moria and not really talk to them," Mr Marais said.

Mr Botha said South Africans had to stand together against the "messengers of terror" and that the "forces of darkness" had to be kept out of the country.

The award of the Freedom of Moria was "a symbol of the peace and love I see here today, and also the peace I would like to see as a huge blanket covering South Africa", Mr Botha said on Sunday.

"In the past we have not really listened to each other. Let us start listening to each other as we are doing now."

"We must jointly strive to find out what our problems are. Then we must jointly strive to find solutions to our problems."

Blacks 'in large numbers' support PW at meeting

ARGUS 9/4/85 (3088)

NEW YORK. — President P W Botha's presence at the annual gathering of the Zion Christian Church has been given major prominence in the American media.

Even the New York Times, which is invariably highly critical of South Africa, yesterday admitted that "it showed blacks in large numbers supporting him".

Television reports took a similar line. A reporter for ABC television network, said the meeting was an indication of black support for the president and for the cause of moderation.

The New York Times report is published prominently on the newspaper's front page under the headline "Botha, in address to a black sect, warns against evil from abroad".

"Forces of darkness"

The reporter, Richard Bernstein, writes: "A huge throng of blacks who belong to a Christian sect gathered in an Easter celebration on a remote hillside today and heard President P W Botha warn against 'forces of darkness' from outside South Africa."

He quotes Mr Botha as saying: "The forces of darkness must be kept out of our country. We shall not tolerate people who come from far away with evil minds to kill and injure innocent people. We must not allow them to burn our houses and destroy our property."

The report continues: "Mr Botha was speaking at the annual gathering of the Zion Christian Church which, with some five million members, is the largest religious group in this country. The church preaches non-violence and is believed to acquiesce in, if not actually support, apartheid. The audience applauded Mr Botha after virtually every phrase."

"His appearance before the group was unusual because of the size of his audience and the remoteness of the location and because it showed blacks in large numbers supporting him. Some published reports said as many as three million people were present, although some foreign reporters cast doubt on those figures," the report said.

SA officials "delighted"

Reports of the ZCC gathering provide the United States with a counterpoint to the months of publicity for Bishop Desmond Tutu and church-led demonstrations associated with him and other religious leaders.

South African officials in the United States scarcely concealed their delight with the reports and one said: "The poor anti-South Africa demonstrators here must be really confused now."

Another South African official said the potential impact of the ZCC's reception of President Botha "is so great, and so telling, that what we must expect now is an all-out attempt to discredit the ZCC and its leader".

He said: "I have no doubt what we're going to see is a major propaganda effort in this direction by the anti-South African movement in the United States." — Sapa.

304A RDM 9/04/85



The wife of the State President, Mrs Elize Botha, hugs the daughter of the Zionist Church leader.
Picture: DAN SIMON

Leaders puzzled by Botha's speech

By MAURITZ MOOLMAN

WHITE opposition to the Nationalist Government reacted with puzzlement yesterday to the speech by the State President, Mr P W Botha, at Moria, near Pietersburg on Sunday.

Mr Botha addressed about 2 500 000 members of the Zionist Christian Church during the 75th anniversary celebrations of the church.

Mrs Helen Suzman, the Progressive Federal Party spokesman for Law and Order, said she was "astonished" that the State President selected that particular independent black church to "give his blessing".

And Mr Jaap Marais, the leader of the rightwing Herstigte Nasionale Party said he could not understand Mr Botha's almost "pleading" attitude for peace after his recent appearance on television in the United States, where he said he would maintain law and order at all costs.

Mr Marais also questioned a part of the speech where Mr Botha said: "In the past we have not really talked to each other.

Let us come together and talk to each other as we are doing now."

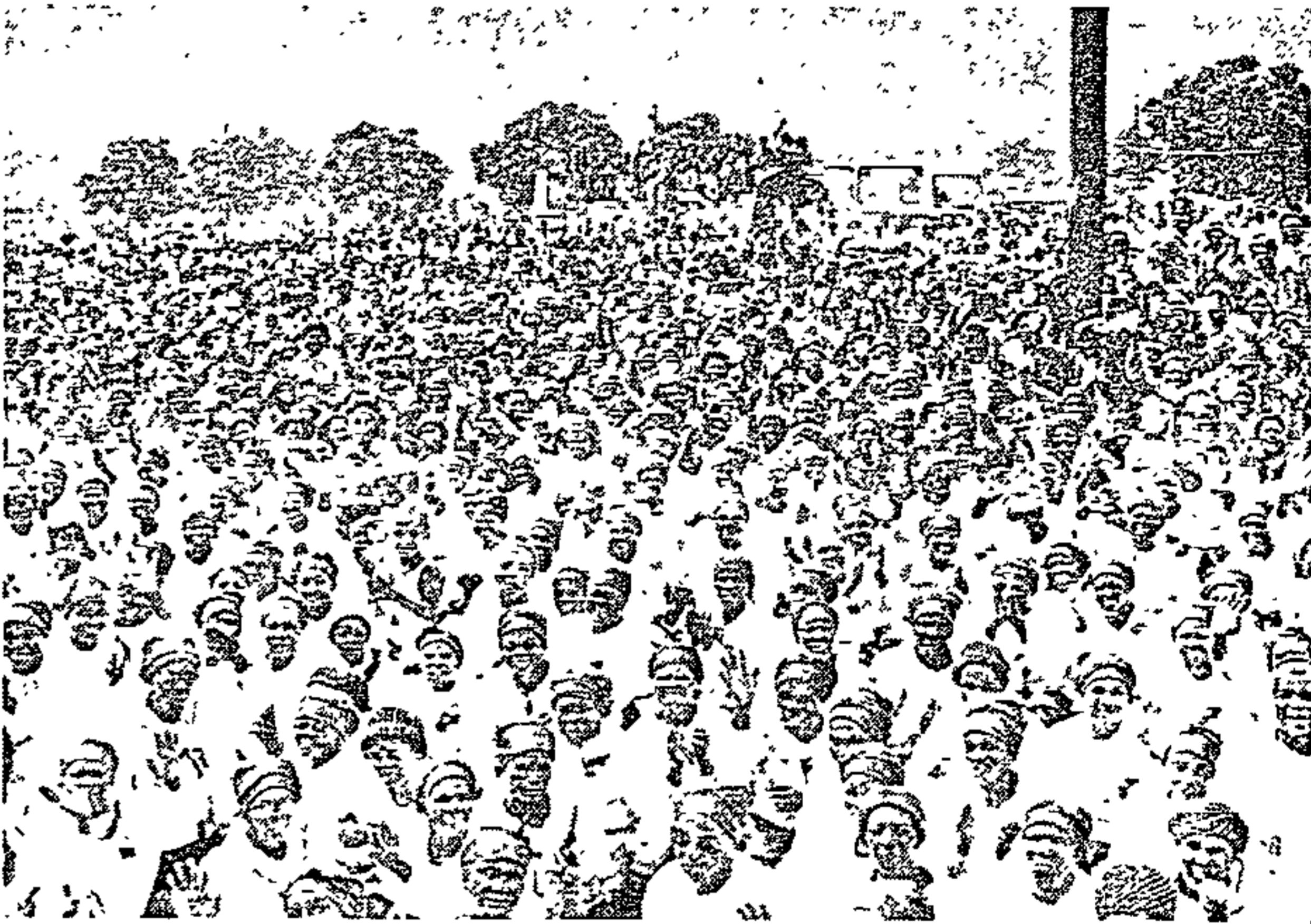
He said he accepted Mr Botha was a good Christian but that his statement implied previous Prime Ministers had failed as Christians.

Mr Marais said he did not fully understand the reasons for Mr Botha's appearance, because he had failed to clarify the Government's policy on black political rights.

Mr Botha said South Africans had to stand together against "messengers of terror" and that the "forces of darkness" had to be kept out of the country.

The award of the Freedom of Moria was "a symbol of the peace and love I see here today, and also the peace I would like to see as a huge blanket covering South Africa".

"In the past we have not really listened to each other. Let us start listening to each other as we are doing now. We must jointly strive to find out what our problems are. Then we must jointly strive to find solutions to our problems," he said in his speech.



About three million members of the Zion Christian Church gathered at the City of Moria to celebrate the 75th anniversary of the church.
Picture: DAN SIMON

Botha makes history at Zionist Church meeting

By SIPHO NGCOBO

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, made history on Sunday when he became the first honorary citizen of the City of Moria — headquarters of the Zion Christian Church.

In a ceremony in front of a crowd of about three million, Mr Botha was granted "Freedom of the City of

Moria" by the leader of the ZCC, Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane.

He was also presented with an "award for his untiring efforts to fight for the maintenance of peace in South Africa". Moria City's own "Nobel Peace Prize" took the form of a scroll bearing the signature of the young Bishop.

After this, Mr Botha handed over an Afrikaans bible to Bishop Lekganyane.

He said: "The bible is a wonderful book. It brings the message of hope to humanity as a whole."

Mr Botha quoted a verse in Romans which says every person should be subject to governing authorities.

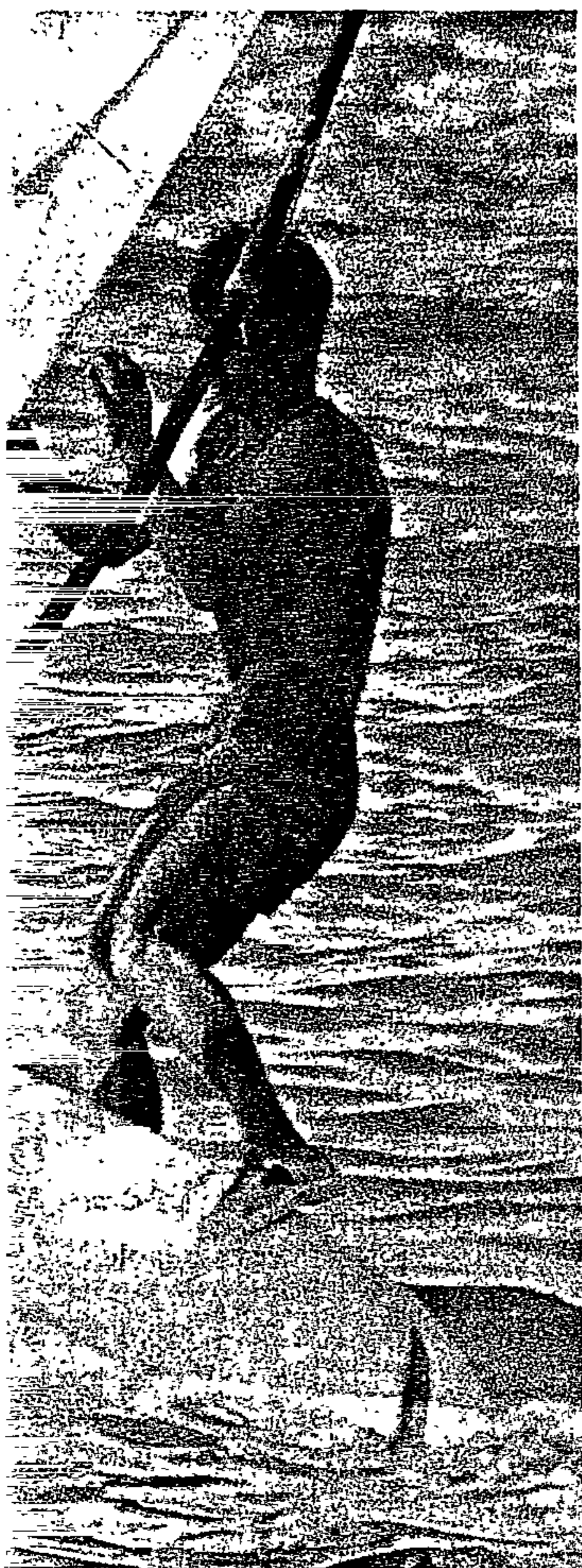
"There is no authority except from God. Rulers are not a terror to good conduct but to bad conduct. Do what is good and you will receive the approval of the ruler. He is God's servant," he said.

After every sentence, Mr Botha received great applause. But it was doubtful

whether many heard what he said, because of the bad sound system.

He said the Government was aware of its responsibility towards God and man.

"We are convinced of the necessity to to recognise and protect freedom of faith and worship."



a "rail ride" in almost windless conditions
tional Windsurfer Class Championships
ner of this event and was fourth-placed
in Australia. ● Results of yesterday's
page

Picture: Dan Bosman

PFP slates 'repressive actions'

APL
Times
11/4/85

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

304A

THE government was destroying whatever reforms it might envision for South Africa's future through its repressive short-term actions, the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, charged yesterday.

In a wide-ranging attack on the government's economic and political policies during the Budget debate in the House of Assembly, the Progressive Federal Party leader said: "You cannot arbitrarily ban individuals, meetings, movements and then say 'Come out and talk about peace and the future', especially if that future is conditioned by loss of South African citizenship and influx control."

Instead of introducing reforms to deal with the causes of crisis in the country, the government repeatedly resorted to the "laborious process" of setting up commissions of inquiry, he said.

An 'over-commissioned' country

Dr Slabbert claimed that South Africa had become one of the most "over-commissioned" countries in the world precisely because the government did not know what its plan was for the future.

He challenged government ministers — without success — to give an assurance that:

- Black people would become citizens of South Africa on the same basis as whites, coloureds and Indians.

- People who were not white would be free to move about in search of employment and housing on the same basis as whites.

What was needed to create political and economic stability in South Africa was a declaration of intent that the government was prepared to give all the country's people a part in governing, without domination by any single group, with a common citizenship and the removal of all statutory discrimination.

Turning to the government's economic policies, Dr Slabbert said the competing needs of security and economic growth had consistently been mismanaged "with almost dedicated ineptitude".

However, South Africa was no longer prepared to pay the price for the government's policies which had fuelled inflation, unemployment and the threat of disinvestment.

"Bad politics creates a bad economy and vice-versa," he said.

- Budget no aid in job crisis, page 4

PFP slates 'repressive actions'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

CAPE
TIMES
11/4/85
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● Budget no aid in job crisis, page 4

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1st Grade
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mission of Persons to the Republic Regulation Act, No 59 of 1972, are informed of their right to appeal in terms of section 6 of the said Act; if not, (a) why not and (b) in what manner can they learn of this right of appeal; if so, (i) when are they informed, (ii) who informs them and (iii) in what manner are they informed;

- (2) whether these persons are provided with legal assistance for the purposes of this appeal; if not, why not; if so, (a) in what manner do they qualify for such legal assistance and (b) what is the nature of this assistance?

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

- (1) Yes.

- (a) and (b) Fall away.

- (i) When the notices that they have been declared prohibited persons, are served on them.

- (ii) The immigration officers who issue the said notices.

- (iii) In writing as required by Act 59 of 1972.

- (2) No, because Act 59 of 1972 does not make provision for such assistance.

- (a) and (b) Fall away.

389. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

How many voters were registered in (a)

each constituency, (b) each province and (c) the Republic as at 31 December 1984?

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

(a), (b) and (c) See annexures A, B and C.

ANNEXURE A

WHITES

PROVINCE OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

| Constituency | Number of voters |
|---------------------|------------------|
| Albany | 15 828 |
| Algoa | 18 309 |
| Alhwal | 11 187 |
| Beaufort West | 9 967 |
| Bellville | 15 425 |
| Caledon | 13 271 |
| Ceres | 10 641 |
| Claremont | 16 949 |
| Constantia | 18 822 |
| Craddock | 10 844 |
| De Aar | 10 575 |
| De Kuilen | 18 593 |
| Durbanville | 19 634 |
| George | 17 258 |
| Gordonia | 11 086 |
| Graaff-Reinet | 10 111 |
| Green Point | 14 040 |
| Groote Schuur | 16 239 |
| Helderberg | 18 998 |
| Humansdorp | 15 070 |
| Cape Town Gardens | 17 002 |
| Kimberley North | 15 207 |
| Kimberley South | 15 864 |
| King William's Town | 16 502 |
| Kuruman | 10 772 |
| Maitland | 18 741 |
| Malmesbury | 17 295 |
| Mosselbay | 13 248 |
| Namakwaland | 10 574 |
| Newton Park | 17 494 |
| East London North | 16 827 |
| East London City | 17 150 |

Constituency

Number of voters

Constituency

Number of voters

| | | | |
|------------------------|---------|-----------------|---------|
| Oudtshoorn | 12 910 | Umbilo | 17 218 |
| Paarl | 16 030 | Umfelozi | 13 573 |
| Parow | 17 213 | Umtlanga | 15 982 |
| Piketberg | 14 895 | Umtlatuzana | 18 447 |
| Pinelands | 16 617 | Umlazi | 19 526 |
| Port Elizabeth North | 16 268 | Vryheid | 15 186 |
| Port Elizabeth Central | 15 606 | | |
| Prieska | 9 804 | Province: Total | 341 297 |
| Queenstown | 12 564 | | |
| Sea Point | 17 143 | | |
| Simons town | 19 060 | | |
| Sundays River | 13 068 | | |
| Stellenbosch | 14 736 | | |
| Swellendam | 11 978 | | |
| Tygervallei | 18 034 | | |
| Litenhage | 15 801 | | |
| False Bay | 16 992 | | |
| Vasco | 16 422 | | |
| Vryburg | 10 604 | | |
| Walmer | 16 978 | | |
| Walvis Bay | 4 603 | | |
| Wellington | 17 357 | | |
| Worcester | 14 745 | | |
| Wynberg | 16 895 | | |
| Province: Total | 835 846 | | |

ORANGE FREESTATE

House of Assembly

Number of voters

| | |
|--------------------|---------|
| Bethlehem | 15 066 |
| Bloemfontein North | 17 761 |
| Bloemfontein East | 19 217 |
| Bloemfontein West | 17 355 |
| Fauresmith | 10 294 |
| Heilbron | 14 143 |
| Kroonstad | 16 203 |
| Ladybrand | 14 322 |
| Parys | 17 673 |
| Sasolburg | 19 238 |
| Smithfield | 13 643 |
| Virginia | 19 019 |
| Welkom | 21 697 |
| Winburg | 14 600 |
| Province: Total | 230 231 |

NATAL

Constituency

Number of voters

Provincial Council

Number of voters

| | | | |
|------------------------|---------|---------------|--------|
| Amanzimtoti | 17 320 | Harris Smith | 7 524 |
| Berea | 16 741 | Witteberge | 7 542 |
| Durban North | 18 223 | Signal Hill | 9 040 |
| Durban Point | 17 716 | Waverley | 8 721 |
| Durban Central | 17 416 | Brandkop | 11 344 |
| Greytown | 18 428 | Raadzaal | 7 873 |
| Klip River | 15 064 | Universitas | 8 055 |
| Mooi River | 15 660 | Wilgehof | 9 300 |
| Newcastle | 17 702 | Boshof | 5 235 |
| Pietermaritzburg North | 17 817 | Jagersfontein | 5 059 |
| Pietermaritzburg South | 17 976 | Frankfort | 7 397 |
| Pinetown | 18 190 | | |
| Port Natal | 18 450 | | |
| South Coast | 14 662 | | |
| Province: Total | 230 231 | | |

1051

THURSDAY, 11 APRIL 1985

1052

| Provincial Council | Number of voters | Constituency | Number of voters |
|--------------------|------------------|--------------------------|------------------|
| Vrede | 6 746 | Johannesburg North | 19 269 |
| Henneman | 8 319 | Johannesburg West | 20 688 |
| Valsrivier | 7 884 | Kempton Park | 20 807 |
| Clocolan | 7 353 | Klerksdorp | 21 942 |
| Senekal | 6 969 | Koedoespoort | 20 956 |
| Bothaville | 8 134 | Krugerdsorp | 22 534 |
| Vredetfort | 9 539 | Langlaagte | 20 451 |
| Badrif | 9 946 | Lichtenburg | 17 254 |
| Viljoendrift | 9 292 | Losberg | 19 581 |
| Onze Rust | 6 985 | Lydenburg | 15 074 |
| Zastron | 6 658 | Maraisburg | 19 343 |
| Sand River | 9 419 | Meyerton | 22 570 |
| St Helena | 9 600 | Middelburg | 22 494 |
| Bedela | 10 651 | Modderfontein | 23 002 |
| Odendaalsrus | 11 046 | Nelspruit | 19 208 |
| Brandfort | 7 873 | Nigel | 20 373 |
| Bultfontein | 6 727 | North Rand | 24 556 |
| | | Overvaal | 22 078 |
| | | Parktown | 18 234 |
| | | Pietersburg | 18 730 |
| | | Potchefstroom | 19 134 |
| | | Potgietersrus | 19 389 |
| | | Pretoria East | 25 518 |
| | | Pretoria Central | 18 877 |
| | | Pretoria West | 24 516 |
| | | Primrose | 20 352 |
| | | Randburg | 20 472 |
| | | Randfontein | 21 313 |
| | | Rissik | 18 673 |
| | | Rodeplaat | 22 556 |
| | | Rodepoort | 19 288 |
| | | Rosettenville | 20 533 |
| | | Rustenburg | 21 767 |
| | | Sandton | 22 533 |
| | | Schweizer-Reneke | 15 827 |
| | | Soutpansberg | 16 797 |
| | | Springs | 18 767 |
| | | Standerton | 18 584 |
| | | Stilfontein | 19 282 |
| | | Sunnyside | 18 707 |
| | | Turffontein | 21 916 |
| | | Vanderbijlpark | 21 337 |
| | | Ventersdorp | 15 942 |
| | | Vereeniging | 20 477 |
| | | Verwoerdburg | 23 053 |
| | | Waterberg | 16 593 |
| | | Waterkloof | 19 779 |

TRANSVAAL

| Constituency | Number of voters |
|--------------------------|------------------|
| Alberton | 20 461 |
| Barberton | 17 074 |
| Benoni | 19 941 |
| Bethal | 26 122 |
| Bezuidenhout | 21 438 |
| Boksburg | 21 465 |
| Brakpan | 19 839 |
| Brentwood | 21 419 |
| Brits | 16 475 |
| Bryanston | 19 812 |
| Carletonville | 21 246 |
| Delmas | 20 659 |
| Edenvale | 19 874 |
| Ermedo | 17 535 |
| Florida | 19 096 |
| Geduld | 21 033 |
| Germiston | 20 438 |
| Germiston District | 20 387 |
| Gezina | 19 939 |
| Helderkrui | 22 793 |
| Hercules | 22 145 |
| Hillbrow | 19 711 |
| Houghton | 20 552 |
| Innesdal | 19 379 |
| Jepe | 23 327 |

HOA

1053

THURSDAY, 11 APRIL 1985

1054

| Constituency | Number of voters | Constituency | Number of voters |
|-----------------------|------------------|--------------------------|------------------|
| Westdene | 20 114 | Mamré | 15 249 |
| Witbank | 22 111 | Manenberg | 9 490 |
| Wonderboom | 21 744 | Matroosfontein | 12 828 |
| Yeoville | 20 223 | Mid Karoo | 11 664 |
| | | Mitchells Plain | 13 267 |
| | | Northern Cape | 9 953 |
| Province: Total | 1 547 478 | North Eastern Cape | 10 312 |
| | | Nuweveld | 14 322 |
| | | Ottery | 13 290 |
| | | Outeniqua | 22 155 |
| | | Paarl | 14 959 |
| | | Ravensmead | 11 374 |
| | | Rawsonville | 15 709 |
| | | Retreat | 12 478 |
| | | Rietvlei | 9 529 |
| | | Riversdal | 13 594 |
| | | Robertson | 11 719 |
| | | Schauderville | 15 869 |
| | | Silvertown | 10 533 |
| | | Springbok | 9 113 |
| | | Steinkopf | 11 818 |
| | | Strandfontein | 8 789 |
| | | Southern Cape | 7 751 |
| | | Suurbraak | 12 615 |
| | | Swartkops | 21 565 |
| | | Swartland | 14 991 |
| | | Table Mountain | 5 644 |
| | | Uppington | 13 969 |
| | | Fish River | 13 229 |
| | | Vredendal | 10 049 |
| | | Wuppertal | 10 470 |
| | | Province: Total | 774 969 |

ANNEXURE B
COLOUREDPROVINCE OF THE CAPE OF GOOD
HOPE

| Constituency | Number of voters | Constituency | Number of voters |
|-----------------------|------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| Addo | 12 040 | Durban Suburbs | 5 056 |
| Belhar | 16 097 | Greenwood Park | 7 250 |
| Berg River | 13 826 | Natal Mid-East | 6 855 |
| Bethelsdorp | 20 613 | Natal Interior | 5 061 |
| Bishop Lavis | 13 683 | Wentworth | 9 704 |
| Bokkeveld | 12 451 | | |
| Bonteheuvel | 10 681 | Province: Total | 33 926 |
| Bristown | 13 087 | | |
| Daljosaphat | 4 754 | | |
| Diamant | 18 478 | | |
| Diaz | 15 512 | | |
| Dysseldorp | 17 969 | | |
| Elsies River | 12 923 | | |
| Essellen Park | 14 479 | | |
| Gelvandale | 21 766 | | |
| Genadendal | 8 108 | | |
| Grassy Park | 14 123 | | |
| Border | 16 579 | | |
| Griqualand West | 9 719 | | |
| Haarlem | 12 968 | | |
| Hanover Park | 16 450 | | |
| Hantam | 11 641 | | |
| Hawson | 11 874 | | |
| Heideveld | 9 760 | | |
| Kalahari | 12 611 | | |
| Karoo | 12 238 | | |
| Kasselsvlei | 14 067 | | |
| Liesbeeck | 6 100 | | |
| Macassar | 15 115 | | |

NATAL

Number of
voters

HOA

1055 THURSDAY, 11 APRIL 1985

1056

ORANGE FREE STATE

| Constituency | Number of voters | Constituency | Number of voters |
|---------------------|------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| Heidelberg | 3 615 | Arena Park | 10 681 |
| Eastern Free State | 3 902 | Bayview | 10 296 |
| Opkoms | 3 857 | Brickfield | 12 329 |
| Southern Free State | 4 911 | Campertown | 9 517 |
| Western Free State | 3 951 | Cavendish | 13 446 |
| | | Chatsworth Central | 11 380 |
| | | Clare Estate | 11 798 |
| Province: Total | 20 236 | Durban Bay | 7 819 |
| | | Glenview | 11 819 |
| | | Havenside | 10 119 |
| | | Isipingo | 10 766 |
| | | Marianhill | 9 028 |
| | | Merebank | 13 433 |
| | | Montford | 11 157 |
| | | Moeross | 11 468 |
| | | Natal Midlands | 12 907 |
| | | Newholme | 15 826 |
| | | North Coast | 11 793 |
| | | Northern Natal | 12 719 |
| | | Phoenix | 24 520 |
| | | Red Hill | 12 020 |
| | | Reservoir Hills | 11 012 |
| | | Springfield | 12 797 |
| | | Stranger | 12 043 |
| | | Southern Natal | 10 478 |
| | | Tongaat | 10 706 |
| | | Umlingo | 11 753 |
| | | Verulam | 13 766 |
| Province: Total | 81 725 | Province: Total | 349 371 |
| Republic: Total | 910 856 | | |

TRANSVAAL

| Constituency | Number of voters | Constituency | Number of voters |
|--------------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Alrapark | 6 264 | Montford | 11 157 |
| Bosmont | 5 228 | Moeross | 11 468 |
| Eersterus | 11 362 | Natal Midlands | 12 907 |
| Eldorado Park | 12 797 | Newholme | 15 826 |
| Klipspruit West | 10 066 | North Coast | 11 793 |
| Newclare | 9 578 | Northern Natal | 12 719 |
| Northern Transvaal | 1 259 | Phoenix | 24 520 |
| Reigerpark | 9 139 | Red Hill | 12 020 |
| Rust Ter Vaal | 6 927 | Reservoir Hills | 11 012 |
| Toekomsrus | 9 105 | Springfield | 12 797 |
| Province: Total | 81 725 | Stranger | 12 043 |
| Republic: Total | 910 856 | Southern Natal | 10 478 |

ANNEXURE C

INDIANS

PROVINCE OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

TRANSVAAL

| Constituency | Number of voters | Constituency | Number of voters |
|--------------------|------------------|-------------------------|------------------|
| Malabar | 4 301 | Actonville | 7 804 |
| North Western Cape | 2 596 | Laudium | 9 960 |
| Rylands | 4 220 | Lenasia East | 5 772 |
| Province: Total | 11 117 | Lenasia Central | 5 613 |
| | | Lenasia West | 5 964 |
| | | North Western Transvaal | 10 134 |
| | | Eastern Transvaal | 6 993 |
| | | Central Rand | 9 003 |
| Province: Total | 61 243 | Province: Total | 421 731 |
| Republic: Total | 11 976 | | |

NATAL

| Constituency | Number of voters | Constituency | Number of voters |
|--------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Allandale | 11 976 | Province: Total | 61 243 |
| | | Republic: Total | 421 731 |

HQA

1057

FRIDAY, 12 APRIL 1985

1058

Own Affairs:

White/Coloured/Indian/Black officials

59. Mr J H HOON asked the Minister of the Budget:†

How many (a) White, (b) Coloured, (c) Indian and (d) Black persons are employed as officials in his Department on a (i) permanent and (ii) temporary basis?

The MINISTER OF THE BUDGET:

(i) (a) 394.

(b), (c) and (d) None.

(ii) (a) 95.

(b) and (c) None.

(d) 20.

available. The technicians are still compiling the 1984 statistics. It is anticipated that these statistics will be available in June 1985.

Technikons: students

68. Mr H E J VAN RENSBURG asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

How many students were enrolled in 1984 for courses in each specified department at each technikon falling under the control of his Department?

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

The information requested is not yet available. The technicians are still compiling the 1984 statistics. It is anticipated that these statistics will be available in June 1985.

FRIDAY, 12 APRIL 1985

†Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

Technikons: academic staff

Rail passengers: subsidized fares

67. Mr H E J VAN RENSBURG asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

237. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:

How many (a) White, (b) Coloured, (c) Asian, (d) Black and (e) other members of the academic staff were there in 1984 at each specified technikon falling under the control of his Department?

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

The information requested is not yet

(a) and (b) During November 1984.

HQA

11/10/85 (3048) Cape Times 11/14/85

Tutu 'shocked' at ZCC award to P W Botha

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Nobel Peace Prize-winner and former secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches, has described the presentation of a Moria City Peace Award to the State President, Mr P W Botha, as the "most ridiculous thing" he had ever seen.

Bishop Tutu said he was shocked at the award.

"I really wonder what impression the ZCC (Zion Christian Church) leadership was trying to give when they presented Mr Botha with a peace award. Despite the four-million membership of the ZCC, one can still ask what significant things this church has done for

the community.

"Bishop (Barnabas) Lekganyane (the head) wasted so much of his valuable time with Mr Botha. He should have spent this time talking to relevant leaders of our community," said Bishop Tutu.

He expressed shock at the clapping of hands by millions of the ZCC members after every sentence of Mr Botha's speech.

"Those people kept on clapping their hands as if someone was conducting them even when Mr Botha had not even finished a sentence. To me they look like they were programmed," added Bishop Tutu.

The Azanian Students Movement (AZASM), in a statement by its national deputy president, Mr

Thami Mcerwa, also lashed at the church.

"The ZCC leadership cannot hunt with hounds and run with the hares. They cannot eat their cake and still have it," said Mr Mcerwa.

"The leadership of the ZCC should reconsider its old tradition of association with government representatives which dates back to the days of the late Mr De Wet Nel.

"The black community views the exploitation of a religious service by Mr Botha for his own benefit as the worst of hypocrisy and profanity," the AZASM said.

The ZCC's marriage with Mr Botha's government would in the long run damage the church's image.

Zion Church denies ^{ARGUS} political bias ^{12/4/85}

~~204A~~
Argus Correspondent

PIETERSBURG. — The Zion Christian Church has issued a statement here reaffirming its non-political stance amid speculation on the true significance of last Sunday's mass church gathering at Moria which was addressed by the State President, Mr P W Botha.

The statement, representing an unprecedented move by the church, which in the past has ignored media reaction to its events, reads:

"In view of the wide publicity given to the events at Moria over the Easter weekend and various subsequent reactions, the Zion Christian Church reaffirms that it has no political bias or ambition but is committed to the preaching of the Gospel and the promotion of peace and love among all South Africans.

"Being a Christian church we pray that all who are working for peace and prosperity in our country may experience God's guidance and strength in this task.

"We adhere to the Biblical injunction to respect those set in authority over us, and for this reason it was a privilege to welcome the State President and his wife as our guests on the occasion of our 75th anniversary."

CANC Times 12/4/83 304A D van der Ross.

'Loss of bureaucratic control threat to peace'

Political Staff

THE government appeared to have no control over sections of the bureaucracy which were threatening to destroy whatever hope there was for future peace and stability, the Progressive Federal Party MP for Sandton, Mr David Dalling, said yesterday.

Speaking in the House of Assembly in the Budget debate, Mr Dalling gave three examples of recent bureaucratic actions which he said were bedevilling whatever good intentions the government might have:

- The difficulty experienced at junior bureaucratic level by a large company in obtaining extra telephone lines in spite of assurances given to Mr Dalling by senior civil servants — including the Postmaster-General — that red tape had been cut.

- The incorrect information on the Uitenhage shootings given to the Minister of Law and

Order, Mr Louis le Grange, by the police which resulted in Mr Le Grange giving Parliament an incorrect account of what led to the killing by police of 19 black funeral mourners.

- The apparently uncaring attitude of a Mr Spies, a junior official at the West Rand Administration Board, towards the plight of a white couple in Johannesburg who were employing an "illegal" black woman who has a sick child in need of regular hospital care.

Mr Dalling said he had to ask whether cabinet ministers and their senior officials were really in control of their departments.

"Is the government really governing? And if it is, why are these petty bureaucrats, these junior officers — whether they be from the Department of Communications, or Police or the Department of Co-operation and Development — being allowed to con-

tinue to frustrate and sabotage executive decisions?"

Such people "should be walking the streets looking for jobs, unemployed like the masses they suppress", he said.

Mr Dalling said it seemed that ministers and senior officials were nothing more than "nominal heads sprouting forth policy decisions" which were being deliberately frustrated at lower levels.

Mr P W Botha, in his opening address to Parliament in January, said directives had been given to all departments to improve relations with the people they came into contact with.

But the evidence pointed to "petty tyrants" such as Mr Spies of the WRDB continuing to bedevil the country's future with impunity.

The government had to "take a grip" and rid itself of "those prejudiced drones" who were trying to torpedo efforts to build a better country.

Parliament and Politics

Possible 'new deal' for Natal

CAPE TIMES 12/4/85
Political Staff

THERE is speculation in political circles that the government is considering a "new deal" for Natal in terms of future links and co-operation between the white province and black Kwazulu.

Mr Ray Swart, leader of the Progressive Federal Party in Natal and chief opposition spokesman on homelands, said in an interview yesterday that he intended to press the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, in Parliament for more clarity about the province's future.

He said that with the latest proposals for solving Natal's highly complex consolidation problems currently before the cabinet, there were signs that Nationalists were coming around to the opposition view that land issues in the province would have to be dealt with differently from in any other area.

Pleading with the government for greater "flexibility" in dealing with Natal, he said the situation in the province was different from the rest of the country because of the close inter-relationship between the races living in an intricate jigsaw-puzzle of white and black areas covering the length and breadth of the province.

'Pin Dr Viljoen down'

"I intend to pin Dr Viljoen down on this issue when his department's budget vote is debated in Parliament," said Mr Swart.

"I would urge that the whole question of Natal and its inter-dependence with Kwazulu should be considered in a realistic manner."

The government would have to say soon what its consolidation proposals were.

He also wanted to know if any real consideration was being given to the various recommendations of the Buthelezi Commission which emphasized the feelings of a large cross-section of the people of Natal "in regard to the inter-dependence of Kwazulu and the rest of Natal and the need for a special dispensation to be allowed to operate in the Natal region".

Solutions, he said, should not be imposed on people but reached in consultation with them.

"Only if this approach is followed can there be any hope of our achieving the economic stability and political stability and security which we all seek."

ARGUS 12/14/85 (30011) 250

Dismiss 'prejudiced drones', says Dalling

Parliamentary Staff

THE Government has been urged to dismiss "prejudiced drones" in the public service who sought to torpedo the Government's reform efforts.

Mr Dave Dalling (PFP Sandton) said arrogant, rude, obstructive and racialistic attitudes continued to hold sway in many official circles.

Speaking in the budget debate in the House of Assembly yesterday, he said: "Is the Government really governing? If it is, why are these bureaucrats, these junior officers whether they be from the Department of Communications, or the police, or from the Department of Co-operation and Development — being allowed to continue to frustrate and sabotage executive decisions?"

"Why are such people even still in the employ of the State? They should be sacked. They should be walking the streets looking for jobs. They should be unemployed like the masses they suppress."



Mr Dave Dalling

Referring to Mr Louis le Grange's Department of Law and Order, Mr Dalling asked: "Who runs the police? Is the Minister, whose statements are contradicted by his own men, really in control?"

"Are the senior officers whose directives are ignored really in command? Why is this state of affairs, time after time, tolerated by an apparently impotent executive? Why does the leadership in the police not lead?"

At a time when Government departments were seriously trying to improve race relations, certain "petty tyrants" continued to bedevil the future of the country "with impunity".

Referring to unrest at Uitenhage, Mr Dalling said Mr le Grange had issued a statement related to the events. The Minister had spoken about the police being surrounded, about the throwing of petrol bombs, and about certain "frightening aspects".

"But he was wrong. The police were not surrounded. No petrol bombs were thrown. His own police witnesses have contradicted his statement. He has been made to look like a fool. Some argue that he is a fool, but I prefer to believe he was misinformed."

NM 12/4/85

304 A

~~11A~~ ~~20~~

Botha's bid to widen his black support

THE presence of President P W Botha at the Easter weekend 75th anniversary celebrations of the black separatist Zionist Christian Church (ZCC) underlined a reality which critics of apartheid often ignore: the ruling National Party, with its ideology of separate development, has not been unsuccessful in winning black support.

The difficulty, however, lies not so much in recognising that Mr Botha has won the backing, or at the very least the political neutrality, of sections of the black community. The real problem is to assess the depth and significance of their support, irrespective of whether it is of an active or passive nature.

The first point to make is that the sympathetic alignment of the NP and the ZCC is not new. Dr Piet Koornhof, immediate past Minister of Co-operation and Development, was a visitor to the ZCC headquarters at Zion City before Mr Botha. Judging by reports, he too was enthusiastically received by a huge crowd when the ZCC commemorated its 70th anniversary.

The ZCC is unquestionably a politically conservative force. It preaches obedience to constituted authority, including that of tribal leaders and the controversial 'Homeland' governments established under Pretoria's separate development policy.

The official programme at the ZCC 75th

anniversary gathering carried a politically relevant injunction from Barnabas Lekganyane, the young leader of the ZCC: It read: 'Love and Peace. The key to them is obedience to the laws of the headmen, the Homeland governments and the Government of the Republic of South Africa.'

His message clearly commended the ZCC to Mr Botha, particularly as the spectre of mass disobedience by youths in the black townships continued to haunt him. A similar message was conveyed nearly two decades ago to one of Dr Koornhof's predecessors.

'In our church there is no place for people who undermine the country's security,' Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane's father, Bishop Edward Lekganyane, told the then Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr Daan de Wet Nel, in the mid-1960s.

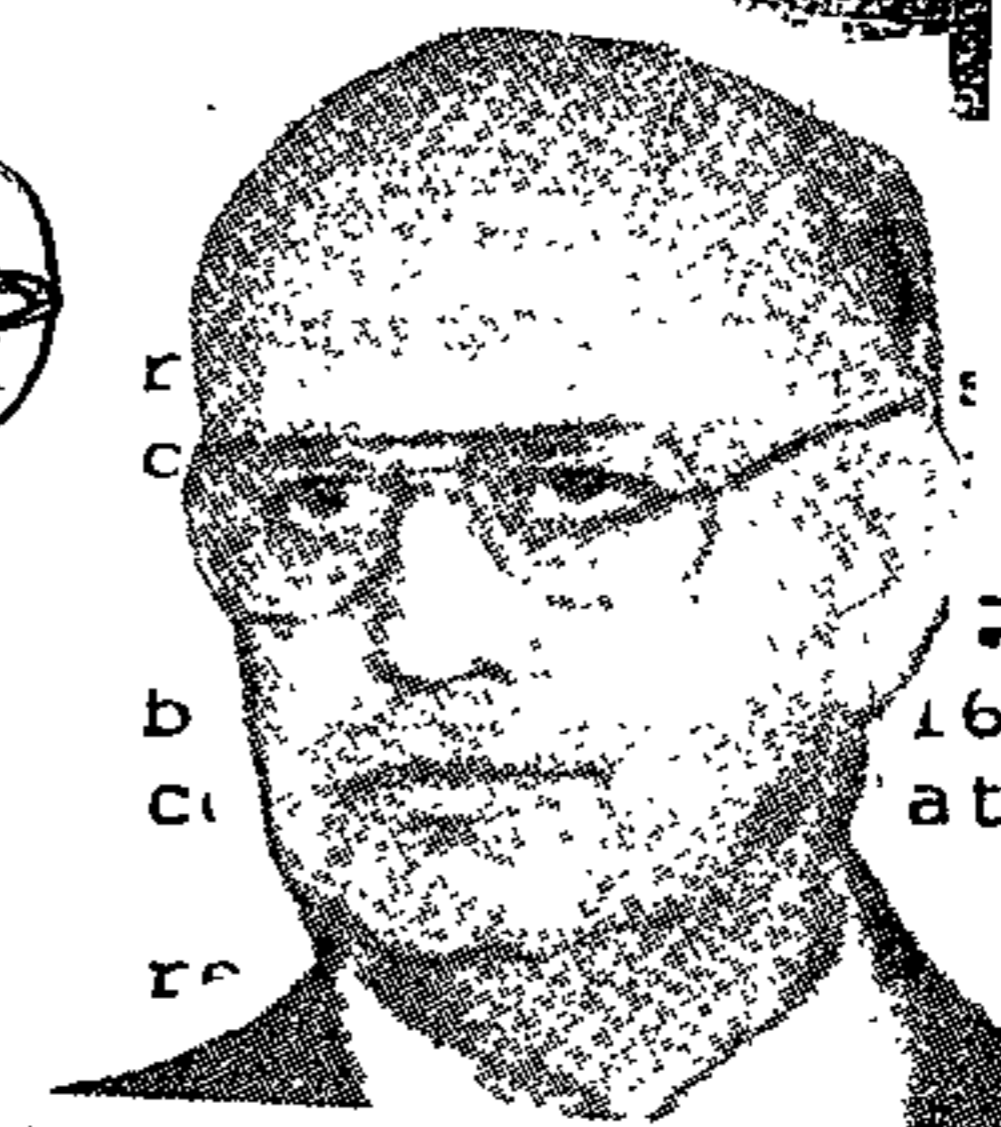
'Besides the punishment imposed on them by the courts for breaking the laws, our church also takes action against them in an appropriate manner,' the bishop added.

The ZCC, then, has been receiving prominent NP leaders over two decades and assuring them of its backing and its opposition to subversion. But that did not prevent the emergence of real and sustained resistance to official policies after the outlawing of the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress 25 years ago in April 1960.

The significance of cheers by millions of disciplined ZCC followers for Mr Botha at Zion City on Sunday should be seen in the context of these historical realities. They are as unlikely to forestall the black opposition today as they were in 1980 or in the 1960s.

But that is not to dismiss the cheers as irrelevant. The support of ZCC in the present crisis is of obvious significance.

At the very least it guarantees the neutrality of the ZCC faithful in the townships, where blacks, especially those that are young and/or unemployed, are increasingly defiant of authority. In some situations it may facilitate the emergence, with official connivance and/or encouragement, of black vigilantes in favour of upholding 'law and order' against the



President Botha... must assess the significance of black support as a threat of anarchy.

Moreover, the invitation to President Botha to address the ZCC on its 75th anniversary was highly pertinent to Pretoria's fight to ward off the threat of disinvestment, and to win allies or confuse opponents in the propaganda war over South Africa in Western countries.

Invitations were extended to newspapers by the South African Defence Force to avail themselves of seats in military aircraft to attend Zion City and report on Mr Botha's presence there as keynote speaker and honoured guest of Bishop Lekganyane.

Mr Botha's attendance at Zion City should be viewed in the same context as his recent discussions with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and leader of the powerful Inkatha movement. Both represent a bid by Mr Botha to widen his support base in the black community.

Chief Buthelezi is in a different category to Bishop Lekganyane: he is a tough-minded politician seeking to drive a hard bargain with President Botha which will push him further away from apartheid and towards an interim *modus vivendi* of shared power between white and black.

The Botha-Buthelezi meeting, held about two months ago, was the first face-to-face dialogue between the two men in more than four years. The previous man-to-man talks took place in January, 1980, when President Botha is said to have offended Chief Buthelezi by waving a finger in his face and admonishing him

for releasing a statement to the Press on the meeting.

Since then Mr Botha and Chief Buthelezi, while continuing their political quarrel, have faced a common and growing challenge from both the banned African National Congress

and the extra-parliamentary but still legal United Democratic Front.

Mr Botha and Chief Buthelezi have both accused the UDF of being a front for the ANC (Chief Buthelezi described the UDF pejoratively as serving as the ANC's 'slimy stepping stone').

Apart from having earned the common enmity of the ANC and UDF, the two men had another factor in common: they are the lead-

Patrick Laurence reports from Johannesburg

ers of South Africa's two most powerful ethnic groups, the Afrikaners and the Zulus.

In these circumstances it is hardly surprising that the two men put aside their pride and met to discuss their differences and to explore the possibility of partial agreement. The talks led to speculation on the birth of an Afrikaner-Zulu alliance of convenience as the dominant political force in the 1990s.



Dr Koornhof... he also received 'love and peace' message

That may be premature. But, like the presence of Mr Botha at Zion City, the Botha-Buthelezi rapprochement is a reminder that the struggle in South Africa is largely one for the allegiance of the black community, and that the Afrikaner-controlled State will not be without black support, however qualified it may be, as long as it has power to wield and patronage to dispense.



Chief Buthelezi... offended during face-to-face talks?

Top S A NM 12/4 85 man's visit upsets Irish

304A Mercury Correspondent

DUBLIN—A visit to Northern Ireland by the South African Ambassador to Britain, Dr Denis Worrall, for talks with local political leaders has provoked a major row on both sides of the Irish border.

In Belfast, two of the political parties, the SDLP and Alliance, have refused to meet Dr Worrall and in Dublin, the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement said it was appalled that the British Government apparently had approved the visit.

Dr Worrall is to have talks with the Northern Ireland Secretary of State, Mr Douglas Hurd, and with Unionist parties during his three-day trip.

He is understood to have been invited to Northern Ireland by Unionist Party representatives whom he met at the British Conservative Party conference in Brighton last October.

The visit was subsequently approved by the British Government.

Speaking in Dublin, Mr John Hume, leader of the SDLP, Northern Ireland's mainly Catholic and Nationalist party said they were boycotting Dr Worrall's visit, because they found it 'distasteful'.

Affiliated

Mr Hume said: 'How could anyone seriously talk to him about the problems of a divided society such as Northern Ireland given the regime he represents? It is distasteful that we should be asked to meet Dr Worrall within days of South African police shooting dead 19 protesters.'

The SDLP is affiliated to the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement.

The movement, in its statement, said the policies of the South African Government 'have rightly been condemned as crimes against humanity'.

The leader of the Official Union, the Rev Martin Smyth, said it was incomprehensible that Mr Hume had recently met the Army Council of the Provisional IRA, the organisation responsible for atrocities in Northern Ireland and Britain, yet refused to talk to the South African Ambassador.

'Slander' of KwaZulu given credence by PFP

African Affairs
Correspondent

ULUNDI—The six Progressive Federal Party Members of Parliament who visited Langa near Uitenhage on March 22 after shooting incidents there, came under attack in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday for allegedly giving credence to the 'slander' against KwaZulu that Zulu detachments of police had gone to Uitenhage to shoot, kill and maim non-Zulus.

The criticism was levelled by the Chief Minister of the region, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He said a report, compiled by Mr Errol Moorcroft, MP for Albany, had stated that black policemen who sealed off

the townships had appeared to be mainly Zulu-speaking.

He said the report continued: 'We detected tremendous resentment among the local Xhosas at the fact that "Gatsha's impi's" or the "Shaka's" as they are called, were being used against them

Highest number

'The wisdom of exploiting and thereby inflaming ethnic rivalries must surely be questioned by even the most insensitive administration.'

Chief Buthelezi said the reporting by the PFP of one of the so-called findings in this manner was deeply offensive.

He said the insinuation that 'Zulu-ness' was used by the Government to

clobber non-Zulus was in the poorest of political taste.

If Zulus comprised the highest number of black members of the South African Police, it should not be surprising.

They were in the police force as members of that force, not as Zulus.

The Chief Minister said the leader of the PFP, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, was presiding over a dangerous development in his party.

Earlier in his policy speech Chief Buthelezi said the KwaZulu Assembly rejected the use of the police as an instrument of enforcing 'obnoxious legislation' on black South Africa.

The use of the police to curb political development in black townships was brought about by the fact that black people did not believe the Government was serious about real reform.

Little Carolina rebuffs Botha

W/15/11/64 13/4/65 3048
By DAVID BREIER, Political Staff.

PRESIDENT P W BOTHA has been rebuffed by the little Eastern Transvaal town of Carolina. It has withdrawn its invitation to him to become a freeman next year.

The withdrawal of the invitation is the result of Conservative Party opposition to any attempt to honour Mr Botha during the town's centenary year.

This development emphasises the growing rejection of Mr Botha and the National Party in traditional Nationalist plateland territory now increasingly dominated by the CP.

Although he is State President, Mr Botha retains his leadership of the National Party, unlike previous State Presidents, who were non-political figures.

The withdrawal of the invitation is especially embarrassing as Mr Botha had said he would attend the ceremony in June next year.

Mr Dirk Taljaard, a member of the Carolina Town Council and CP member who opposed the granting of the freedom of the town to Mr Botha, said: "For me, the State President is no longer a non-political figure. More than 70 percent of the people of Carolina do not belong to the NP."

Mr Hennie Combrinck, a member of the council who supports the NP, disclosed that after it became evident the town was divided on the issue, he too opposed the granting of the freedom of Carolina to Mr Botha so as not to embarrass him.

Mr Combrinck intends asking the Administrator of the Transvaal, Mr Willem Cruywagen, for a commission to investigate the affairs of the town council.

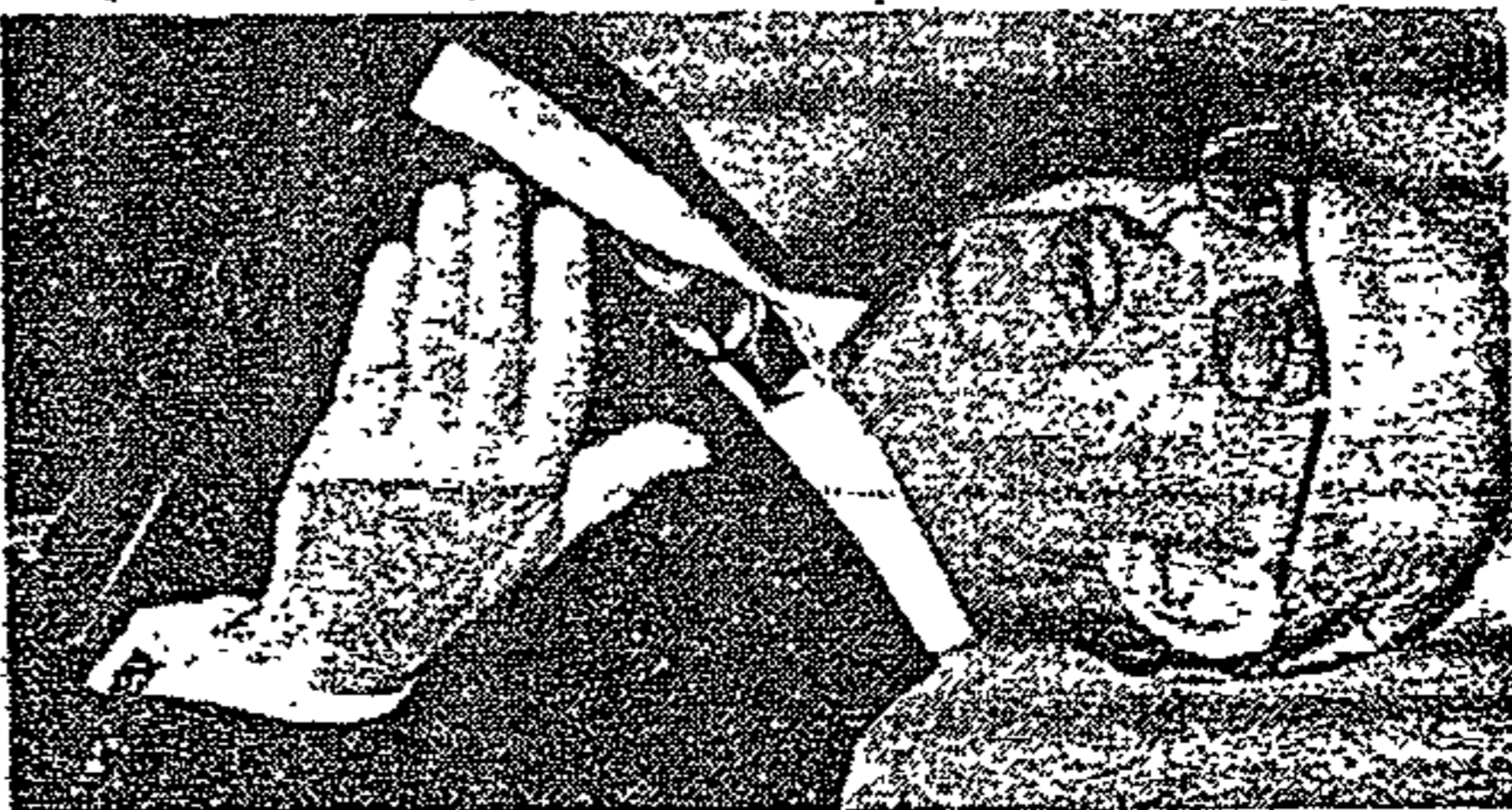
Two of the nine Carolina town councillors were absent from the meeting in November last year when it was decided to invite Mr Botha to receive the freedom of the town. Of the

seven who attended, four supported the move and three opposed it. The invitation was then forwarded to Mr Botha, who accepted it.

But last month the council met again and this time five of the eight councillors present opposed the item and the invitation was withdrawn.

Although the council has so far been officially non-political, the CP plans to fight by-elections under its own banner.

The town of Carolina falls in the Barberton parliamentary constituency. The local MP is Mr Casper Uys of the CP.



Mr P W Botha

Parliament and Politics

Blacks' leaders: 'No democracy'

Cape Times 13/4/85 (304A)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government stood condemned of "criminal neglect" for its failure to allow black people to determine their own leaders by democratic means, the chairman of the PFP's caucus, Dr Alex Boraine, charged yesterday.

"For decades the aspirations and political demands of blacks were not regarded (by the government) as important and therefore the machinery for the election of leaders was unnecessary.

"It is this dereliction of political duty which has brought us to the present confusion and disarray."

Speaking during the Budget debate, Dr Boraine said that because of the political vacuum created by the government's neglect, black leaders were to be found not in the political arena so much as in the church, the trade unions and community organizations.

The government urgently needed to move beyond the practices of appointing, selecting and acknowledging black leadership and create the necessary machinery to give a clear indication of who the genu-



Dr Alex Boraine
ine black leaders really were.

"This government has for so long made decisions for so many it will find it very difficult to break out of this mode of thinking and commit itself to genuine political rights for blacks through genuine negotiation with elected leaders.

"Playing constitutional meccano while townships burn and polarization hardens is some which South Africa simply cannot afford."

Dr Boraine emphasized that genuine political rights for blacks was the most pressing issue confronting the government.

"This has been a central problem since at least 1910 but recent tragic events have given greater urgency to this question against which all other problems pale

into insignificance."

The government had "at long last" acknowledged that blacks have to be afforded genuine political rights not linked with the homelands, but it was still unclear what the content and extent of these political rights would be.

In addition, the announcement by the State President that a forum for talks with blacks would be established indicated that the government had conceded that some form of national convention was both desirable and inevitable.

Dr Boraine said the way in which Mr P W Botha had made an offer of freedom to ANC leader Nelson Mandela had only brought greater confusion.

"To send him a copy of his speech from Hansard was no way to engender serious dialogue. Surely he could have met with Nelson Mandela and personally discussed the dilemmas facing all leaders in South Africa today.

"And why impose conditions? His political activity is subject to the laws of the land and therefore would have to be non-violent otherwise he would not be allowed to function."

Saturday April 13 1985

POSITIVE PERSPECTIVES

Striving to restore the balance

Seldom has it been so necessary for all South Africans to show optimism and courage.

We look at a few of the good things in our country in this special section today — not to strike a chord of false optimism — but to help restore the balance to a picture that has been distorted by lack of confidence and mass frustration.

Inevitably, in times even of tentative change, there is instability. When there is instability the public and the news media tend to focus almost exclusively on the disruptions and the disasters which it causes. This is a natural reaction, if a shortsighted one. And naturally we begin to get things out of focus.

We forget that instability is part of the process of change and therefore need not be the status quo which some enjoyed in the past.

We forget that reform does not change the good things that exist, even in a country cursed with apartheid.

We forget that difficulties and challenges bring out the best in many people.

We forget that some of the victories over racism which have been won, and which, as Bishop Tutu points out in this issue, are themselves reasons for optimism.

It is time to remember these things. As we said when we published our first 'Positive Perspectives' a year ago, if we can keep our perspective and act positively, the seemingly insurmountable problems created

• To Page 2



SPECIAL REPORT: Looking at some of SA's achievements

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Positive Perspectives, a special publication which looks at some of South Africa's positive achievements, is published in The Star, Johannesburg, The Daily News, Durban and The Argus, Cape Town.

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Striving to restore the balance

● From Page 1

ed by prejudice and racism may become manageable.

With the object of restoring the balance — and no more — we have again accepted the invitation of a private, multi-national association known as Inter-Group to produce the following pages.

The selection of topics does not miss the warts, even on this selective good face.

There are 18 commercial sponsors of this project. Their names appear on this page. They have placed no advertisements and given no messages. Each was persuaded by

Inter-Group to support this annual project without seeing its content.

To ensure our normal editorial independence, and to strive for objectivity, the sponsors have been kept in the dark even as to the subjects covered.

We repeat our words of last year: "These pages focus on constructive trends which encourage hope and restore a little pride."

"If this edition inspires other men and women of different races to act positively for the good of all, it will have served its purpose."

— EDITOR

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Bishop Tutu:

"When we look at the South African situation there seems to be little to give cause for optimism. It seems that we have more than enough evidence to crawl into a slough of despondency. But, there is heartening evidence on the other side . . . We have a glorious country which has it in itself and its people the potential to be a wonderful country — God's own country when we accept one another for who we are — those created in God's image and therefore South Africans, all of us, black and white together."

● PAGE 3



R S K Tucker:

"We can control the landings of spacecraft on distant planets but we are unable to control the disintegration of the family unit. We are promised the perfect life in space colonies but cannot manage our cities . . . No increase in material wealth will compensate people for arrangements which insult their self-respect and impair their freedom . . . The time has come to follow those who have already adopted a value system other than mere bottom line profit maximization."

● PAGE 8



F J C Cronje:

"Cultural, social and political impediments combine to prevent South Africa taking off as a medium-sized industrial country — despite our surplus manpower and favourable natural resources. The alternative, with the fast population growth of the less skilled and educated sectors of the population, is endemic unemployment. Fast population growth, if standards of living are not rising fast, can be stopped only in powerful and absolute dictatorships. There is no political choice but to remove these impediments."

● PAGE 8

INSIDE

Hope amidst the smoke

Incessant rioting in black townships, continued security police crackdown on internal dissidents, an economy battered and depressed, and the international campaign against South Africa escalating ominously. Seldom has the outlook for South Africa appeared more gloomy. Yet in the midst of despair there is optimism and hope. There is a new spirit of reform and conciliation strutting the political stage.

● PAGE 5

Steps to consensus

The tricameral Parliament has always had enormous potential for deadlock and confrontation. But surprising movement has taken place and unexpected victories won, suggesting that there has already been significant movement towards consensus.

● PAGE 6

The new democracy

The industrial democracy in South Africa has grown rapidly, and is maturing as a useful participant in the free enterprise and political systems in South Africa. It serves as a training ground for South Africans, enabling them to participate fully in the political democracy which is currently being expanded.

● PAGE 9

Help with the law

The legal system and particularly the administration of law can sometimes weigh down heavily on those who have not the power and resources to avoid exploitation and unlawful practices. But there is an answer — legal aid. It is a system of services provided by individuals, law firms and organisations to redress the imbalance in law between the weak and the powerful — to balance the scales of justice.

● PAGE 10

The gift of literacy

"Mr Dlamini, Thank you very much that I can read and write Zulu. I thank you Mr Dlamini for opening this school, and also for the teacher you gave us. My children and my friends are amazed that I can write now . . ."

The words of a man who was once illiterate.

● PAGE 15

Discovering their unity

For the first time every sportsman is saying with one voice that apartheid must go . . . that they are committed to eradicating racism and statutory measures inhibiting racial equality in sport.

● PAGE 20

MAN OF PEACE

Hope for our land



People opposed to war

By Bishop Desmond Tutu

It is perfectly possible for two people to look at what seems to be the same reality and to have two totally contradictory perceptions.

One will despairingly see but a half-empty bottle, while the other will enthuse about a bottle that is still half full.

When we look at the South African situation there seems to be little to give cause for optimism. We are in the throes of a biting recession that is playing havoc with our economy. Many are being retrenched and some of the unemployed have committed suicide rather than look on while their families bear the brunt of lack of support.

Thousands of black pupils are boycotting classes and the reports of fatalities because of endemic unrest are apparently leaving many in our beloved land cold or unconcerned.

Irresolute

It is not clear just what the Government intends to do, for we hear one thing one day and a step taken the following day nullifies what might well have been a significant move towards resolving a distressing national crisis.

Just when nearly everybody is about to get euphoric because of the Government's overtures to the ANC and Nelson Mandela, comes the inexplicable swoop on the UDF leadership which wipes out in one stroke any gains that the State President's speech might have made.

This Government seems to have an extraordinary capacity for shooting itself in the foot.

There is a disturbing escalation of violence in South Africa typified by the bizarre incident of motorists killing each other in shooting duels after quarrelling on our motorways.

It seems that we have more than enough evidence to crawl into a slough of despondency. But, wait — we must not do that yet. There is heartening evidence on the other side. This is not trying to make virtue of necessity or a kind of whistling in the dark.

Heartened

Aren't you heartened by the very existence of something such as the UDF — a non-racial coalition at a time when you would have thought racism was very much on the ascendant?

I won't easily forget the UDF rally in the Jabulani Amphitheatre to celebrate our Nobel Peace Prize. The stadium was packed to the skies. There were many, many young people (very radical, so conventional wisdom has it) and it was exciting to watch that sea of faces of different colours and races on a highly emotionally charged occasion — black and white together.

What tremendous hope for our land I saw then. Aren't you made to thrill with renewed hope when you see young people so opposed to war and so dedicated to peace that they are willing to pay a heavy price as conscientious objectors, involved in the End Conscription Campaign?

Hopeful signs

Don't you get more hope-filled as you observe the leaders of the business community suddenly discovering that they have tongues and are speaking out about the need to dismantle apartheid quickly, urging the Government in an unprecedented step to match effective action to their declared intentions?

For me one of the most hopeful signs in race-obsessed South Africa is that a black General Secretary of the SACC (with an 80 percent black constituency) was succeeded by a white Afrikaner member of the DRC and a former member of the Broederbond.

We have a glorious country which has it in itself and its people to be a wonderful country — God's own country when we accept one another for who we are — those created in God's image and therefore South Africans, all of us, black and white together.

THE MARCH OF CHANGE

Mandela offer:
point-scoring?

By Gary van Staden

In 1964, after a massive treason trial hearing which the media had dubbed as the Rivonia Trial, Nelson Mandela, a member of the African National Congress high command, was convicted on charges of sabotage and sent to jail for life.

For the next 20 years South African Prime Ministers and their governments refused to accept that he even existed. The man, they said, was a terrorist — not a legitimate leader in the black community.

But then, first under John Vorster and later under his successor Mr P W Botha, the South African Government began to make increasing use of the word "reform".

A limited franchise was extended to the so-called coloured and Indian population groups in South Africa, influx control, the Group Areas Act, the Immorality Act and a few petty apartheid restrictions were eased or removed.

But reform has become a debate within a debate and many people still claim that the country has not changed at all.

The issue is whether South Africa has seen change which moves only sideways or whether real forward progress has been made.

To create a perception of forward movement required a commitment from the Government to talk to the ANC and to Nelson Mandela, or at least to be seen as willing to try. The admission of that fact was the first positive step the white minority Government had taken in years.

Yes, State President P W Botha seemed to admit, the ANC and Nelson Mandela are factors and, yes, we have no alternative but to talk to them... from that moment on the issue sank to the depths of a political point-scoring exercise and a great opportunity was lost — perhaps forever.

The Government said that it was not unreasonable to ask a man about to become part of a democratic process to renounce violence as a means of effecting political and social change.

But was it really as simple as all that? The first retort from Mr Mandela's supporters was: "Democratic process? What democratic process?"

That aside, Mr Mandela had spent over four hours in the Rivonia dock attempting to explain



MR P W BOTHA: Mandela had to reject his offer.



BOMB BLAST: this and other acts are used to try to force social change.

Opening the door

why he and the ANC had resorted to violence in the first place. That statement from the dock had been a desperate plea: "Do not force people who want only their freedom to resort to violence to achieve it."

So what was asked of Mr Mandela before he could be released was much more than to renounce violence. He was being asked to deny all he had said in that Rivonia dock 20 years before, that he had turned to violence not because he had no other choice but because he wanted to.

After what must have been days of agonising thought Mr Mandela gave his answer: he chose to stay in jail.

Most white South Africans seemed to think that Mr Mandela was not really interested in a peaceful solution to the apartheid dilemma at all.

The more perceptive people wanted to know whether Mr Mandela would not have served the interests of his people in a more tangible manner had he accepted the offer.

The question cannot be ignored, but it would also be unfair to consider his motives without considering what would have been uppermost in his mind.

He would have given very careful consideration to the effects his release would have had on the organisation for which he has undoubtedly made so many sacrifices. The truth probably lies close to the claim by many of Mr Mandela's supporters that to accept the offer would have torn the ANC apart.

The organisation is already deeply divided on the issue of violence and to what levels its urban insurgency campaign

should be restricted. The ANC, like any other political organisation, has its hardline elements and its moderates. For Mr Mandela to have taken sides at so critical a time, could have split the organisation.

Supporters of the Government stand say that there was no other choice as it would have been irresponsible to release into society a man who remained committed to violence as a means of bringing about political change.

Mr Mandela's supporters on the other hand say — with equal conviction — that the conditions imposed on Mr Mandela's release were there to ensure that he didn't accept the offer.

The answer they say, would have been to release Mr Mandela without condition. They could always re-arrest him and seek a conviction through the courts if

he strayed from the legal path.

The SA Government's offer to release Nelson Mandela and to talk to his organisation contains two very positive elements.

Firstly, the fact that the SA Government at last acknowledged the influence of Mr Mandela and the ANC is significant. They did consider releasing him, a man they had feared and resented and this alone is a positive development in a political environment as tense as South Africa's.

Secondly, hopefully lessons have been learned and the next time the South African Government considers releasing Nelson Mandela — and consider it again they will and must — the matter may be handled in a way to guarantee success for all concerned.

That would be a positive perspective indeed.

Forging reform that avoids radical



KNOWN FOR ITS DEEDS: the Urban Foundation has become synonymous with self-help housing schemes and housing provision.

Special Correspondent

It's a far cry from the dusty townships of South Africa to England's Leeds Castle, floating in its moat in the gentle Kentish countryside.

But then Urban Foundation director Mr Jan Steyn has taken his organisation a long way since its birth eight years ago, in the aftermath of the Soweto uprising of 1976.

And to many observers it was no surprise to find him among a group of top South African businessmen at Leeds Castle last month, putting political reform to a gathering of the chief executives of 18 multinational companies with investments in South Africa.

What Mr Steyn said at Leeds is a closely guarded secret. But what took him there is surely the attitude he expressed at the University of Cape Town in December last year — that it is necessary to forge a reform coalition avoiding "radical rightist and

The Urban Foundation is poised to serve the joint interests of business and State. This report looks at its achievements and aims

violent revolutionary philosophies".

At its inception in 1977 the foundation set its aims on "promoting and co-ordinating involvement by the private sector in the improvement of the quality of urban communities in South Africa on a non-political, non-racial basis".

Increasingly, the Urban Foundation has moved to an overtly political position, although it has steered clear of party allegiances. It states unequivocally that its prime interest is in the structural change of South African society and it has become a firm building block in the reform coalition its director envisages.

Mr Steyn has elaborated on what reform entails. Firstly, he says, it implies the elimination of institutionalised racial discrimi-

nation.

Thereafter, a gradual process of transferring economic and political power.

"Third, the elimination of the system of administrative intervention in the liberty of the subject and a return to the supremacy of the law."

And fourthly, maintaining and extending a market-based economy.

Money and support came rolling in for the foundation from the day of its inception from South Africa's largest corporations — both from older "English" and international capital and from the Afrikaner business sector.

By 1984, with Mr Harry Oppenheimer and Dr Anton Rupert heading the board, the Urban Foundation had raised over R52 million in direct contributions.

THE MARCH OF CHANGE

The new spirit of reform



THE UGLINESS AND THE BEAUTY . . . 'reform is accepted as genuine and sincere by all but the most cynical and embittered critics'.

By David Braun

Incessant rioting in black townships, continued security police crackdown on internal dissidents, an economy battered and depressed, and the international campaign against South Africa escalating ominously. Seldom has the outlook for South Africa appeared more gloomy.

Yet in the midst of despair there is optimism and hope. There is a new spirit of reform and conciliation strutting the political stage.

What is so encouraging is that the source of this spirit is at the very highest level of government and that the reform is accepted as genuine and sincere by all but the most cynical and embittered critics.

There is not a lot that one can point to as tangible proof of this reform. It is rather a shift of attitude and a willingness to communicate with all responsible people in the country that is at the core of the reform.

Political reform has been gaining momentum in South Africa for some years. An early sign that it had substance was

the break-away of the Conservative Party from the National Party in 1982.

The effect of this was to purge the governing party of many of its die-hard reactionaries, silencing others who may have resisted progress, and clearing the decks for a sea-change in government policy.

Mr Botha will be remembered

'In the midst of despair there is optimism and hope. There is a new spirit of reform and conciliation strutting the political stage.'

as the man who steered the National Party on the new road out of deep conviction that if he did not do so he would have failed his people and his country.

The CP has prospered in the process and there can be no doubt that if a general election for whites was to be held today the party would win dozens of seats.

The country as a whole, however, remains firmly in favour

of change. The Referendum of 1983 demonstrated that two thirds of even the whites were keen to reform, rejecting purist Verwoerdian apartheid as advocated by the CP in the process.

Through 1984 South Africa implemented its new constitution, extending limited democracy to coloureds and Indians, albeit in a system in which the whites still retained control.

Towards the end of last year, the Coloured and Indian Parliamentary elections over, the Government started to enunciate its reformed policies for blacks.

In October the new Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, surprised the nation when he said at his first Press conference in his new capacity that the Government not only accepted the urbanisation of blacks as inevitable but found it necessary.

This was a complete about-face on the policy of the National Party which had always regarded blacks in white South Africa as "temporary sojourners".

In January this year President Botha opened Parliament with a speech which has since been regarded as a "declaration of intent".

In it he undertook to review policy towards blacks with re-

gard to full property rights in white South Africa, citizenship for blacks, improved co-operation between South Africa and the non-independent homeland states and the creation of an informal non-statutory forum in which black leaders and interest groups could talk with senior government leaders and public servants.

'The authorities seem to have accepted that there must be far-reaching change and that in that process nothing may be sacrosanct.'

Dr Viljoen told Parliament a few days later that the Government was reviewing its entire influx control programme and that forced removals would be frozen.

Since then Dr Viljoen announced that the Crossroads squatter camp near Cape Town would be allowed to remain, but on an up-graded basis, and that 99-year leasehold had been extended to all the major black townships of the Western Cape.

President Botha indicated his willingness to negotiate solutions to the country's problems by offering to release jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and other prisoners in a similar category, on condition that they rejected violence.

Mr Botha went further when he said he would be willing to talk to the ANC itself as long as it too renounced violence as a political instrument.

Almost every week since this session of Parliament started the Government has made some reformist pronouncement or concession, a suspension of a hurtful policy measure here, the reversal of a decision to uproot a community there.

The important question then is: where is all this going to end?

Is it truly going to result in genuine change to make for a more contented society?

Veteran MP Mrs Helen Suzman and other ardent opponents of apartheid say there can be no doubt that we are witnessing substantial change, but a lot, lot more still needs to be done.

There can be no doubt that the process of reform once unleashed creates its own momentum. Where it will all end probably not even the Government knows at this stage.

rightist and revolutionary tactics

In the early years there were those who might have seen the Urban Foundation purely as a development aid organisation — with a particular commitment to self-help and an abhorrence of outright charity.

Known at first by its deeds rather than its words, the Urban Foundation became synonymous with self-help housing schemes, shack up-grading and housing provision for wealthier township residents.

Thereafter it became public knowledge that the Urban Foundation was one of the forces which persuaded the Government to abandon the original trio of "Koornhof Bills" and redraft them. The foundation declared itself satisfied with the first two products of this redraft — the Black Local Authorities Act and the Black Communities Development Act.

Perhaps the Urban Foundation's declaration of support for

"Promoting and co-ordinating involvement by the private sector in the improvement of the quality of urban communities"

the new system of black local authorities, introduced in late 1983, spelled out more clearly than ever before the limits on its prospects for partnership with the black community.

The Urban Foundation has never commanded the support of any black political grouping operating outside of Government-created institutions — it now found itself on the opposite side to them in a bitter battle over the legitimacy of the new councils.

The foundation's public affairs executive Mr Chris du Plessis points out that its commitment to free enterprise has put it at odds with groups which regard the battles of the working class to be central to the fight against

apartheid.

One of the clearly stated objectives of the foundation in recent years has been the promotion of a black middle class.

But it is in relation to the abolition of influx control and the right of black South Africans to occupy the country's cities that the Urban Foundation has become a front-runner in the reform race.

Mr Jan Steyn has switched his role of "honest broker" for that of outright campaigner, appealing to business organisations to influence government, to educate members and to take the lead in dropping racial barriers to the cities.

Research by the Urban Foundation has shown that successful

influx control is an illusion and that urbanisation of the black community is unstoppable.

"From now until the turn of the century the urbanisation of black people is and will remain the single most important factor in the South African economic, social and political environment," argues Mr Steyn.

"The high percentage of GNP produced in our metropolitan areas makes the efficiency and well-being of the cities a fundamental concern of the State and the private sector."

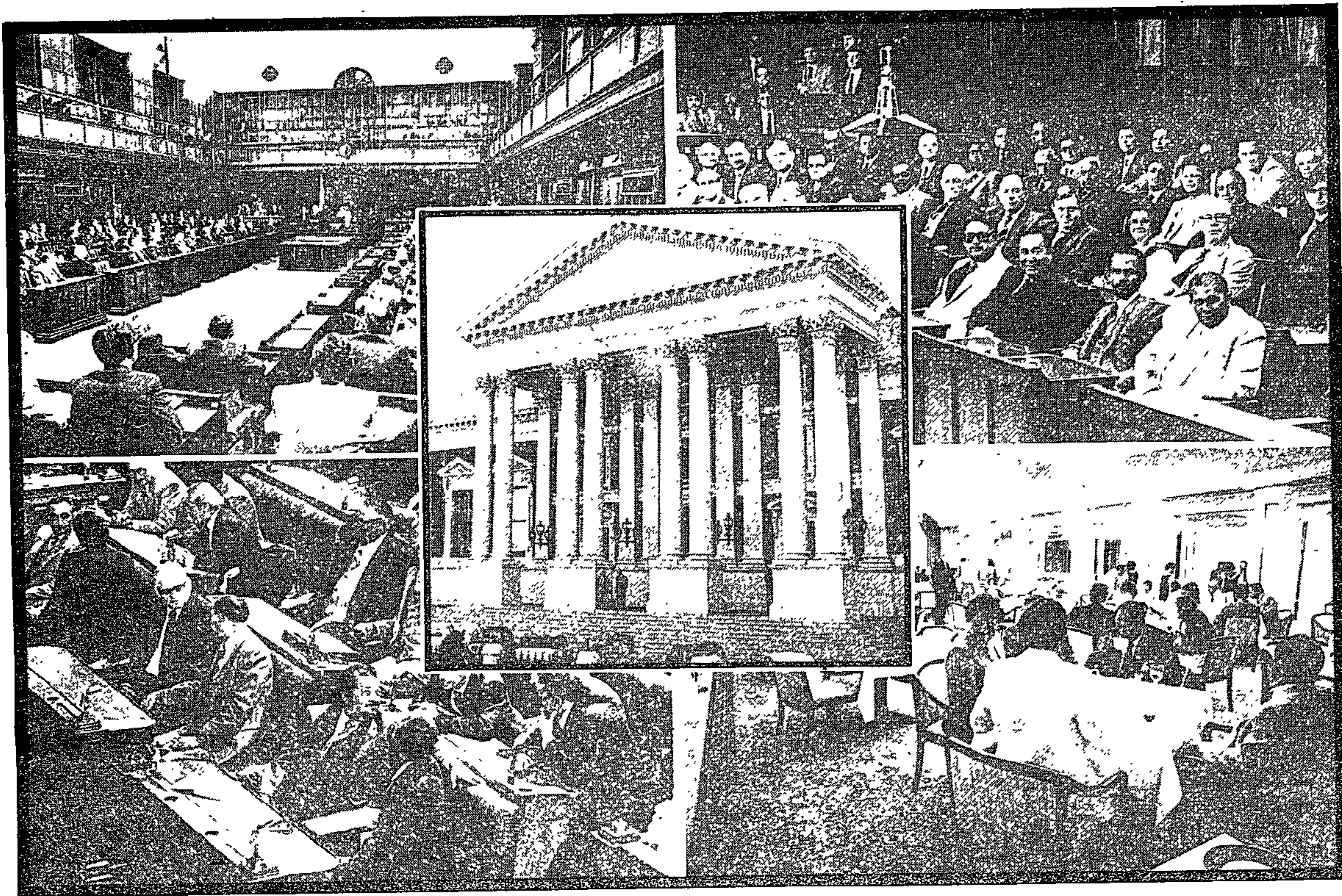
So the Urban Foundation, at the age of eight years, is poised to serve the joint interests of business and Government by putting its expertise to work on a programme of planned and orderly urbanisation — a programme in which its experimental housing and business promotion projects will undoubtedly serve it well.



CAMPAIGNER FOR CHANGE: Mr Jan Steyn, director of the Urban Foundation.

THE MARCH OF CHANGE

First steps to consensus



'New tricameral system is working'

By David Braun

The question most frequently asked in private parliamentary conversations during the first half of the current session was: "Well, what do *you* think. How do you see the new system?"

It was asked by journalists, Cabinet Ministers and MPs of each other time and again. Almost invariably the reply would be: "It is working, I think, in a fashion".

One Minister was heard to mutter that it was not working, because the Government's coloured and Indian junior partners had dared to associate themselves with the demands for the sacking of a Cabinet colleague, Mr Louis le Grange. But when pressed he admitted that were it not for the tricameral system, the Government had no other alternative, except majority rule, and clearly that was not acceptable.

Conservative Party politicians have complained that the system is perhaps working too well, that their worst fears have been realised and people of colour are making decisions for whites.

That the system has been able to work "in a fashion" is due in no small measure to the coloured and Indian parties' willingness to give it a chance, and in their acceptance that the Government will not allow itself to be pressured into moving faster than its supporters will allow.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Chris Heunis, the man who people say is the only one who understands how the system is supposed to work, must also take some credit. He has worked tirelessly behind the scenes, smoothing ruffled feathers here, negotiating a consensus deal there.

The tricameral Parliament has always had enormous potential for deadlock and confrontation.

The system was enthusiastically endorsed by two-thirds of the white electorate (in the 1983

'The coloured and Indian parties made it clear from the outset that they were going into the system to dismantle it from within.'

Referendum) and luke-warmly by the coloured and Indian groups.

The coloured and Indian parties made it clear from the outset that they were going into the system to dismantle it from within. They would not settle for less than the total scrapping of apartheid and they would endeavour to bring about equality in pensions, housing, education and other services for all.

History was made in late January when people of colour took

their seats for the opening of the new Parliament.

From day one, during the No Confidence Debate, the new MPs understandably fumbled with the procedures and conventions of parliamentary democracy.

There was shock and anger when they discovered that private member's motions calling for the scrapping of various discriminatory laws could not be voted on (in terms of convention).

There were remarks that the Coloured and Indian Houses were nothing but talking shops, with no powers, not even to make their own conventions.

But the debates in the junior houses did serve some useful purposes. They allowed decades of pent-up emotions to be released, and there were some excellent and poignant speeches.

They also forced key Ministers, such as the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr F W De Klerk, and Mr Heunis, to sit through lengthy tirades on just how hurt and angry non-white communities were at the hands of Nationalist rule.

The first victory for consensus was scored when the coloureds and Indians in a deal with the Government agreed to drop their insistence on the immediate scrapping of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the Immorality Act, in exchange for referring the matter to a joint parliamentary committee which would make a recommendation before the end of the session.

Most observers, and certainly the coloured and Indian MPs, believe that these laws will be deleted from the statute book before Parliament rises in June.

A second victory was the agreement behind closed doors that if the Government was not able to correct the disparity between social pensions paid to whites, coloureds, Indians and blacks, then each group should at least receive the same rand increase in this year's Budget.

The effect of this was that instead of whites getting an extra R18, coloureds and Indians R10

'The debates allowed decades of pent-up emotions to be released and there were some excellent and poignant speeches.'

and blacks R8, everyone received an increase of R14. This was a major concession by the National Party because it meant giving whites a rise of about eight percent while blacks got closer to 22 percent.

In the standing committees of Parliament, where all the real horse-trading is supposed to take place behind closed doors, there has been very little contentious legislation.

One Bill, which provides for

the formalising of a secret fund for the Police, has been rejected by the House of Delegates. This could cause a deadlock as a General Affairs Bill must be acceded to by all three chambers of Parliament if it is to become law.

Naturally, the Constitution provides for a mechanism for the white-dominated Executive to resolve such a situation and the Bill may be referred to President Botha to decide whether it should be dropped (and it is speculated that he will do just that) or go to the President's Council for a final decision.

What happens in the standing committees of Parliament is secret and not to be talked about, but it is believed that discussions have been friendly and sincerely in the spirit of consensus.

In the President's Council, which has yet to apply its arbitration functions, the open debate between all the parties of Parliament is cordial. The chairman of the Council, Dr Piet Koornhof, says an excellent esprit de corps has been forged between all parties. People of different race groups are able to sit and discuss the problems of the land.

As the coloured and Indian parties settle in and learn the ropes they will doubtless take bolder initiatives to quicken the pace of reform.

For the time being, they say, they are happy with what they have achieved. The system, they add, is working.

IN THE MARKETPLACE

The story of a very gallant gentleman

By Ken Smith

It is true that in the current economic climate (wintery with occasional blizzards) it is easier to sit around the place wailing and wringing one's hands rather than discussing positive perspectives, but there are people who are undaunted by circumstances and maintain a positive approach to all matters, regardless of what the graphs may proclaim.

One such is a silvery-haired old man who wears thick-lensed glasses and whom I know only as Bob. We have never spoken to each other; we have never been introduced; but very occasionally he stops by to have a beer at the pub in which I sometimes unwind.

At birth Bob was blasted by a pitiless and comprehensive force which left him with crippled hands and legs, a speech defect

and poor eyesight. Bob cannot walk — or shuffle — upright. He walks cranked over to one side and his head is permanently inclined to the left. He moves slowly and with difficulty.

For all that, I have seen him from time to time in the city going about his business (whatever that may be) doggedly ploughing along in heavy weather while all others around him are enjoying calm and sparkling seas.

And he voyages on, seemingly unmindful of the stares and whispered comments of curious passers-by.

I was brooding over Bob's tragedy the other day. I was in the pub entertaining an exceedingly expensive beer and he was sitting at the bar, struggling to lift his glass with his crippled hands. You do not attempt to assist Bob. I tried it once when he



was battling to light his cigarette and he was deeply offended. So I brooded instead and thought of

how many difficulties life must present to him in situations which, to us, are no problem at all.

One of Bob's friends is the barman who has the wonderful patience and sympathy to listen to Bob's strange speech and to understand what he is saying. So Bob values this friendship very highly indeed.

Anyhow, while I was busy with my thoughts Bob, more sensibly, was dealing with his beer and presently when his glass stood empty he stood up in his crooked, painful way and turned towards the door.

He paused there for a moment to catch the eye of the barman and when he had achieved that he lifted his right hand, winked, and with a smile gave his friend

the thumbs up sign.

The indomitable gesture of a very gallant gentleman, a triumphant example of someone able to maintain a truly positive perspective.

Another person who manages to achieve the same thing is the used car salesman with the Paul Newman eyes who sold me that car the other day — pre-twelve percent GST, you understand.

Boy, there's a man who thinks positively. He believes that not only is one born every second, but that in the course of the day a significant number of them will drift across his path and by buying his "never been off the tar" wares will help to pay the mortgage on his villa at Majorca.

He's not wrong, either. I proved it. The car, to put it bluntly, is a lemon.

The man who sold hotdogs

There was a man who lived by the side of the road and sold hot dogs.

He was hard of hearing so he had no radio.

He had trouble with his eyes so he read no newspapers.

But he sold good hot dogs.

He put up signs on the highway telling how good they were.

He stood by the side of the road and cried: "Buy a hot dog mister."

People bought.

He increased his meat and roll orders. He bought a bigger store to take care of his trade.

He finally got his son home from college to help him out.

But then something happened.

His son said: "Father, haven't you been watching television? There is a big depression coming on. The European situation is terrible. The domestic situation is worse."

That made his father think: "Well my son's been to college, he reads the papers, and he listens to the radio and he ought to know."

So the father cut down his meat and roll orders; took down his advertising signs, and no longer bothered to stand on the highway to sell his good hot dogs.

Sales fell fast, almost overnight.

"You're right son," the father said to the boy. "We certainly are in the middle of a great depression. There just isn't any business."

The moral of this story is — let's stop talking ourselves into a depression.

Winning the battle for equality

Five years ago only white males held senior positions in one of South Africa's supermarket giants.

However, since then things have changed, says Miss Gill Gresak, the assistant to the company's personnel director.

The company, which has grown to a multimillion rand giant since its beginnings in the Cape in 1969, prides itself on its policy of non-discrimination — where promotions are made on merit.

"Equal opportunity was accepted as a principle in the company," said Miss Gresak.

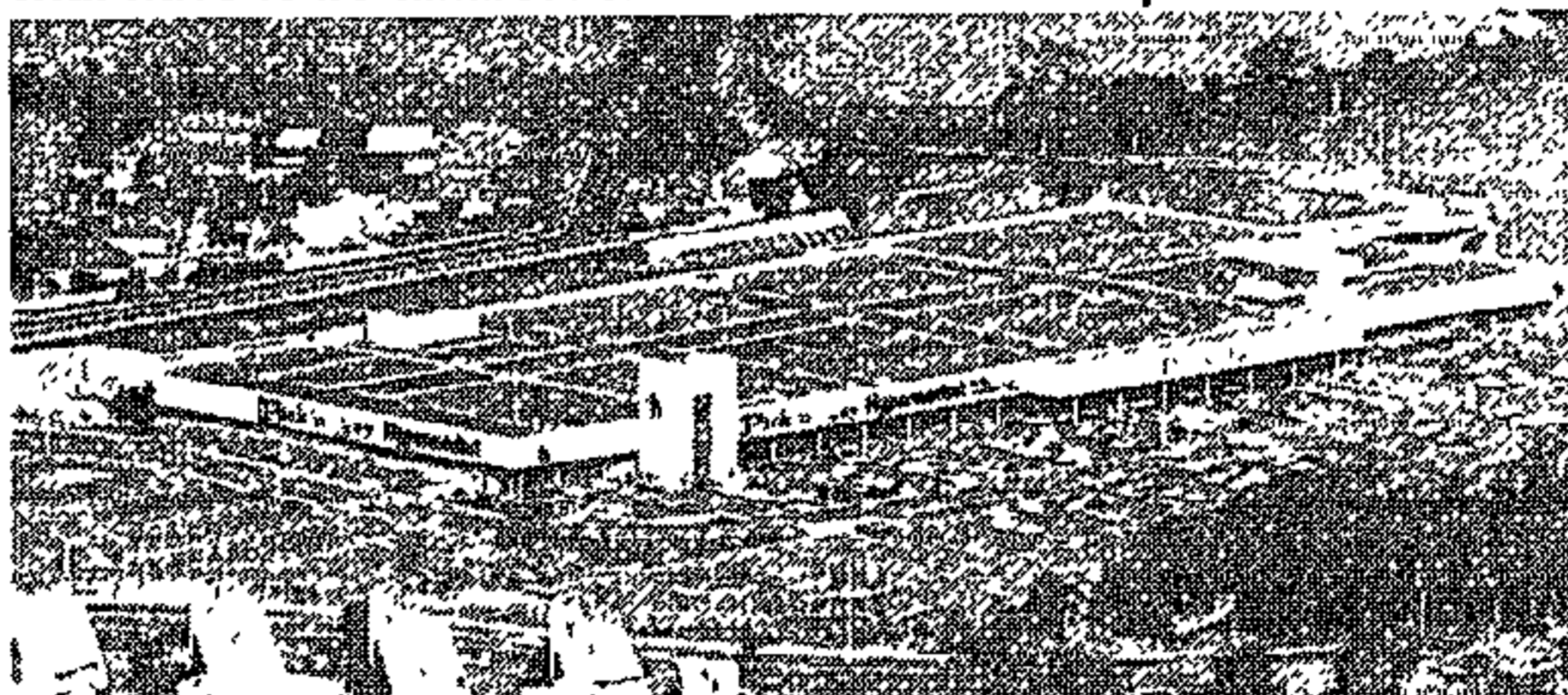
But there were problems: legal tangles, customer resistance and management reluctance. "It has been an uphill fight," she said.

One problem that had to be overcome within the company was that of traditional thinking — the job had always been done by white males.

The Group Areas Act also made it impossible to promote blacks, coloureds or Indians.

And changes had to be accepted by the stores' customers. But by the end of the 1970s there were changes and people of all

Ambition and the will to do well have driven talented but frustrated South Africans to demand the opportunity to succeed. Racial and sexual discrimination and educational inequality are major barriers that have to be climbed. JENNIFER TENNANT reports.



PROMOTION ON MERIT... one supermarket company is proud of its policy of non-discrimination.

races as well as women were given the opportunity to further their career.

In 1976 no black cashiers were employed, because the stores were in predominantly white areas and had predominantly white customers. "Today less than 10 percent of the cashiers are white," she said.

A shortage of skilled manpower led to the first real changes in the company — several black employees became managers.

"We decided to promote people, not on their race or sex but on their ability," said the company's national personnel manager, Mr Frans van der Walt.

He predicts that the present economic recession will play a role in introducing further changes.

Miss Gresak is at present involved in long-term plans for the advancement of "minority groups" in the company — "this includes women and members of

the other race groups", she said.

"There must be a support programme to help those who are disadvantaged educationally or socially," said Miss Gresak.

For this reason the personnel department has drawn up two informal advancement programmes.

● A minorities advancement programme, which will give informal training to trainees who are disadvantaged educationally.

"Recruits for promotion will be phased in gradually, made supervisors in the stores and, if they have the ambition and ability, may be put on a trainee manager programme," she said.

● An advancement programme for women.

"The aim is to place people in meaningful jobs, effectively utilising all available resources."

Miss Gresak is emphatic: "We will not be party to window dressing. If we put someone in a job that person must produce the same results expected from the traditional white male."

Miss Gresak said: "We are trying to get where all emotions are put aside and everything judged in terms of rands and cents."

Never a quiet moment for a happy workaholic

The telephone rings and he apologises for the interruption... the first of several during the interview.

Store manager of a recently opened supermarket in Sunward Park on the East Rand, Mr Moosa Hans said: "I find it very exciting — there is never a dull moment."

Mr Hans' retailing experience is vast, although he has been with the supermarket chain for only four years — "Retailing is in my blood."

His father was a store manager and after matriculating Mr Hans started work at an Indian store in the Eastern Transvaal.

There he learnt about retailing the hard way, working his way through the various departments. "I started in the receiving department. Then I was promoted to serving customers across the counter."



Mr Moosa Hans

In 1978 Mr Hans travelled to the United States on a six-month working holiday to see how supermarkets operated in other countries.

"I brought back so many ideas: on sales, promotions, quality and consumerism."

Mr Hans decided to join the supermarket giant in 1980 — where he had to start his career from scratch.

A workaholic, Mr Hans attained the position of store manager within four years.

His achievements have been recognised by the company and he was awarded the company's executive of the year award.

He takes pride in his store and wants to pass on his enthusiasm. "I want to pass on to the new trainee managers all I've learnt."

Lengthening her step and loving it

As flower buyer for a major supermarket group Jean Love is a woman who has made a mark in the high-powered world of retailing.

But it is not an easy job. She leaves her home at 4.15 am and leaves the last store (officially) at 4 pm. Packed into her day is the buying of flowers, ensuring fresh produce allocations are delivered, buying at the market, invoicing and travelling to several stores to supervise the flower displays.

Jean Love's climb up to the senior position started more than a decade ago. She worked her way up to supervisor and ran her firm's pay-roll section.

However, last year she wanted a change and was given the opportunity to become a flower buyer: an experimental venture. She decided to take a chance



Jean Love

and set a precedent. "It became possible for other women to obtain senior positions."

Of her promotion she said: "I got a lot of encouragement and never came across any animosity. What opposition there was in the beginning was to do with the introduction of a new product and not a new buyer who also happened to be a woman," she said.

She had no knowledge of flowers and virtually taught herself the job of buying and selling fresh cut flowers daily.

From a turnover of zero when she started, the weekly turnover can be as much as R30 000 a week. "It was an experiment that turned out to be very successful."

But she does not plan to remain in her present position and has plans to further her career.

"I'm not going to be left behind," she said firmly.

BUSINESS VIEWPOINT

'Provide enough for every man's

By R S K Tucker

Even the casual observer of our cultural evolution cannot fail to notice the striking disparity between the development of, on the one hand, intellectual power, scientific knowledge and technological skills, and on the other of wisdom, spirituality and ethics.

Scientific and technological knowledge have grown exponentially since the Greeks embarked on the scientific venture in the 6th century BC. But during those 25 centuries there has been hardly any progress in the conduct of social affairs.

This one-sided evolution has now reached a highly alarming stage; a situation so paradoxical that it borders on insanity.

For example, we can control the soft landings of spacecraft on distant planets but we are unable to control the disintegration of the family unit and the starvation of millions. We are promised the perfect life in gigantic space colonies, but still cannot manage our cities.

The business world makes us believe that huge industries producing pet foods and cosmetics are signs of our high standard of living, while economists tell us that we cannot "afford" full employment and adequate education.

Nevertheless, I believe that we are now witnessing the beginning

of a vast evolutionary movement.

The rising concern with ecology, the strong interest in religion, the rediscovery of holistic approaches to health and healing, and the rising feminist awareness, are all manifestations of this evolutionary trend.

They all counteract the overemphasis of rational, scientific attitudes and values, and at-

'No increase in material wealth will compensate people for arrangements which insult their self-respect and impair their freedom'

tempt to regain a balance between the "linear" and "non-linear".

The traditional Western approach to physics has its roots in the philosophy of the Greek atomists who saw matter as being made of atoms, which are purely passive and intrinsically dead and could be measured in terms of quantities — so many protons, neutrons, electron, etc.

These "quantities" were thought to be moved by external forces which were often assumed

to be of spiritual origin, and thus fundamentally different from matter.

This image became an essential part of the Western thinking.

It gave rise to the dualism between spirit and matter, between the mind and body, which is characteristic of Western thought.

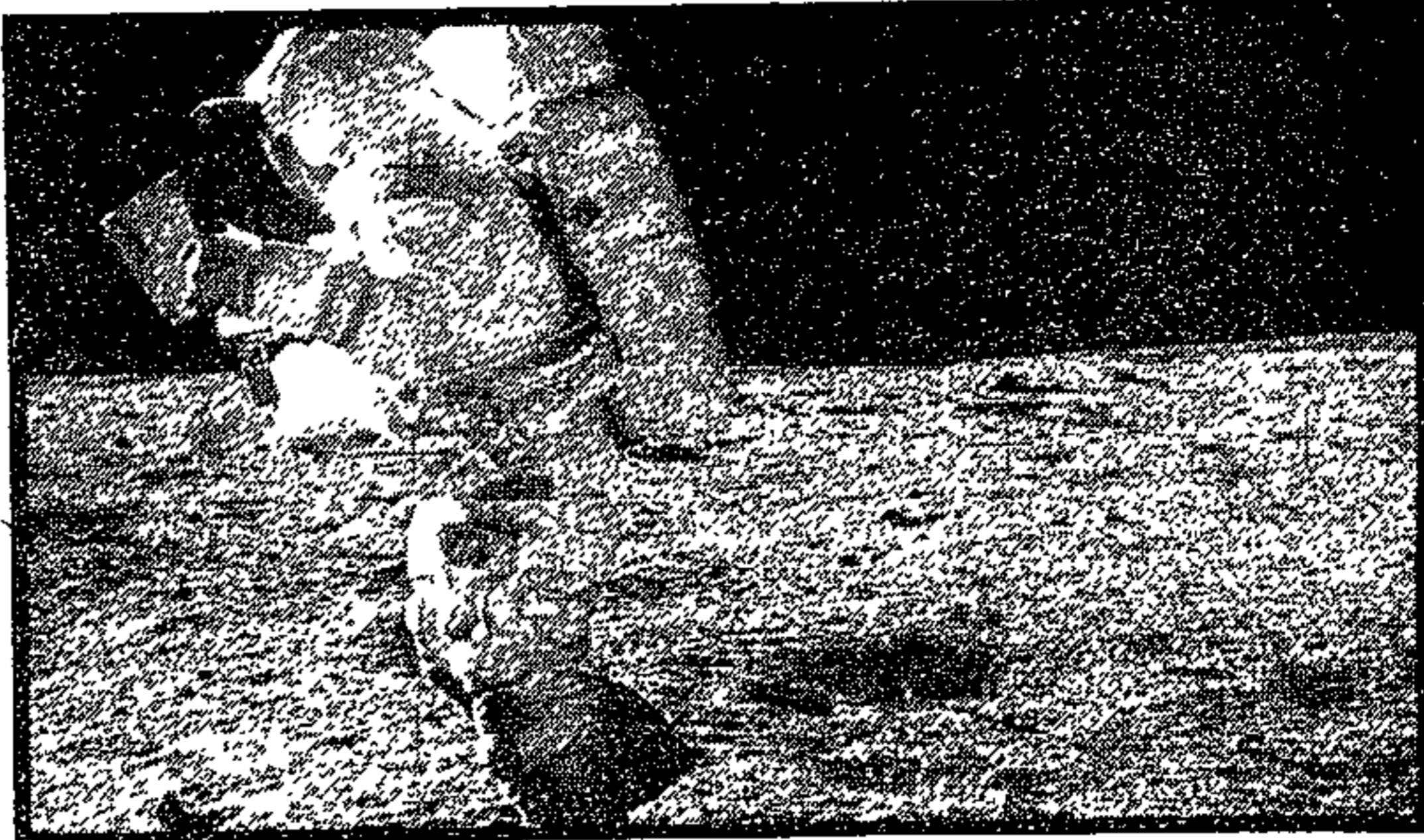
It was reflected in Descartes' philosophy which allowed scientists to treat matter as dead and completely separate from themselves, and to see the material world as different objects assembled into a huge machine.

As a consequence it was believed that the world could be described objectively, ie in terms of quantities without ever mentioning the human observer.

However, modern physicists have been forced to revise many of these classical ideas about reality.

To note just two of the main insights of current theory, they have realised that probability is a fundamental feature of atomic reality, and the theory of relativity has brought about a realisation that space is not three dimensional and time is not a separate entity.

The crucial feature of quantum theory is that the human observer is not only necessary to observe the properties of an atomic phenomenon but is neces-



WE CAN CONTROL the landings of spacecraft on distant planets . . .

sary even to bring about these properties.

The decision of the scientist about how to observe, say, an electron, will determine the electron's properties to some extent. In other words, the electron does not have objective properties independent of the scientist's mind.

In atomic physics the sharp split between mind and matter, between the I and the world, is no longer valid. We can never speak about nature without, at the same time, speaking about ourselves.

As with classical science, present-day economic and business theories fail to recognize that the

economy is merely one aspect of a whole ecological and social fabric; one aspect of a living system, every part of which is dependent on, affected by and affecting every other part.

The basic error of the social sciences is to divide this living fabric into fragments.

What the physicists found to be inappropriate the social scientists continue to apply. They have regard only for that which can be "objectively measured".

But the only "objective" measurement is a quantitative measurement. There are no objective measurements of qualities. You can't say how many cc's of good-

Unemployment: the political dilemma

By Dr F J C Cronje

With present population trends the South African economy must create plus/minus 250 000 new jobs every year if existing unemployment is not to escalate further. This will require a real growth rate of at least 5% per annum in our national income. The question is can our society achieve this over an extended period?

In the 1950s and 1960s, South Africa did achieve this because the growth rate was directly dependent on the rapid growth of the world economy. As one of the world's large mineral producers, our exports soared. The foreign exchange earned and foreign capital attracted by the mining industry stimulated industrial development, commerce and the distribution network.

The explosion in oil prices in 1973 and again in 1979 slowed down growth rates in the world but inflation started rising which, indirectly, led to much higher prices for gold. As a result, our economic growth rate became more erratic but was still fairly satisfactory.

However, in the recent past our important trading partners have managed to reduce inflation. Economies have started growing again. But, with the exception of the US, not at the same pace as in the 1960s. Moreover, the growth has not been in metal-intensive industries but in the service industries and the new information industries. This, together with the strong dollar, has resulted in metal prices that are lower in real terms than they were in the 1970s.

There are signs that the great industrial economies of the world will not grow as fast in the future as they did in the 1950s



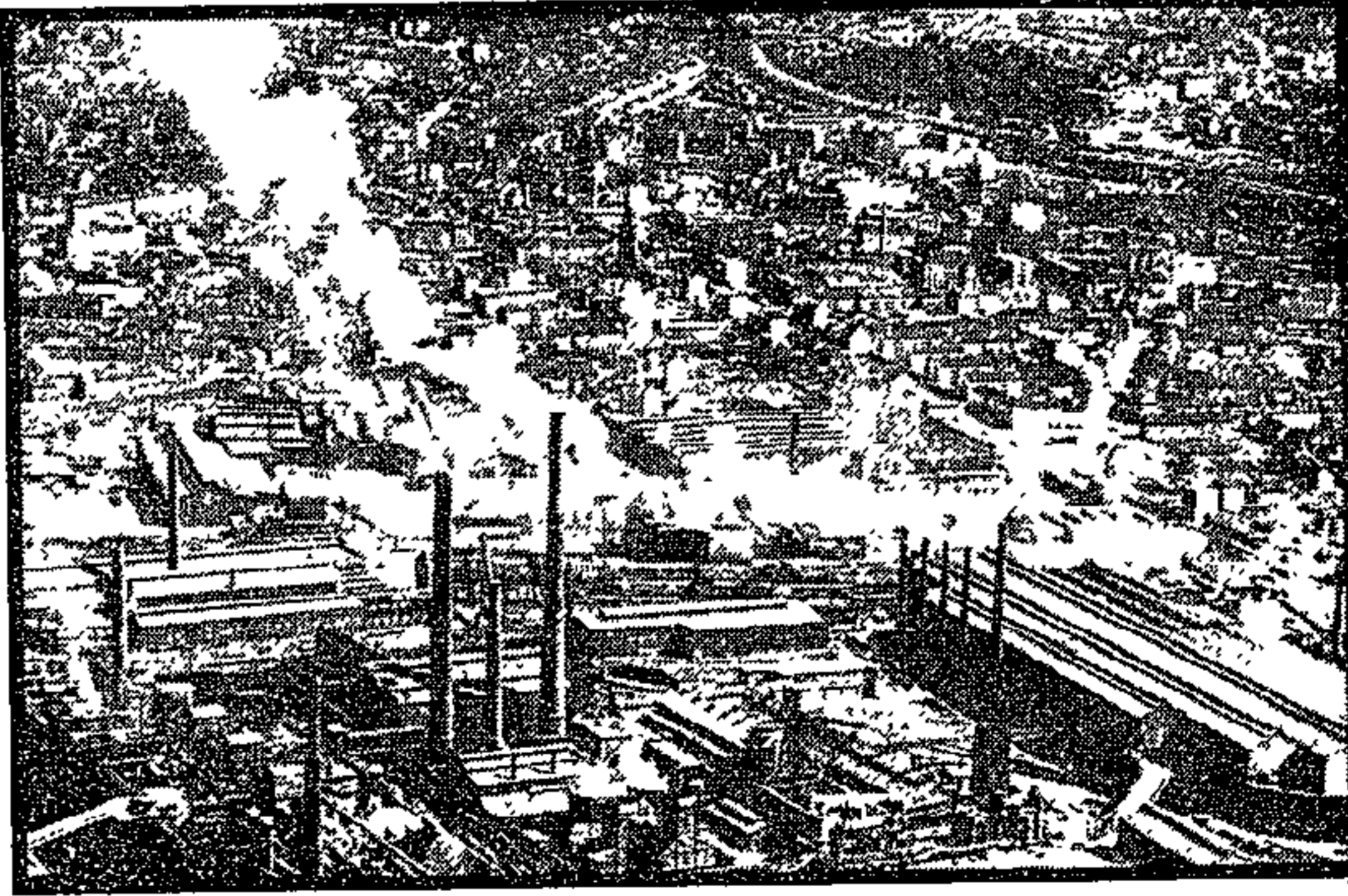
DR F J C CRONJE . . . 'factors impeding industrialisation must be removed'.

and 1960s, so our mineral exports both in value and volume will grow much slower. Moreover, if inflation is kept under control in these conditions, we shall not have a gold bonanza as we did in the past.

How, then, is South Africa's economy, to grow fast enough to avoid increasing unemployment?

The answer is fast industrialisation by shifting unemployed people and underemployed agricultural workers into industry.

Of course, this is easier said than done. The enormous capital requirements for fast industrialisation are not available because South Africa's savings rate is low by international standards. Secondly, we are chronically short of skilled and technical workers. Thirdly, our population does not seem to have the necessary entrepreneurial instincts. Lastly, when the economy grows fast, South Africa runs into balance of payments problems because our



THE CHALLENGE . . . industry must provide 250 000 new job opportunities every year if existing unemployment is not to escalate.

industries make huge demands on foreign exchange and earn relatively little foreign exchange.

This is so because our industries (with a few exceptions) are not internationally competitive. If a country is to industrialise rapidly it must be internationally competitive to earn foreign exchange for its import and capital requirements.

One must therefore inquire: what are the structural defects in our economy that make our industries non-competitive?

South Africa is partly "first" world and partly "third" world. First world in our big urban centres and third world in the black rural areas. First world standards are applied to employment in urban areas — minimum wage levels, trade unions, fairly high housing and other social standards.

The result of this is that if a rural worker who probably produces only a couple of hundred

rand's worth of products a year in agriculture, is transferred to industrial work he has to be paid more or less R300 a month. A rural worker's productivity — the value that he adds in producing an article — is low. If the wage that he demands is higher than the value added, he will not be employed.

The only product that an unskilled rural person can offer is low wages. If he is precluded from this he remains unemployed. If he is employed at a low wage to start with, his wages and hence standard of living will increase as he becomes more skilled and productive.

Even industries starting in the decentralised industrial sites in rural areas are under pressure from trade unions and code makers to pay wages on a par with those in the established industrial complexes. In many instances, therefore, rural workers are prevented from shifting from

agriculture to industry.

Wages which exceed the value added by a worker in an industrial process lead to the manufacturer increasing productivity through capital intensification.

In addition, legislation defining ratios of white workers (scarce) to black workers (surplus), have pushed up wages and been conducive to further capital expenditure by industry to improve labour productivity. Yet capital is our comparatively scarce resource and labour our plentiful resource.

The control on the movement of people within South Africa through influx control — exacerbates the scarcities in our society such as lack of skills and entrepreneurial instincts. Skills, eg furniture making, are largely wasted in a poor rural environment but could be most valuable in an urban environment.

The successful industrial countries in the East started with small scale "backyard" industries, some of which grew into big industrial companies.

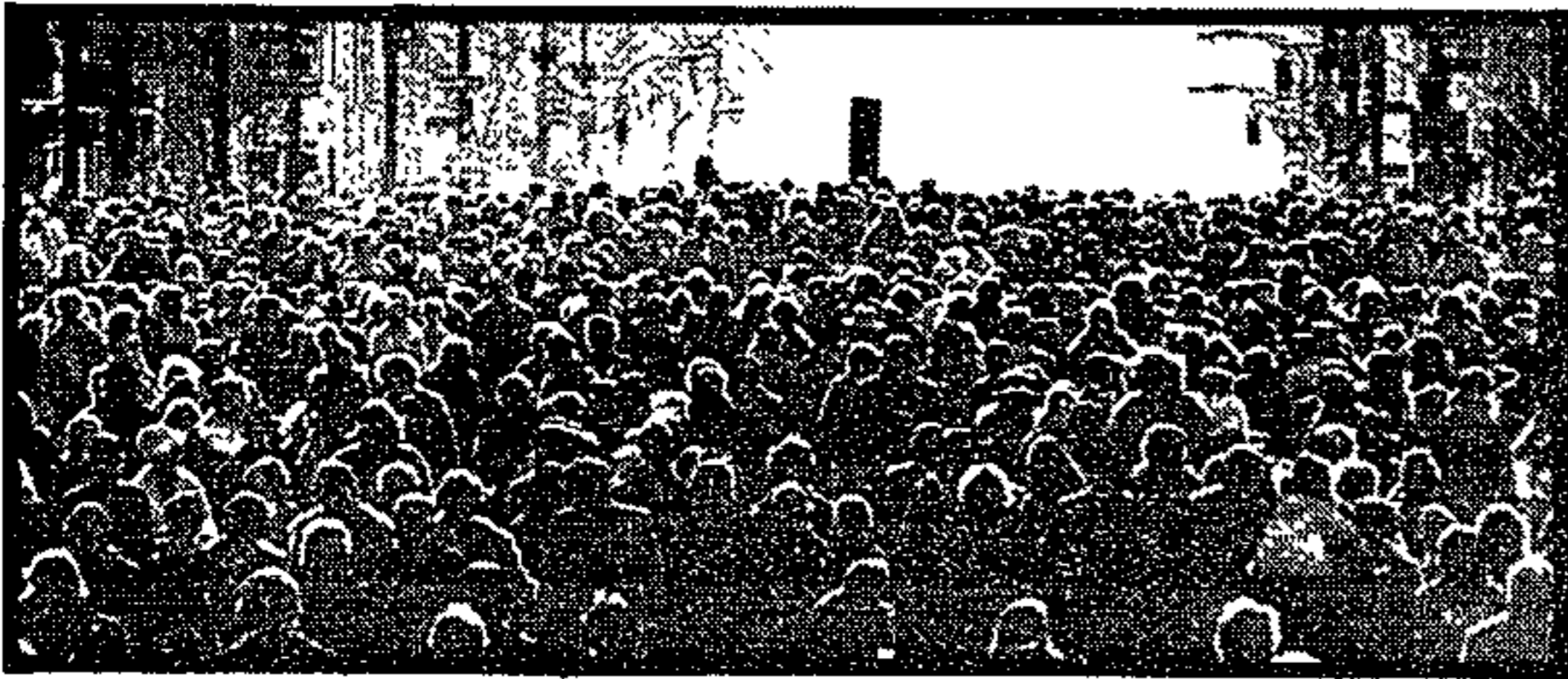
But again, at present we have copied first world licensing laws and standards regulating factories and shops, making it so much harder for small concerns to get off the ground.

These cultural social and political impediments combine to prevent South Africa taking off as a medium-sized industrial country — despite our surplus manpower and favourable natural resources. The alternative, with the fast population growth of the less skilled and educated sectors of the population, is endemic unemployment.

Fast population growth, if standards of living are not rising fast, can be stopped only in powerful and absolute dictatorships. There is no political choice but to remove these impediments.

BUSINESS VIEWPOINT

need but not every man's greed'



... BUT WE STILL cannot manage our overcrowded cities.

ness or how many microns of morality or how many cubits of truth.

Economists for the most part neglect social and ecological interdependence, treating all goods equally, without consideration of the many ways in which they are related to the rest of the world, and reducing all values to that of private profit-making.

To revert for a moment to the analogy of physics we have been forced to see the natural world as an organic whole in which all parts are interdependent; a dynamic system which is self-balancing and self-adjusting.

It is imperative that we now recognise the same principles at work in economics and business. Our economic system is based on continuing expansion, but unlimited expansion on a finite Earth

can never lead to a state of dynamic balance. If an activity has been branded as uneconomic, its right to existence is not merely questioned but energetically denied.

With few notable exceptions, if you call a thing immoral or ugly, soul-destroying or a degradation of man, a peril to the peace of the world or to the well-being of future generations you have not really questioned its right to exist, grow, and prosper unless you have also shown it to be uneconomic.

Something is uneconomic when it fails to earn an adequate profit in terms of money.

The prevailing creed, held with equal fervour by most political parties, is that the common good will necessarily be maximised if everybody, every industry and trade strives to earn an

acceptable "return" on the capital employed.

Milton Friedman has stated that the idea that companies have social responsibilities is fundamentally subversive because "few trends could so thoroughly undermine the foundation of our free society as the acceptance by corporate officials of a social responsibility other than to make money for their stockholders".

May I suggest, contrary to Milton Friedman, that what is destructive of civilisation, is the pretence that everything has a price and money is the highest of all values.

Should we not ponder the wisdom of R H Tawney: "If economic conditions are good servants, they are bad masters. Both the existing order and too many of the projects advanced for reconstructing it break down through neglect of the truism that, since even quite common men have souls, no increase in material wealth will compensate them for arrangements which insult their self-respect and impair their freedom."

"A reasonable estimate of economic organisation must allow for the fact that, unless industry is to be paralysed by recurrent revolts, it must satisfy criteria which are not purely economic."

What most of us need is a new philosophical basis for economics and business. We need to in-

roduce a quality of justice, which recognises the whole integrated living system where each participant is dependent upon and depended upon for the welfare of the whole system and every other participant.

The time is gone that we can afford to set as our sole objective, the maximisation of bottom line profit and then discharge our social responsibility by giving a

'The time has come to follow those who have already adopted and applied a value system other than mere bottom line profit maximization'

small portion of our super profits to the poor.

For too long the majority of us have found it convenient to "work within the system" hiding behind the ethos of profit maximisation and avoiding making the qualitative as opposed to quantitative assessment and judgment.

To play a meaningful role in leading South Africa to its true productive potential which will generate an acceptable standard of quality of life for all our people, we must make the difficult

qualitative assessments and proact rather than react to the existing dispensation.

Today greed has been institutionalised: the economic system is greedy on our behalf. We now have an economic system that encourages many of the Seven Deadly Sins — greed, pride, sloth (in the form of labour-saving technology) and lust — and whose major logic is based on competition.

Our economic system does not even recognise that humans are also co-operative and nurturing, enjoying giving as well as getting and are capable of transcending self in daily acts of altruism.

In conclusion, I believe that the time has come for the majority of us to follow those who have already adopted and applied a value system other than mere bottom line profit maximization.

This new value system will have to adapt to inevitable new realities. Social and political awareness, holism, ecological awareness, empathy, co-operation to leaven the excessive competition, justice and fair shares for the poor — what Erich Fromm calls the shift from Having to Being.

● This is an edited version of the author's recent address entitled: "Corporate social responsibility: a way of life not an end objective."

Industrial democracy is alive and well

By S S Lemmer

The industrial democracy in South Africa, born in the 70s, has grown rapidly during the 80s and is maturing as a useful participant in the free enterprise and political systems in South Africa.

As a link between industrial and political elements in a free society, it serves as a training ground for South Africans, enabling them to participate fully in the political democracy which is currently being expanded. It affords valuable experience in the processes of debate, evaluation, negotiation, decision-making and discovering the indispensable truth that the other side also has problems which must be resolved.

These processes, together with the experience gained in business practices, are combining to release black, coloured and Asian workers in South Africa from the clutches of socialism.

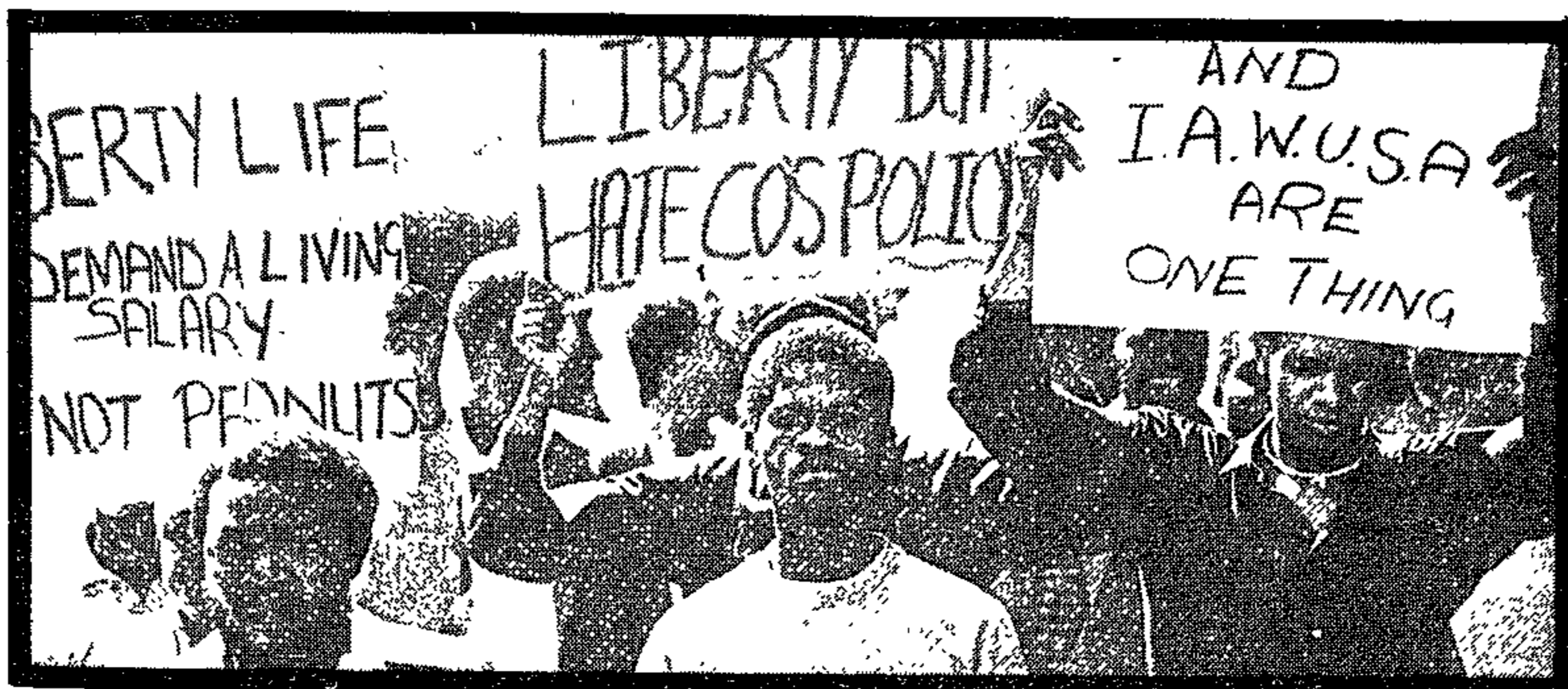
They are emerging as partners in free enterprise where they not only contribute their share in the form of labour, but they also negotiate the price for that labour and share in the benefits.

The fear that trade union rights would be abused for political purposes has not materialised to the extent that it was predicted. On the contrary, it must be recognised that the new labour dispensation is remarkably free from political interference and influence.

Unions and their leaders tend to stick to their business of negotiating industrial rights and conditions for their members.

Where these overlap with political interests, they have in the main reacted with maturity and self-control.

Managements in turn have in the main shown much greater appreciation of the needs and aspirations of their workers and a



UNWELCOME OMEN... nevertheless strikes are a sign that industrial democracy is functioning.

social consciousness, spearheaded by the Urban Foundation, has emerged among commercial and industrial undertakings. Schemes to help in the improvement of education, housing and small business development are materialising all over South Africa.

Statistics indicate that in the year before the appointment of the Wiehahn Commission, some 632 000 whites, coloureds and Asians were members of registered trade unions; in 1983 this

mostly blacks.

The Director General of Manpower stated in his annual report that this union membership represented some 22% of the total estimated workforce when agriculture, forestry, fishing, domestic and the civil service are excluded. This compares favourably with the USA (24%) and West Germany (38%), but it is still lower than the United Kingdom (50%) and Sweden (83%).

The rapid growth of trade

'It is a link between industrial and political elements in a free society and serves as a training ground for participation in the political democracy which is currently being expanded'

had doubled to 1 288 000, including almost 400 000 blacks.

During the same period the number of trade unions increased from 173 to 199; including 26 trade unions who represented blacks only and 56 who had mixed memberships.

In addition there are a further 55 unregistered trade unions with a membership of some 100 000,

union membership, particularly black membership, is likely to continue.

In addition, industrial democratic systems are increasingly utilised to administer industrial relations with more use being made of peaceful methods of resolving disputes, such as the Industrial Court and conciliation boards.

It is abundantly clear that South Africans of all races have taken to the industrial democracy in a big way and, inexperienced as they may be, they are utilising it effectively to administer and control relationships between management and workers.

It sets South Africa on a sound course in which management and workers are learning to find solutions to conflicts through negotiation.

which occurred in the early 70s.

The critics can do well to observe that the labour force had grown considerably during this period and so had economic activity. Furthermore, the man-days lost per thousand employees indicate a considerable decrease; in 1973/74, 71 days were lost per thousand employees compared to the 45 days in 1980/81. This compares favourably with that of the USA (271), the United Kingdom (468) and Sweden (111). However, when compared with West Germany (7) and Japan (11) then there is still room for improving our performance.

Strikes and work stoppages, while not a welcome omen, are a sure sign that the industrial democracy is functioning and may be proof that it is growing and not dying. Secondly, since man often learns by experience, these conflicts sometimes illustrate their own futility and promote the benefits of negotiation.

Workers are therefore becoming increasingly unwilling to sacrifice wages and, sometimes, their employment.

Many employers are also indicating greater willingness to resolve problems through negotiation.

Earlier this year, six of the big employer federations affirmed their convictions in the industrial democracy with a statement of intent.

Three of them also took a firm stand when trade union leaders were arrested and demanded that they should be "charged or released", a sure sign that the industrial democracy in South Africa is growing by leaps and bounds.

● The author is Staff Director, Industrial Relations, SA Motor Corporation (SAMCOR).

LEGAL AID

Making the law work for the 'little man'

Mr N, a waiter at a leading Cape Town hotel, was dismissed after nine years' service. He had for several years been an active trade unionist. The immediate cause given for his dismissal was that he had put tartare sauce in front of guests in a stainless steel rather than a silver bowl.

Mr K was employed as a slaughterer with a large battery chicken producer. Shortly before he and six other slaughterers were to knock off for the day, they were instructed to work overtime. They refused and were dismissed.

'Cheeky'

On 12 April 1983, Mr S, returning from Natal where he had renewed his service contract, was visiting his wife in Johannesburg.

Though he was in possession of freshly issued documents establishing his right to be in the urban area, he was arrested. When he again tendered his documents at the police station, he was called "cheeky", assaulted, locked up and charged with being in an urban area unlawfully.

These are some of the isolated problems in the daily lives of individuals who, without the help of the Legal Resources Centre (LRC), would have little chance of demanding justice.

With offices in Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town, the LRC offers to the "little man" an access to justice which balances the weight of bureaucratic, oppressive and incomprehensible laws encumbering his life.

Forerunner

A court case taken up by the centre or a letter demanding legal rights is often worth more than its weight in gold to those who turn to the LRC in desperation.

The LRC, a non-profit organisation funded by American, European and South African corporations and trusts, has in the five years since its birth been the forerunner of a growing South African



TOM RIKHOTO... successful test application

involvement in so-called "public interest" law aimed at easing the lot of the "little man".

Better known for its role in the successful Komani and Rikhoto test applications, which set precedents affecting thousands living under influx control, the centre concentrates on issues of housing, squatting, consumerism, influx control and labour.

In the 1980 Komani case, the Appeal Court ruled that a husband entitled to live in an urban area be allowed to live with his wife, who previously had been prevented from living in the area in terms of regulations under the Black (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act.

The 1983 Rikhoto case established that a migrant labourer who had worked continuously for 10 years for one employer, though he had to leave the urban area each year to renew the contract, qualified to live permanently in the city.

In addition to court cases and sorting out individual legal hassles, the centre regards legal education of both aspiring lawyers and communities as one of its primary functions.

A number of "fellows" — post-graduate law students — and American exchange students are trained in the three offices each year.

The Johannesburg office has been associated with the law clinics run by students at the University of the Witwatersrand, the Rand Afrikaans University and the University of South Africa.

It is presently working with 10 community advice offices on the Reef, which handle about 6 000 inquiries a year and refer issues needing the attention of a trained lawyer to the LRC.

Consult

In Durban a mobile clinic takes legal advice to various Natal rural areas. Two other clinics have recently been established in Empangeni and in the Msinga district.

The Cape Town office, opened in September 1983, sends staff members at least once a month to Worcester to consult residents in the local Methodist Church.

There is a possibility that a fourth office will be opened in the Eastern Cape.

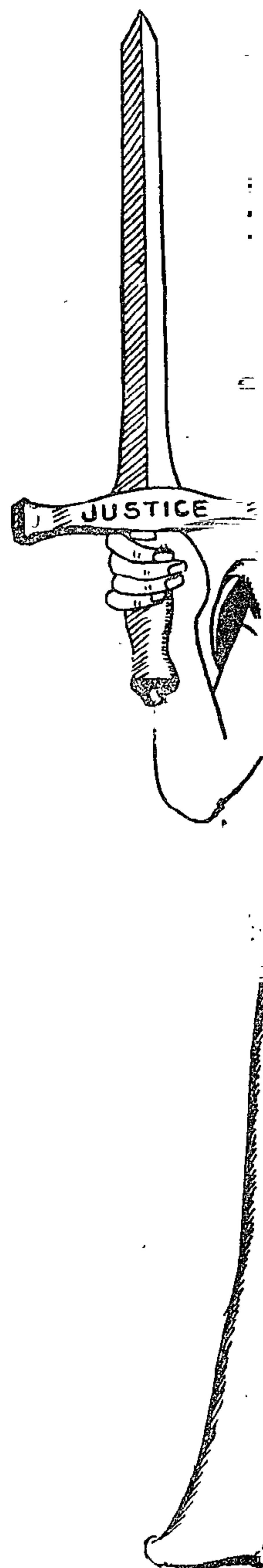
What attracts the lawyers and administrative staff members manning the three offices to this kind of work, where the bright lights and the big money are rarely seen?

According to Mr Arthur Chaskalson SC, director of the LRC and recipient of two community awards in the last year, it is a "constructive and good way of using their skills, useful outside of simply earning a living."

Challenging

"Public interest lawyers do not see themselves as martyrs. They choose the work because it is satisfying and challenging to help change people's lives for the better."

The fulfillment included, in the above-quoted examples, temporary re-instatement and a settlement with the hotel to Mr N's satisfaction, the re-instatement of the seven battery chicken slaughterers and a ruling that the farmer abide by industrial legislation, and R1 000 damages for Mr S after an action for wrongful arrest, assault and malicious prosecution was launched.



Legal representation 'is not a luxury'

"Any State that prides itself on a democratic way of life should not regard legal representation as a pure luxury or a fortuitous gift from the government, but as an essential service," commented the Hoexter Commission's report in regard to legal aid.

The Legal Aid Board, a Government-sponsored body which funds court cases for the poor, was established by the Legal Aid Act of 1969.

The Board consists of a judge appointed by the Minister of Justice, one practising advocate and four practising attorneys, the Director-Generals of Justice, Cooperation and Development, and

Health and Welfare, the State Attorney and another member appointed by the Minister of Justice.

Funds are allocated each year by Parliament and are used to pay for the fees of lawyers, who take on legal aid cases at a reduced rate. Different means tests are used to determine which members of the different race groups are entitled to aid from the Board.

The Hoexter Commission noted in its report this year that there was a "healthy interaction" between law clinics staffed by students under supervision at various universities in South Africa, which referred a number of cases to the board.

Advice, assistance are available

People in need of legal assistance and advice, either free of charge or at reduced rates, can contact the following bodies:

LEGAL AID BOARD:

In most regional courts country-wide, there is a Legal Aid Board officer. Other offices are:

Johannesburg — 9th floor, Security Building, 95 Commissioner Street. Phone 836-0421.

Pretoria — 8th floor, Van Erkom Building, 217 Pretoria Street. Phone 28-4577/8/9.

Cape Town — 2nd floor, Parlia-

ment Towers, 103 Plein Street. Phone 45-5033.

Athlone — Rooms 114 and 115, Amelia House, 21 Belgravia Street. Phone 67-9107.

Port Elizabeth — 4th floor, Golden Mile Centre, 55 Main Street, North End. Phone 54-2724.

Bloemfontein — 6th floor, Southern Life Building, cnr Maitland and Aliwal Streets. Phone 72136.

Durban — 2nd floor, Burlington House, Field Str. Phone 31-5711.

Germiston — Room 3, S floor, President Towers, 147 President Street. Phone 51-9716/7.

LEGAL AID BUREAU:
315 Harley Chambers, Kruis-

Street, Johannesburg. Phone 4872/5.

INDUSTRIAL AID SOCIETY:

Chester House, 132 Jeppe Street, Johannesburg. Phone 836-4492.

BLACK SASH ADVICE OFFICE:

Khotso House, 42 de Villiers Street, Johannesburg. Phone 337-2435/6.

WITS LAW CLINIC:

3rd floor, Senate House, University of the Witwatersrand, 1 Smuts Avenue, Braamfontein. Phone 716-3613.

system and particularly the administration sometimes weigh down heavily on those not the power and resources to avoid and unlawful practices. The idea behind services provided by individuals, law firms and others is to redress the imbalance in law between the weak and the powerful — to balance of justice. In these articles FIONA reports on some of the legal aid services in South Africa.



LEGAL AID

Band of volunteers who offer vital help

A young man who suffered brain damage after a motor accident was awarded damages by a court which ordered that the money be invested for him and paid out in monthly instalments.

"When he came to see us he was literally skin and bone. We found out that an old aunty of his was drawing his money every month and having herself a ball," says Mrs Pauline Lipson, director of the Legal Aid Bureau.

"We arranged for the money to be sent to us every month and now the young man, looking well-fed and content, comes in to collect it with his sister.

"The widow of a 60-year-old labourer who was stabbed to death came to us in desperation because the firm he had worked for for 18 years refused to pay out any pension.

"After we hassled the firm for a number of weeks they agreed to pay the woman, who supports several young children, R180 a month."

Long before Mrs Lipson and her small band of voluntary workers arrive at their Kruis Street office at 8 am, queues of people with similar problems line the corridors.



PAULINE LIPSON . . . helping the desperate

"Many of the cases we deal with seem petty but they are large problems in the lives of those involved.

"Their problems range from the mundane to the serious, from being underpaid for a job, or not being paid at all, to losing a limb in an accident and needing help to make out a claim," says the grandmother who has been running the bureau for the past 30 years.

A voluntary organisation established in 1937, the bureau has eked out its existence on a small annual grant from the Johannesburg City Council but relies chiefly on donations.

With a small part-time staff, it is run mostly by voluntary workers and the contributions of a panel of attorneys and advocates who deal with certain litigation for people of all races who cannot afford such services.

Though the bureau operated at a loss of more than R17 000 during the last financial year and Mrs Lipson feels that "only a miracle" can save it from collapse, the need for such an organisation is evident from the increasing number of interviews held each month.

"The closing down of the bureau will spell disaster to these people, for whom we provide an invaluable service."

Setting out to explain the law in simple terms

"Talking the simple language of the man in the street" is the aim of the legal education centre established in Johannesburg by the Black Lawyers' Association (BLA) at the beginning of October, last year.

The centre, which has been set up temporarily in a Bree Street office, is publishing a periodical explaining in simple terms the complex laws affecting millions of South African black people.

The centre also intends to serve as a centralised administrative organ to co-ordinate the activities of law clinics arranged by members of the BLA in black residential areas.

Mr Modise Khosa, the centre's

programme officer, said the two-pronged function of the clinics was to "take the law to the people" and to give black law students an opportunity to learn the working of the law.

Career guidance seminars will be held at law schools and other venues, and negotiations will be held with law firms for the placement of black articulated clerks in an attempt to ease the normally rough pathway of aspirant black lawyers into practice.

Created in 1977 in reaction to discrimination against black lawyers, the BLA has formed a united front of practitioners and legal academics who hit out at obstacles such as influx control regula-

tions and discriminatory seating in the courts and consultation rooms, which hamper their work.

"We are not allowed to practise in cities without a permit, and this is unacceptable to us as a professional group. So we took up the sword and began fighting for the right to practise where we wanted to," commented president of the association, Mr Godfrey Pitje.

Though the BLA consists of members from only the Transvaal and the Free State, there are moves afoot to form a national association in all four provinces.

There are about 4 600 attorneys in South Africa, of whom 250 are black. Only 20 of the 600 advocates are black.

to suit everyone's pocket

FOR APPLIED STUDIES:

Senate House, University of Witwatersrand. Phone 33-1234.

AFRIKAANS UNIVERSITY LAW CLINIC:

7th floor, RAU campus, Weyersburg, Auckland Park. 726-5000 ext 633.

RESOURCES

Weyersburg — 401 Elisabeth Street, cnr Pritchard and Sauer. Phone 836-9831.

Ecumenical Centre, 20 New's Street. Phone 65-

Cape Town — Scott House, 41 Church Street. Phone 23-8285.

The LRC runs the following clinics and advice offices:

Daveyton — St Martin's Catholic Church, Sigodi Pola. Phone 963-1718.

Kagiso — 3381 Themba Drive. Phone 692-9636.

Noordgesig — St Margaret's Anglican Church, Bergroos Street. Phone 938-6679.

Phiri — Holy Rosary Catholic Church. Phone 986-1750.

Reiger Park — St Anthony's Catholic Church. Phone 52-3708 between 2 pm and 4 pm every Saturday.

Tladi — Ned Geref Kerk. Phone 933-4170 or 933-3524 between 8.30 am and 1 pm every Saturday.

Westbury — Trinity Residence, 26 Perth Road. Phone 27-5324 between 6.30 and 8 pm Tuesdays and Thursdays.

Zola — Bridgeman Centre, cnr Mapumulo and Bolani Roads. Phone 930-5634 between 8.30 am and 1 pm Monday to Friday.

Diepkloof — St Margaret's Catholic Church, 3930 Zone 3.

Empangeni — 103 TML House, Union Street. Phone 26-168.

Athlone — 6 Benbow Building, Beverley Street. Phone 638-7875.

Legal aid bodies vital in process of change

"Developments in America over the past 20 years have taught us that one of the most important things in life is the understanding that change has to come," says the Assistant Attorney-General of the state of Maine.

Mr James Kilbreth, a board member of one of the American organisations which fund legal aid services in South Africa, commented during a recent visit to this country that independent and stable legal aid institutions formed an important part of the preparation for change.

Mr Kilbreth is the former secretary of and presently a consultant to the South African Legal Ser-

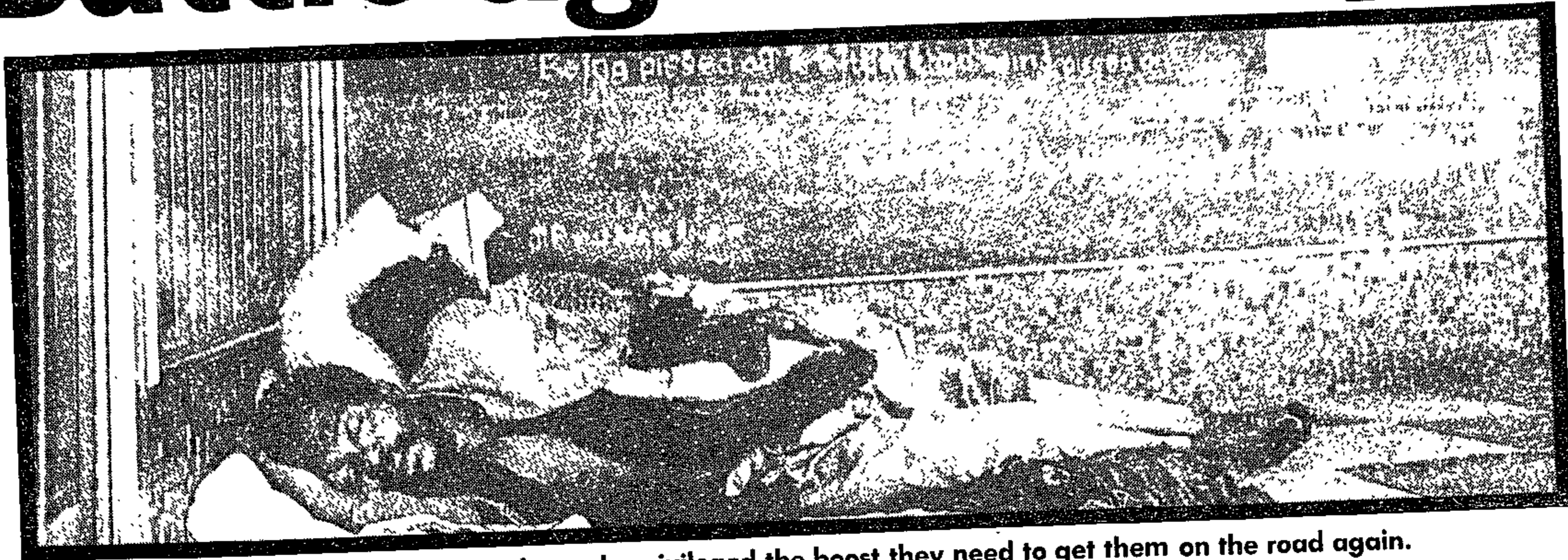
vices and Legal Education Project (SALSLEP).

"We believe in the important work being done by South African legal aid bodies. They are making people aware of their rights and are providing access to justice to people who otherwise would have no legal representation at all," he said.

Invited to South Africa by the American Cultural Centre, which has offices in Johannesburg, to review and discuss the local legal situation, the Assistant A-G said he had noted an encouraging increase in legal aid services since his last visit in March 1982 on behalf of the SALSLEP.

PEOPLE HELPING PEOPLE

Battle against despair



THE MCLEAN TRUST: giving the underprivileged the boost they need to get them on the road again.

Millionaire drags people back from the brink

By Gavin Engelbrecht

When self-made millionaire Mr Murray McLean emigrated to France he felt he had got a lot from South Africa and he decided to make a gift to the country's less privileged.

By putting R1 million into a trust fund Mr McLean has done a lot to change the lives of many people.

The McLean Trust has, since its inception in 1982, channelled more than R390 000 into projects ranging from feeding and irrigation schemes to the provision of playground equipment to schools.

Mr McLean, an industrialist and businessman who was also the first chairman of the Market Theatre Foundation, had the trust formed after settling in France.

Dr Paul Davis, one of the four trustees, said Mr McLean had in-

tended the trust to be a catalyst in helping the impoverished and destitute.

"The money has been well invested and funds for projects are drawn off the trust's interest," said Dr Davis.

The trustees — a doctor, lawyer, businessman and stockbroker — meet once a month to review appeals for help.

"We prefer not to embark on long term projects but to give the underprivileged the boost they need to get them on the road again.

"Where we find a project is experiencing difficulty because of a lack of funds, especially where we find a strong commitment and motivation on the part of the community, we will step in and help," said Dr Davis.

He added that the money could be used anywhere in South Africa, SWA or in the homelands.

Funds have been funneled to the needy through numerous organisa-

tions and churches who do work in the community.

Some organisations which have got a boost from the fund include the African Self Help Association, the Federated Women's Institute, the Good Shepherd Community Services, the Ikageng Women's Club in Soweto, the Legal Aid Bureau, the Turntable Trust, the Quaker Services, the Institute of Race Relations and Black Sash.

The aim of the trust, as outlined in its constitution, is to provide charitable and educational assistance, to foster inter-racial communication, and to improve the quality of economic, cultural, spiritual, intellectual and physical lives of people.

Trustee Mr Hugh Corder said that the trust tended to concentrate on poverty in the rural areas as people there did not know where to turn for help.

Feeding schemes helped countrywide have been Operation Hunger, the Bonginkosi Feeding

Scheme in Natal, a feeding project in Somerset East, and Hunger Relief in East London. The Gadra Feeding Scheme in Grahamstown has been one of the trust's larger commitments.

In the education field the trust has given aid to several farm schools, early learning programmes, day care centres and literacy training and has been instrumental in several family planning programmes.

The trust has also provided some schools with playing equipment, furniture, carpentry tools and other educational aids. Many applications for bursaries have also been received.

"Although we do not cater specifically for bursaries where it is found that a person has the drive and personality, and the need is there, we will step in and help," Mr Corder added.

The trust has done a lot to promote upliftment schemes and help

people to develop their self reliance. In the small Karoo town of Neu Bethesba, where unemployment rose with the exodus of whites, the trust helped start a pottery factory to provide jobs.

Irrigation and agricultural projects countrywide have been helped off the ground.

The trust also makes provision for help to prisoners' families, legal aid in criminal charges and in civil cases where grave injustice is suspected.

A report done on the importance of the precedent-setting Rikhotso decision was funded by the trust.

The trust is able to deal effectively and quickly with the smaller appeals for help. It is, for example, paying for a coloured student's expenses at home while he is in the United States studying.

Appeals for aid can be sent to PO Box 29184, Sandringham, Johannesburg.

Trust funds vital to refugees after floods

By Gavin Engelbrecht

The extensive and dedicated work done by the Diepkloof branch of the Ikageng Women's Club among the Klipspruit flood victims is but one example of how the McLean Trust has been instrumental in relieving the plight of the needy.

Aided by the fund, the small women's club has been able to provide many vital services to refugees in the Mzimhlophe Transit Camp in Soweto.

The club's chairman, Mrs Winnie Serobe, said they had worked in the community since the victims were settled there in 1977.

"In 1982, when the McLean Trust started, they stepped in with aid which has been of inordinate help in our operations," said Mrs Serobe.

"With their help we have been able to pay for the education of children, continue our feeding programme and provide rent remission."

The most recent and signifi-

cant undertaking sponsored by the trust has been the setting up of a small Health Information Centre, she added.

Until the centre opened last July the camp had no medical facilities, with the closest clinic being beyond the community's reach.

Sister Alzinah Hlongwane has offered her voluntary services to run the centre. By using sweets to attract children roaming the streets, she has staged many lessons on matters ranging from person-

al hygiene to dental care.

Parents are also given lectures on health matters including the dangers of TB, and on how to adapt to their limited environment.

Minor ailments are treated at the centre while serious ones are referred to the closest clinic or hospital.

The victim's were told their stay would be only temporary, and until they are moved the club will continue to provide all the services it could, Mrs Serobe added.



SISTER ALZINAH HLONGWANE gives a group of children a lecture on dental care at a Health Information Centre helped off the ground by the McLean Trust.

Passing on the benefits to others

When Miss Gladys Mbele (34) of Soweto was scolded at school because she could not see the blackboard, she decided she wanted to teach the blind.

But Gladys, whose schooling was impeded by her partial blindness, found herself stymied by a lack of money when she wanted to start her university career.

Her determination to help other children in similar circumstances has paid off and she has realised her goal with the help of the McLean Trust.

The trust had Miss Mbele enrolled for a BA Education degree at Vista University in Soweto last year.

"I always wanted to become a social worker. But I realised after the difficulties I had encountered at school that there was a crying need for specialised teachers for the blind in my community," she said.

"I matriculated in 1978 but could not start my studies because I had no money."

"A friend last year referred me to the McLean Trust which has now set me off on an exciting future."

Gladys will complete her degree before starting to teach at Soweto's first school for the blind which was opened this year.

She is confident that the help she got from the trust will filter down to many more people.



Gladys Mbele studying to teach thanks to the fund.

PEOPLE HELPING PEOPLE

Lifeline to thousands

By Pamela Kleinot

Baragwanath Hospital, for all its sprawl and overcrowding, offers succour and some of the finest medical care in the world to thousands of people who live in dusty and turbulent Soweto.

People from across the border seek treatment at the 2 713-bed hospital which is internationally renowned for its curative facilities.

As the largest hospital in southern Africa, Baragwanath has some of the leading medical minds in the world and is said to be one of the finest training grounds because of the wide-spectrum of diseases treated.

The hospital, also one of the world's largest baby factories delivering nearly 30 000 babies each year, has become a leader in mother-child bonding.

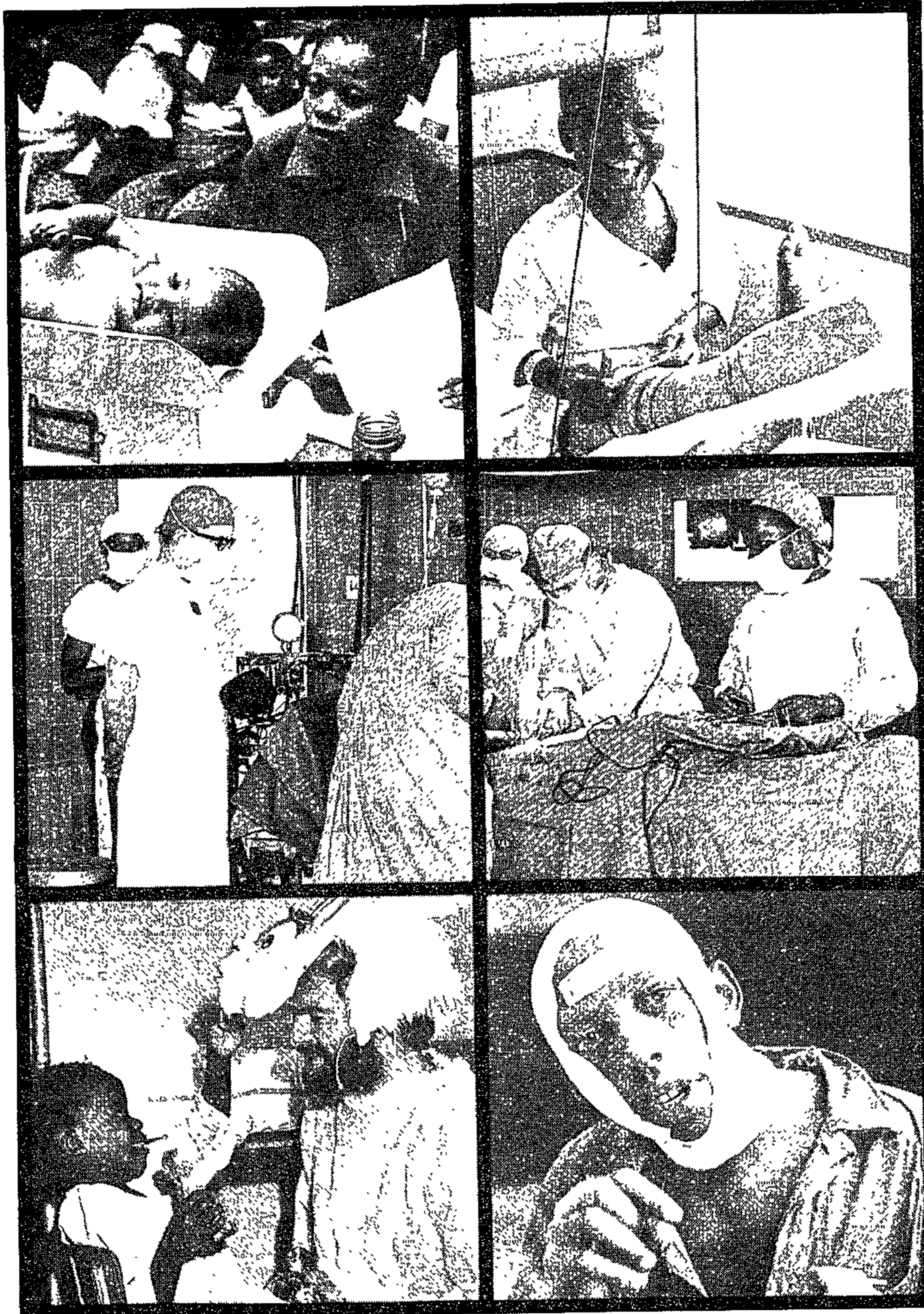
The hospital has the biggest eye department in the Transvaal. Many white patients are referred to St John's Eye Hospital — affiliated to Baragwanath — because of its expertise and equipment.

The hospital's greatest achievement in the past decade has been the training of nurses to do primary health care at satellite clinics in Soweto, says the superintendent, Dr Chris van den Heever.

Baragwanath Hospital was the first in South Africa to design the primary health care nursing course which enables nurses to fulfil many of the functions traditionally undertaken by doctors.

The one-year post-graduate course — which has upgraded the status of the nurse by extending her role and increasing her responsibilities — was pioneered by the hospital after the collapse of Soweto's community health clinics during the 1976 disturbances.

"It was unsafe for doctors to work in the clinics and contingency plans were immediately made to train nurses to do primary care in Soweto," said Dr van den Heever.



"We set out a training programme and in January 1977 — six months after the riots began — we were able to open our first clinic run by nurses."

Although Baragwanath is not the first to stretch medical manpower, said Dr van den Heever — this has been done in China with barefoot doctors and in Sudan by incorporating the withdoctor in the medical team — "Baragwanath has led with primary health care nursing and many countries are interested in what we have done".

The Primary Health Care Team consists of a GP and six to eight nurses who take the patient's history, and assess and treat according to protocols. The doctor acts as a consultant and handles patient referrals from clinic to hospital.

About 12 million patients have been treated since the system was set up eight years ago and there has been "very little disappointment", said the superintendent.

Eighty percent of the 1 500 000 outpatients seen at the clinics each year are handled by the nurses. Only 20 percent of cases are referred to doctors who refer three percent to hospitals.

This system has taken off some of the strain at the acutely overcrowded hospital where patients have to share beds and sleep on the floor.

Although considered by some people to be a second-rate system of health care, Dr van den Heever said it had been successful and white hospitals were also looking at the feasibility of it.

"Doctors can spend more time on fewer patients."

Dr van den Heever said the need for trained manpower would escalate in South Africa as the population increased.

"The country will never be able to produce enough doctors for this. We have to train others to do routine work. You don't need six years medical training to diagnose flu and measles. We can use doctors for the really difficult diagnostic and therapeutic problems."

Fight to right an impossible wrong

By Eugene Saldanha

Voluntary workers at the Black Sash advice offices in Johannesburg will tell you they are fighting a frustrating and losing battle... but for thousands of black South Africans they represent the only hope of a normal family life.

And for the hundreds of homeless, workless black people who stream through the offices daily, the Black Sash serves as a reminder that there are people who care about the injustices in South African society.

Formed in 1955 to protest against the removal of coloured people from the common voters' roll, the Black Sash is best known for the advisory service it provides at eight offices throughout the country to black people experiencing difficulty with influx control and the pass laws.

The organisation — whose membership is restricted to women, though men may be as-

sociate members — was originally called the Women's Defence of the Constitution League, but changed its name to the Black Sash because of the sashes worn in mourning for the constitution.

The organisation now has about 1 400 members throughout South Africa, but in the 1950s membership exceeded 10 000 women.

"There are two other important

Assisting victims of injustice

functions the organisation performs. The one is as a political pressure group — protesting against unjust laws — and the other is providing assistance to communities who face relocation or have already been relocated," says vice-president Mrs Joyce Harris.

The Government has cut down severely on the forms of protest

open to Sash members. In the 1960s, the Sash was told it was allowed to demonstrate only in certain places, and then later it had to submit the wording on placards for the police to check.

The Riotous Assemblies Act was the final attempt to curb protest, making it illegal for the women to protest in groups.

But despite the many restrictions, Black Sash members recently actively campaigned against the new constitution and the "Koornhof Bills".

The Transvaal Rural Action Committee (Trac), attached to the Black Sash, monitors developments in rural communities threatened with removal.

Trac has also rendered assistance to communities in the "black spots" such as kwaNgema, Bethanie and Driefontein.

"The services we offer are not mere services, but an educational process for the people who come

to the offices. Almost 90 percent of the problems with the pass laws is because of ignorance," said a volunteer worker for the Sash.

The advice officers at the Sash work an average 10-hour day — and then sometimes take work home with them.

"There are usually between 80 and 100 people at the office each day, and the advisers never leave

Monitoring forced removal of people

until all the people have been seen," said Mrs Ethel Walt, an adviser.

Interviews are conducted in English but where there are difficulties with the language an interpreter is available.

"The most common problems are usually Section 10 rights and the unemployment fund. It is so

difficult in both these areas to help people. And it is heartbreaking when one has to explain to people that there is little one can do," said an adviser.

She added: "The most difficult part is when people ask 'why'. How does one explain to a man why he cannot have his wife and children live with him or why he cannot draw money from the unemployment fund?"

A 42-year-old father of four from Venda, who asked not to be named, said he had come to the offices of the Black Sash because he was "angry" at the attitude of the officials of the administration boards.

"I have been working in Johannesburg for 12 years, and am entitled to Section 10 rights to have my family live with me. I have tried for 18 months and eventually decided to come here. At least here the women will listen and try to help me," he said.

PEOPLE HELPING PEOPLE

Hitting the right note



World-wide attention has been drawn to Africa's growing problem — hunger. Small children with withered bodies stare blankly from newspaper photographs and television screens in their silent appeal for aid.

Starvation has become a household word and daily appeals for help are made through the international Press. Governments and the United Nations have organised aid programmes amounting to millions of rand to supply food to those in the drought-devastated regions of Africa.

In South Africa the picture is no less bleak. Daily the numbers of hungry people increases.

But there is another side to the picture...

The fight is on to combat the threat of starvation in South Africa. One body involved in

emergency feeding schemes is Operation Hunger.

Operation Hunger's Mrs Ina Perlman says: "There are two bright lights in this desperate picture: the will of the people to survive, to do anything to help themselves; and the generosity of people to give help in times of need."

The organisation, which plans to feed more than 650 000 children this year, has two basic objects, says director Mrs Perlman. They are hunger relief and malnutrition prevention and the establishment of self-help projects.

Operation Hunger needs to

raise about R6 million: about R4,9 million has been budgeted for emergency feeding schemes and about R1 million is to be spent on self-help schemes.

With the drought continuing unabated in many regions and floods in other areas compounding the problem the numbers needing emergency feeding is rising.

Another dimension of the problem is that of country-wide retrenchments. Growing unemployment is forcing people to return to the rural areas, draining them of what resources may have been available for the support of those already living there, says Mrs Perlman.

"For the first time the word 'starvation' is being used in some areas. The face of hunger is taking on a new and disturbing countenance."

However, South Africans are taking up the challenge to help.

On January 12 this year the country's musicians gave a special performance — a music festival which lasted a day.

The "Concert in the Park" saw more than 100 000 people pack Ellis Park. Dancing and singing along with the groups, hundreds of thousands of people each donated R5, and more than R450 000 went into Operation Hunger's coffers.

Forgetting their differences for a day more than 100 000 South Africans joined forces to raise funds for those in the drought-hit areas of South Africa who daily face the spectre of starvation. In January this year, South Africans packed Ellis Park in Johannesburg (see picture above) to listen to more than 10 hours of music. The all-day festival was organised to raise funds for Operation Hunger and more than R450 000 was collected. The people of Johannesburg had showed they cared. JENNIFER TENNANT reports.

"People attended the concert not only to listen to the music but to show their concern and to do something to help. Even those people given complimentary tickets donated money," says Mrs Perlman.

Finance has poured in from other areas.

When Operation Hunger nearly closed last year because of a lack of funds, businessmen stepped in to avert disaster. They formed the Businessmen's Action Committee in November to raise urgently needed money.

More than R3 million was raised within three months.

Another positive aspect is the incredible will of the people in the famine areas to survive and to help themselves, says Mrs Perlman.

The organisation's self-help schemes include: the provision of seeds for the inhabitants to grow their own crops; making articles for sale in the large urban areas and the upgrading of the rural areas through offering agricultural and technical advice.

The immense value of adopting a school

By Harvey Thomas

This year about 30 companies on the Rand have decided to Adopt-A-School.

And according to Mrs Cynthia Hugo, national director of READ which together with The Star's TEACH Fund are co-sponsors of the Adopt-A-School programme, this brings the total of companies concerned enough to help black education in this way to about 150.

The figures apply only to the Witwatersrand. But when The Star and the READ organization jointly launched Adopt-A-School in 1982 it was noted that there were more than 1 000 black schools in the PWV area.

"There is obviously a lot of room for additional assistance," said Mrs Hugo.

Just what is the Adopt-A-School programme?

The many black schools dotted

"Just what is the Adopt-A-School programme? The many black schools dotted around the Pretoria-Rand area are preparing the employees — and the employers — of the future."

around the Pretoria-Rand area are preparing the employees — and the employers — of the future.

Most of them have adequate classrooms but are still lacking in the basic facilities that change a set of buildings from a shell into a school... things like libraries, teaching aids and sports equipment. The educational authorities simply do not have the budget to provide all these items. This is where a think-ahead company can help.

Mr Jolyon Nuttall, chairman of the Adopt-A-School committee, explained it further.

"The Adopt-A-School movement

can be traced back for more than a decade, but it came into prominence with the decision by American companies to adopt schools," he said. "In 1982 representatives of The Star's TEACH Fund, the READ Organisation, the Department of Education and Training and the African Teachers' Association met with representatives of major South African and multinational companies and decided to formalise the procedure for school adoption.

"There were many reasons for doing this. One was that the schools were being adopted without the knowledge of the Department with the result that money

was being spent on items already provided for in the Department's budget.

"Another was that in many cases neither sponsors nor schools really knew what school improvements had top priority, and basic needs (such as school security) were being ignored in favour of less critical improvements.

"In some instances schools were being adopted by more than one sponsor or being sponsored to the tune of only a few hundred rand a year or were being given a one-time donation with no continuing relationship between sponsor and school."

Two Soweto principals talked

candidly about how they saw the development of schools in Soweto. Both stressed that their views are not necessarily representative.

"There is a general lack of funding for school development," said Mr M Msimanga of Selelela High School, Orlando. "I think that Adopt-A-School is playing a very vital role in making the industrial and commercial world realise that there is a need to contribute towards establishing libraries and to keep them open. The private sectors' response has been positive."

Added Mrs M B Kungwane of the Paul Mosaka Lower Primary School, Klipspruit: "Donors are not misled by attractive buildings. What they want to see is what is going on inside those buildings... if they can see that, they are least doing something to help your school, then I believe they will adopt you."

EDUCATION UPGRADE

Eradicating illiteracy

By Olga Horowitz

Countless South Africans are trapped in a closed cycle of poverty, hunger, disease, high birthrate and increasing numbers of illiterates.

In Durban a dedicated couple, Mr CI (Sandy) D'Oliveira and his wife Louise, co-founders in 1966 of Operation Upgrade in Southern Africa, are eradicating illiteracy by training teachers to open the world of reading to illiterates.

A recent count is 9 000 trained teachers and 250 000 adults taught to read.

Lighting a candle

Through four training centres which bring the near magic gift of the written word to black workers, Operation Upgrade is overcoming the former insurmountable barriers of hopelessness, helplessness and frustration which beset the paths of illiterates.

Words are the Operation sword in the fight against the Hydra-headed problems of society, especially the ill-health and poverty that go hand-in-hand with illiteracy.

Operation Upgrade demonstrates country-wide that it is better to light a candle than curse the dark.

Deeply aware that literacy and health education, including the battle against South Africa's greatest scourge, tuberculosis, go hand-in-hand, Sandy D'Oliveira recently wrote and published "The Story of Alfred" which covers all aspects of tuberculosis, presenting the facts in homely and human terms.

"Alfred" is a roaring success in publishing terms. The original run of 45 000 has been distributed and a further 10 000 ordered by the Department of Health and Welfare.

Operation Upgrade has also pointed to the dangers of illiteracy among workers, the disastrous effect of not being able to understand written orders, warning signs and information about safety.

Realising ambitions

Those of our employees who have been taught to read," wrote the plant manager of a large firm in Durban, "are now able to realise ambitions which hitherto seemed beyond them. Armed with this basic training, these men move confidently into regions of increased responsibility within our organisation."

Says Sandy D'Oliveira: "To most of us the ability to read, over the years, become a well-trodden path along which we daily make our way. What we casually take for granted is, to the new literate, a highway to new horizons as he passes through a world of understanding, beauty and excitement only dimly apprehended before, if at all. Unformulated thoughts, hopes and aspirations are given expression in his mind as he feels within himself a new confidence."

Mr D'Oliveira adds that even the harshly precipitated into a devastating reality with which they were unequipped to cope, have been given a tool they could use to help themselves and, with

it, a new courage.

He points to illiterate paraplegic patients who were all in a state of deep depression, each withdrawn into his own private hell of hopelessness and despair.

"Within 13 days of starting literacy classes in their ward at Baragwanath Hospital they were able to write an examination at a standard four reading level. The lowest mark was 55 percent, the highest 92 percent."

The resident clinical psychologist said that he had never before witnessed so sudden and dramatic change for the better.

"Because of illiteracy, insufficient use has been made of a vast reservoir of human potential — a potential that through sympathetic and intelligent development by an employer can ensure the loyal and willing participation of grateful workers in programmes designed to use that potential to mutual benefit."

Operation Upgrade, through well-tested progressive methods, teaches literacy in the mother tongue. The student is then motivated to attempt, and overcome, the more formidable hurdle of illiteracy in another language, usually English.

"Illiteracy is the prison in which man's potential languishes and dies," says Mr D'Oliveira.

Committing a life

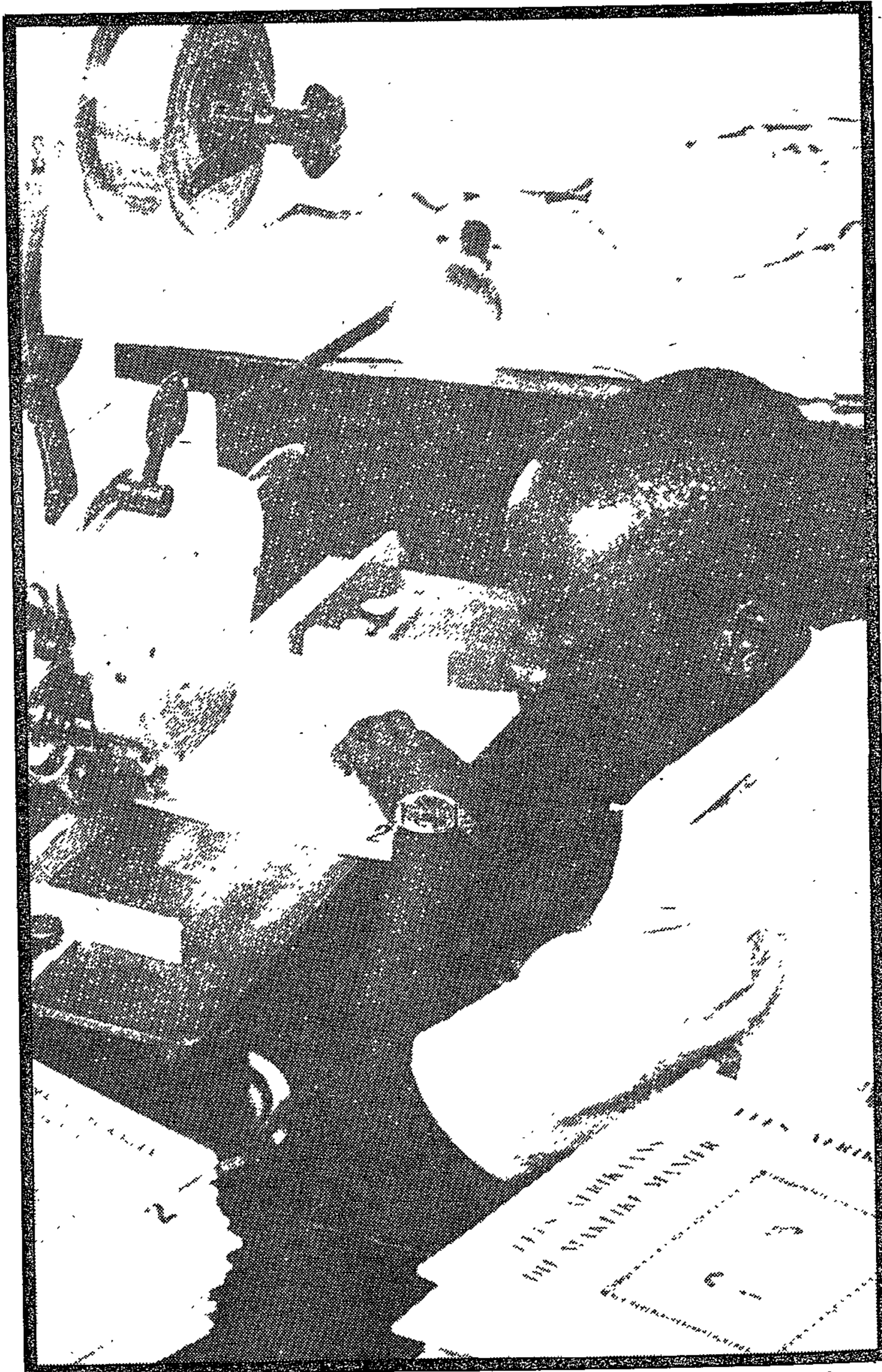
It was in 1958 that Sandy D'Oliveira, then a company secretary for a civil engineering firm, decided to commit his life to Christian work and became an administrator at a mission hospital in Natal.

While working there he met Louise Morrill, co-worker of the famous American literacy pioneer, the late Dr Frank Laubach.

Mr D'Oliveira was impressed by her compassion for the helplessness of the illiterate.

Two weeks after their marriage in 1966 they launched Operation Upgrade of Southern Africa, a banishment-of-illiteracy campaign they seek to extend throughout the continent of Africa in order to build bridges of understanding and goodwill between the north and the south, between black and white.

"We in South Africa can give a practical and Christian lead and make a practical and immensely valuable contribution both to our country and all other nations of this continent."



OPERATION UPGRADE worker stapling books . . . the organisation demonstrates country-wide that it is better to light a candle than to curse the dark.

The words of an ex-illiterate

At 72-years-old, Mr Alfred Sibiyi was illiterate. But then he began the Operation Upgrade correspondence course and within a year was able to express his gratitude in his own words. Here is a letter which he wrote to his employer (translated from Zulu):

"Mr Dlamini,

Thank you very much that I can read and write Zulu. I thank you Mr Dlamini, also the Metal Box Company, for opening this school, and also for the teacher you gave us. My children and my friends are amazed that I can write now.

Mr Dlamini, I wish you the best in life, that you may grow to be a wise man having the same spirit you have now. Wishing, too, your family the best in health, and also that your children, Mr Dlamini, may have the same mind as yours. Wishing the teacher too the best in life for he teaches us well. I can now write a letter and get back a reply from the person I write to. Thank you, I am A J Sibiyi.

● Mr Dlamini is the name given to Mr Colin Brown, the personnel officer for Metal Box Company.



SANDY D'OLIVEIRA of Operation Upgrade . . . the man who made it possible.

HUMOUR

On the lighter side

Already people are worrying themselves sick about P W Botha's referendum, wondering what kind of loaded questions it will contain and how — or whether — they should answer.

As usual this column, first with the news, can set readers' minds at rest. I can disclose exclusively, possibly even before the Prime Minister himself knows, some of the questions that will be asked.

Far from being a nerve-racking "Yes-No" affair, the referendum is planned as a comprehensive yet easy-to-answer multiple-choice exercise taking no longer than 30 minutes of the average voter's time. The range of questions will be such that there is something in it for everybody. (Barring the majority of the population). Some examples:

● Would you prefer your sister to marry:

(a) A black person qualified under Section 10(1)(b) of the Urban Areas Act; (b) A Chinese member of the President's Council; (c) Mr Jaap Marais; (d) A homeland Cabinet Minister; (e) None of the above? Cite alternatives.

● What do the following dates have in common:

1652; 1806; 1910; 1948; 1984;
Calculators may be used.

● Do you believe in, and are you able to spell unaided:

(a) Consociationalism; (b) Westminster-style confederalism; (c) The flatness of the sea as an explanation of all those ships mysteriously lost in the Bermuda Triangle; (d) Santa Claus?

Reference books, (as defined in The Abolition of Passes Act, No 67 of 1952) may be used.

● You are offered exclusive casino, greyhound racing and porno stage and screen rights in a new black homeland. Would you:

(a) Decline with thanks because you don't like dogs; (b) Immediately book your entire family on that round-the-world cruise on the QE2; (c) Consult your minister of religion; (d) Consult your accountant and lawyer; (e) Offer a prayer of gratitude to the memory of Dr H F Verwoerd, who planned it all?

Computers of any size may be used to calculate the profits.

● A white South African invites a putative Venda citizen to his home for a drink on a Sunday; they then move to a hotel whose international status application is still pending. There they play a game of darts, have an argument, call each other racially inflammatory names and end up with a multinational fisticuffs in which several spectators of varied races join in. How many laws are they breaking?

(Answers to the nearest 10 are acceptable.)

● If Dr Treurnicht is the answer, what was the question? Give examples.

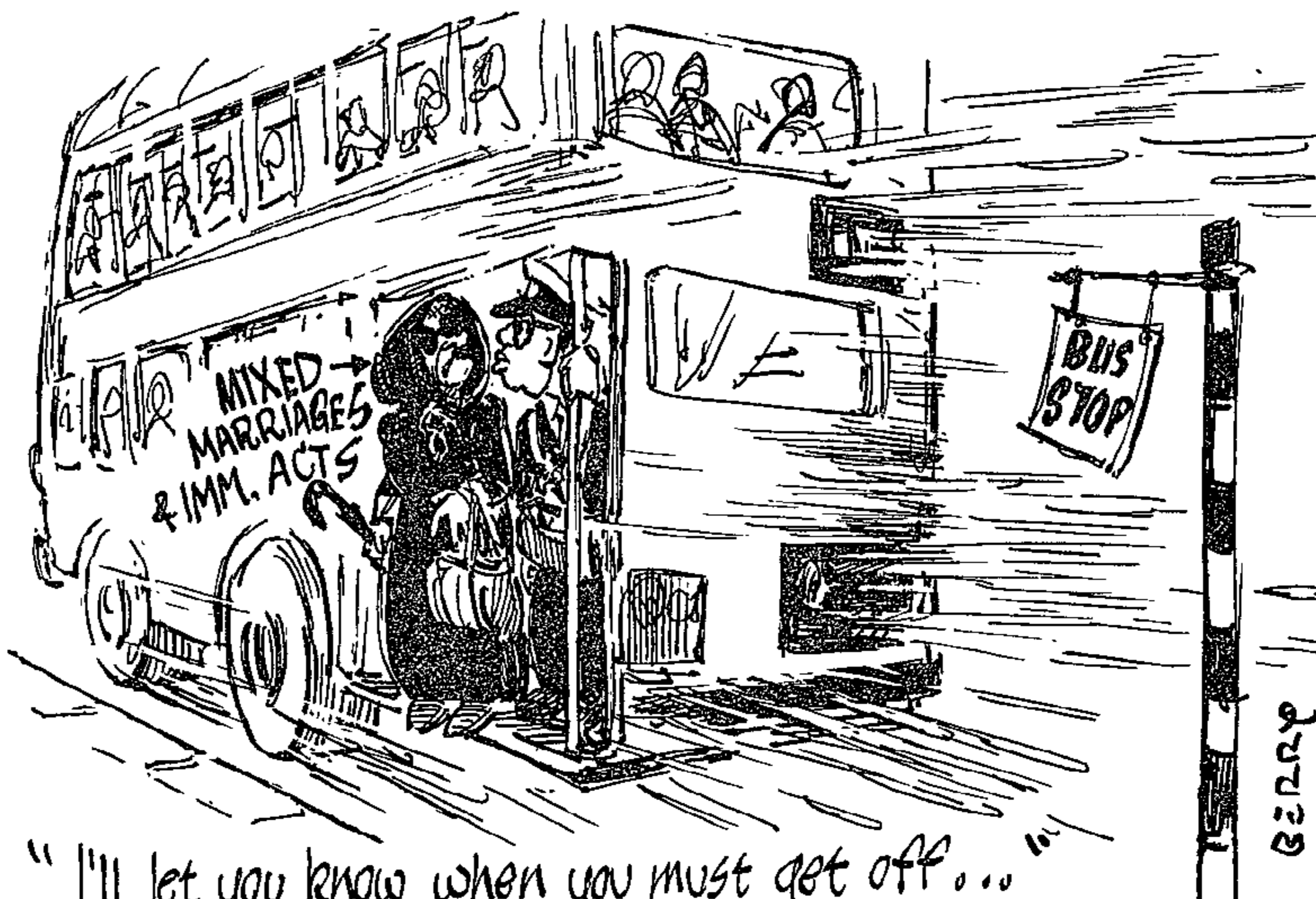
So there you have it... a referendum which should hold no fears for anyone except those who believe that their answers are being scrutinised by some Big Computer which understands the questions. Remember: referendums are good for you. Vote early, vote often and do make every effort to vote Nasionaal.

★ ★ ★

Finding the good news — or at least the absurdities in South African life — is the job of The Star's "So it Goes" satirist, Arnold Benjamin. Here are some examples from a few years back, on topics ranging from the 1983 referendum to the "good old days" of SABC-TV to the Government's alleged declaration of a National Year of the Disgruntled.

Arnold Benjamin

So it goes...



This is how cartoonist Abe Berry sees the current situation.

I don't know how you celebrated the start of the eighth glorious year of SABC-TV last night. Out my way, the festivities were distinctly low-kew, if not totally switched off.

A group of us gathered gloomily in the local video shop and recalled snippets of fact and legend when we had just lost our TV virginity.

"In those first years," sighed Boet Bagshawe, "I think Auckland Park was really trying. I mean making an effort. Remember all those fine old programmes like 'The Dingleys' and 'Haas Das'?"

"I preferred that year of test transmission in 1975," put in Fergus Finkelstein. "They had to get us hooked on TV somehow so they gave us all their best stuff."

"You remember all those great documentaries on the Antarctic and the Ocean. How we got to recognise the faces of those thousands of penguins? Night after night, endless coral reefs and shoals of tropical fish, silently opening their mouths as if they'd been dubbed?"

Several people nodded: "Ja, those were certainly the days."

Granny Miems Meiring, the oldest person in the neighbourhood,

reached back even further in her memory.

"I used to think," she said, "that the late Albert Hertzog was just an old killjoy. He was the Minister of Posts, as you probably know, who said TV was just 'a little bioscope in your house' that would waste our time and corrupt the morals of the nation."

"Later he went on to even greater things, founding the HNP and then even getting kicked out of the HNP."

She paused, looking thoughtful. "Well, on TV I'm not so sure he wasn't right after all, a man ahead of his time. I don't mind confessing that. A killjoy?? Just look at us now..."

There was a long silence. Some youngster suggested we should drink a toast to Albert, but nobody responded to that.

After a while one couple mumbled to each other, "Let's see what's on at the movies."

The rest of us picked up our pirated video reels of this and that and slunk off into the gathering night.

★ ★ ★

For the State, Mr Rigor Mortis, President's Counsel, denied there were even proper grounds to be holding an inquest.

"Where is the corpus delicti?" he said in his summing-up after a six-months hearing. "If Reform is dead, let the body be produced, or — you should pardon the expression — habeas corpus."

Mr A Priori SC, representing close relatives of Reform, also asked what had become of the subject of the inquest.

"My clients have had private pathologists and private investigators hunting high and low among the body politic," he said, "but found no body bearing any but a passing resemblance, which must lead the court to one of three conclusions."

"Either Reform was buried without trace, perhaps in the remote Berge district of the northern Transvaal; or he is in hiding and feigning death, hoping to reappear late; or, and this is the most disturbing suggestion all, he never existed."

"That, as your worship can well appreciate, puts me in a uniquely difficult situation. I would be making representations on behalf of a legal non-persona."

"I return a verdict of presumed death of this presumed party, very likely self-inflicted, and call the whole thing a misadventure. The court will adjourn sine die and reconvene when the drought is over, if ever."

★ ★ ★

One thing that the two one-day tests at the Wanderers made very clear was that local streaking standards are way below par. The streakers on Friday were unimaginative. Their style was, you might say, pedestrian.

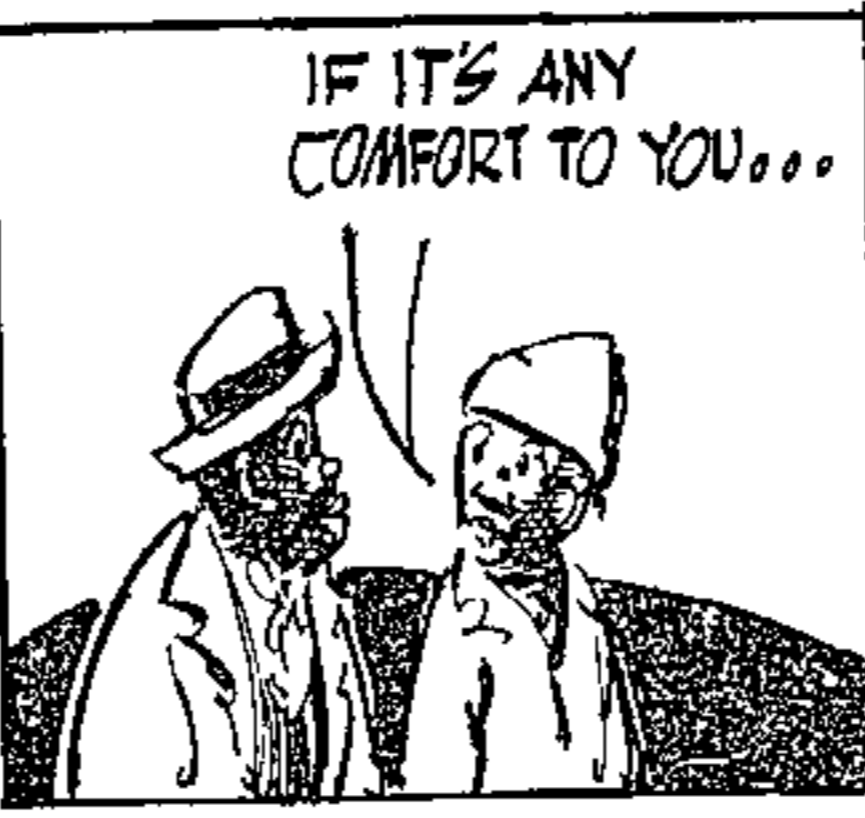
For a short while matters picked up a little, I am told. One chap nicked the balls off the wicket, returned them as he passed the square-leg umpire, and then barely evaded three pursuing cops as he vaulted the fence and successfully disappeared into the crowd.

But another spectator ran out on to the pitch in his underpants, which is contrary to the Queensberry Rules, the Copenhagen Convention of 1974 and all other international rules governing streaking. (Then he doffed them and danced on the field, which makes him more of a stripper than a streaker.)

Even the SABC found it boring and averted its TV cameras to more interesting subjects, such as the fourth replay of Peter Kirsten losing his wicket.

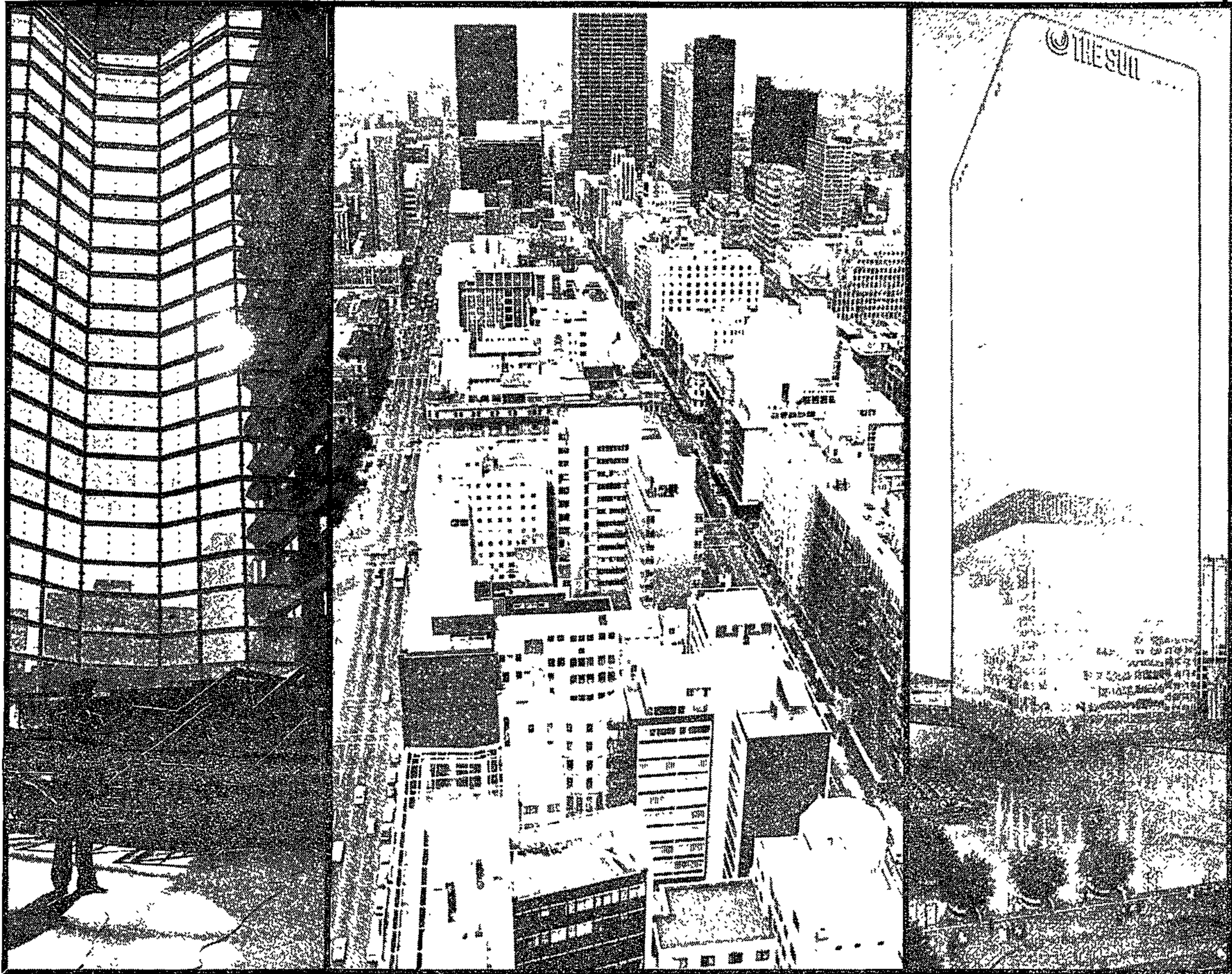
"Undoubtedly," said a noted authority on sporting crowd behaviour, "South African streaking has failed to keep up with world trends, and this is yet another side-effect of international isolation."

"Our streakers wouldn't make a showing in Britain or Australia, and that's the stark truth. Of non-racial streaking, or even non-sexist streaking, there is barely a sign."



PLACES

Microcosm of a nation



Economic necessity ends apartheid

By James Clarke

Johannesburg, in more ways than one, reflects the changes at national level in South Africa. It is a concrete test tube in which the future of South Africa is constantly being tried out, constantly on the bubble.

The other day I spent some time hovering over the city in a helicopter whose doors had been removed so that I could look straight down into the city's streets and yards. You get a pretty intimate view of a city that way — like being to fly on the wall.

The exercise, laid on by Rand Mines so that I could see the changing landscape in the mining belt (more about that some other time), gave me the opportunity to look critically at a city which I have both loved and hated, often at the same time.

From the south it looks a handsome city. Its motorways have a majestic sweep and, most surprising, it was astonishingly green. The green stops at the edge of the CBD.

It occurred to me just how much the city is a microcosm of the nation. Look how the severe geometry of its central core reflects a restrictiveness in plan-

ning and the totally unsentimental materialism which has gripped developers in the recent past. But look again and see, rising above the shoebox architecture of the last three decades, a new skyline of daring new angles, of laser-like rays glancing off glass towers, new roof gardens, little, but highly effective gardens at street level too... the unique shape of the Stock Exchange roof, the

'After a decade of almost no growth, central Johannesburg is now entering a new growth period. A renaissance? Perhaps'

interesting planes of "The Butterfly" — Anglo's new glass building in Sauer Street — and the blue glass "cathedral" in Diagonal Street.

After a decade of almost no growth, central Johannesburg is now entering a new growth period. A renaissance? Perhaps.

The grey puritanism which gripped urban planning may be ending. Architects are beginning to find it easier to talk clients into paying attention to

aesthetics. More and more of the better quality old buildings are being spared implosion and, instead, are being renovated. Look how that grey and ugly building on the corner of Plein and Joubert — The Towers — has been restored to its former Edwardian elegance and now it actually enhances the park opposite. Throughout the city little buildings one never noticed before are now standing out, their paintwork restored and their embellishments repaired.

Johannesburg as a microcosm of the changing nation? Well, look at the almost total breakdown of apartheid in the offices, shops and restaurants. It is a phenomenon which nowadays excites the attention of tourists rather than locals.

Johannesburg is changing. Not convulsively perhaps but, in the last two years, things have happened which can never be reversed. The Hillbrow/Joubert Park/inner-city apartment area has become multi-racial. In spite of the fact that housing authorities are throwing up hundreds of cheap little houses ready for a mass removal exercise it is probably now impossible to unscramble the Hillbrow egg. Just the sheer economic lunacy of leaving thousands of apartments empty — for the sake of raw apartheid — is likely to stop the exercise.

What is behind the Hillbrow influx is no different from the cause of the current, unstoppable, national rural-to-urban migration. The frantic house-building now being spurred by the Government in the designated coloured and Indian areas is, like the belated efforts to make rural areas more liveable, too late to reverse the human drift inwards.

The people who drift into the city to make new lives are not

Johannesburg is changing. Not convulsively perhaps but, in the last two years, things have happened which can never be reversed'

the dregs. Quite the opposite: it takes courage and enterprise for a man to uproot himself and move to a strange city — just the two elements a city needs in its people.

Greater Johannesburg is likely to double its population by 1990. In view of its few parks can it offer an attractive quality of life to 8 million people? Yes, it can. It has few parks but it has lots of available open space which could be developed for recreation — mostly along rivers and ridges,

and of course, on mine-owned land.

Soon Johannesburg is to get some form of mass transit system. Nobody knows what kind. All we do know is that it will be multi-racial — another precursor of a national trend in which economic necessity is ending apartheid.

We are hearing, even in the midst of a terrible recession, plans for new exhibition centres, sportsdromes, museums, a mock-up of a pioneer town as a permanent exhibit, more malls, a relaxation of shopping hours... and one hears more and more talk of opening up trading in the city centre to all races.

And some time this year we will see the inauguration of the first Regional Services Councils which will take over certain general metropolitan affairs.

The RSCs will be multi-racial, the voting power of each councillor will depend on his municipality's wealth. There will be strong moral objections here. But by and large the advent of RSC's is a move towards a more intimate and equitable type of regional government.

It will be up the force of public opinion to mould them into a better shape — and here too we see hope. Johannesburg municipal area alone has 70 residents pressure groups.

PLACES

Komati Accord for tourism

By Clyde Johnson

It all started on March 16 1984. Before that Komatipoort was just a tiny hamlet perched on the Mozambican border.

Visitors comprised mostly Kruger Park tourists to and from nearby Crocodile Bridge and sales representatives taking orders from the town's one-man businesses.

The days when tourists lined the Lebombo border post on their way to Lourenço Marques are long forgotten.

In fact the only visible link with the former Portuguese colony were the large signs on cafes and restaurants advertising fresh, genuine LM prawns.

Then came the signing of the Nkomati Accord.

Suddenly Komatipoort, the little town referred to as the "peace village", became headline news. Even those unable to pronounce the name knew its exact situation.

Although events following the historic signing appear to have been slow, much in fact has taken place since President Samora Machel and then Prime Minister P W Botha met on the banks of the Komati River.

The accord, in essence, was a



LOWVELDERS, Mr Johnny Henn (centre left), mayor of Komatipoort and Mr Fred Joseph (centre right) mayor of Nelspruit share a joke with Mozambique's Tourist director Mr George Welch (left) and the Minister of Tourism Mr Antonio Materula (right).

document saying — let's bury the hatchet and live together in harmony.

But it also presented an opportunity for Mozambique and the Lowveld to benefit handsomely.

While senior government officials on both sides continued with high-level talks three enterprising Lowvelders formed a liaison committee.

Komatipoort businessman, Mr Johnny Henn, public relations officer Mr Pieter Rootman and newspaper editor, Mr Schalk van Schalkwyk, discussed means of helping Mozambique rebuild its broken-down economy.

"With their serious money shortage, our intention was to as-

sist Mozambique reconstruct their tourist industry as well as introduce a type of barter trade," said Mr Henn, who is mayor of Komatipoort.

Phase one of their plan was put into action on July 26 when Mr Henn, in his private aircraft, brought a group of Mozambicans to meet the liaison committee in Komatipoort.

Among them was Mozambique's Minister of Tourism, Mr Antonio Materula.

Delighted by the hand of friendship offered them by the Lowveld, Mr Materula said his country would welcome South African tourists with open arms.

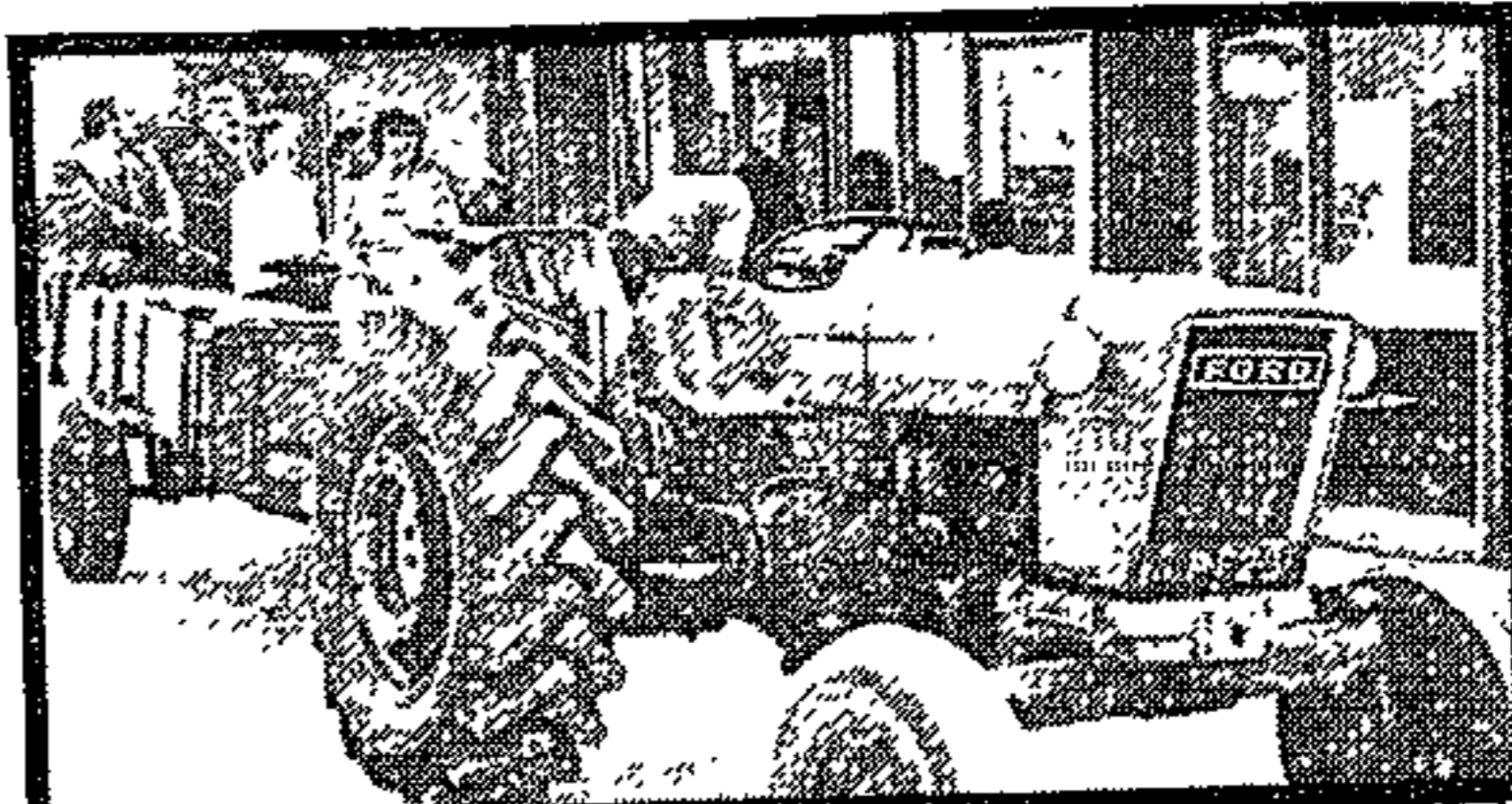
"We are neighbours and like

all neighbours it is much better to live alongside one another in peace and harmony rather than be at loggerheads to nobody's advantage," he said.

Shortly after the first visit a second group, including the Minister of Agriculture, the Minister of Foreign Trade and representatives of the Bank of Mozambique met the Lowveld liaison committee who chose to name themselves Repmosa.

Talks, spread over three days, finally led to the signing of the declaration of intent between Repmosa and Mozambique at Inhaca Island on August 18.

The agreement, though intend-



MEMBERS OF REPMOSA: an organization formed to promote tourism, business and agriculture in Mozambique, travelled to Inhaca to sign a declaration of intent. Here they enjoy a tractor ride — the only form of transport on Inhaca.

ed specifically for the development of tourism, opened doors business and agricultural dealings as well.

Despite its neglected economy Lowvelders consider Mozambique a country with a bright future.

"Its magnificent fish waters, the beautiful beaches on nearby islands and the agricultural potential makes it an absolute jewel in world standards," said Mr Henn.

Projects envisaged include development of the once famous Inhaca and Paradise Islands at Ponte d'Oro. Another is an agricultural project where South African farmers will be invited to develop 8 000 ha of prime land in the southern region.

Mozambique has expressed hope that Lowveld farmers would move in before planting time to provide food and jobs for thousands of starving people.

However, until problems relating to security matters and nationalisation are overcome, this is out of the question.

Inhaca's declaration of intent states that Mozambique will provide the land, labour and available facilities. South African entrepreneurs in turn will make available the capital, equipment and know-how.

Leading the way to open-race policies

By Michael Morris

More than a decade ago Cape Town City Council removed all apartheid signs not required by law from all municipal facilities and its policy on the beaches was that to decline to enforce separation.

Police have taken action at various City Council beaches during past summers, claiming that they were acting on complaints from the public.

But in December last year, when a closer inspection of the law revealed that the council was not obliged to enforce apartheid at any of its public facilities, it lifted all bars on admission based on race.

The storm whipped up by this decision has centred principally on the Sea Point pavilion pool which has been well used by people of colour this summer.

The move — which has affected facilities on the Atlantic and

False Bay coastlines — has been widely welcomed and described as successful, but public reaction has included staunch opposition.

Significantly, a vote of confidence in the City Council was carried at a lively and sometimes rowdy public meeting in Green Point last month where vociferous opponents of the open-race policy nevertheless got their message across.

They have accused the council of ignoring the wishes of locals and of adopting a policy which has forced whites off Sea Point and Camps Bay beaches and from the Sea Point pavilion.

Cape Town led the way in opening theatres to all people. Pressure was brought to bear on the Government in the mid-1970s to open the Nico Malan Opera House.

Despite considerable opposition, it became an accomplished fact and is now accepted as the norm.



Jo'burg set for take-off in its Centenary Year

By Stuart Flitton

"The year will be full of excitement and stimulation such as Johannesburg has never seen before." So says the chairman of the 1986 Centenary Festival Association, Mr David Lewis.

The massive Ellis Park stadium and the National Sport, Recreation and Exhibition Centre (Nasrec) at Crown Mines, will be the main focuses for the festivities.

Every regular event in the city, such as the Rand Show, will be affected by the centenary.

The official opening of the year's celebrations will coincide with that of the South African Games, during which 25 sports will be played.

"We don't say we will compete

with the LA Olympics, but we will come close," says Mr Lewis.

For Ellis Park there's a concert in mid January, similar to the one held earlier this year when 120 000 people packed together to hear the best of South African music, and in July there will be a huge defence force demonstration.

An International Week will be held from the end of August to the beginning of September. This "mardi gras" type event will have 28 countries represented.

Later in the year a Spring Flower Show is planned for Wemmer Pan.

There will be seasons of ballet, theatre and music by PACT.

"It will also be the 50th anniversary of the SABC, so we will

No effort is being spared in order to celebrate Johannesburg's Centenary Year in style. This report on the highlights.

have quite a lot of participation from them," Mr Lewis said.

He said the Israeli Philharmonic Orchestra will be visiting Johannesburg.

There will also be major openings which will produce galas and on-going entertainment.

Gold Reef City, an extension of the Gold Mine Museum, will be opened. The area will be a representation of early Johannesburg with working shops, businesses, hotels, bars and restaurants. The shops will be open until late at night, thanks to an exemption by the provincial administration

from the shop hours ordinance.

All Gold Reef City staff will be dressed in late 19th century costume, including the police who will act as security guards.

The Small Street Mall, in the centre of the city, will be opened and, provided the Administrator of the Transvaal has allowed for flexible trading hours, shops will be open in the evenings.

The Market Theatre precinct will be revamped and the Zoo will have extensive alterations.

At the end of the year there will be a celebrity ball.

Some of the other events to

take place in the year will be the Centenary International Ball Festival at Nasrec from May to 18 between 7 am to 10 a every day.

Mr Allan Dellbridge, chairman of the Balloon Sports Club of South Africa, said he hoped about 150 balloon teams from America, Britain, Europe, Japan, South America and Australia would take part.

More than 50 local and international conferences and exhibitions have been scheduled.

Mrs Lesley-Ann van Nieuwenhuizen, the CFA's conventions director, said the conferences ranged from an MG car enthusiasts' meet to the fifth world championship of the card game, "skat".

"We have many more events planned," Mr Lewis said.

War against poverty

Two young men decide to act

By Sol Makgabutlane

The full impact of the drought and hunger in South Africa's rural communities is highlighted daily — yet how many individuals, apart from established relief agencies, get out there to help those in desperate need?

This is the question that arises as one talks to Laurence Potgieter and Michael Wyndham, two young men who decided to stop feeling sorry for the needy and to do something tangible to alleviate their plight.

Personal involvement

Laurence and Michael are employees at the Electricity Supply Commission's (Escom) head office in Megawatt Park, Sandton.

Laurence explained: "The realities of hardship, hunger and death by starvation through nutrition-related problems are well known. People from all walks of life who may never have seen or endured these hardships nevertheless frequently become involved in charitable efforts through street collections and through agencies like Operation Hunger and World Vision."

But what few people realised was that personal involvement could be achieved in other ways — and with rewarding results.

He says he and his colleagues visited the Valley Trust development project in Botha's Hill, Natal, and were impressed by what people could do for them-

selves once given the opportunity.

"We then decided that instead of making cash donations for poor people, we had to be involved in a more meaningful way."

Contacts were made with personnel from Operation Hunger and other relief organisations for guidelines as to what could be done to combat poverty in other areas.

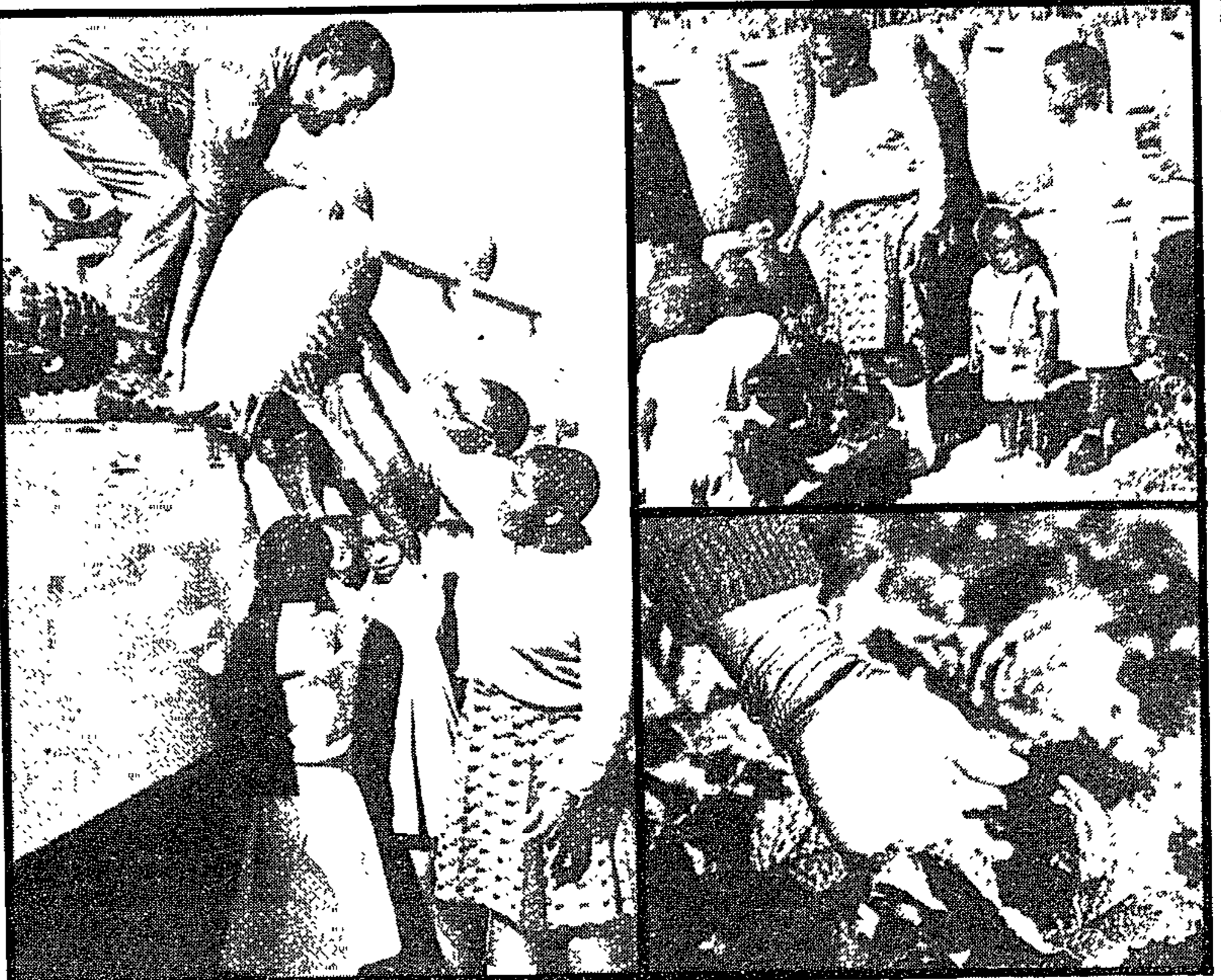
Arising from the research, said Laurence, was the fact that self-help schemes best served impoverished communities. He and his colleagues at Escom decided to distribute top quality agricultural seed and water storage facilities to poverty-stricken rural communities to help them do something for themselves.

Donations

They got in touch with Reverend K D Sebe, a World Vision of Southern Africa project co-ordinator who is based in a village north of Pietersburg.

"Donations solicited from fellow workmates and friends were used to buy seed and this, together with large water containers, was delivered to Mr Sebe over a number of months on four separate trips to Lebowa."

"We undertook our most ambitious trip to Komaneng village in Lebowa after we had received a donation of 100 containers of 100 litres given to us by Klipfontein Organic Products; the use of



a fully fuelled mechanical horse provided by Toyota Marketing SA; and the donation of a large trailer by Imperial Truck Hire."

Laurence, who said he was prompted by the Lord to do something for his fellow citizens, pointed out that the response to the canvassing of donations at Escom was gratifying — "for example an anonymous R100" — and this had resulted in the group being able to buy about

R600 worth of high grade seed, which is approximately 400 kg of mielies, beans and vegetable.

Impact

"Members of the relief group accompanying the trip to Lebowa were most warmly received and were able to see the fruits of previous visits in the many small farm patches that

were green with vegetables.

"There can be no doubt that this last trip will make a significant impact on the inhabitants of the area and do much to improve the quality of life, particularly in terms of wholesome diet and self sufficiency," said Laurence.

Does the team have any plans for the future?

"Yes. Our efforts will be ongoing, since the personal rewards are many."

The power of motivation to self-help

By Jane Strachan

Conservation and development are not mutually exclusive concepts.

In fact, these two processes epitomise the philosophy of the Valley Trust, a socio-medical project with a holistic approach to health at Botha's Hill in Natal.

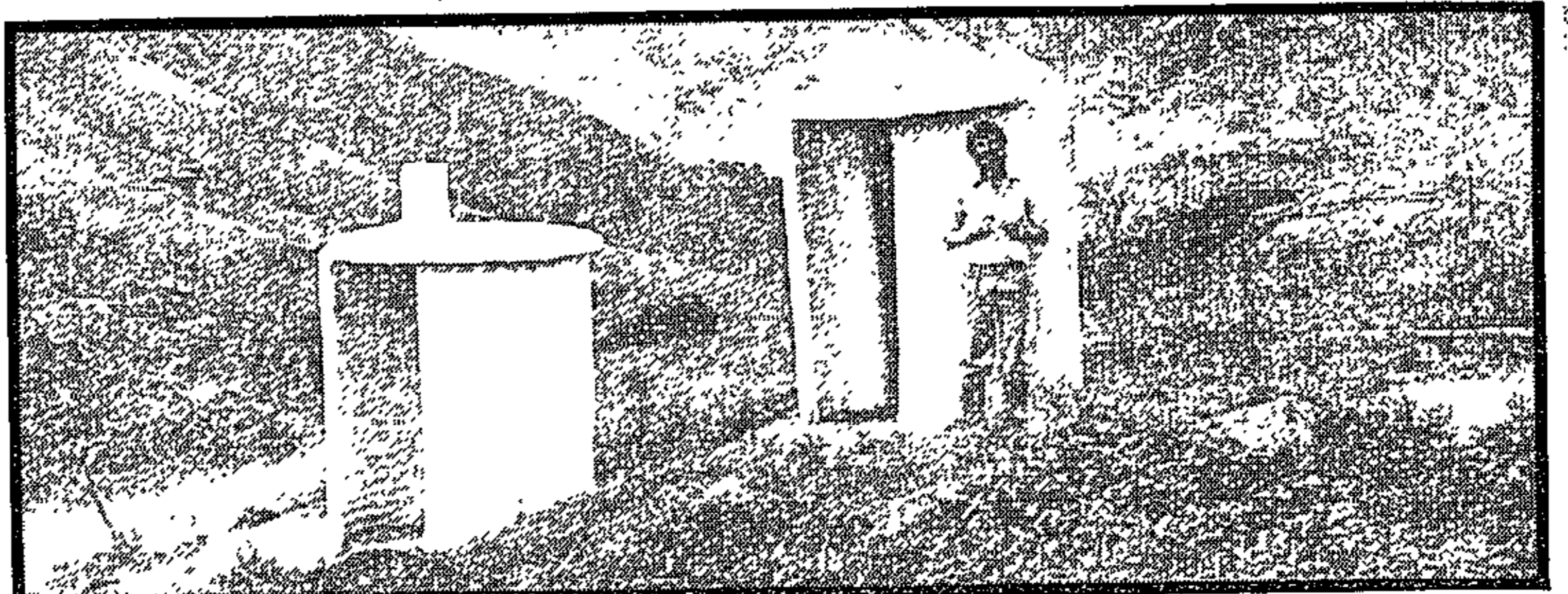
The people of the Valley of 1000 Hills, for the most part impoverished, uneducated Zulus, are being taught how best to conserve their natural resources, while developing their environment so they can live off it.

But each of the Valley Trust's projects is linked to the promotion of health and well-being in the local community, providing hope, knowledge, encouragement and self-sufficiency.

The scheme is probably unique in South Africa in that its services combine health with agriculture.

A strong sense of community and a general increase in the standard of living have come about since Durban medical practitioner Dr Halley Stott first established a health centre in the valley in 1951.

Dr Stott was treating numerous cases of malnutrition at the city's King Edward VIII Hospital, only to have the same people back at the hospital for further treatment at a later stage. He realised it was a lack of proper nutrition which was causing the re-oc-



Natural resources officer Clive Bruzas in front of two of the Valley Trust's "VIP" toilets which locals are being taught to build as part of the drive towards a higher standards of health.

curances of the condition — and wanted to do something more positive.

With his own money, Dr Stott bought a piece of land at Botha's Hill and built a clinic on it, from where he could treat the sick and also dispense vital nutrition education.

The people came in their thousands — too many of them for one man to see to — and so the project expanded.

Today only a few cases of malnutrition are seen to annually because of the work of the team at the Valley Trust, and the facilities there have been expanded beyond direct health care to incorporate a range of interconnected services.

These include a nutrition education unit; an agricultural section; an ecology education unit; a community liaison department; a resource centre; a spring protection team; a training sec-

tion and more than 200 voluntary community health workers.

The holistic view of health was emphasised by natural resources expert Clive Bruzas, who included under health care problems those of water and food supply, education and lack of respect for the environment.

"We can't solve the problem by tackling malnutrition alone," he said.

Each of these other aspects is dealt with in a range of ways — from involvement in providing facilities at schools to spring protection and toilet building.

The Valley Trust is a registered welfare organisation entirely dependent on donations, membership subscriptions, bequests and grants. It receives no aid from State or province.



Dr Halley Stott, founder and former director of the world-renowned Valley Trust at Botha's Hill.

SPORT

A giant leap for SA



A FULL CIRCLE: Not two decades ago Dr Danie Craven said that no black rugby player would ever pull a Springbok jersey over his head. Last month he said that apartheid was an evil that should be eradicated from sport and society.

Mixed sport survives and thrives

By John Kennedy

Anyone who doubts sport's power to influence social change or who doubts that dramatic change has indeed taken place in South African sport should listen to the words of Dr Danie Craven, the once intransigent president of the South African Rugby Board. Not two decades ago the good doctor went on record with the comment that no black rugby player would ever pull a Springbok jersey over his head.

By last month he had turned full circle. Apartheid, Dr Craven said, was an evil that should be eradicated from both sport and society.

Cynics would say rugby's stance is designed to appease overseas opinion and to improve the prospects of the All Blacks touring this winter.

Yet those more intimately involved in the process of sports normalisation in South Africa know Dr Craven to be sincere, and it's true to say his attitude reflects the feelings of most South African sportsmen of all races and political leanings.

Indeed, the removal of racial barriers in the decade following the infamous D'Oliviera affair in 1968 has changed attitudes so dramatically that no one finds mixed sport remarkable anymore.

Given the prejudices prevalent in the late 1960s and early 1970s the metamorphosis is extraordinary.

Remember, black runners could not compete officially in the Comrades Marathon until 1975 and players of colour could not

'Committed to eradicate racism and statutory measures inhibiting racial equality in sport'

tour in visiting rugby teams before 1970. Certainly blacks could not be seen throwing punches at whites in the boxing ring.

Today blacks and whites not only run in the same road races but frequently do so side by side, helping each other in displays of camaraderie that would have been unthinkable in the 1960s.

Springbok rugby teams are strengthened by fleet-footed fly-halves and wings, black professional soccer clubs share facilities with white rugby teams at Ellis Park, black and white boxers vie for amateur and professional honours...

Unfortunately problems persist in some areas.

Many municipal authorities still bar blacks from their facilities and some sports pay only lip service to integration.

The racial separation of schools makes impractical the implementation of truly non-racial school sport, and the inequity of the system severely handicaps underprivileged young sportsmen.

Yet mixed sport survives and thrives in spite of the handicaps, providing an example that other areas of society could profitably follow.

Thanks to the opportunities now available to them, blacks have risen to the top in many sports and dominate several.

Control of professional soccer resides in the capable hands of blacks whose supporters have made football the country's true national sport. But the league is multiracial and many predom-

antly white clubs, such as Durban City, Arcadia and Wits University, still play important roles in it.

Blacks excel at road running and dominate the lighter divisions of amateur and professional boxing. They have also made their mark as golfers, rugby players, track athletes, and exponents of karate, judo and other martial arts.

Many blacks — and certainly most of those who enjoy the pleasure of mixed sport — would dis-

'For the first time every sportsman is saying with one voice that apartheid must go'

pute the argument of the South African Council on Sport (Sacos) and the South African Non-racial Olympic Committee (Sanroc) that normal sport is not possible in an "abnormal" society.

Ever since the mixed sport initiative was launched a decade and a half ago, Sacos and Sanroc have rejected all attempts at conciliation. They say it is wrong

to mix on the white man's terms until apartheid is dismantled.

But the realities of South African sport in the 1980s suggest that the Sacos stance is misguided. The evolutionary approach adopted by athletics, for example, has led not only to improved standards but to better human understanding. The Sacos approach has achieved neither.

The commitment of South African sport to a fair deal for all was dramatically underscored last month when a declaration of intent was published on behalf of every major sports organisation.

The declaration, applauded by Bishop Desmond Tutu among others as "splendid news", commits the signatories to "eradicate all forms of racism and statutory measures inhibiting racial equality in sporting practice and facilities".

As Dr Craven said, cricket, rugby and some other sports had been following the code for years. "But what is wonderful about the new declaration is that, for the first time, every single South African sportsman and sportswoman is telling the world with one voice that apartheid must go."

That's a giant leap for South Africa.

ment said.

RDM 30/11/85
R1 350m budget wins approval

PARLIAMENT. — The R1 350-million Own Affairs Budget of the House of Representatives was read a second time yesterday, with unanimous support from all parties.

In his reply to the debate, the Minister of the Budget, Mr Andrew Julies, said he appreciated the fact that although representatives had identified the budget's shortcomings, they had also expressed understanding of the difficulties created by the current economic circumstances.

The Government had admitted that political change and reform had to come, but the Labour Party would do everything in its power to bring about a "greater tempo" of change.

Anti-terror Bill read second time

PARLIAMENT. — A Bill which proposes more effective measures for the protection of public buildings against terror attacks was read a second time at a joint sitting of all three Houses yesterday.

Introducing the Second Reading of the Control of Access to Public Premises and Vehicles Bill, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said terror attacks had a far-reaching and demoralising effect on employees in public buildings.

Tighter security measures would be introduced at Government buildings as well as at other premises such as those occupied by community councils, he said. — Sapa.

Bill controlling HSRC



We're helping change says Shultz

WASHINGTON—U S Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, yesterday claimed U S policy toward South Africa had achieved 'a good measure of progress' toward changing apartheid.

'The idea that our policy is simply reinforcing the status quo is an utter misconception,' Mr Shultz said in remarks prepared for delivery to the National Press Club.

U S critics of President Reagan's policy of 'constructive engagement', which seeks to use incentives as well as criticism and pressure to bring peaceful change to southern Africa, asserted that it has failed to move South Africa to make meaningful changes.

'We are engaged as a force for peace and for constructive change throughout southern Africa.

Lepers

'This is the only responsible course, and we will not be deflected from it.'

The secretary insisted: 'We cannot have influence with people if we treat them as moral lepers, especially when they are themselves beginning to address the agenda of change.'

Mr Shultz took a dim view of various proposed sanctions in Congress, including curbs on U S investment in South Africa, aimed at speeding change.

He suggested such actions would be 'more likely to strengthen resistance to change than strengthen the forces of reform.'

'It ignores the harm that such an approach will inflict precisely on the black majority whom the advocates of boycotts, embargoes and sanctions

◆ TURN TO PAGE 2

Changing apartheid

◆ FROM PAGE 1

purportedly want to help.'

Arguing that 'we must not stand by and throw American matches on the emotional tinder of the region', Mr Shultz said though everyone agreed apartheid must go 'indignation alone is not a strategy'.

U S policy in the region must be 'coherent, considered and effective'.

'We simply cannot afford to let southern Africa become a divisive domestic issue, tearing our country apart, rendering our actions haphazard and impotent, and contributing to the ugliest and most violent outcome.'

Mr Shultz added: 'An upheaval of bloodshed and destruction would be a monstrous tragedy for all South Africans of all races.'

External pressure could backfire. 'A white government that no longer sees itself as besieged from outside its borders will be better able to take the steps it must to reform its own society,' Mr Shultz said. — (Sapa-AP)

● See Editorial Opinion

NM 17/4/85

Botha expected to make announcement on SWA

ORMANDE POLLOK
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—President Botha is expected to make a major statement tomorrow on the future of South West Africa.

His Budget vote is due to be discussed in Parliament then and he is expected to deal with the Government's reaction to moves by the Multi-Party Conference in Windhoek towards an 'interim government' and with recent American proposals concerning the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

South Africa's troops are expected to have completed withdrawal from Angola by the end of the week.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha yesterday declined to reply to questions on the Government's attitude towards an 'interim government' the formation of which would upset the U.S.

Speculation

However, it does appear that South Africa is looking for an interim alternative if UN Resolution 435 cannot be implemented soon, but observers feel it unlikely that South Africa would go it alone and so alienate the Reagan Administration, risking its 'constructive engagement' policy.

There has been speculation that it could be searching for a 'regionally' acceptable solution, with the participation of Swapo and neighbouring states in the hope that it would eventually be accepted internationally.

Mr Pik Botha said yesterday South Africa's withdrawal from Angola had been a calculated risk in that it was felt the political advantages

would outweigh the security disadvantages.

The timing of the announcement, he said, had had nothing to do with the fact that U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz was about to make a major policy speech.

He and the Minister of Defence, Gen Magnus Malan, had been in complete agreement on the move and did not feel it would jeopardise South West African security.

The withdrawal would place a greater responsibility on the Angolan Government to curb Swapo activities.

Defuse

There were indications in diplomatic circles that Angola's component on the Joint Monitoring Commission was taken by surprise when it was told at Monday's meeting that South Africa intended pulling out of the country.

It has been suggested that it might have been done to defuse a move behind the scenes by Angola to call on the Security

Council to demand South Africa's withdrawal which Western members of the council would have found difficult to veto.

The withdrawal now completes South Africa's commitments to the Lusaka Agreement.

Mr Botha said yesterday that Cuban withdrawal from Angola was the only issue preventing the implementation of 435.

'As far as we and the U.S. are concerned, and to a lesser degree some European governments, we must have Cuban withdrawal,' said Mr Botha.

However, South Africa and Angola were still studying a 'set of new ideas' which had been introduced by the U.S.

Nature reserve

JOHANNESBURG—Kangwane is to create one of the largest nature reserves in southern Africa with the help of a R100 000 donation, the Chief Minister Enos Mabuza announced in Johannesburg yesterday. (Sapa)

NMA 17/4/85
304A

SA 'marxists' are expelled by Zimbabwe

HARARE—Two South African political refugees are to be expelled from Zimbabwe today for being involved in 'subversive activities' against the Zimbabwe Government, it was announced in Harare yesterday.

Lawyers for Mr Darcy du Toit and Mr David Hemson, both in their 30s, said the two had been transferred from the Chikurubi maximum security prison outside Harare to the Harare remand and holding centre to await their deportation.

Today the men would be driven to the airport and put directly on the daily flight to London, the lawyers said. They were still under detention orders.

In a statement to the Herald, Zimbabwe's main daily newspaper, the Minister of State Security, Mr Emmerson Munangagwa, said Mr Hemson and Mr du Toit, members of the self-styled Marxist Workers' Tendency of the African National Congress of South Africa, had been declared 'undesirable' and were to be deported.

The two men were arrested on March 1 and were due to be released yesterday.

Mr du Toit's Dutch wife, Anneke, said she would be leaving for Holland either today or on Friday. Mr Hemson, who was detained in the late 1970s by South African authorities for his involvement in worker unrest in Natal, is expected to leave for Britain this week.

The arrest of the two men — more than six weeks ago — was greeted by demonstrations outside the Zimbabwe High Commission in London by members of the Trotskyite Militant Tendency of Britain's Labour Party.

The Zimbabwean Government maintained silence on the issue until yesterday.

In his statement to the Herald, published yesterday, Mr Munangagwa said Mr Hemson had arrived in 1982 to teach at a black secondary school in Harare. Mr du Toit had arrived a year later, and had taken up a teaching post at the Kwekwe Technical College in the country's Midlands.

Mr Munangagwa said Mr Hemson and Mr du Toit had 'infiltrated' sections of the Zimbabwean labour movement and were 'indoctrinating' disenchanted union officials to 'organise strikes against the Government'.

Lectures

Investigations into the group's activities had shown that they had been using invisible ink in their correspondence and had several mail boxes under pseudonyms.

'This amount and extent of secrecy convinces us that the activities of the group were contrary to our socialist ideals and inimical to our national interest,' Mr Munangagwa said.

Mr Hemson had sponsored 'unauthorised lectures' and had 'indoctrinated his audience in politics, trotskyite ideology and other extreme Leftist ideas'.

Both men were born in South Africa. Mr Hemson holds a British passport and Mr du Toit holds British travel documents.

Mr Hemson spent several years in London before he came to Zimbabwe. While in London he was expelled from the South African Congress of Trade Unions, the labour section of the ANC. — (Sapa)

Big defections to CP forecast

304A NM 17/4/85

Mercury Correspondent

PRETORIA — The National Party must brace itself for massive defections to the Conservative Party, the head of the Political Science Department at the University of South Africa, Prof Willem Kleynhans, said yesterday.

This, he claimed, would be the unavoidable consequence of the scrap-

ping of the Mixed Marriages Act and the sex across the colour line provision of the Immorality Act.

The party had destroyed its Afrikaner base.

'The repeal of these obnoxious measures will be the last straw for disillusioned Nationalist supporters who have been fence-sitting in

their thousands since the introduction of the new constitution.'

The laws, he said, were symbolic of the security offered by the National Party against the rooted fear of Nationalists of being swamped by blacks.

The National Party had destroyed itself and would now have to look to a coalition with the PFP and the NRP to survive and hold on to power.

It would have to restructure itself as a reformist, liberal, integrationist party likely to attract majority support from English-speaking voters.

'By repealing the measures the National Party will deprive a large mass of its support of a law considered vital for the survival of white authority and control in South Africa.'

He emphasised if the National Party had to depend for its survival in government on the support of Afrikaners, it would lose the next general election by a massive majority.

Yesterday in Parliament

Botha accuses U S of 'selective morality'

Ormande Pollok
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—Foreign Minister Pik Botha yesterday accused the U S of applying 'selective morality' by setting higher standards for South Africa than the rest of Africa.

South Africa, he said, should be judged by African standards.

'This goes to the heart of the problem of how a future South Africa must be ruled and according to what standards — African or Western norms.

'This is going to require painful honesty.'

Mr Botha was replying to questions at a news conference about reaction his department had received from abroad to the announcement that the Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the Immorality Act were to be repealed.

There had been a positive reaction but he was disturbed by the American tendency to always add a 'but' when reacting to new developments in South Africa.

Refuses

While he appreciated recent statements by President Reagan he said he was 'bothered' by the U S tendency to judge South Africa by American standards.

'The U S refuses to judge South Africa in the context of the African continent,' he said.

oppose government action.

The U S knew there were few genuine trade union movements in African countries and that there was little freedom of speech or criticism from oppositions as was allowed in South Africa.

Apart from these aspects, issues such as effective management, financial discipline, housing, agriculture,

health and forced removals in other parts of Africa had also to be considered.

He felt the U S was applying selective morality in these matters. They should make themselves aware of African norms and then objectively assess whether the pressure being put on South Africa was justified.

What would happen in

South Africa if African norms were applied here?

'They simply say "we expect higher standards from you",' he said.

'They cannot afford to say openly they expected higher standards from whites than from blacks.'

South Africa would have to find its own solutions for its own problems.

● See Editorial Opinion

'This could be seen as racist as they are setting higher standards for us than the rest of Africa. We don't get an answer to our questions about why this is done.'

He said the U S demanded that their concepts of democracy and fundamental rights should be met by South Africa while it did not set these conditions for most of the African countries as well as some Eastern and European countries.

There were few African countries in which there were elections and many of them had authoritarian governments, few of which had ever been elected.

Few African countries had judiciaries which were completely independent of the government and individuals had little means to directly

Buthlezi has 'guided country like a true leader'

19/4/85
OVER the past two months of crisis and trauma, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had counselled and guided the country like a true leader, the Leader of the Opposition, Mr J N Reddy, said in the House of Delegates yesterday.

Speaking in the Budget debate, he said Chief Buthelezi had joined the forces of moderation in advising people abroad not to fall victim to the

disinvestment lobby. He had shown the type of leadership that would lead the country to peace.

Mr Reddy appealed to the Government not to reject out of hand the report of the Buthelezi commission into Natal/KwaZulu.

'What is no good today will be good tomorrow,' he said. The Chief Minister of KwaZulu should be accepted as a man committed to peaceful

change.

Turning to the economy, he said South Africans had always earned foreign exchange from gold sales and had forgotten about exporting. It was time to turn people's energies to exporting, which was a special philosophy.

'The time to talk about exports must end. Action must be substituted for words.'

'Nail colours to mast' PFP told

African Affairs
Correspondent

ULUNDI—The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday that he would rather be told bluntly by Mr Jaap Marais, leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, that he was a 'kaffir' than be told by Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, that he was a 'kaffir' who misunderstood things.

Chief Buthelezi was replying in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly to a news report which stated that Dr Slabbert had said he felt that the KwaZulu Chief Minister had misunderstood the contents of a report compiled by six MPs of the PFP who had visited Uitenhage after the shootings there last month.

Critical

The members said local people had reported to them that they felt that 'Gatsha's impi's' had been used against the residents during the disturbances.

Chief Buthelezi said he knew Dr Slabbert had problems with factions in his party who tried to play political 'footsie-footsie' with the United Democratic Front.

'If relations with Inkatha cause him embarrassment, we should have some moratorium on our relations because we don't want to embarrass him,' he said.

The Inkatha president said he was not prepared to see his organisation treated as a political prostitute — fondled during the night and kept in darkness during the day.

Chief Buthelezi said politics in South Africa had reached a very critical stage and it was better if people 'nailed their colours to the mast'.

Consulted

He said he welcomed the opportunity to receive a letter that Dr Slabbert had promised to write to him. But if the PFP's leader meant by 'clearing up the matter' that he, Chief Buthelezi, could not understand simple, straightforward things, then he hoped the letter would not be something along these lines.

The Minister of the Interior for KwaZulu, Dr Dennis Madide, said members of the PFP who published a report of the role of Zulu policemen in the shootings at Uitenhage should have consulted Inkatha leaders beforehand.

Dr Madide said it was possible that members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly would be accused of being hypersensitive and of blowing things up out of all proportion.

However, members could not be expected to respond privately when they were attacked publicly.

RD 19/4/85
304A
Slabbert calls for certainty on PW's reform initiatives

PARLIAMENT. — The Leader of the Opposition, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, yesterday called on the State President, Mr P W Botha, to give the country more certainty about his new initiatives, including citizenship for blacks, the proposed forum and the relaxation of influx control.

Speaking during the State President's vote in the Committee Stage of the Budget, Dr Slabbert said the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, had recently said in a magazine interview that the forum would eventually become part of the constitutional structure and the constitutional law.

Dr Viljoen had also said that a breakdown in apartheid was taking place in the sense that there was a move away from the ideology of complete separation.

Dr Slabbert asked what these statements meant.

"What is the Government saying to these people. Does this mean that blacks will be included in the reviewed constitution. Only the State President can give the answer to this question and certainty as to the road ahead.

"Only then can we enter into a meaningful debate on these issues and get away from the rhetoric which has been taking place in the past week when questions and counter-questions have been asked."

Dr Slabbert said the House of Assembly was being watched with "eagle eyes" by

the country. He said the Assembly was no longer the showcase of the minority white population but what was happening there had a direct impact on all the country's people.

He said the Government should not fight the impending Harrismith by-election as verkrampes and try to rule as verligtes.

He said he had recently visited Uitenhage and Newton Park where another by-election was pending. He said he had been struck by the total lack of communication between the police and the black people and between the black and white communities.

"They are in different worlds and could just as well be living on two different continents."

Dr Slabbert said he was convinced the problems in the area could be solved if this communication gap were bridged.

An attack had been made by Mr J J Niemann (NP Kimberley South) on the integrity of Mr Andrew Savage (PFP Walmer) who Mr Niemann claimed had engaged in irregularities in gathering votes in the Newton Park by-election, Dr Slabbert said.

The claim was based on false information supplied to Mr Niemann, Dr Slabbert said. He appealed to members not become involved in these sort of personal attacks. — Sapa.

Ex-Anglo chief: 'If I were black.'

CME Times
19/4/85
304A

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Mr Harry Oppenheimer, the multi-millionaire mining magnate, said he would use his industrial power to organize strikes if he were black in South Africa.

Speaking in a BBC radio interview yesterday Mr Oppenheimer, former chairman of the giant Anglo American Corporation, warned the South African Government that if it failed to grant blacks 'political rights soon they would exercise political power through their trade unions.

Mr Oppenheimer said the system of apartheid was "cracking up" and predicted it would be totally dismantled within five years.

Motives

During the interview Mr Oppenheimer was asked how he would go about securing his human rights if he had been born a black South African.

"I would hope that I would not organize violence — although I am not prepared to be so starry-eyed as not to understand the motives of people who do it if prevented from having a vote for the central running of the country.

"I should certainly make use of industrial power..."

Interviewer: "You would organize strikes and that type of thing..."

Mr Oppenheimer: "I'm afraid I would. I hope they (the blacks) won't. I quite realize that it is not going to make my company's life as an industrialist any more comfortable.

"The moral I draw from that is not that people should organize strikes but that our government should move quickly to give blacks a share in the central government of the country."

He said there was no such thing as "streamlined apartheid". As

apartheid was dismantled more power was transferred into the hands of blacks.

"I hope blacks will be able to exercise this power by being given political rights at the centre.

"If they are not given rights fairly soon they will exercise that power through their trade unions," he said.

Asked if his prediction that apartheid had five years meant that there would be "one person, one vote" within that time Mr Oppenheimer said:

"It depends what you mean by one person, one vote.

"I think there will be one person, one vote but it will be within a fancy constitution which provides for the protection of both individual and group rights."

He said that he did not want to be any more specific in predicting what kind of constitution would emerge because it was essential that it should be the process of negotiation between the "authentic leaders" of black and white South Africans.

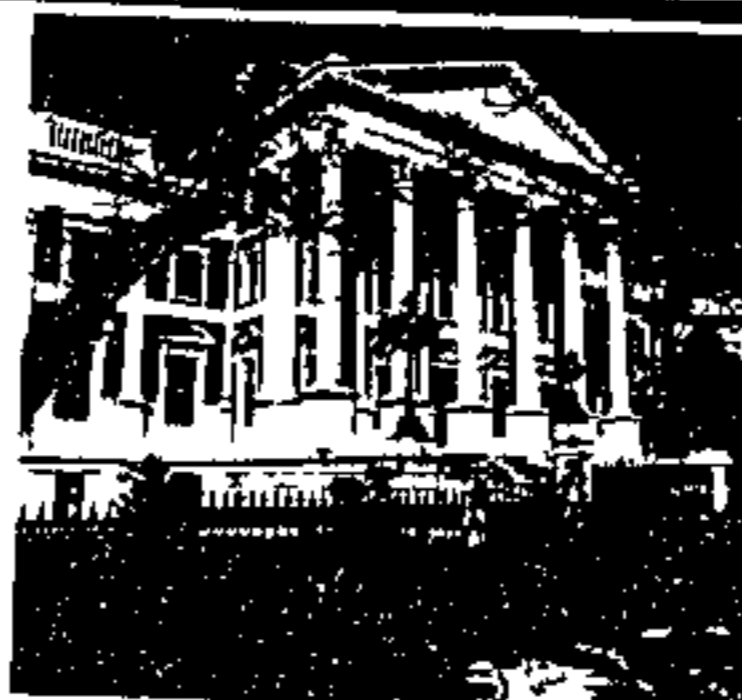
"I know that that includes people working outside the system and in jail," Mr Oppenheimer said.

Mr Oppenheimer again rejected the option of economic sanctions warning that — if they worked — sanctions would damage the economy and lead to unemployment and more violence.

"I think that people who talk of applying economic sanctions to bring about peaceful change are talking nonsense," he said.

"I think that maintaining a fair outlook for business in general is much the quickest way — and the only possible peaceful way — in bringing about a change to a just society in South Africa," Mr Oppenheimer said.

Prisoners 'want to talk' to



President In brief ...

ARGUS 19/4/85 30/4/85
Parliamentary Staff

POLITICAL prisoners serving life sentences on Robben Island had called on President P W Botha to come to the prison to talk to them, Mr Ranji Nowbath (NPP nominated) said in the House of Delegates.

Mr Nowbath was one of a group of MPs to visit the island this week and speak to political prisoners.

He said he had spoken to "lifers" who told him he should tell the State President to come and talk to them.

According to Mr Nowbath, the prisoners said: "We want to talk to him but we don't want to talk to him by means of messengers and messages."

Mr Nowbath said he regarded it as a genuine plea.

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19/4/85
30/4/85

Some blacks to get freehold rights

Parliamentary Staff
FREEHOLD rights are to be granted to blacks in areas which now qualify for leasehold rights, President P W Botha announced today.

Speaking in the Budget debate on his vote in the Assembly, Mr Botha said that, following further negotiations, the Government had decided that full individual property rights for those black communities and persons who already qualify for 99-year leasehold should go ahead.

He said this principle had no implications for the content of existing political rights. This was governed by other rules.

HIGH PRIORITY

Mr Botha also announced an investigation into relations between Government departments and blacks by the Human Sciences Research Council.

The project had to receive high priority and would be designed to enable black peo-

ple themselves to identify and indicate problem areas.

President Botha said objectivity would be of the utmost importance in this investigation.

Other moves announced by President Botha include:

- An instruction that all Government authorities must again ensure that black communities are involved in decision making on socio-economic matters affecting them:

INVOLVED

- An instruction to all departments to design and submit orientation programmes aimed at improving attitudes in the carrying out of their functions. These programmes would not be based on fictitious problems but on realities found in the HSRC investigation.

- The Commission for Administration would be held responsible for the broad co-ordination of the orientation programmes for personnel of all races who were in daily contact with black people.



**THE
PRESIDENCY**

AKGUS 19/4/85

306A

**By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent**



Now PW must tackle the cruelest pillar of all

WITH the announcement that the Mixed Marriages Act and the sex-across-the-colour-line clause of the Immorality Act are to go, Mr Botha has again demonstrated that he is prepared to ride the right-wing hysteria of the Conservative Party and the HNP.

Although the recommendation came from a Parliamentary committee of all three Houses which in turn followed an inquiry by a select committee of the old all-white Parliament, the credit must in the final analysis go to Mr Botha.

He rather gingerly started the moves to do away with these obnoxious measures at the Cape National Party congress in September, 1979.

At first he had in mind only an improvement of the laws but the select committee soon found out that, as people like Dr Erika Theron had stated, they could not be improved but could only be scrapped.

It took some political courage and realism from Mr Botha to start the move that led to this week's announcement

because these two laws were indeed two of the cornerstones of apartheid as conceived by the National Party when it came to power in 1948.

Mr Botha, the young MP for George, was in Parliament in 1949 to hear the silver-tongued barrister Dr T E Donges, then Minister of the Interior, say that the object of the Mixed Marriages Act was as far as possible to check miscegenation and to promote racial purity.

In 1957 the sex-across-the-colour-bar clause of the Immorality Act was brought in.

After countless human tragedies and the besmirching of South Africa's name abroad, two pillars of apartheid have been toppled. It has been acknowledged, at last, that it is not possible to legislate for affairs of the heart.

But President Botha still faces the need to scrap the cruelest pillar of apartheid — the Group Areas Act.

When the scrapping of the marriage and sex laws was

mooted, Nationalists felt that "related legislation" would have to be adapted "with a view to the continued social, educational and constitutional ordering of own communities".

In the past Ministers such as Mr Louis le Grange stated that if these "pillars of the system", as he called them, were chopped out, laws like the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act would be affected.

But the committee which recommended the demise of the marriage and sex laws found that it was not necessary to change the remaining pillars of apartheid because racially mixed families could be dealt with administratively.

As a compromise in order to get the first two Acts out of the way Opposition white MPs and coloured and Indian parties decided not to press the matter of remaining laws at present.

In the battle against the right wing the National Party needs the argument, for the

present at least, that the really big pillars of apartheid are still there.

We are therefore entering a new period of "permitocracy" of the sort we once had for sport and open hotels.

The Group Areas Act especially will be under increasing pressure, from among others the coloured and Indian coalition partners in the Government. Whatever his Ministers may now be saying about the need to have a well-ordered society the President will at some stage have to start preparing his followers for the fact that this Act, too, will have to go.

Mr Botha must be preapred to give the verkrampptes another shock.

Instead of governing by permit or by exemption the Government will have to start by allowing some open residential areas.

Just as there will be no stampede to have mixed marriages there will be no rush to create mixed residential areas.

MCBS 12/4/85

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21/11/85



SWA/NAMIBIA

New plan for SWA will restore limited powers

Control of Koevoet to go to SWA police

THE Government is to restore limited legislative powers to SWA/Namibia, although Pretoria is to retain all its existing powers with regard to the territory, the State President, Mr P W Botha, has announced in the House of Assembly.

Giving the State's response to the proposals of the Multi-Party Conference in the territory yesterday, Mr Botha said the MPC had asked for an internal government to be set up "which would promote national reconciliation, national welfare and a nationally acceptable and internationally recognised independence".

"Legislative and executive authorities for SWA will accordingly be reinstituted which will be empowered to promulgate a Bill of Rights and establish a constitutional court and a constitutional council."

As long as international negotiations held "realistic prospects" for a withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, Pretoria would "not act in a manner irreconcilable with the international settlement plan".

In the light of this:

- The Government would retain all its existing powers in

SWA/Namibia, including foreign relations and defence.

- Laws of the legislature would require the signature of the Administrator-General.

- South Africa would continue to negotiate with the United Nations and the international community on independence.

- While negotiations for the withdrawal of Cuban troops were under way, South Africa would regard any draft constitution produced by the constitutional council as a basis for future discussion, or as a proposal which could be submitted to the constituent assembly en-

visaged in the international settlement plan.

The proposed arrangement was an interim one that did not violate the Government's international commitments.

Mr Botha said the people of the territory could not "wait indefinitely for a breakthrough on the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola".

If there was no prospect of this occurring, the parties affected "will obviously have to reconsider how internationally acceptable independence may best be attained in the light of the prevailing circumstances".

Parliamentary Staff
ALL police units in SWA/Namibia, including the controversial counter-insurgency Koevoet unit, are to fall under the command of the Commissioner of Police of the territory.
The Commissioner and his force will become answerable to the proposed interim government for SWA/Namibia.

This was announced in Parliament by President P W Botha.

Control of the security police branch in the territory as well as the Koevoet unit would be handed over to the Commissioner in SWA/Namibia on May 1.

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

SA rejects Western objections

THE Government has rejected objections from the West that the plan for an interim regime in SWA/Namibia clashes with plans to find an internationally acceptable solution in terms of United Nations Resolution 435.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr P W Botha, disclosed last night that identical aide memoirs containing the objections from the US, Britain, Canada and West Germany were handed to the South African Government this week and he released the South African reply.

The Western four stated that any unilateral step by the SA Government to establish a constitutional body in SWA/Namibia and to transfer power to it would be null and void in terms of the UN plan.

In its reply, South Africa rejected a suggestion that it

should not even consider the Multi-Party Conference proposals submitted to it last month.

It said it would, as always, be prepared to consider any proposal of any political party which declared itself in favour of a peaceful solution to the problems of the territory.

3
If Harry was
a black he

would strike

ROM 19/4/85
304A
London Bureau

LONDON. — The retired chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, Mr Harry Oppenheimer, said yesterday that if he was a black man in South Africa he would certainly make use of industrial power.

Asked by a BBC radio interviewer whether that meant he would organise strikes, he said: "I'm afraid I would. I quite realise that's not going to make my life as an industrialist any more comfortable."

"That is why the moral I draw is not that black people should organise strikes, but that our government should move quickly to give them a share in the central government of the country."

He said he thought apartheid was "cracking up" and that a system of one man one vote could be seen within the next five years.

NRP wants fourth chamber for blacks

PARLIAMENT. — Urban black leaders elected by "normal democratic process" sitting in a fourth chamber of Parliament to put their case for further constitutional change was the most practical way of solving the problems of black participation in central government, Mr Derrick Watterson (NRP Umbilo) said yesterday.

The Government's proposed forum for such discussion between black leaders and the authorities was impractical because black participants would not necessarily be the people non-homeland blacks would choose to represent them.

Black discontent would continue because the forum would not be part of the legislative authority but would work parallel to it, without any power.

The Conservative Party's policy that there should be no blacks in central gov-

ernment was totally impractical and the Progressive Federal Party's proposal that a national convention be held at which interested parties could negotiate the country's constitutional future with the "true" black leaders would also fail as these leaders were not easily identifiable.

"The NRP's policy is that black leaders be determined by the normal democratic process and should sit in a fourth chamber of this Parliament, in the same way as the other groups and subject to the same authority."

Mr W J Cuyler (NP Roodepoort) said the Government had made quite clear its position that a fourth chamber of Parliament for blacks was unacceptable and that its proposed forum was an opportunity for all reasonable, peaceful and moderate blacks to consult with the Government — Sapa

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, today invited the leaders of all political parties to join a special Cabinet committee and form the nucleus of a national non-political effort to negotiate with black leaders who rejected violence.

He also made major announcements for blacks with regard to full property rights and South African citizenship and announced a comprehensive programme to improve public service attitudes towards the black community.

Mr Botha was speaking during the debate on the President's budget vote in the House of Assembly.



President Botha

He said the special Cabinet committee investigating political rights of urban blacks could be the basis for all-party negotiations with blacks.

In making these announcements, Mr Botha said he was not asking for a coalition or fusion of the parties. There were still differences between them.

He said: "I plead for the creation of a national team effort of this House to find solutions for our most burning problems."

Mr Botha said the Government did not regard the loss of South African citizenship as an unavoidable consequence of the independence of black national states.

Negotiations

He said an investigation into black citizenship had brought greater clarity and the subject was very important for most black people.

Further negotiations on the issue were envisaged.

On the subject of greater autonomy for the national states, Mr Botha said constitutional developments, on both individual and State levels, could take place only if geographical consolidation was sensible.

There would be more negotiations on this aspect as well.

On the permanence of urban black communities, Mr Botha said that as a result of negotiations and consultations, the Government had decided to proceed with full property rights for those urban blacks who qualified for 99-year leasehold rights.

● Sapa reports that Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said today his party would fight the inclusion of blacks in the political system.

He said the party was "totally opposed to power-sharing".

Herstigte Nasionale Party spokesman Mr Louis Stofberg rejected Mr Botha's plea and accused him of leading the country towards black majority rule.

He said the HNP would refuse to take part in talks on constitutional rights for blacks outside the homelands.

He added: "We will fight tooth and nail until this Government is defeated."

Political Staff

AKens 19/4/85

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P
W's
all-party
Poles

11A
thorities, and perhaps also certain rugby fans. The police have stated categorically that they will brook no trouble at the sporting fixtures.

Mohamed says the UDF is aware of the difficulties, but plans to protest peacefully and to stay within the bounds of the law. He says the references to violence have been misinterpreted. "It is not the players' blood that we envisage being spilt, but our own. Law enforcement in SA is known for its brutality." ■

SANDY BAY

Wiley procedures

50
More serious than the morality of nude bathing at Sandy Bay, Cape Town's famous nudist beach, is the controversy surrounding the way in which the latest proposals for its development are being handled. The issue is proving highly embarrassing for Environment Affairs Minister John Wiley.

Wiley has the final word in the case of projects proposed for the "natural area" proclaimed by government in October 1983 which encompasses Sandy Bay, along with other vast tracts of the peninsula. The proclamation provides for "limited and agreed development" in the area. However, it would seem that there is a conflict of interest because the Minister has considerable land holdings further south in the "natural area" at Noordhoek. Wiley says there is no conflict because he has declared his interests.

Making matters worse, although doubtless quite unintentionally, is the manner in which Sun International boss Sol Kerzner and his US millionaire partner, Robert Hall, went about seeking approval for their proposal to develop a luxury township in the Sandy Bay area. The proposed development is adjacent to Llandudno and about 1 km from Sandy Bay beach. They approached Wiley directly, who then referred the matter to the Table Mountain Management Board (TMMB), an environmental advisory body, instead of first going to the Divisional Council of the Cape (Divco) or the Provincial Administration (see *Property*).

The TMMB unanimously rejected the Kerzner/Hall plan. That in itself is not remarkable. But there is controversy about the fact that Wiley summarily dismissed TMMB member Len Pothier last Friday for leaking information about the plan to the press.

Wiley tells the *FM* there was no alternative to the Pothier dismissal. He says he cannot accept that a member of an advisory committee should release its findings to the press, before he was informed of its recommendations. "I still haven't been informed by the chairman (Douglas Hey)," complains Wiley. "I've only read about all this in the press."

Director General of Environment Affairs Fred Otto maintains there was nothing irregular in Kerzner and Hall approaching Wiley



Minister Wiley ... running into flak over real estate

directly, since a "no" from the Minister at the start would have obviated the expensive and time-consuming procedure required in a detailed presentation to Divco.

On the other hand, it would be fair to suggest that a nod from Wiley, say in the form of a letter of approval, would do wonders to get the proposals through Divco and the Provincial Administration.

Neither Kerzner nor Hall was available for comment as the *FM* went to press. ■

REFORM

Federalism for SA?

304A FM
19/4/85
SA could well be on a path towards a federal-type political order involving the amalgamation of the homelands and provinces into a single national state, with race no longer being the primary principle of political representation.

This is the opinion of four Wits academics in an article in the latest *SA Labour Bulletin*. Basing their propositions on data from government and the private sector, William Cobbett, Daryl Glaser, Doug Hindson and Mark Swilling argue that the idea of ethnic differentiation is no longer as sacred as it once was. Indeed, "the call for federation could become the cornerstone of a new and wide-ranging consensus among those favouring a reformist solution in SA," they say.

The academics warn, however, that federalism does not mean equal rights, but merely "offers a way of moving beyond formal racialism." It could even exacerbate social inequality and increase the centralisation of power. They add that the basic problems of unemployment and poverty cannot be resolved by this proposed federal order.

It is widely agreed, the Wits academics

say, that SA is in the middle of an unprecedented economic and urban political crisis. They believe that there are elements within and outside government "looking for solutions that go well beyond the current reforms" and which could allow for black political rights in SA.

The academics say three tiers of government will probably be introduced as part of this restructuring process:

□ The first tier could take the form of central State representation more compatible with a federal framework;

□ The second tier will in all likelihood consist of the eight development regions set out by government at the Good Hope conference. There has been substantial infrastructural development in these areas; and

□ The third tier will most likely be the Regional Service Councils (RSCs) that administer "general affairs" in metropolitan areas. Urban revolt has forced government to include black local authorities in the RSCs.

The Wits academics also expect the package of labour controls contained in the Riekert Commission's report and the three "Koornhof Bills" to be modified. It is possible that the principles of "planned urbanisation" across bantustan boundaries, the depoliticisation of labour controls and a more flexible approach to managing labour supplies will gradually be implemented.

This would involve greater mobility within the eight development regions and intensify control between them. "This clearly cuts right across the Riekert conception of labour mobility for urban insiders within 'white' SA and replaces it with an emphasis on intra-regional labour mobility and stricter inter-regional regulation," they say.

Nevertheless, the federalism plan is unlikely to satisfy big business. Says former PFP MP and Anglo American director Zac de Beer: "Labour should be able to move completely freely, and the eight regions are unevenly developed, which makes it unfair to restrict inter-regional movement." De Beer believes "economic development takes place in response to economic forces and not as a result of political manoeuvring. So decentralisation only works insofar as it accords with economic conditions."

The academics argue that there are three objectives underlying the federalism plan:

□ The "depoliticisation" of SA. This includes reducing government's role in the running of the country;

□ Transferring government's direct influence over policy formulation concerning issues such as welfare, health and transport to local and regional authorities;

□ At the same time, government is centralising authority over matters concerning security, constitutional affairs, the judiciary and monetary policy to insulate itself from opposition.

The academics believe that business's intensified campaign against influx control involves both an attempt to defuse urban conflicts and a recognition that urbanisation is

(304A) RDM 20/4/85

Govt must talk to ANC, says Harry O

London Bureau

LONDON. — The South African Government would have to talk to the African National Congress and the United Democratic Front if there was to be peaceful change, South Africa's most influential industrialist, Mr Harry Oppenheimer, said in London.

Speaking on BBC television's late-night Newsnight slot on Thursday, Mr Oppenheimer said it was not too late to avoid violent revolution in South Africa.

"I'm not so optimistic that I think we are going to get to a just society in South Africa without violence and riots — I wish we could but I don't believe it.

"But I think there is still time — if the situation is handled reasonably and humanely — to get there without a violent revolution," he said.

The retired chairman of the giant Anglo American Corporation, said he was in favour of one man, one vote which he said was inevitable but added that it would have to be granted within a "fancy" constitutional arrangement guaranteeing the protection of individual and group rights.

Mr Oppenheimer said it was essential that the Government speak to the "authentic leaders" of all people in SA, including those "working outside the system and (the) many in jail". A compromise could then be reached, he said.

"I think that the interests of everybody in avoiding violence are such that this would be possible."

Mr Oppenheimer urged the Government to remove immediately all restrictions on black mobility — including influx control and the pass laws.

ANC 'vehicle for
revolution in SA'

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

— No political party represented in Parliament could satisfy the demands of the forces of hatred, President P W Botha said yesterday.

Speaking during his vote in the Budget debate, Mr Botha said Marxism/Leninism openly used the African National Congress (ANC) as a vehicle to achieve its determined form of so-called freedom for South Africa.

"The ANC is, according to the South African Communist Party (SACP), the main immediate instrument for the achievement of the aims of the so-called national democratic revolution.

"Whether the Communist Party or the ANC will eventually be the dominating factor does not matter.

"The fact is that they influence one another to overthrow this State and they want to bring about a dictatorship, supported by a so-called people's militia which will replace the present South African Defence

Force and Police Force.

"One has only to study the works of Dr Voslensky to see what these forces dictated to by Moscow really have in mind.

"Through intimidation and dictatorial control the masses are exploited and used to serve the interests of the governing elite."

Mr Botha said that in this connection he was reminded of what Alexander Solzhenitsyn said in 1975, namely that the situation in the world was not just dangerous or threatening, it was catastrophic.

It had to be realized that the tremendous price of hatred was there in the Soviet Union and that it flowed from there, throughout the world.

It was necessary to stand up against it and not try to give it everything it asked for.

"No political party represented in this House can satisfy the demands of these forces of hatred.

"I also state that these forces are not representative of the large majority of South Africans," Mr Botha said. — Sapa

Yesterday in Parliament

Civil servant appointments *NM 20/4/85 (250) (304A)* 'on merit and efficiency'

CIVIL servants of different population groups were to be appointed according to merit and efficiency, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr F W de Klerk, said yesterday.

Speaking before the Budget debate on the Home Affairs Vote in the House of Representatives commenced, he said the revised guidelines for the employment of civil servants was instituted with the new constitution.

Members of the different population groups were favoured for positions in the Own Affairs department of their population group.

The appointments already made to the department were to fill the posts previously held by whites.

Changes were envisaged in the granting of bursaries.

He said recruitment had not specifically been done, but that schools of the various population groups were visited to let them know about the different posts available.

Only when posts were not able to be filled by coloureds would members of other population groups be appointed.

Posts in the General Af-

fairs Department would be filled by members of any population group, including blacks.

He said the naming of posts would in future not be linked to population identification.

Full salary parity between whites, coloureds and Indians had been achieved in 19 out of the 21 salary standards in the civil service, Mr De Klerk said.

Parity had not been

achieved in five of the salary standards for blacks.

Press reports on April 15 that said that R235 million was available for salary adjustments in the civil service were misleading and incorrect, he said, adding that R110 million was committed last year to the improvement of salaries for the teaching profession.

The remaining

R125 million, as spelt out in the Budget, was for the improvement of low-paid personnel such as labourers and under-qualified teachers and nurses.

'There is absolutely no possibility of a general adjustment for civil servants. I hope the Press will give this correction as much prominence as they did the articles that lead to it,' Mr De Klerk said. — (Sapa)

rights

Change of NM 20/4/85 name for (304 A) change of relations

'CO-OPERATIVE coexistence' rather than 'apartheid' should be the term used to characterise race relations in South Africa, Mr Botha said.

He said he had stated when he became Prime Minister that the concept 'apartheid' in the negative sense of oppression was unacceptable to him.

'It is unfortunately a word that creates a wrong impression of South Africa's internal relations and has become a parrot-cry for our enemies and also those ignorant people who are influenced by them.

'That is why I prefer to talk of "co-operative coexistence".

Mr Botha said this concept stressed the ideals of justice and decency for all without domination, which should be the goal of all reasonable South Africans.

'I am determined to continue the process of doing away with all the unpleasant and discriminatory things that cling to the concept of 'apartheid.' — (Sapa)

No party could satisfy the NM 20/4/85 (304 A) demands of forces of hatred'

NO POLITICAL party represented in Parliament could satisfy the demands of the forces of hatred, President Botha said.

Speaking during his vote in the budget debate, President Botha said marxist leninism openly used the African National Congress as a vehicle to achieve its determined form of so-called freedom for South Africa.

'The ANC is, according to the South African Communist Party, the main immediate instrument for

the achievement of the aims of the so-called national democratic revolution.

'Whether the Communist Party or the ANC will eventually be the dominating factor does not matter.

'The fact is that they influence one another to overthrow this state and they want to bring about a dictatorship, supported by a so-called people's militia which will replace the present SADF and police force.

'One has only to study

the works of Dr Voslensky to see what these forces dictated to by Moscow really have in mind.

'Through intimidation and dictatorial control the masses are exploited and used to serve the interests of the governing elite.'

Mr Botha said that in this connection he was reminded of what Alexander Solzhenitsyn said in 1975, namely, that the situation in the world was not just dangerous or threatening, it was catastrophic. — (Sapa)

PFP and NRP accept invitation by Botha

NM 20/4/85

Parliamentary Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—The invitation by President Botha to opposition leaders to join a Cabinet Committee investigating the constitutional accommodation of blacks has been accepted by the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, and the leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Bill Sutton.

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, rejected the invitation.

In addition to his Cabinet Committee invitation, Mr Botha yesterday also announced:

The granting of full property rights to blacks who qualify for 99-year leasehold;

And the acceptance by the Government that blacks need not necessarily

lose their South African citizenship when their homelands become independent.

Mr Botha also launched his strongest attack on the United Democratic Front, which he accused of being the 'internal extension of the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party'.

In accepting the invitation to join the Cabinet Committee, Dr Slabbert said he was prepared to explore any strategy to bring about evolutionary

constitutional change.

He appealed to Mr Botha not to 'cut off' the UDF. He said that while there were radical elements in the UDF — as there were in the ANC — who rejected any form of negotiation, there were also members of both organisations who wanted to talk.

In his attack on the UDF, Mr Botha said the aim of the organisation was 'the destruction of our system of government

★ FROM PAGE 1

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The Messenger

P.T.O.

Opposition parties to join committee to investigate future role of blacks

20/4/85
M 20/4/85
★ TURN TO PAGE 2

and civilised values' and not peaceful socio-economic and political change.

He also linked the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Dr Beyers Naude, to the UDF's activities and accused him of inciting conflict with the authorities by pleading for 'a campaign of responsible civil disobedience'.

rights have long been regarded as the logical extension of 99-year leasehold and are the final acknowledgement by the Government of the permanence of blacks outside the homelands.

And by conceding that blacks can retain South African citizenship after their homelands take independence, Mr Botha has reversed what was once a fundamental principle of the separate development policy.

The inclusion of other Full land-ownership

political parties in the Cabinet Committee on blacks was last night welcomed, with reservations, by the president of the S A Institute of Race Relations, Prof Lawrence Schlemmer, as a step in the right direction.

"There is still an important hurdle to overcome, and that is the willingness of representative black leaders who reject violence to participate in the forum," he said.

Both the UDF and the Azanian People's Organisation yesterday rejected Mr Botha's invitation to opposition party leaders to join the Cabinet Committee.

Dr Farouk Meer, a UDF Natal executive member, said: "While on the one hand Mr Botha talks of his preparedness to talk to those leaders who reject violence, on the other hand he is holding 16 UDF leaders who have never espoused violence, on a charge of treason."

"Who does he want to talk to when non-violent people are jailed?"

The UDF was not intent on precipitating revolution in South Africa, the organisation said in a statement.

It said it wanted to see real change instead of such massacres as took place in Uitenhage.

Mr Jmrann Moosa, the UDF's publicity/secretary, said the solutions to the country's problems

lay primarily in the hands of black people.

The Black Sash national vice-president, Mrs Joyce Harris, said the mere fact that Mr Botha had made the speech was to be welcomed, because it indicated some awareness of the country's crying needs.

But, as usual, the details of the proposals do not measure up to the general tenor of the speech, she said.

The Council of Unions

of South Africa remained convinced of the need to create an undivided, non-racial, non-exploitative society, Cusa general secretary Mr Phiroshaw Camay said yesterday.

The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said last night that he did not want to comment on Mr Botha's announcements at this stage.

● See Editorial Opinion and Page 11

Plans to give blacks a say, fairness, justice, stability and freehold

MM 20/4/85 304A 304A Leaders invited to negotiate for blacks

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY—President Botha has invited leaders of other political parties to join the special Cabinet committee on black constitutional affairs to form the nucleus of a negotiating forum with black leaders.

'I am not pleading for coalitions or fusion,' he said during the debate on his budget vote.

'I am pleading for a national team effort of this House to find solutions to our most burning question along the way, indicated by me.'

Mr Botha referred to his speech at the opening of Parliament in January and said he had emphasised that the Government was in earnest in seeking, along with other communities, peaceful and democratic solutions which would meet the demands of fairness and justice.

He had also emphasised that it was the Government's constitutional goal to maintain the security and stability of every population group and to give everyone a voice in the decision-making processes affecting their interests.

'It remains the Government's view that with the di-

versity of our population it is neither desirable nor practical to accommodate all our communities in the same manner.

'Structures will, of necessity, differ without necessarily creating less effective or inferior structures.'

Mr Botha said he had also emphasised that there was an interdependence which had to be accepted on the basis of co-operative neighbourliness (saamewerkende-naasbestaan).

The State President said the constitution gave him particular responsibility towards the black communities and he could announce that the Government had decided that:

Full freehold rights be extended to urban blacks.

Black authorities above local level be established with 'much more power' and contact points on matters of common interest.

The loss of South African citizenship was not the necessary consequence of independence of former homelands.

The HSRC be requested to investigate relations at contact level between government departments and the black population.

Mr Botha said that the envisaged black government structures would have to flow from negotiation with the black communities which had permanence outside the national states.

The question of individual freehold rights had also been taken up with the national states which had no objection to the concept in principle.

Self-determination

Any future dispensation would have to recognise that South Africa was a country of minorities and that these were entitled to protection of their rights.

That meant self-determination over such issues as culture, community life and education.

A unitary state was unacceptable and would lead to conflict and a serious threat to minority rights.

Mr Botha said he had no hesitation in saying he was in favour of the creation of a responsible middle class of black which would be prepared to protect its possessions.

There was an urbanisation process in South Africa and because of water and land shortage this process had to be deflected from the metropolitan areas by a policy of decentralisation of industries linked with an upgrading of agriculture in the black national states where 50 percent of the best farmland of South Africa was located.

'In this respect I want to address our black people directly,' Mr Botha said.

'If this agricultural land is properly developed we can feed an additional 25 000 000 and create work for millions more without the disruptive effects of urbanisation to the metropolises.'

Returning to the issue of relations between the population groups, Mr Botha said this was such an important issue that he was not prepared to leave a single stone unturned.

Involved

As a result he had given certain instructions to Government bodies and institutions dealing with matters affecting blacks.

Apart from the high priority given the Human Sciences Research Council report, government bodies had to ensure again that black communities were involved in all socio-economic decisions affecting them.

A recent in-depth study into citizenship negotiations had brought more clarity.

'For most blacks this is an important issue,' Mr Botha said.

'The Government does not regard the loss of citizenship as a necessary consequence of the independence of a national (black) state.'

More autonomy for the national states was essential.

'Should what I have said here have the support of the leaders of other political parties, I wish to invite them that we may have the Special Cabinet Committee (on black constitutional development) Act in such a manner as the nucleus of a negotiating forum so as to include them (the leaders) to negotiate on a non-party basis with those black leaders who reject violence as a political solution.'

'That is my offer. It is for you to accept or reject it.' — (Sapa)

Some 'fundamental differences', but Slabbert accepts

NM 304 20/4/85
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THE LEADER of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert has accepted the invitation by Mr Botha to participate in the Cabinet Committee to find a way of accommodating blacks in the constitution.

Speaking in the State President's vote in the Committee Stage of the budget, Dr Slabbert said he had stated at the beginning of the year that he would persuade blacks to take part in the forum proposed by the State President.

He said the present invitation appeared to apply to participation in the forum which was an extension of the Cabinet Committee, and as he would not have tried to persuade others to take part in something which he was not prepared to take part himself, he accepted the invitation.

Dr Slabbert said there were fundamental differences between his party and the NP but what they had in common was that they both agreed that one party could not find the solution for the whole country.

Dr Slabbert said the PFP had often been accused of boycotting and not wanting to participate in certain structures.

'We refused to participate in the President's Council because it was not linked to Parliament and was only an advisory committee.

'When a tricameral system was proposed we opposed it vigorously, but once it was introduced, we accepted it as a fundamental constitutional instrument to bring about further constitutional change.

'I have considered the State President's invitation against a position of principle and regard it as most important.'

He said that if the invitation was an extension of the forum he had proposed at the beginning of the year he would be happy to accept the invitation.

In negotiating for solutions, two things had to be accepted. Firstly, the reason negotiation took place was that people were different.

Secondly, negotiation sometimes had to take place between people who did not necessarily like each other.

'It is very important not to cut the ground from under negotiation,' he said. 'I am prepared to talk to anybody. I'm prepared to go the UDF, and say: 'Don't go for violence and revolution, come and negotiate'.

'I have to do that. It is a large-scale movement.

'The ANC is a hardline communist movement committed to violence, but there are also people who support the ANC who are not committed to violence.' — (Sapa)

**UDF 'an
NM 20/4/85
internal
(44A) (304A)
extension**

of ANC'

IT HAD become clear the United Democratic Front not only acted in its own right, but had become an internal extension of the African National Congress and the S A Communist Party, Mr Botha said.

Giving an assessment of the current threats to South Africa, he said: 'The process of politicisation and mobilisation, in which especially the UDF has an important role and which takes place in a still deteriorating economic situation, has attained such proportions that the potential for extensive countrywide violent disturbances, has increased markedly.'

'Any assessment of the security threat against the Republic is at present dominated by a drastic escalation of the revolutionary climate in the country.'

The aim of the UDF and most of its substructures was not peaceful socio-economic and political change, he said.

Intimidation

'Their end goal is the destruction of our system of government and civilised values.'

Although the UDF professed its opposition to violence, the results of its action indicated the contrary, as was clearly evident from the murder, arson and intimidation in the Eastern Cape and elsewhere.

The organisation's immediate aim was to mobilise the masses and incite them towards confrontation with the authorities, he said.

He added: 'It has become particularly clear that the UDF not only acts in its own right, but has become an internal extension of the ANC and of the S A Communist Party.' — (Sapa)

Treurnicht says CP will fight black inclusion in politics

THE Conservative Party would fight against the inclusion of blacks in the political system, the party's leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said yesterday.

Speaking during the State President's vote in the Committee Stage of the budget, Dr Treurnicht said his party was 'totally opposed to power sharing' and the president could not expect the CP to assist in finding a way to accommodate blacks in the political system.

He said the CP policy was one of partition of the races and political participation within their own geographical areas.

'We will support the Government if they continue to grant independence to separate states but we cannot accept the granting of rights to blacks outside these states.'

'How can you accommodate blacks other than by allowing them into Par-

liament? What other way can it be done.'

Dr Treurnicht said blacks would never be satisfied with an informal forum. He said the white people of the country had gained their independence and their own parliament and it was a basic political principle that if you started giving away your power you would eventually lose it all.

He read a quotation from a piece of paper which he said had been circulating at the University of the North. The paper stated that 19 brave men, women and children had been killed by police while taking part in a peaceful demonstration in Uitenhage and 42 children of apartheid had died in the Westdene bus accident.

Dr Treurnicht said this was an example of the sick attitude and spirit of the people with whom a peaceful settlement had to be negotiated. — (Sapa)

Parliament and Politics

President calls for 'team effort'

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The State President, Mr P W Botha, has invited leaders of other political parties to join the Special Cabinet Committee on black constitutional affairs to form the nucleus of a negotiating forum with black leaders.

"I am not pleading for coalitions or fusion (samesmelting)," he said during the debate on his budget vote.

"I am pleading for a national team effort of this House to find solutions to our most burning question along the way indicated by me."

Mr Botha referred to his speech at the opening of Parliament in January and said he had emphasized that the government was in earnest in seeking along with other communities, peaceful and democratic solutions which would meet the demands of fairness and justice.

He had also emphasized that it was the government's constitutional goal to maintain the security and stability of every population group and to give everyone a voice in the decision-making processes affecting their interests.

"It remains the government's view that with the diversity of our population it is neither desirable nor practical to accommodate all our communities in the same manner."

"Structures will of necessity differ without necessarily creating less effective or inferior structures."

Mr Botha said he had also emphasized that there was an interdependence which had to be accepted on the basis of co-operative-neighbourliness (saamewerkende-naasbestaan).

The State President said yesterday he had a number of things he would like to add in the most practical possible way.

Freehold

The constitution gave him particular responsibility towards the black communities and he could announce that following further negotiations and consultation the government had decided that:

- full freehold rights be extended to urban blacks;

- black authorities above local level be established with "much more power" and contact points on matters of common interest;

- the loss of South African citizenship is not the necessary consequence of independence of former homelands;

- the HSRC be requested to investigate relations at contact level between government departments and the black population.

Mr Botha said that the envisaged black government structures would have to flow from negotiation with the black communities which had permanence outside the national states.

The question of individual freehold rights had also been taken up with the national states which had no objection to the concept in principle.

Any future dispensation would have to recognize that South Africa was a country of minorities and that these were entitled to protection of their rights.

Cornerstone

That meant self-determination over such issues as culture, community life and education.

"The devolution of power will thus have to remain a cornerstone of constitutional development."

A unitary state was unacceptable and would lead to conflict and a serious threat to minority rights.

President Botha said there was ample evidence and everyday examples of the diversity of thought and desires of the different black peoples which made it totally impractical to accommodate them in one political structure.

He did not wish to cite examples as this could cause offence. He was, however, prepared to discuss the matter with the leaders of the various parties in the House in private.

It was, however, a tragic fact that blacks were today being encouraged to murder other blacks.

It was equally true to say that there was an inherent clash of interests between black and black over a variety of issues — many of these coupled with threats of bloodshed unless they were resolved.

It was not a burden or a task to find suitable



structures to accommodate these diversities, but a duty.

Mr Botha said he had no hesitation in saying he was in favour of the creation of a responsible middle class of black which would be prepared to protect its possessions.

There was an urbanization process in South Africa and because of water and land shortage this process had to be deflected from the metropolitan areas by a policy of decentralization of industries linked with an upgrading of agriculture in the black national states where 50 percent of the best farmland of South Africa was located.

"In this respect I want to address our black people directly," Mr Botha said.

"If this agricultural

land is properly developed we can feed an additional 25 million and create work for millions more without the disruptive effects of urbanization to the metropolises."

Returning to the issue of relations between the population groups, Mr Botha said this was such an important issue that he was not prepared to leave a single stone unturned.

As a result, he had given certain instructions to government bodies and institutions dealing with matters affecting blacks.

Apart from the high priority given the Human Sciences Research Council report, government bodies had to ensure again that black communities were involved in all socio-economic decisions affecting them.

"Recognition of human dignity is a prerequisite for decision-making be-

cause that is how decisions are influenced by the necessary elements of compassion and understanding."

All governments had been instructed to design orientation programmes aimed at improving attitudes in the execution of their functions.

"These programmes will not be based on fictitious or imaginary problems but on realities revealed by the HSRC report," President Botha said.

Furthermore the Commission for Administration would be held responsible for the broad co-ordination of orientation programmes of personnel of all races who had daily contact with blacks.

Contribution

Finally, Mr Botha said, he wanted to make a serious appeal to the media to make a positive contribution.

"There are in the media those who are more interested in circulation than in good relations," he said.

He was not referring to some sickly spirit of obsequiousness sprouting from a guilty conscience.

He believed there was unlimited opportunity for all to help build better attitudes but there were mischievous elements who bedevilled rather than aided positive efforts.

"Many long and difficult efforts to build good relations can be destroyed by a single thoughtless act or inaccurate report."

A recent in-depth study into citizenship negotiations had brought more clarity.

"For most blacks this is an important issue," Mr Botha said.

"The government does not regard the loss of citizenship as a necessary consequence of the independence of a national (black) state."

More autonomy for the national states was essential.

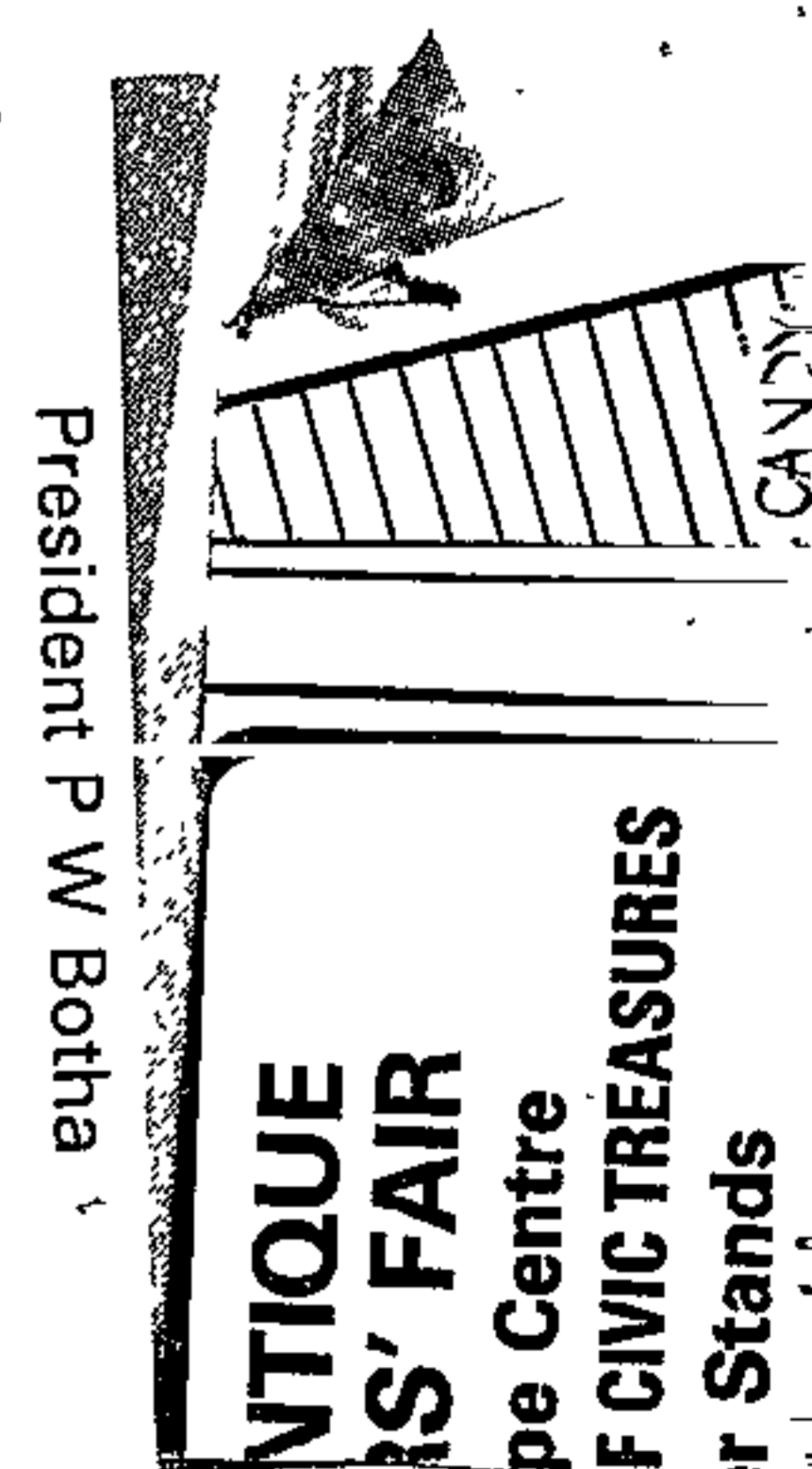
"I think it can be said that undoubtedly the TBVC countries and the national states regard themselves as irreversible political entities."

All these issues presented a great challenge which required a strong sense of responsibility from political leaders and their followers.

"Should what I have said here have the support of the leaders of other political parties, I wish to invite them that we may have the Special Cabinet Committee (on black constitutional development) act in such a manner as the nucleus of a negotiating forum so as to include them (the leaders) to negotiate on a non-party basis with those black leaders who reject violence as a political solution."

"That is my offer. It is for you to accept or reject it."

He said not leaders, but South Africa itself, was important, "its prosperity, peace, progress and its place as a regional power in the subcontinent". — Sapa



UDF 'an extension of SACP and ANC'

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — It had become clear the United Democratic Front not only acted in its own right, but had become an internal extension of the African National Congress and the SA Communist Party, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said yesterday.

Giving an assessment of the current threats to South Africa during his speech in the Assembly, he said: "The process of politicization and mobilization, in which especially the UDF has an important role and which takes place in a still-deteriorating economic situation, has attained such proportions that the potential for extensive countrywide violent disturbances, has increased markedly."

Hard realities

Other "threats" Mr Botha dealt with were the disinvestment campaign, the incessant condemnation by African states of South Africa's internal policies, and instability in Southern Africa creating opportunities for superpower involvement.

"It is fervently to be hoped that all reasonable people, inside and outside South Africa, should take note of the hard realities of our country and judge our actions in those terms," he said.

"Any assessment of the security threat against the Republic is at present dominated by a drastic escalation of the revolutionary climate in the country."

While it was accepted that real grievances existed which created unrest among black people, the aim of the UDF and most of its substructures was not peaceful socio-economic and political change.

"Their end goal is the destruction of our system of government and civilized values," Mr Botha said.

Although the UDF professed its opposition to violence, the results of its action indicated the contrary, as was clearly evident from the murder, arson and intimidation in the Eastern Cape and elsewhere.

The organization's immediate aim was to mobilize the masses and incite them towards confrontation with the authorities.

"They hope in this way to create a spiral of increasing violence which will culminate in revolution."

Regarding the ANC's instructions to the UDF to make the country ungovernable, the President quoted a recent Dutch publication's interview with an ANC representative, Mr Godfrey Motsepe, who had said: "Fantastic work has been done by the ANC cadres in the country, including those operating legally within mass organizations. We have said to them 'Make South Africa ungovernable', and the country becomes ungovernable."

"This is rather far-fetched propaganda," Mr Botha said.

The extent to which UDF supporters had executed ANC instructions ap-

peared in a statement made by Mr Thami Mali, chairman of the committee which organized the massive worker stayaway in November last year.

After the stayaway, he had said their purpose was to make South Africa ungovernable, and to force the government to declare so-called "liberated zones".

"Furthermore, leading ecclesiastics such as Dr Beyers Naude in effect propagate conflict with the authorities when he pleads for a 'campaign of responsible civil disobedience' because, as he puts it, 'the Church has no choice but to organize meaningful resistance'," Mr Botha said.

Neither Dr Naude or any other church leader could, however, guarantee their calls for and planning of "responsible disobedience" would not lead to violence and loss of life.

"It has become particularly clear that the UDF not only acts in its own right, but has become an internal extension of the ANC and of the SA Communist Party."

In his interview, Mr Motsepe had said: "There are innumerable ANC people active in legitimate organizations (meaning the UDF) but who, for understandable reasons, cannot stand up and say: 'I am a member of the ANC'. This would amount to signing your own death warrant."

Mr Botha said there were strong indications the SACP had strengthened its grip on the ANC to such an extent little doubt remained as to who really set the pace in the organization.

ANC policy

The refusal by Nelson Mandela to renounce violence and the insistence by the ANC/SACP/UDF "conglomerate" on the convening of a national convention clearly illustrated they remained intent on the acquisition of power by any available means.

Various ANC leaders had recently, as a result of his (Mr Botha) conditions for dialogue and negotiations, emphasized that dialogue had, since its creation, been part of the ANC's policy.

They had also, however, emphasized the time for dialogue was not yet ripe because the ANC would have to negotiate from a position of weakness.

"It is quite clear that it is expected of the government to abdicate before it will be granted the highly dubious privilege of participating in such a convention," Mr Botha said.

By making use, in particular, of susceptible youth as a trigger for radicalization, attempts were also made to incite parents', community and workers' organizations to action and to confront the State.

"This state of affairs cannot be accepted. I know I have the majority of South Africans supporting me if I say the government will not abdicate to these forces," the President said. — Sapa

Namibian surprise

THE dormant South West Africa/Namibia issue has come alive again with the Government's announcement of an "interim administration" until an internationally acceptable independence can be negotiated.

The reasons given by the State President, Mr P W Botha, are that the direct rule by the Administrator-General was intended as an interim arrangement (it began in 1983), that the leaders of the territory must work out their constitutional future themselves, that the leaders must accept a greater responsibility for the administration of the territory, and that Pretoria cannot consult the leaders on an ad hoc basis and that it needs to consult them in some "institutionalised" form.

It all seems reasonable enough — at first and superficial sight, that is.

For examination reveals flaws.

The first point is that the Government is in many ways repeating what has been attempted — unsuccessfully — before. A legislative assembly existed from 1978 to 1982.

It died because it enjoyed little credibility, even though it had been elected. The problem was that Swapo did not take part in the elections, and therefore nor did most Namibians. The assembly can also be said to have died because it failed to end apartheid.

Now, these several years later, the assembly to be created won't have even the semblance of democracy of its predecessor: it seems it is to be appointed. In addition, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance which effectively constituted the last body is now reduced in size and representativeness, in regard to its Ovambo (such as they were) members, and Damara components.

In light of these factors there must be surprise that the Government is pushing ahead — and even more because it is defying the vehemently expressed warnings of the four remaining members of the Western contact group.

It seems to be extraordinarily mulish behaviour when the disinvestment movement abroad is growing apace, and when Western governments are being required to beat off critics in their own countries to defend continued links with this country — and nowhere more so than in America where the White House and the State Department are engaged in a huge struggle with Congress.

So why do it? The explanation which offers itself is that Pretoria, disclaimers notwithstanding, is once again inching its way towards a possible unilateral declaration of independence for Namibia. Of course if it happened it would be presented as being the desire of the "leaders".

But any such plan is a dangerous game, because it would be founded on non-existent leaders who only too evidently do not command anywhere near majority support.

If the Government is having difficulty in coping with the Namibian situation then the road ahead is obvious: we must get out. Our occupation of the territory is illegal, and South African lives are being spent on defending what should not be defended. The quicker we fall in with UN Resolution 435 and allow free and fair elections so that Namibians can truly determine their own future the better for us and them.

Blacks say no to PW forum

304A

E. Post

20/4/85

JOHANNESBURG — Several black political organisations and spokesmen have rejected the call by the State President, Mr P W Botha, for leaders of political parties to join the Cabinet committee on black affairs in forming the nucleus of a negotiating forum with black leaders.

The United Democratic Front and the Azanian Peoples Organisation both rejected the prospect of talks with the all-party committee, as did Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten.

An Azapo spokesman said in Johannesburg that Mr Botha's promise yesterday of freehold rights to "urban blacks" and assertion that loss of South African citizenship did not follow the granting of homeland independence "confirms Azapo's assessment that the Government is frantically trying to create a middle class among the oppressed people".

"We have stated that the Botha-Malan junta will attempt to make the tri-racist shamocracy respectable before resorting to the new shamocracy via the national convention," the spokesman said.

The president of the Azanian Students' Organisation, Mr Simpiwe Mgodusa, said Mr Botha was pretending he did not know who the black leaders were.

"The community has its leaders, such as Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo and many others," Mr Mgodusa said. "These are the people the Government should be trying to talk to."

Dr Farouk Meer, a UDF Natal executive member, said: "While on one hand Mr Botha talks of his preparedness to talk to those leaders who reject violence, on the other hand he is holding 16 UDF leaders who have never espoused violence on a charge of treason."

Dr Motlana said blacks were not "about to be seduced" into participating in a national forum.

"I can only express my surprise that after two years or more the State President should still be inviting people to join with him in looking for a possible solution for representation or participation at the 'highest level', as he puts it, of government."

"One would have thought that by now the Cabinet would have a very clear idea of what the solution should be."

"We blacks have said many times that the idea of a national forum — in other words, a talk shop — is just not on."

"All South Africans know that what is urgently required is to rewrite our constitution to provide for representation for all without regard to race, creed or colour," he said.

The Transvaal Indian Congress rejected the offer "with contempt". In a statement, it described the offer as meaningless.

It said Mr Botha could not be sincere while "embarking on a policy of oppression, arresting our activists and jailing our leaders".

"Mr Botha has not even begun creating the necessary conditions for such talks, such as the unbanning of banned organisations, the release of political prisoners and detainees, the return of exiles and a serious dismantling of apartheid." — Sapa

CAPE TIMES 20/4/85

Botha: Blacks have reached maturity 304A

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — South Africa had reached that point, predicted by General Hertzog, where the emancipated black's political rights had to be reviewed, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said yesterday.

"We are now living in that time and it is not our cross but our privilege to deal with this issue."

Replying to the debate on his budget vote, he said that the further one moved from General Hertzog (in time), the greater he became.

In the 1920s the former prime minister had said in a speech that while the black man was in his infancy in terms of development he would have to depend on the goodwill of the white man for his advancement.

Once he had matured, he would be given his majority and his political rights would have to be reviewed.

Mr Botha said that this time had now arrived.

While it was being said he could not be trusted for changing direction, he wanted to point out that his predecessors had also changed direction.

Dr Verwoerd had won a referendum for a republic within the Commonwealth but within months decided, due to changed circumstances, to abandon such a course.

"I even knew of a time in Dr Malan's life where he supported the coloured franchise and wanted to give coloured women the vote. Does it make a traitor of him?" Mr Botha asked. — Sapa

CAPT. TIMES 20/4/85 304A

Oppenheimer plea

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The South African Government would have to talk to the African National Congress and the United Democratic Front if there was to be peaceful change in the country, South Africa's most influential industrialist, Mr Harry Oppenheimer, said here.

Speaking on BBC television's late-night Newsnight slot, Mr Oppenheimer said it was not too late to avoid violent revolution in South Africa.

"I'm not so optimistic that I think we are going

to get to a just society in South Africa without violence and riots — I wish we could but I don't believe it.

"But I think there is still time — if the situation is handled reasonably and humanely — to get there without a violent revolution," he said.

The retired chairman of the giant Anglo American Corporation said he was in favour of one man, one vote which he said was inevitable but added that it would have to be granted within a "fancy" constitutional arrangement guaranteeing the

protection of individual and group rights.

He said it was essential that the government spoke to the "authentic leaders" who included those "working outside the system and many in jail".

He urged the government to remove immediately all restrictions on black mobility and restore South African citizenship to all, including those designated as citizens of independent homelands, and give all South Africans an equal share in running the country subject to certain guarantees.

Slabbert says 'yes' to invitation

CAPE TOWN 20/4/85

304A

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.
— The leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, has accepted the invitation by the State President, Mr P W Botha, to participate in the Cabinet Committee to find a way of accommodating blacks in the constitution.

Speaking in the State President's vote in the Committee Stage of the Budget, Dr Slabbert said he had stated at the beginning of the year that he would persuade blacks to take part in the Forum proposed by the State President.

He said the present invitation appeared to apply to participation in the Forum which was an extension of the Cabinet Committee and as he

would not have tried to persuade others to take part in something which he was not prepared to take part himself, he accepted the invitation.

Dr Slabbert said what the PFP and the NP had in common was they agreed that one party could not find the solution for the whole country.

Dr Slabbert said the PFP had often been accused of boycotting.

"We refused to participate in the President's Council because it was not linked to Parliament and was only an advisory committee."

"When the tricameral system was proposed we vigorously opposed it but once it was introduced we accepted it as a fundamental constitutional



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert

instrument to bring about further constitutional change.

"I have considered the invitation against a position of principle and re-

gard it as a most important invitation."

Earlier in his speech Dr Slabbert made a commitment to persuade his contacts in the coloured and black communities to influence people not to resort to violence as a means to political ends.

The PFP deplored the use of violence by any group or individual to bring about political change.

Dr Slabbert said he was ready to explore any constitutional strategy to bring about change.

In negotiating for solutions, two things had to be accepted. Firstly, the reason negotiation took place was that people were different.

Secondly, negotiation sometimes had to take

place between people who did not necessarily like each other.

"It is very important not to cut the ground from under negotiation. I am prepared to talk to anybody. I am not saying we must be flexible in our principles, but we must be flexible in strategy, in our willingness to negotiate."

To have a government which did not know where it was going only created and added to a revolutionary situation in South Africa.

"If we are going to negotiate—and we have to, for the alternative is siege and violence—we must have an established declaration of intent."

The government had moved away from some of the fundamental props

of apartheid, such as the Mixed Marriages Act, creating an intellectual vacuum in the process.

"What is the model that will fill it? This is an issue which can't be resolved on a committee for negotiation—only by the State President."

● Race relations posed South Africa's greatest problem and should be lifted out of the party political arena if the issue was to be solved peacefully, Mr P W Botha said yesterday.

Replying to debate on his department's vote in the budget he welcomed acceptance by the PFP and New Republic Party of his invitation for political party leaders to join the special Cabinet Committee. — Sapa

Main parties agree to join committee

BACKING FOR BOTHA

10/11/85
20/4/85
30/4/85

Political Staff

ALL the main political parties in Parliament, with the exception of the Conservative Party, have accepted President P W Botha's invitation to join a special Cabinet Committee to negotiate with blacks on a non-party political basis.

At the same time the President's attack on the United Democratic Front in his major policy speech in Parliament has drawn sharp reaction from the UDF.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said his party was totally opposed to power sharing and the President could not expect it to assist in finding a way to accommodate blacks in the political system.

Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, told Parliament his party had fundamental differences with the Government but he also accepted that one party did not have all the answers.

UDF

He appealed to Mr Botha to be flexible in deciding which parties would be consulted. He said the UDF was a large movement which included people from the left and right. Likewise some ANC members were hardline communists committed to violence but there were others who he felt may negotiate.

He offered to assist in getting members of the UDF to speak to the committee.

The Rev Allan Hendrikse, leader of the Labour Party, welcomed the invitation as "a very important step in the right direction".

Good move

Mr Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the National People's Party said it was a good move and he would accept the invitation. He urged all blacks who believed in peaceful solutions to negotiate with the committee.

Dr J N Reddy, leader of Solidarity, said his party was in Parliament because it was committed to peaceful reform and Solidarity would use any platform to achieve this.

Mr Bill Sutton, leader of the New Republic Party, also accepted the invitation.

Meanwhile, the UDF's publicity secretary, Mr Patrick Lekhota, has rejected Mr Botha's accusations in Parliament yesterday that the organisation was intent on precipitating revolution in South Africa and that it was behind escalating violence in townships.

Mr Lekhota said: "We are determined to see a real change in this country, rather than massacres such as Uitenhage."

He said the UDF had repeatedly stated that it was an independent initiative which employed methods different from those of the ANC.

"We can only re-iterate that the position remains unchanged."

CAPL Times 20/4/88 (SOPA)

Radical views: SABC 'no' 'Support' for Moscow

By BARRY STREEK

THE SABC, in its public statement on its policy for covering unrest in South Africa, said yesterday that it would "in no way" become a propaganda platform for radical groups.

The corporation said in its annual report, which was tabled in Parliament yesterday, that it believed the public should be informed factually about all incidents of unrest which were of any significance.

"At the same it has been scrupulous in striving to deal with the events in such a manner that the SABC would in no way become a propaganda mouthpiece for radical groups overtly in-

citing violence and revolution," it said.

The corporation said 1984 had its quota of bomb explosions, terrorism, thuggery against law-abiding citizens and unrest at home and abroad.

The television service was, however, confronted with the challenge of keeping its viewers informed and "the equally pressing requirement that radio and television do not become propagandists for revolution in the process of such reporting".

This was a dilemma for TV world-wide "because radical elements have refined their techniques for exploiting the medium's flair for action and

drama to a fine art, in their effort to make the headlines with their extra-parliamentary radical propaganda".

The SABC had, however, tried to avoid falling victim to becoming an agent for radicalism "by reporting soberly and factually".

It said the news division had "moved towards establishing itself more firmly as a forum for debate among the country's various communities."

"In keeping with the new style in politics, debate has become a more prominent feature of the SABC's news approach."

"The News Division sees itself as a reliable channel for exchanges of views," the report said.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

— It was surprising that there were certain Western leaders who for some inexplicable reason supported Moscow's involvement in South Africa, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said yesterday.

Speaking in committee on his vote, Mr Botha said he did not know if this was for the sake of political expediency, weakness or trade relations.

He firmly believed, however, that there were those population groups in South Africa who sought peaceful co-existence and who wished to ensure stability in South Africa. — Sapa

'Make up your mind, Mr Botha'

Staff Reporter

ONLY the unconditional dismantling of apartheid can bring about peace in South Africa, the national publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front, Mr Terror Lekota, said in a statement yesterday.

"Mr Botha and his NP colleagues must make up their minds whether they will seek a peaceful solution to South Africa's problems or not."

In the past, the UDF had stated that it had no formal or informal links with the ANC, other than the historical fact that both organizations were of South African origin and were opposed to apartheid, he said.

"We reiterate this.

"It is irrelevant whether the UDF and the ANC



called for a national convention. What matters is whether that suggestion can bring about a democratic and non-racial constitution for this country in a reasonably peaceful fashion, or whether Mr Botha will allow his army and police to continue to shoot and kill black children for the preservation of apartheid.

"Mr Botha has conceded that 'real grievances existed which created unrest among black people'. The UDF has asserted that his new dispensation fails to solve those problems.

"It is a lie that the UDF is intent on precipitating revolution. We are determined to see real change rather than such massacres as at Uitenhage."

Nor could the UDF be blamed for the deteriorating economic situation, he said.

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CHT TMS 20/4/85

plan for SA

By **ANTHONY JOHNSON**
 Political Correspondent

304A

PRESIDENT P W BOTHA yesterday launched a major new multi-party initiative aimed at broadening the search for a solution for the country's political problems, and announced significant concessions for blacks.

Both the Progressive Federal Party and the New Republic Party have accepted his invitation to sit on the cabinet committee. This means that together with the National Party, all three parties are ranged against the Conservative Party, which refuses to have any part in joint negotiations with black leaders who reject violence.

Mr Botha also delivered his most hard-hitting attack to date against his government's extra-parliamentary opponents — the United Democratic Front (UDF) in particular — and raised fears of a new crackdown on anti-apartheid forces.



Mr P W Botha ... making a plea for a national team effort.

political parties to join the Special Cabinet Committee on blacks, Mr Botha said he was making a plea for a national team effort by Parliament to search for solutions to South Africa's most pressing problems.

But the State President was not in a conciliatory mood when dealing with extra-parliamentary groups such as the UDF, whom he accused of attempting to create "a spiral of increasing violence which will culminate in revolution".

Mr Botha said the security threat against the State was at present dominated by a "drastic escalation of the spirit of revolution in the country".

He acknowledged that genuine grievances existed that created unrest among black people, but claimed that the aim of the UDF was not peaceful change but "the destruction of our system of government, and civilized values".

The immediate aim of the UDF was to "mobilize the masses and incite them to confrontation with authorities". He accused the organization — which boasts about 600 affiliates country-wide — of taking instructions from the ANC to "make South Africa ungovernable".



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert ... urging inclusion of the UDF.

power-sharing and said his party would fight the inclusion of blacks in the political system.

In accepting the invita-

Property

In a day of dramatic developments in Parliament, the State President announced during the debate on his budget vote:

- That full property rights are to be granted to blacks qualifying for leasehold rights — a step likely to establish the permanence and improve the security of about five million blacks in urban areas.

- That the government did not regard the loss of South African citizenship as "an unavoidable consequence of the independence" of homelands and was committed to finding the solution to the problem through further negotiations.

'Extension'

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Reversed

This represents the most explicit admission to date that the previous NP policy under which there would eventually be no black South African was being reversed.

- A wide-ranging programme to improve public service attitudes towards black people.

- That the Special Cabinet Committee investigating the rights of urban blacks could become the nucleus of an all-party forum for negotiations with black leaders.

The invitation was yesterday accepted by the PFP leader, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, and the leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Bill Sutton. But the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, declared his "total opposition" to



Mr P W Botha ... making a plea for a national team effort.



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert ... urging inclusion of the UDF.

power-sharing and said his party would fight the inclusion of blacks in the political system.

In accepting the invitation, Dr Slabbert said in the House of Assembly that he was prepared to explore any strategy to bring about evolutionary constitutional change.

Dr Slabbert also appealed to Mr Botha not to "cut off" the UDF. He said that while there were radical elements in the UDF — as there were in the ANC — who rejected any form of negotiation, there were also members of both organizations who wanted to talk.

He appealed again to Mr Botha to set some vision for the future towards which negotiations could be aimed and suggested that citizenship for all South Africans and freedom of movement throughout the country for all people were two essential goals.

Referring to his invitation to the leaders of all

political parties to join the Special Cabinet Committee on blacks, Mr Botha said he was making a plea for a national team effort by Parliament to search for solutions to South Africa's most pressing problems.

But the State President was not in a conciliatory mood when dealing with extra-parliamentary groups such as the UDF, whom he accused of attempting to create "a spiral of increasing violence which will culminate in revolution".

Mr Botha said the security threat against the State was at present dominated by a "drastic escalation of the spirit of revolution in the country".

He acknowledged that genuine grievances existed that created unrest among black people, but claimed that the aim of the UDF was not peaceful change but "the destruction of our system of government and civilized values".

The immediate aim of the UDF was to "mobilize the masses and incite them to confrontation with authorities". He accused the organization — which boasts about 600 affiliates country-wide — of taking instructions from the ANC to "make South Africa ungovernable".

'Extension'

"It has become particularly clear that the UDF not only acts in its own right but has become an internal extension of the ANC and of the SA Communist Party," he said.

Mr Botha also accused church leaders such as Dr Beyers Naude of "in effect propagating conflict with the authorities when he pleads for a campaign of responsible civil disobedience". Such calls, he said, offered no guarantee that they would not lead to violence or loss of life.

The strength of Mr Botha's attack on his opponents outside Parliament was seen in political circles as a bid to prepare the ground for another crackdown on organizations such as the UDF or its members.

- More reports, page 4
- See Notes in the House, page 11

RDM 20/4/85

UK slams Botha's SWA plan

By JOHN BATTERSBY
London Bureau

LONDON. — The British Government will not recognise the internal government to be set up in SWA in terms of a statement by the State President Mr P W Botha.

The British Foreign Office yesterday released the text of a protest delivered to the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, by the British Ambassador, Mr Patrick Moberly, on Monday.

The Foreign Office said the protest, which expressed British concern about plans to establish an interim government in Namibia, was still "valid" despite President Botha's response to proposals by the Multi-Party Conference (MPC).

The British Government, however, "noted" that the South African Government had stressed that it "will continue to negotiate with the United Nations and the international community on achieving internationally recognised independence."

The British Government stands by its refusal to recognise "any unilateral measures taken by the South African Government in relation to the establishment of constitutional bodies".

"The only agreed basis for internationally recognised independence is UN Security Council resolution 435 to which the British Government is firmly committed," the statement said.

Meanwhile a security council meeting to recommit all sides to a United Nations-supervised independence process is expected to follow swiftly upon South Africa's acceptance of an interim administration in SWA/Namibia, reports RICHARD WALKER.

Such a meeting is requested in a 16-page draft declaration prepared by Indian delegates.

The draft calls on Indian Premier Rajiv Gandhi, as chairman of the Non-Aligned Bloc, to ask that the Security Council convene on an urgent basis.

As the government's positive response to the MPC proposals was being circulated at UN headquarters, a New Delhi meeting of the co-ordinating bureau of the Non-aligned Movement was nominating foreign ministers to participate in the meeting.

UN Secretary-General Javier Perez De Cuellar at first scheduled an immediate meeting with South African Ambassador Kurt Von Schirnding, but then delayed it until Thursday.

ROM 20/4/85
**Hurley sues
AG and two
Ministers**

By GERALD REILLY
Pretoria Bureau

THE president of the South African Catholic Bishops Conference, Archbishop Denis Hurley, is to sue the Attorney-General of the Northern Transvaal, and the Ministers of Justice and Law and Order, for malicious prosecution.

The claim for an amount of R124 000, follows the last minute withdrawal of charges under the Police Act based on allegations he made about Koevoet — the police counter-insurgency force in South West Africa, the archbishop's attorneys said.

In February this year the Pretoria Regional Court was told the State's case was based on a news agency report which proved inaccurate, and the archbishop was formally discharged.

Papers setting out the intention to sue were yesterday served on the Attorney-General's office and on the two Ministers.

The papers allege the police and the Attorney-General knew the Koevoet allegations were true.

The Hague to test citizenship question

THE lawfulness of the Government's stripping black South Africans of their citizenship is soon to be tested by the International Court of Justice, the highest judicial body in the world.

Legal expert on civil rights, Professor John Dugard, of the University of Witwatersrand's Centre for Applied Legal Studies, said last week that the United Nations would soon refer the question, unprecedented in legal history, to the court for an opinion.

Decisions of the court are not binding.

Professor Dugard's comments follow the failure of an application in the Supreme Court by Stephen Tshwete, president of the United Democratic Front in the Border region, to stop the Government withdrawing his rights to enter South Africa without a visa and to live here without a temporary permit.

The judgment, handed down by the Eastern Cape division of the Supreme Court last week, has dismayed civil rights organisations. Spokesmen said Mr Tshwete's case served to emphasise again the serious implications of the citizenship of more than 20 million blacks in South Africa.

"All people connected with the independent homelands either by residence, birth, language or cultural heritage are citizens of those homelands," said Professor Dugard. "That means eight million South Africans are now foreigners."

He said he was surprised that black organisations did not seem to have realised the gravity of the issue.

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Indaba politics

BLACK-WHITE relations — the core of South Africa's political dilemma — is about to be freed from the rigid party politicking of decades.

A dramatic invitation by President Botha to all parties in Parliament to join the Government in thrashing out a new constitutional future for all South Africans has drawn a warm response.

The call for a multi-party approach to the country's political problems is likely to dramatically reshape Parliamentary political divisions, further isolate the far right and force those in the extra-parliamentary political arena to choose between constitutional engagement and radical activism.

But in extra-parliamentary circles the move has been greeted as another strategy to perpetuate white domination.

As a scene-setter for the new initiative, the President announced the acceptance of freehold rights for blacks in South Africa, established an important policy change by saying explicitly that independence of homelands does not necessarily lead to a loss of South African citizenship, and announced a wide-ranging scientific investigation into ways of improving race relations between Government departments and South African blacks.

Response

President Botha invited white parties in the House of Assembly to join his representatives on the special Cabinet committee to form the core of a multi-party negotiating forum with black leaders.

He is expected to repeat the invitation to the House of Representatives and House of Delegates next week — but all parties in the tricameral Parliament excluding the Conservative Party have already indicated they will serve.

The response from PFP leader Dr F van Zyl Slabbert has apparently particularly delighted Government constitutional strategists who see his participation as important in boosting the legitimacy of the informal negotiating forum.

Dr Slabbert's qualifications for joining the cabinet committee, however, are that it must operate as first

Cabinet forum to change the face of race relations?

By BRIAN POTTINGER
Political Correspondent

envisaged by the President in his announcement in January this year — a forum for open-ended discussions.

Yesterday both Government and PFP members insisted that multi-party participation did not imply coalition or fusion but was simply an attempt to create a more viable negotiating forum to address black grievances.

The Government move was prompted partly by the failure of the original Cabinet committee to engage sig-

nificant black leadership in talks about the future.

After much fanfare, the Cabinet committee ended up speaking mainly to homeland leaders, community councils chiefs and an undisclosed number of black "leaders" who did not want their identity known.

The broadening of the participation on the committee and Government attempts to cast it as informally as possible will, the Government hopes, give new life to its attempts to engage significant

political leadership.

In Government circles there appears confidence that they will be able to attract a wider audience than before but they still warn it is not realistic to expect groups such as the UDF to participate at this stage.

Yesterday Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development, was unable to say when the new multi-party committee would hold its first meeting.

Mr Botha was pretending he did not know who the leaders of the black community were, the president of the Azanian Students' Organisation, Mr Simpiwe Mgodusa said yesterday.

"The community has its leaders such as Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo and many others.

"These are the people whom the Government should be trying to talk to.

"The people's leadership is languishing in jail," he said.

Citizenship for all plan

Political Correspondent

A NEW citizenship deal for all South Africans is likely to be unveiled by the Government soon.

Indications are that the Government is thinking of a form of "associate" citizenship to return to citizens of existing independent homelands their basic South African citizenship.

It would also open to all South Africans the rights of citizenship — something emphatically denied through many years by Government policy.

President Botha said this week in Parliament that the Government had accepted the idea that a loss of South African citizenship need not be a natural consequence of independence of a national state.

Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional develop-

ment, said yesterday the Government did not have a final proposal and that the issue still had to be negotiated.

But it is understood the Government is thinking along the lines of a broad South African citizenship for all, with additional citizenships for independent homelands and self-governing states.

Reversal

The President's statement on citizenship this week is a complete somersault on preceding policy and of great significance.

Classical National Party policy held that blacks were not South African citizens but citizens of their own "homelands".

In 1980 the Government first began floating the idea of a "confederal citizenship"

but this had to be dumped when it became clear the confederation was not likely to come into being in any meaningful form.

In 1981 it rejected a request by the Ciskeian authorities for a splitting of the concepts of nationality and citizenship so that Ciskeians could remain South African nationals but Ciskeian citizens.

The idea was resurrected last year for a while then apparently quietly shelved.

In January this year the President announced the Government was prepared to negotiate on the citizenship issue.

On Thursday this week he gave the clearest Government commitment yet to a common citizenship for all South Africans.

See Page 31

AKGWS 22/4/85

Goodwill 'essential in reform process'

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Understanding about reform measures was needed at "grass-roots" level, according to the Minister of Co-operation, Development and Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

Delivering the closing speech at a joint political conference between the Inkatha Youth Brigade and the Afrikaanse Studentebond at the Rand Afrikaans University at the weekend, Dr Viljoen said that young people had to adapt to the requirements of negotiation and reform.

"Without goodwill and promotion of understanding, the risk is that successes which have been achieved will be spoilt in a few seconds."

Dr Viljoen said the present tricameral Parliament was only a part of constitutional reform and that blacks would eventually be accommodated in the reform process.

IGNORANCE

There was insufficient contact and a large amount of alienation and ignorance between the peoples of South Africa, he said.

Dr Viljoen said that although differentiation in community life was a sound principle, there was a need at a school and post-school level for more "systematic contact" between black and white youth.

"If this does not happen people will grow up not being able to work together for constitutional reform."

A realistic urbanisation policy was needed in South Africa and Dr Viljoen said the Government was giving high priority to the problem of influx control.

"DIABOLICAL"

Another speaker at the congress, Professor Willie Esterhuyse of the department of philosophy at the University of Stellenbosch, said the pass law system and influx control would have to be scrapped for negotiation between the various racial groups to take place.

He described influx control and the pass laws as "diabolical" measures and said that clarity was needed on the issue of citizenship.

Professor Esterhuyse said there was a new willingness among many Afrikaners to listen to other points of view and to break away from the stalemate which had developed in South Africa.

A new facet in SA politics

CAPE TOWN. — State President Mr P W Botha's invitation to his opponents last week to join the Cabinet Committee seeking a new deal for blacks, added another dimension to South African politics.

And the acceptance by three leaders — Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert of the PFP, Mr Bill Sutton of the NRP, and Dr J N Reddy of Solidarity — could mean progress towards a key phase in the reform process.

The committee, formed in 1983 and headed by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, includes most other Ministers. Its task was to find a political home for blacks outside homelands,

CHRIS FREIMOND reviews the week in Parliament

22/4/85 RDM



and it has met with homeland leaders to exchange ideas.

But to succeed, the committee needed more than just people working within Government-created political structures.

That was probably the aim of Mr Botha's overture which will hopefully be clarified when he speaks in Parliament this week. Last week's invitation and a brief explanation led to

confusion.

It was not made clear whether the committee was to replace the informal forum announced at the opening of Parliament. The forum was to be an "open ended" talk-shop to swap ideas on constitutional change. The Cabinet Committee is more formal, with a clearly defined role.

The lack of clarity was shown at the weekend when Mr Botha's invitation was accepted by the leaders of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, and the National People's Party, Mr Amichand Rajbansi.

But as Cabinet members, they are represented by the existing committee. And they are not opposition leaders, but the NP's coalition partners.

The PFP's decision raises key questions. Dr Slabbert implied he saw the committee's task more as an open-ended forum for broad constitutional change than just to look at the "urban" black problem.

The performance of the PFP on the new committee is crucial. It must: "Ensure the committee becomes a relevant forum for considering structural change — a sort of semi-National Convention", use what influence it has to draw in black leaders who have shunned Government overtures, "break down the NP's barrier of non-negotiables", insist on talking about dismantling apartheid and, "maintain or increase its current level of opposition to Government policy".

If it cannot do these things, the party risks confirming a perception already creeping in — that it is losing relevance and can only hope to survive by climbing on the Government's reformist bandwagon.

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100 Muslims

NM 22/4/85
walk out on

3041A
Du Plessis

Mercury Reporter

ABOUT 100 supporters of the Muslim Youth Movement (MYM) walked out of a silver jubilee celebration of the Orient Islamic Educational Institute in Durban's Orient Hall on Saturday at which Finance Minister Barend du Plessis was guest of honour — leaving behind several hundred startled guests.

Earlier, the minister's personal aides and Security policemen thwarted an attempt by two MYM demonstrators to unfold a large banner in front of the stage where the main guests were seated.

The group, which also included members of the Natal Indian Congress, chanted Islamic slogans as they left the hall.

The demonstration, which began as the minister was about to address the gathering, was in protest against a decision by the institute banning po-

litical bodies from using the hall for meetings. The MYM objected to the choice of a politician being guest of honour at the celebrations.

A garlanded Mr du Plessis, who appeared to be unmoved by the demonstration, praised the 'foresight and perseverance shown by the Muslim community in the establishment of the Orient Islamic Educational Centre 25 years ago'.

'The initiative behind this impressive complex is greatly to be applauded and held up as an example to others.'

'Mr Ebrahim Abramjee, Minister of the Budget in the House of Delegates, recently presented his first budget, in which he proposed some R300 million for education and culture.'

'R55 million was allocated for capital expenditure in the education field,' he said.

by hunt demos

NRP to hear second-tier proposal

Pietermaritzburg
Bureau

A PROPOSAL for a multi-racial second-tier government in Natal to deal with general affairs will be raised by the province's senior MEC, Mr Frank Martin, at the New

Republic Party's caucus next month.

Mr Martin denied reports that his proposal had caused a 'serious rift' in the NRP caucus following a statement from Mr Bill Sutton, leader of the party, this week that the proposal was not party

policy.

(304A)
'I agree with Mr Sutton and I never said my suggestion was NRP policy,' he said.

The existing provincial system, controlled by the NRP in Natal, is expected to be abolished within

the next year.

RAM 22/4/85
'If we are going to administer general affairs at second-tier level, which will include coloured, Indians and blacks, I cannot see how it will work if it only involves whites,' Mr Martin said.

various bodies

Mandela not free to decide — P W

Parliamentary Staff

PRESIDENT P W Botha has said he did not think the imprisoned African National Congress leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, was free to take a decision to renounce violence.

Speaking in the House of Representatives yesterday, Mr Botha said he believed there were "forces stopping him" or "putting stumbling blocks in his way".

President Botha was responding to suggestions that the matter be reopened following Mr Mandela's reported refusal of the Government's offer to consider his release if he renounced violence as a political instrument.

Influenced

Earlier Mr Allan Hendrickse, chairman of the coloured Ministers' Council, told the House he was aware of "forces" that could have influenced Mr Man-



President P W Botha

dela's decision.

Referring to a visit by MPs to Robben Island and other prisons, he asked President Botha to examine the matter again.

The leader of the Opposition, Mr Dennis de la Cruz, made a plea to the President not to "close the doors permanently" on the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the African

National Congress (ANC).

President Botha said he was not closing the door on proper deliberations and discussions, but on violence.

Lashed out

In his main address during the debate on his budget vote he spoke again about the security situation and lashed out at organisations and people seeking violence as a political solution.

He said there were strong indications that the South African Communist Party had strengthened its grip on the ANC, and that the UDF was hoping to create an intensified spiral of violence aimed at making South Africa "ungovernable".

The Government was not prepared to abdicate and have the police and the military dismantled in order to have "the dubious privilege" of joining the ANC in a National Convention.

Hendrickse calls for more reforms, less discrimination

Parliamentary Staff

THE Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, has called for more reforms and for the abolition of discriminatory laws and practices.

He has also called for serious attention to be given to the issue of common citizenship for all South Africans and the participation of black people in political decision-making.

Mr Hendrickse, who is also chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives and a member of the Cabinet, was speaking in yesterday's debate on the State President's Budget vote.

President P W Botha, who spoke twice during the debate, listened intently to speeches by Mr Hendrickse and Mr Dennis de la Cruz, Leader of the Opposition.

ONE FLAG

Mr Hendrickse paid tribute to Mr Botha as "A man who can lead South Africa to peace and security."

South Africa, Mr Hendrickse said, could be united in a single

nation under one flag and a common citizenship.

Recounting the Labour Party's 20-year fight to gain a foothold in Parliament, Mr Hendrickse said that for the first time, people other than whites had become part of the decision-making process.

Praising the Government's latest moves toward reform, Mr Hendrickse said his party was happy about the extension of freehold rights announced by President Botha. This was "a gigantic step".

Mr Hendrickse again rejected violence as a political solution and said there was no doubt that "forces of evil" were behind unrest and incidents of stone-throwing.

IMMORALITY ACT

Calling for more reforms, Mr Hendrickse said serious attention had to be given to the position of community councils, which had not been given adequate finances.

After the decision to scrap the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the

Immorality Act, immediate attention should be given to other steps that were "feasible".

Attention should be given to the Political Interference Act and to apartheid in trains and taxis.

The Leader of the Opposition, Mr Dennis de la Cruz, said the average white South African had been out of touch for far too long with the feelings of people of colour.

Mr de la Cruz appealed to President Botha to do everything in his power to have the pass laws and influx control scrapped.

Replying, President Botha said Mr de la Cruz had created the impression that there had been no improvement or progress in the past. This was not true.

Mr Botha said Mr de la Cruz would get nowhere with slogans and formulas. As Leader of the Opposition it was his duty to show that he could be an alternative Government, instead of criticising the leader of the governing party.

Tuesday, April 23, 1985

Yesterday in Parliament

'Forces' stopping Mandela

NM 23/4/85
Parliamentary
Correspondent 304A

PRESIDENT Botha said he believed there were forces stopping Nelson Mandela from accepting his offer to release the ANC leader, provided he renounced violence.

Mr Botha nevertheless

repeated his offer to 'consider sympathetically' the release of the imprisoned leader and other political prisoners following appeals by the Labour Party and the Democratic Workers' Party.

Referring to his release offer during the budget debate on his portfolio, Mr Botha said:

'I don't think he (Mandela) is free to take

that decision, but I think there are forces stopping him and putting stumbling blocks in his way.'

Mr Botha, whose original offer to Mandela in January was turned down, said he was 'quite prepared to admit that Mandela has been in jail for a long time ... and I know what it is like for men to serve such a long time'.

Parliament and Politics

Door closed 'only on violence'

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. — The State President, Mr P W Botha, said yesterday he had not closed the door on any organization but only on violence.

He was replying to the Leader of the Opposition in the House of Representatives, Mr Dennis de la Cruz, during the debate on the President's budget vote.

Mr De la Cruz had warned that the ANC and the UDF had to be brought into the negotiating process.

"He went to speak to black leaders on Robben Island," Mr Botha said. "I speak to elected black leaders who represent millions of voters."

He spoke to Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and the leaders of Venda, Qwa Qwa and Bophuthatswana.

"No, black leader or person is jailed in South Africa because he differs from the government on political matters."

"I am not closing the door on any organization. I am closing the door on violence," the President said.

Not since 1910 had there been more discussion and negotiation between white, black and coloured leaders than at



Mr P W Botha

present.

"And then the members come to tell me we are closing doors."

"Why does he not admit that there have never before been more discussions on a level of equality with each other?"

As far as his offer to the jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, was concerned, he was sure that Mr Mandela was not a free man to take the decision to accept the offer.

"I think there are forces stopping him or putting stumbling-blocks in his way," he said.

He was not going to pursue the issue any further at this stage though.

The State President

also responded to issues raised by the leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, during the debate.

He was cheered by members when he said the issue of the Political Interference Act was under discussion in government ranks and that he was sure a satisfactory conclusion would be reached.

He should not be blamed when he took a stand.

"I speak on behalf of 66 percent of the white electorate and I took an oath to uphold the constitution which they agreed to."

He said those who had deep feelings for what they believed in must not "make demands that will cause a reaction from others. In other words we all must moderate our demands".

Many mistakes had been made over the years, Mr Botha said.

"We will make more mistakes in this new dispensation too but if we only learn to grant each other a place in the sun then South Africa will see peace, prosperity and progress."

"Evolutionary change is the answer, not violence. — Sapa

Race bar on party politics could go

ARGUS

23/4/85

3044

Political Correspondent

LEGISLATION is expected to be introduced in Parliament next month to amend the controversial Prohibition of Political Interference Act.

This was confirmed by sources today following President P.W. Botha's statement in the House of Representatives yesterday that the Cabinet was considering changes to the law.

Labour Party politicians hope the Act — which prohibits participation by one race group in the political activities of another — will be scrapped.

They believe that only the provision that political parties may not receive foreign financial aid should be retained.

CONFRONTATION

A draft Bill published last year softens the Act by making it legal for a party to employ consultants from another race and by easing restrictions on people of one race addressing meetings of another.

This followed a confrontation between the Government and the Labour Party on the eve of the parliamentary elections for coloured people and Indians.

Since then the Labour Party has largely disregarded the Act and put up independent candidates for the Indian House of Delegates.

If the Act is scrapped, the white, coloured and Indian Houses of Parliament will be retained but political parties will be allowed to operate in all three.

Two draft Bills, one calling for the total scrapping of the Act and the other retaining the prohibition on funds from overseas, have been submitted by Mr Colin Eglin and Mr Jac Rabie.

Cape Times
 Thursday, April 23, 1985

304A

Buthelezi calls for new leader

Own Correspondent

ULUNDI. — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, says the State President, Mr P W Botha, is moving into politics which neither assuages the anger of those to the right of him nor those to the left of him.

Chief Buthelezi said the time was now ripe for a white leader to emerge who would lead South Africa away from the abyss towards which previous National Party governments directed it.

Commenting on an announcement by Mr Botha last week that the cabinet had approved the granting of full land ownership rights to blacks in urban areas qualifying for 99-year leasehold

rights and that an umbrella structure would be established above black local government level, Chief Buthelezi said he could not share in the optimism which the announcements had created.

The chief said Mr Botha had not disclosed the intention of this Cabinet Committee. Its direction was shrouded in the secrecy of National Party decision-making.

Chief Buthelezi said Mr Botha must still necessarily be talking within the framework of his clearly-stated aim of establishing a confederation of Southern African states. In this confederation, the existing tricameral Parlia-

ment would continue to give whites the right to make final decisions in 87 percent of South Africa and over all its wealth, its internal policy and its foreign policy. "Reform must move away from this monopolistic white power," he said.

"Had the State President indicated that he was prepared to consider alternatives to the confederal future on which he hung his referendum campaign, it would perhaps have been another matter."

Chief Buthelezi said the umbrella structures about which the State President was now talking must, therefore, be seen as structures within the four corners of apartheid, and as props to the new constitution.

He maintained that Mr Botha was falling between two stools.

He was either following a double agenda in which his right wing was being deluded that the measures he announced did not amount to a step towards power-sharing; alternatively, black South Africa was being deluded that the steps he was now taking would, in fact, lead to power-sharing.

He said the Progressive Federal Party would be unable to play a vital role in the heralding of a new future within the framework of apartheid.

Intent

The party would not do this within the framework of the special Cabinet Committee's obligations unless the State President issued a statement of intent with black leaders about movement towards power-sharing.

The KwaZulu leader said the PFP would have grave difficulty in campaigning among blacks for its acceptance of a post on the special Cabinet Committee.

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...a seedy block of flats and five of his

P W Botha repeats his offer to Mandela

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. — President P W Botha said yesterday that he believed there were "forces" preventing Mr Nelson Mandela from accepting the government's offer of release provided he renounced violence.

CAE - T-15
23/4/85
(3048)

however, Mr Botha repeated his offer to "sympathetically consider" the release of the jailed ANC leader and other political prisoners after appeals from the Labour Party and the opposition Democratic Workers' Party.

Referring to his offer during the Budget debate in the House yesterday, Mr Botha said: "I don't think he (Mr Mandela) is free to take that decision. I think there are forces stopping him and putting stumbling blocks in his way."

He said he was "quite prepared to admit that he (Mr Mandela) has been in jail for a long time... and I know what it is like for men to serve for such a long time."

He also acknowledged that Mr Mandela might have done what he thought was right at the time of his arrest, but emphasized that he had broken the law.

He submitted that "no black person is jailed because he differs from the government politically".

South Africa was not closing the door on those prisoners who had refused to accept the terms of his offer of release but was "shutting the door on violence", said Mr Botha.

During yesterday's debate, Mr Botha was joined by the two parties in attacking the government's extra-parliamentary opponents, but they urged him not to write off dialogue with factions in banned organizations.

which were still prepared to negotiate.

Both the LP and the DWP praised Mr Botha's recent reforms, but urged the scrapping of more apartheid legislation as a method to promote unity and undermine the programmes of groups opposed to the tricameral Parliament.

The LP leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, in particular, went to great lengths to justify his party's decision to fight for change as insiders.

However, he said there were still "certain inadequacies" which needed attention, including train apartheid, insufficient housing.

Both Mr Hendrickse and the Leader of the Opposition, Mr Dennis de la Cruz, drew attention to the danger of excluding blacks from the new dispensation and called for the holding of debates in a single chamber.

However, Mr De la Cruz was more outspoken in his criticism of apartheid and went on to chronicle the suffering of those who had been forcibly removed, chased off beaches and jailed for speaking out against injustices.

"Apartheid and even petty apartheid is alive and well in South Africa in 1985," he declared.

He was repeatedly heckled by LP members and then attacked at length by Mr Botha in his reply to the debate for resorting to "slogans" instead of "constructively" dealing with the problems facing the country.

● Don't closed 'only on violence', page 4

PRESIDENT P W Botha may have taken a first hesitant step toward a federal solution of South Africa's problems with his declaration in Parliament that he was no longer committed to the policy of dispossessing blacks of South African citizenship when their designated "homelands" attain independence.

His announcement coincided with an invitation to opposition parties to serve on the special Cabinet Committee examining how to meet the political aspirations of blacks living permanently outside their assigned "homelands."

The invitation was quickly accepted by the Leader of the Opposition in the white chamber, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, whose Progressive Federal Party is strongly committed to a federalism. It was similarly accepted by the tiny New Republic Party, whose policy partially embraces federalism.

Significantly, the invitation was spurned by Dr Andries Treurnicht's ultra-Rightist Conservative Party, which, as the heir of the Verwoerdian tradition of complete political separation between the races, is hostile to federalism as a form of racial power-sharing.

The upshot is that the inclination towards federalism in the special Cabinet Committee will be boosted by the participation of the PFP and the NRP without being countered by the influence of the CP.

Officially, of course, President Botha is committed to the formation of a confederation between South Africa and the "black homelands," all 10 of which are destined to become nominally independent in terms of the original blue-

P W's first tentative steps to federation

RAM 23/4/85 (304A)

print drawn up by the high priest of "grand apartheid", Dr Hendrik Verwoerd.

But confederation per definition means an association between separate sovereign states, each with their own citizenship. Mr Botha's statement, with its inference of a common citizenship for all South Africans, is clearly inimical to confederation.

Political re-ordering of relations between dominant whites and subordinate blacks within the framework of a common citizenship points towards a form of power-sharing within a single state, however much the ruling National Party may for political reasons try to camouflage that.

The NP itself acknowledged in a 1982 statement there can only be one central government for each territorial unit. As blacks living permanently outside their supposed "homelands" occupy the same territorial unit as whites, coloureds and Indians, they can, in terms of the NP's stated position, only be accommodated within government for that territory.

Given the NP's fear of black majority rule within a tightly centralised state, restructuring is likely to take place on a loosely linked federal model rather than within a unitary paradigm.

Two key factors appear to have impelled Mr Botha to take a guarded step away from confederation to federation: the collapse, under the pressure of rebellion in the townships, of black local authorities; and the adamant refusal of several key "black homelands" including KwaZulu with a resi-

dent population of 4-million, to accept Pretoria's offer of independence.

Established in 1983 under the Black Local Authorities Act, the new black township councils in white-designated South Africa were meant to serve as partial compensation to blacks for their exclusion from the new tri-racial parliament for whites, coloureds and Indians.

But, under relentless popular pressure in the townships, they have all but disintegrated. According to the latest official count more than 150 councillors have resigned. Several have been brutally murdered by black mobs. Of the 34 councils introduced in 1983, only five are still functioning according to the Urban Foundation.

As long as blacks are excluded from participation in central government, black local authorities will lack credibility and viability. Hence the need for change at the top of the political pyramid to provide a place for blacks and, thereby, to help bring an end to the ongoing rebellion in the townships.

The Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, made just that point in an interview in Rapport at the weekend, in which he re-stressed that blacks will have to be given a say at all levels in decision-making affecting them.

The refusal of leaders of several key non-indepen-

dent "homelands" to accept independence has confronted Mr Botha with an impasse in his quest to establish a confederation. Of these leaders, the most important is Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu. His followers account for a quarter of South Africa's of 24-million blacks.

But even leaders of the nominally independent "homeland" have expressed opposition to the confederation.

President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana has advocated the creation of a South African federation as the way to overcome the South Africa's problems.

Transkei's President Kaiser Matanzima is a signatory to a declaration by the South African Federal Union, an alliance of "homelands" opposed to apartheid.

The declaration set as its primary goal re-unification along federal lines between South Africa and its putatively independent homelands.

Chief Buthelezi, who heads the powerful Inkatha movement, has declared that he is prepared to accept a non-racial federation as a compromise solution between black hopes for, and white fears of, a strongly centralised state based on universal adult suffrage.

Significantly, Chief Buthelezi and President Botha re-established man-to-man contact in January after a hiatus of five years.

Their meeting should be seen in the context of the meeting in Johannesburg at the weekend between the Inkatha Youth Brigade and the Afrikaanse Studentebond, a pro-Government student union.

These developments have taken place amid reports that the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning is re-appraising the three-year-old Buthelezi Commission Report. The reports have been confirmed unofficially.

Published in 1982, the report recommended a form of power-sharing between black and white in the KwaZulu-Natal region. Originally it was rejected by Mr Botha's administration. Now, however, it is under reconsideration.

Of equal relevance is a recent largely unpublicised meeting in Cape Town between Mr Botha's chief constitutional architect, Mr Chris Heunis, and Chief Buthelezi. As Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Heunis, is chairman of the special cabinet committee investigating how to fulfil black aspirations.

As former university academics concluded in a recent analysis of the shift toward federation: "There is evidence that Natal-KwaZulu is being seen by many reformers as the laboratory for (new) units of representation appropriate to the second tier within a federalist scheme."

PATRICK LAURENCE, Political Editor

PW Botha offers Nelson Mandela freedom again

23/4/85

3047

By CHRIS FREIMOND
Political Correspondent

PARLIAMENT. — The State President, Mr P W Botha, yesterday repeated his offer of conditional freedom to the jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela.

He said, however, he believed Mandela was not a "free man" to consider the offer because there were "forces" placing stumbling blocks in his way.

Speaking in the House of Representatives in the debate on his budget vote, Mr Botha said he was prepared to concede that Mandela had been in jail for a very long time.

He said he went through Mandela's files again recently and knew what it was like for a man to be jailed for so long time for something in which he believed.

Mr Botha said he had not put Mandela in jail. The ANC leader had been sentenced after a trial and the sentence was confirmed on appeal.

He repeated his offer of earlier this year to Mandela and other prisoners



PRESIDENT P W BOTHA

under similar circumstances that they would be freed if they renounced violence as a political tool.

Mandela and other key ANC leaders rejected the offer.

Mr Botha said yesterday he would not press the issue or take it any further than repeating his offer.

In his speech yesterday

Mr Botha also said no blacks were jailed in South Africa because they disagreed with the Government on political matters.

In response to a plea by the coloured opposition leader, Mr Denis de la Cruz, not to lock the United Democratic Front or the ANC out of negotiations about the future, Mr Botha said he was closing the door on violence, not negotiation.

Mr Botha said there was more dialogue between blacks, coloureds and whites in South Africa today than at any time since Union in 1910.

He said the Prohibition of Political Interference Act was at present being considered by the Cabinet and a decision was expected soon.

The repeal of the Act has been one of the Labour Party's main demands.

Unity can be achieved in SA — Hendrickse

PARLIAMENT. — South Africa could be united in a single nation under one flag and a common citizenship, the Labour Party leader, Mr Alan Hendrickse, said in the House of Representatives yesterday.

Mr Hendrickse, who is also Chairman of the Minister's Council and a member of the Cabinet, spoke on the budget vote of the State President.

He said the State President, Mr P W Botha, was the right man to lead the country to peace and to the recognition of individual rights.

He recounted the 20-year history of his party's fight to gain a foothold in the seat of real power, Parliament itself, and said that for the first time people other than white had become part of the decision-making process in South Africa.

"For the first time also people of other than white are in the highest echelons of power, the Cabinet."

The Labour Party had taken the right decision to participate in the new dispensation.

"We have no doubt it was

the correct decision because our presence contributed to the progress reached.

"We may not have reached the decision on (the repeal of) the Mixed Marriages Act and Immorality Act if we had not been here.

"From here we can only go forward and that is the name of the game in South Africa.

"There is a need for the realisation of the hopes and aspirations of the other people in South Africa," Mr Hendrickse said to loud calls of "hear-hear".

"We must take cognisance of the total black aspiration and take note of the problem of sharing a common citizenship.

"We can find it. It is an essential if we are to think of a common loyalty."

Without a common loyalty the forces of evil could divide while a common patriotism bound together.

"I believe that under one flag we can create one nation," Mr Hendrickse said.

He believed these were the binding factors and that to create unity needed one flag, one nation and one citizenship. — Sapa.

Govt won't abdicate says PW

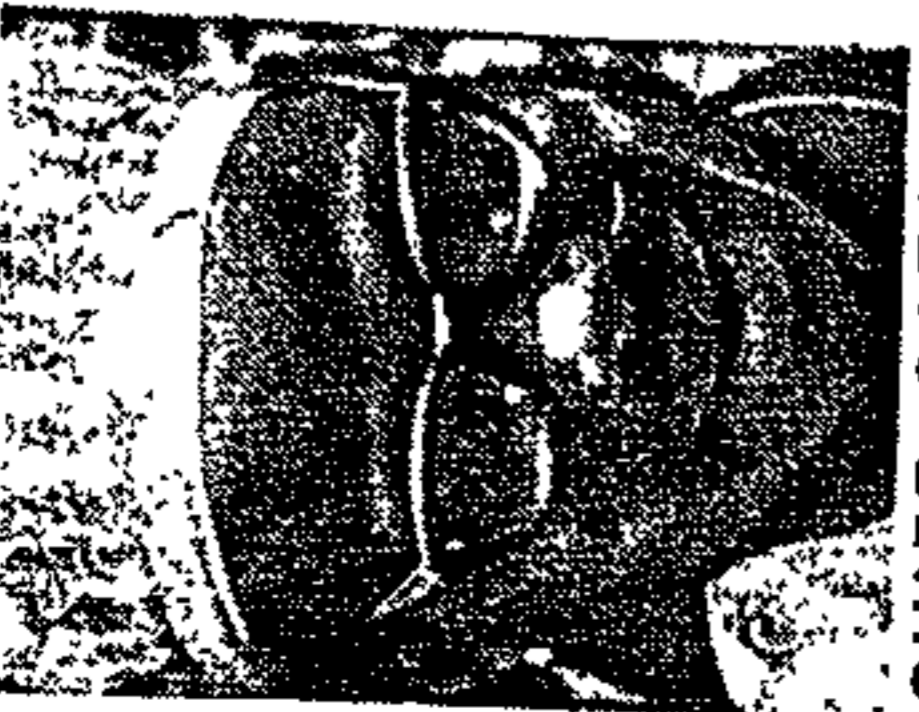
PARLIAMENT. — The South African Government was not prepared to "abdicate" and have the police and the military dismantled, to have the "dubious privilege" of joining the African National Congress in a so-called national convention, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said yesterday.

He was speaking on the security threat to South Africa in the House of Representatives at the start of the Committee Stage debate on his vote.

In a similarly worded message to that which he gave in the House of Assembly last week, he warned that the potential for countrywide violence had increased markedly, but that the state of affairs generated by the "forces of hatred" could not be accepted.

Mr Botha repeated his assertion that, in spite of the United Democratic Front's statements against violence, evidence was abundant it was being instructed by the ANC and the SA Communist Party, whose aim was the violent overthrow of the state in South Africa. — Sapa.

PFP Slams Chief Buthelezi



CHIEF GATSHA
BUTHELEZI

THE Progressive Federal Party Member of Parliament for Albany, Mr Errol Moorcroft, has attacked Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, for accusing the party of "naked racism" and

thereby giving the Government ammunition to use against the PFP in the upcoming debate on the Uitenhage shootings.

Mr Moorcroft was responding to the KwaZulu chief minis-

ter's condemnation of the PFP's report on the Uitenhage incident, compiled by Mr Moorcroft and signed by six PFP MPs.

Last week Chief Buthelezi dismissed

as "naked racism" the report's suggestion that the Government had exploited ethnic rivalries by sending Zulu police to Langa to curb Xhosa unrest.

He had main-

tained that the report's contention that ethnic differences divided blacks any more than they did whites was "filthy Nationalist propaganda".

In a letter to Chief

Buthelezi, which the chief minister read out in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on Monday night, Mr Moorcroft said the attack on the PFP was "intemperate, unjustified and offensive".

Rejection

"My opposition to and rejection of racism and apartheid in all its guises has never before been in question", said Mr Moorcroft.

He denied that his report suggested Zulu detachments had gone to Uitenhage to "shoot, kill and maim" non-Zulus and challenged Chief Buthelezi to substantiate his claim.

"What I do claim is that there is deep resentment in the townships at the use of detachments of Zulu police. This can easily be verified by any member of your cabinet who might care to visit these townships", Mr Moorcroft said.

Joy

He went on to say that Chief Buthelezi's remarks would be "seized upon with joy by the Government during the debate on the Uitenhage killings".

After reading the letter, Chief Buthelezi said it was "balderdash" for the PFP to claim it was he who was giving the Government ammunition to use against the PFP.

Chief Buthelezi said he objected to the "arrogant" way in which Mr Moorcroft had written and said the letter should be treated with the "contempt it deserved".

There was nothing worse than "a racist masquerading as a liberal", he concluded.

Yesterday in Parliament

Botha 'president of all people'

CAPE TOWN—All the groups in South Africa looked to President Botha as their president, Mr Pat Poovalingam (Solidarity Reservoir Hills) said.

He spoke on the State President's Budget vote and said Mr Botha was the first State President in the history of South Africa who was president of all its peoples.

He was the leader of a party and a government, but over-arching this he was leading the greater South Africa and was looked up to by all.

The changes that had come about since Mr

Botha took office had come about, he believed, because of much soul-searching and examination of the past on the part of the Afrikaner who had dominated the white oligarchy which ruled the country.

I do not believe it is a result of just international pressure or a result of internal unrest.

Momentous

The Afrikaner could just as easily have established a fascist republic, Mr Poovalingam said.

The most momentous change that has been

made, I personally believe, was the announcement that freehold title would be extended to blacks.

It was not the imminent repeal of the Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the Immorality Act that was so important, but that a black's South African citizenship will not disappear along with the independence of some airy-fairy homeland that he has never seen.

This requires courage and statesmanship.

But this was not enough. The country could be governed by tyrannical subjection just

as the coloureds and Indians had been until recently and blacks still were, to a large extent.

Democracy

It could be governed by the type of acquiescence prevailing in countries such as Kenya, Zambia, Pakistan and Indo China, or the type of non-democracy of India.

Classical democracy may not be possible in South Africa for a long time, but that does not mean we cannot have a one-man-one-vote situation, he said.

Unless the blacks play

a part in the government of the country, there can be no acquiescence, no consent — only continued tyrannical subjection.

There was a model which could be looked at which would draw the urban blacks into a fourth chamber and involve the rural blacks in their national states in a quasi-federal structure.

I would like to see an American-style president who does not have to appoint elected representatives to his Cabinet so that we can eliminate this costly triplication of ministers we have today. — (Sapa)

Slabbert hits back after KwaZulu Assembly 'insults'

African Affairs Correspondent

ULUNDI—The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, says he has no intention of being insulted as a 'sick, white liberal punchbag' by members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly because of one finding in a PFP report on the Uitenhage shootings of March 22.

Dr Slabbert was replying in a private letter to criticism by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, of the report which maintained, *inter alia*, that there was 'tremendous resentment among the local Xhosas at the fact that "Gatsha's impi's" or the "Shaka's" as they were called, were being used against them'.

Chief Buthelezi read the contents of the letter to the Assembly yesterday. He said he was releasing the contents because he had suggested a debate on a previous reply on the issue from Mr Errol Moorcroft, PFP MP for Albany.

Dr Slabbert said the finding concerning 'Gatsha's impi's' was not remotely attributable to the attitude, policy or principles of the PFP.

Rejected

It was regrettable if the PFP report had been used in an attempt to discredit the KwaZulu Chief Minister, he said.

But he rejected with 'unqualified contempt' that it

was the deliberate or inadvertant intention to report so that credence be given to the 'slander' that Zulu detachments of police had gone to Uitenhage to 'shoot, kill and maim non-Zulus', as Chief Buthelezi had claimed.

'Our report refers to terms that are slanderous. But that is not tantamount to giving credibility to the slander,' Dr Slabbert said.

Referring to an invitation from Chief Buthelezi to him to address the Legislative Assembly, the PFP leader said it was 'palpably untrue' that he had avoided talking to the Assembly.

Dr Slabbert said the Chief Minister had indicated that it would be convenient for him to address the Assembly on May 27. However, he was scheduled to participate in a debate in Parliament on that day.

'If it had been possible, I would have been at a loss to understand what purpose this would serve,' he said.

Dr Slabbert said Chief Buthelezi had seen fit to develop a 'psycho-political theory' about himself and his party after 15 years of friendship.

'I am at a total loss to understand this,' he declared.

Dr Slabbert said he detected a 'disguised threat' behind this public attack.

The PFP leader asked whether Chief Buthelezi still wished to have a private meeting with him at Ulundi on May 25, and why.

'I do not have to come to Ulundi to prove my *bona fides* nor do I need to ingratiate myself with anyone in order to be a good "whitey",' he said.

Chief Buthelezi said in reply that he still stood by what he had said about the PFP findings, especially their constituting what was said about the Zulus as part of the official report.

He said it was up to the PFP leader to decide whether he should come to see him at Ulundi.

Chief Buthelezi said Dr Slabbert had factions in his party, and he sympathised with him. He, too, had factions in Inkatha.

The Chief Minister said the sons of Dr Alex Boraine and Mr Ray Swart, both MP's of the PFP, had denigrated him in public.

Not one of his children would say that type of thing about Dr Slabbert.

'They know in what esteem I hold him,' Chief Buthelezi said.

Buthelezi's attack was unjustified says Prog MP

African Affairs
Correspondent

ULUNDI—The Progressive Federal Party's MP for Albany, Mr. Errol Moorcroft, says the attack made on him in the Kwa-Zulu Legislative Assembly two weeks ago by

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was 'intemperate, unjustified and offensive'.

Chief Buthelezi said a report compiled by Mr Moorcroft on the Uitenhage shootings of March 22 gave credence to the 'slander' against Kwa-Zulu that Zulu detachments of police had gone to Uitenhage to 'shoot, kill and maim non-Zulus'.

Mr Moorcroft said in a letter read out in the Assembly yesterday that he categorically denied that his report suggested this in any way and challenged the KwaZulu

Chief Minister to substantiate his claim.

'What I do claim is that there is deep resentment in the townships at the use of detachments of Zulu police. This can easily be verified by any member of your Cabinet who might care to visit these townships,' he wrote.

He alleged that the terms 'Gatsha's impi's' and 'Shaka's' had not been coined by him but were in common usage in the townships and reflected the resentment of the people.

Parliament and Politics

BO 4A

Botha: Afrikaners not 'dominating nazis'

HOUSE OF DELEGATES. — Whites were prepared to collaborate with other "minority groups" in moving away from discrimination within a framework of what he called "co-operative existence".

President P W Botha, speaking in the House of Delegates in the Committee Stage of his Budget vote, asked South Africans to speak openly to Afrikaners about changes that were needed but "don't create the idea that we have a small number of nazis trying to dominate the rest of South Africa".

South Africa had already developed into a regional power "by way of evolutionary steps. We can do so in future if demands do not become the echo of our enemies".

During yesterday's debate, Mr Botha acknowledged that the Group

Areas Act — which is currently being investigated by the President's Council — could be "improved" but he emphasized that he was not prepared to have any aspect changed that could threaten separate schools, residential areas or social services.

"I do not say the system cannot be improved but let us move in a reasonable and well balanced manner," he said.

He wanted to know what was wrong with being called a "collaborator", as some members had complained.

"What is wrong with collaborating with your fellow South African?"

Members should take the fight into the midst of those who called them collaborators and not always be on the defensive.

Mr Botha also disclosed that he did not



Mr P W Botha

envision the new multi-party cabinet committee on blacks as being bound by a "rigid programme or formula".

"We don't want only discussions, we have had enough," he said.

"What we want are concrete proposals, solutions for South Africa which can be tested."

He repeated that he was closing the door on violence and was prepared to speak only to those who denounced violence.

Praised

A number of MPs on both sides of House, including Mr Amichand Rajbansi, praised Mr Botha for his leadership and joined the President in attacking the government's extra-parliamentary opponents.

Mr Pat Poovalingam (Solidarity, Reservoir Hills) emphasized the importance of incorporating blacks in the central government if change was to be peaceful in South Africa. — Political Correspondent and Sapa

CMT Tim's 24/4/86 (3641)

'Significance' in black rights committee plan

HOUSE OF DELEGATES. — The decision of the State President, Mr P W Botha, to appoint a high-level national committee to negotiate political rights with blacks was of "tremendous significance" to Indians, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, Chief Minister of the House of Delegates, said yesterday.

Speaking in the State President's budget vote in the House, he said the move was all the more important because political parties in Parliament and all sections of the community also supported it.

Black leaders such as Chief Gatsha Buthelezi had called for a declaration of intent on the part of the government in respect of its national goals for black participation at central government level and the government should respond.

Mr Rajbansi said Mr Botha's initiatives for inter-state co-operation in



Mr Rajbansi

Southern Africa at the socio-economic level were also praiseworthy.

He said the attitude of non-aligned nations led by India towards the State President's decision on South West Africa/Namibia was an example of "typical hypocrisy and double-standards".

The Indian community had gone a long way on its own initiatives as well as through government efforts.

"But there are still many areas of discontent

such as the ban on Indians in the Orange Free State and in parts of Northern Natal."

Turning to "extra-parliamentary forces", Mr Rajbansi said they had yet to learn lessons of history about using the "so-called system" and he wished they would see their error of using boycotts as a tactic.

Mr Rajbansi said a "small coterie" of Indians in Natal were operating under the banner of the UDF demanding one-man-one-vote and the time may yet come for their bluff to be called.

● Speaking in the debate earlier, Dr Jagaram "J N" Reddy, Leader of the Official Opposition, said South Africa was fortunate to have in Mr Botha a man of exceptional courage and leadership.

However, Mr Botha should not prescribe or limit likely discussions for a future South Africa, he said. — Sapa

SOWETAN, Thursday, April 25, 1985

KwaZulu-PFP feud rages

304H

THE feud between the Progressive Federal Party and the Chief Minister of Kwa-Zulu continued this week, with PFP leader Dr F van Zyl Slabbert telling Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi he had "no intention of being in-

sulted as a sick white liberal punch bag." In a confidential letter to Chief Buthelezi, read out in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, the Opposition leader said that he rejected "with unqualified contempt" Chief Buthelezi's contention that the

PFP's report on the Uitenhage shooting was slanderous towards the Zulu people. The report, signed by six PFP MPs, had said there was "tremendous resentment" among the Xhosas in Langa at the fact that Zulu police had been used against them.

Last week Chief Buthelezi accused the PFP of propagating "filthy nationalist propaganda" in suggesting that ethnic differences divided blacks any more than they did whites.

Dr van Zyl Slabbert stated in his letter that both the fact that there were Zulu police present at the Uitenhage shooting, and the fact that Langa residents had referred to the Zulu police as "Gatsha's impis", were beyond dispute.

It was also beyond dispute that the Zulu police had been used by the SAP to exploit rivalries between Xhosas and Zulus, he said. Dr van Zyl Slabbert asked Chief Buthelezi whether it would serve any purpose to hold talks after his "public repudiation of me."

A meeting between the two leaders was planned for May 25.

After reading the letter, Chief Buthelezi said the decision to meet lay with Dr van Zyl Slabbert.

"No one is as accommodating as me," Chief Buthelezi said.

ARGUS 25/4/81

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304A

THE new Republic Party has accepted that it has lost the fight to retain the provincial system in Natal.

The Provincial Council in Natal has provided the power-base of the NRP for a number of years. In an interview, the Natal leader of the NRP, Mr Derrick Watterson, MP, said NRP policy was being revised.

It was quite clear, he said, that the provincial council system could be gone "by as early as next year".

"While we have, all the way through, fought for a modified elected provincial system of government, the central Government will not accept it."



Govt bound to carry out changes

In brief . . .

Pik

ARGUS 25/4/85 304A
Parliamentary Staff

THE Government was committed to removing discrimination, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said in the House of Delegates.

Mr Botha said in the debate on the Foreign Affairs vote that the Government had gone a long way to abolishing discrimination, even at the cost of political support.

There was nothing cosmetic about losing seats, he said.

Evidence of progress could be found in sport, permanent property rights for blacks, the imminent scrapping of the Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the Immorality Act and the new parliamentary system.

Mr Botha said the Government did not effect change for the sake of change or because of outside pressure. "We act on the basis of what is good for South Africa."

Councillors told to drop secrecy in public affairs



Mr Piet Badenhorst

Municipal Reporter

PUBLIC affairs should not be "conducted behind a veil of secrecy", news should not be withheld and the Press should not be told how to present it, says Mr Piet Badenhorst, Deputy-Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning.

He told delegates to a Transvaal municipal congress today that newspapers were "potential allies" in promoting the image of local government and attracting business and tourism.

But there was a "communication gap" between councillors and their electorate which was "eroding democracy".

He told the congress: "Public affairs in a democracy should not be conducted behind a veil of secrecy."

Public administration at all levels affected the daily lives of people who had an "inalienable democratic right" to be consulted on policy and other decisions and to know about the results and spending of public funds.

He warned, though, that because council meetings were seldom well-attended by the public, there was a communication gap between councillors and their electorate and this "alienation is eroding democracy".

"It is up to you as representatives to revive public interest in local government".

He suggested councils "use the communication media such as Press, radio and television" to focus attention on local affairs.

"Councillors should foster good relations with the media by providing it with and not necessarily withholding from it news-worthy information, without prescribing the way in which the news should be presented to the public."

He said newspapers should be accepted as "potential allies" in promoting the "image of local government and to attract entrepreneurs and tourists to our towns".

Every opportunity offered by the media to "establish rapport" with the electorate should be taken up.

"After all, an enlightened community is one which will participate in the processes of government and administration and, in doing so, promote democracy as a way of life," he said.

EVENING POST, THURSDAY, APRIL

PFP 'has no links with the UDF'

25/4/85

304A

By KIN BENTLEY

THE Progressive Federal Party, in response to a challenge from the National Party, has denied any links with the United Democratic Front.

The party's candidate in the Newton Park by-election, Mr Izak Smuts, made the denial in response to a challenge from the NP candidates, Mr Sakkie Louw and Mr Van Ginkel Venter, on the PFP's "association" with the UDF.

Mr Smuts said the UDF was a "conglomerate of associations which has chosen to operate outside the constitutional mechanisms available in South Africa".

"The PFP is a registered political party operating within and participating in the constitutional structure of the country," he said.

"There is obviously no association between the two."

The NP candidates also asked whether Mr Smuts

agreed with Mr Mike Tarr, PFP spokesman on sport, "that the UDF should be allowed to demonstrate at airports and rugby fields during the coming All Black tour to South Africa".

Mr Smuts said he stood by a South African Police statement reported in the Press today which said that the police would not enforce a "blanket ban" on protest and "therefore don't regard it as a threat".

He asked whether Mr Louw agreed with this assessment — "or is he accusing the police of being soft on security"?

The PFP, he said, would oppose any illegal action "as strongly as the NP".

The NP's challenges arose after Mr Smuts questioned whether the two candidates were members of the Afrikaner Broederbond. They said they were not.

(Report by Kin Bentley, 19 Baakens Street, Port Elizabeth)

Britain urges S A to tackle black issues

London Bureau

THE British Government yesterday urged South Africa to 'tackle the problems of black political rights'.

Opening a major foreign affairs debate in the House of Commons the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, said that the 'tragic events' at Uitenhage last month had underlined the 'evil of apartheid'.

The escalation of civil unrest in South Africa following the Uitenhage shootings reinforced the need for the S A Government to 'promote discussions with the black community to tackle the problem of black political rights'.

'Without such a policy no lasting solution can be

achieved,' Sir Geoffrey warned.

The Foreign Secretary disclosed he had met the South African Ambassador, Dr Denis Worrall, yesterday and made clear Britain's views on the Uitenhage incident.

Sir Geoffrey said that a solution to the South West African independence problem was essential to peace in southern Africa.

He warned that the interim administration announced by President Botha last week 'can be no substitute for internationally recognised independence on the basis of free and fair elections'.

However, the Foreign Secretary backed a continued policy of dialogue with South Africa in pursuance of the 'patient and persistent encouragement of reform.'

But the Labour Party's Shadow Foreign Secretary, Mr Dennis Healey, called on the Government to ban

further investment in and loans to South Africa until the South African Government changed its policies.

Mr Healey slammed President Botha's 'offensive and damaging' action in South West Africa by the 'setting up of a puppet government' in spite of warnings from the Reagan Administration.

Mr Healey said that the time had now come to exert 'direct economic pressure' on South Africa.

Disinvestment moves in the US had 'accelerated the momentum towards dismantling some of the fouler aspects of apartheid', he said.

But Sir Geoffrey insisted that it was right to 'keep up the dialogue with the S A authorities.'

'We cannot expect to influence the South Africans if we choose to ostracise them.'

'That is an approach which I am confident reflects the views of a wide spread of British opinion,' he said.

In spite of the continuing bitterness and strife in South Africa there had been some promising developments in recent months.

These included the suspension of forced removals, the extension of property rights to blacks in the Cape area, the acceptance of a black township at Crossroads and action to repeal the Mixed Marriages Act, he said.

'The affect of these actions should not be exaggerated. But when seen in historical perspective they do have real significance,' said Sir Geoffrey.

Chief and PFP patch up rift

African Affairs Correspondent

ULUNDI—The Natal leader of the Progressive Federal Party Mr Ray Swart, says the satisfactory outcome of yesterday's 'peace talks' involving the PFP and Inkatha has confirmed the two organisations have more in common than things which divide them.

He was speaking at the Press conference after talks with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of Inkatha, and members of his Cabinet.

The discussions followed a 'war of words' between members of the two movements during the past two weeks.

The controversy erupted after the publication by six members of the PFP of a report on the situation in Langa

township, Uitenhage following the shooting there on March 22.

Chief Buthelezi alleged that the PFP had given credence to a 'slander' against KwaZulu that Zulu detachments of police had gone to Uitenhage to shoot kill and maim non-Zulus.

However, Mr Swart said this had never been the intention of the PFP MPs.

'Clearly the police units there were South African Police units under the control of the Republican Government and were in no way the responsibility of the KwaZulu Government,' he said.

Mr Swart said he would be reporting back on the outcome of the talks to Dr Frederik van Zyl Stahbert, leader of the PFP, in Cape Town on Monday.

Chief Buthelezi said he had sent an

express letter to Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Co-Operation and Development, yesterday, asking for South African Cabinet clarification on the possibility that Zulu policemen had been 'handpicked' to go to Uitenhage.

He said he had already told Dr Viljoen that it would be a 'wicked thing' if it were true.

Chief Buthelezi said he believed friends should not 'pussy-foot' around and should exchange harsh words if the occasion demanded it.

However, this should not interfere with the good relations which had been built up between the PFP and Inkatha over the years.

Earlier the Chief Minister said Mr Swart, who had been sitting in the visitors gallery of the Assembly, was a welcome guest.

Tambo: Slabbert offer to mediate

11/6/85
26/4/85
30/4/85

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, today again offered to act as go-between for President P W Botha and African National Congress leader Mr Oliver Tambo, following Mr Botha's refusal of an ANC offer.

According to a Washington report, Mr Tambo had offered to hold talks and he appeared to drop several pre-conditions the ANC had set in the past — including the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and the abolition of apartheid.

President Botha today rejected the ANC offer because the organisation continued to refuse to abandon violence.

He had stated in Parliament that the Government was prepared to negotiate with any group which abandoned violence as a political method.

From Mr Tambo's remarks yesterday, it was clear that he was not relinquishing violence, therefore there could not be any negotiations, Mr Botha said.

"NEED FOR PEACE"

When Dr Slabbert first made his offer late yesterday to act as go-between, he said he was doing so with "equal sincerity to that of President Botha when he invited opposition parties last week to join an extended Cabinet committee to negotiate with blacks."

Dr Slabbert said: "I implore President Botha and his Government not to dismiss Mr Tambo's offer out of hand."

"The presence of violence in our land is too serious and the need for peace and negotiation too important," he said.

"But such a meeting will only have real negotiating significance if both Mr Tambo and the President are willing to accept the role of a go-between in order to explore the possibility of future negotiations."

Following Mr Botha's rejection of the Tambo offer, Dr Slabbert today repeated his offer to act as go-between.

Mrs Helen Suzman said Mr Botha would be surprised at the reasonable reception he would receive if he was prepared to talk.

New plans to put vigour into Nkomati

50414
THE announcement yesterday of the establishment of a Nkomati Operational Centre by South Africa and Mozambique, is expected to introduce new vigour into the frequently denigrated Nkomati Accord signed last year.

Although the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, made no direct references to details, it is understood there has been agreement that the new centre will be manned full-time with senior officials representing departments controlling security forces, electricity supply bodies (Es-

2775
com for South Africa), water affairs, transport services, customs and excise and internal and foreign affairs.

Centre

Sources here said that the notion that the centre could act as a joint command centre

Sawetan 26/4/85
for military operations against the Renamo rebels could be firmly discounted.

Arrangements for the security of the Cahora Bassa powerlines and road and rail links to Maputo, were being treated separately and,

it was understood, negotiations were advanced.

The Nkomati operational centre is expected to play a major role in eliminating problems, which give rise to accusations that either party is failing to meet its obligations. — Sapa.

CAPE TOWN—The South African Government yesterday admitted for the first time that it had trained and supported Renamo, the rebel movement fighting to overthrow Frelimo in Mozambique.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, told Parliament during the debate on his Budget vote there was 'naturally' a time when South Africa had aided Renamo and it would do so again 'in similar circumstances'.

Mr Botha was immediately condemned for his 'frank and forceful admission' by the PFP's chief spokesman of Foreign Affairs, Mr Colin Eglin, who accused him of making a 'farce' of Parliament by denying Opposition charges over the years that South Africa was destabilising its neighbours and then admitting to this.

Mr Eglin said South Africa had taken over Renamo from the Rhodesians in 1979 and warned that 'the very organisation you helped and nurtured' could end up destroying the Nkomati Accord and pave the way for the entry of the Soviet Union into the area.

Criticised

Mr Botha justified South Africa's aid to the rebel group in the past by saying that Mozambique had become 'the chief canal of ANC terrorists'.

He said the Conservative Party had criticised the Government for leaving Renamo in the lurch by signing the Nkomati Accord.

'They call our withdrawing our help from Renamo despicable, but we believe our interests come first.'

Earlier, Mr Botha said the establishment of the 'joint operational centre' between South Africa and Mozambique next month did not mean that there would be joint operations between the security forces of the two countries.

However, in terms of agreements already reached last year, the two governments were negoti-

ating the manner and form in which they could act together to protect the Cahora Bassa power lines and the South African Transport Services in Mozambique against sabotage.

Mr Botha said that in terms of the Cahora Bassa Agreement South Africa and Mozambique had pledged to act together to protect the powerlines and share the costs of doing so according to a determined formula.

'What we are doing now in terms of the agreement and mutual assurances is negotiating with Mozambique to provide a protection force to protect these lines against subversion and violence.'

Protection

Mr Botha said it had already been agreed that entities and organisations within Mozambique would take care of protecting the power lines and this meant that the SATS — which had a direct interest in the rail line — 'has in principle to provide help to protect it'.

'The form and manner of this protection is at present being negotiated.'

Although motivating the need for bilateral action to be taken, Mr Botha said that this should not be seen as meaning that the SADF would be deployed in Mozambique.

However, Mr Botha's statements have raised renewed fears in Opposition circles that South Africa might be considering some form of military involvement in the territory, albeit short of actual SADF deployment.

Earlier in the debate, Mr Eglin warned of the 'grave risks' involved in South Africa becoming directly involved in the Mozambique civil war 'however sympathetic one may be to one party in that war'.

Yesterday in Parliament

Government admits
it supported Renamo

Parliamentary Correspondent

Cape Times 26/4/85
Slabbert
offer to
Botha,
Tambo

Political Staff

PORT ELIZABETH. — The Leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, last night offered to act as a "go-between" between the State President, Mr P W Botha, and the Leader of the African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo.

He said he would do this to establish whether there is a way of peace and negotiation.

Dr Slabbert was responding to a newspaper report from Washington that the ANC had offered to hold talks with the South African Government on "extending democracy to the country's black majority".

Urging the State President and the Government not to dismiss Oliver Tambo's offer "out of hand", Dr Slabbert warned that "the prospects of violence in our land are too terrible and the need for peace and negotiation too important".

He said the State President said he was willing to negotiate on behalf of his government "although it is still trapped in the policy of apartheid."

"Oliver Tambo says he is willing to negotiate on behalf of the ANC although it is still pursuing a strategy of violence."

The PFP abhorred apartheid and completely rejected violence, he said.

But, he added, the PFP was "uncompromisingly committed to negotiation as a way of solving South Africa's problems".

PFP visits KwaZulu Legislative Assembly

Scanned 20/4/85
30419

NATAL Progressive Federal Party leader, Mr Ray Swart made an unexpected appearance in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly public gallery yesterday.

Mr Swart is understood to be holding discussions with KwaZulu's chief minister, Chief Mongosuthu Buthelezi, over Chief Buthelezi's criticisms of the PFP report on the Uitenhage shootings.

Mr Swart, the PFP Member of Parliament for Be-re-a, was one of the six MPs who signed a report which said the Xhosas in Langa township had resented Zulu police detachments being used against them.

The report, compiled by Mr Errol Moorcroft, MP for Albany, said the South African Police had exploited ethnic rivalries existing between Xhosas and

Zulus.

Last week, Chief Buthelezi dismissed as "naked racism" the report's implication that ethnic differences divided blacks any more than they did whites.

Welcoming Mr Swart to the Assembly yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said they had enjoyed a partnership and friendship lasting more than 30 years.

"Therefore it should not surprise anyone that in spite of conflict, we remain friends," Chief Buthelezi said.

On Wednesday a member of the assembly, Mr V Madikiza called on the six PFP Mps who signed the report to come to Ulundi to apologise for the "deep hurt" it had caused. He said Mr Moorcroft should be made to "squirm like a worm".

Van Niekerk tip for vacant post

304A



Dr van der Merwe

Ormande Pollok
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—Dr Willie van Niekerk, the Administrator-General in South West Africa, is being tipped in Nationalist circles as a strong contender to succeed Dr Nak van der Merwe, who died yesterday, as Minister of Health.

Dr van der Merwe, who was MP for Bethlehem, was also the Free State leader of the National Party, and his death will trigger off internal jockeying for the position.

However, MPs said yesterday they felt Mr Kobie Coetsee, Minister of Justice, who is also chairman of the Free State Party, was the front-runner.

Mr Louis Botha, the Administrator of the Free State and former MP for Bethlehem, has also been mentioned as a possible contender for the leadership as well as for a Cabinet, or deputy minister's post.

Traditionally, the Free State has had at least one Cabinet minister and one deputy minister but this will depend on the State President, Mr Botha.

Though he is not likely to interfere in the Free State party's leadership race he could use the present circumstances to reshuffle his Cabinet or give some indication of his plans which could influence the leadership.

Apart from Dr van der Merwe's death creating a vacancy in the Cabinet, Mr Pierre Cronje, deputy Minister of Home Affairs and National Education, and MP for Port Natal, has also announced his retirement.

It was felt yesterday that the Bethlehem and Port Natal by-elections would probably be held on the same day — a few months after the end of the current Parliamentary session.

Some MPs felt that the Free State Administrator would be a good candidate to fight the growing Conservative Party in the Bethlehem seat, having represented it before and being well known in it.

Next Wednesday's provincial by-election in Harrismith will be a good pointer to the strength of the CP as it forms about half of the Bethlehem Parliamentary seat.

Dr van Niekerk was head of the medical faculty at Tygerberg Hospital

and also had a large private gynaecological practice which he gave up after being appointed to the old President's Council and subsequently to be Administrator-General of South West Africa.

However, this position will be largely a ceremonial post in terms of the Government's new plans to establish a transitional government in the territory and it is felt that with his excellent medical credentials he could be better used in the Health and Welfare Ministry to replace Dr van der Merwe.

Chairman

The President announced yesterday that Dr L A P A Munnik, a former Minister of Health, would be acting in Dr van der Merwe's Cabinet posts for the time being.

Mr Sarel Hayward, Minister of Agriculture and Water Supplies in the white Ministers Council, would take over as chairman of the council.

Mr Botha said that with Dr van der Merwe's death, South Africa had lost one of its 'fine political personalities'.

'As a politician he was a fighter and a good negotiator. He was also a success as a doctor, administrator, Parliamentarian and minister. He was also a church and cultural man.'

Another winner

ANOTHER lucky number in the Mercury's Go For R1 000 competition came up yesterday. The R50 prize was claimed by Mr Eric Khumalo of Yellowwood Park, Durban.

Yesterday in Parliament

P W says no to talks with ANC

304A NM 27/4/85

CAPE TOWN—President Botha has rejected an offer by the leader of the Opposition, Dr van Zyl Slabbert, to mediate in talks between the South African Government and the banned African National Congress.

'I cannot accept that, because I cannot allow anyone to talk on my behalf to an organisation supporting violence, just as I am not prepared to talk to any organisation supporting violence,' Mr Botha said in a statement released here last night.

Reiterating his offer to all political leaders who renounced violence to join a forum for discussion on the constitutional future of non-homeland blacks, Mr Botha said:

'I now appeal to all South Africans who oppose violence to strengthen the hand of the Government in order to ensure orderly government and economic prosperity for our country.'

The State President said he had made it very clear that he was prepared to talk to people

and organisations who rejected violence.

'I made it very clear that I am prepared to talk to everyone who seeks political development in South Africa in an evolutionary way. The ANC is a tool of Soviet Russia.

'I said in Parliament that in the end it doesn't really matter whether or not the S A Communist Party or the ANC will be the dominating factor.' — (Sapa)

AS THE long weeks of unrest in the black townships draw into months we can begin to see they mark a major change in the dynamics of political interaction between urban blacks and the ruling group in South Africa.

If and when the police and security forces succeed in restoring "order" and some semblance of "normality" to the strife-torn and smouldering townships in the Eastern Cape, Vaal and East Rand areas, it will not be possible simply to revert to the old administrative structures.

Even less will it be feasible to revive the political options which may have had some evolutionary potential before September, 1984 — in particular, that of black community councils.

If the government is somewhat belatedly waking up to the mistakes made in 1982 by introducing these councils without adequate sources of revenue or autonomous powers, then it is wishful thinking at this late date to assume that this might still be rectified in the circumstances brought about in black townships by the current strife.

Significantly different

As the most astute observers have already pointed out, the political unrest of the last few months has been far from a mindless and arbitrary rage. Instead, it shows a clear pattern, one which is significantly different from that of 1976-77.

In particular, the immediate objects of black anger and militant action tend to be different. It is not primarily aimed against the (white) authorities and the state — or even against whites generally.

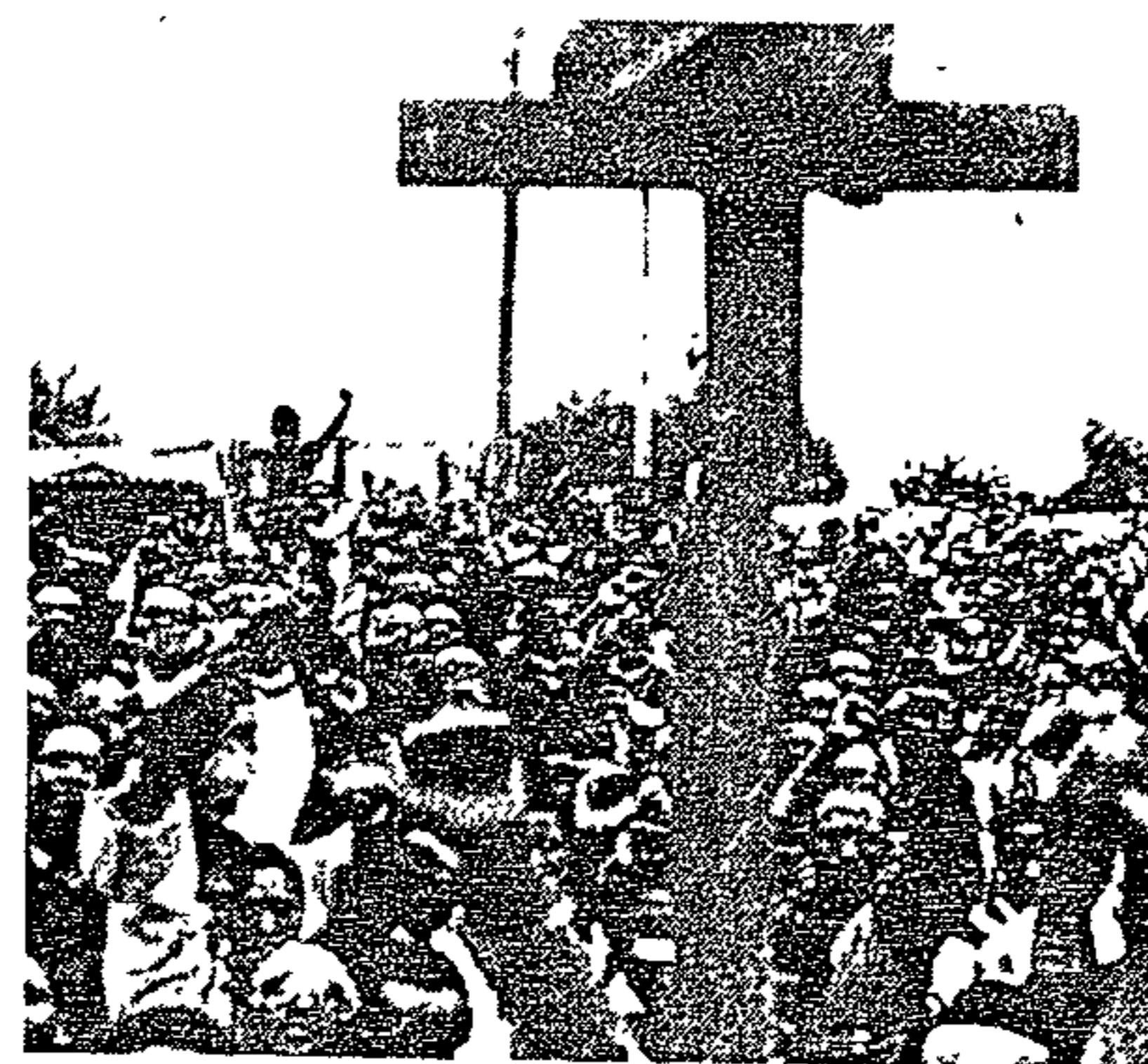
Instead, the targets tend to be those within the black communities who have been prepared to co-operate with the ruling group: black community councillors, black policemen, black officials, black businessmen.

By all accounts this strategy has been most effective and in the country as a whole there appear to be a mere handful of community councils which are still operative to any extent.

Violence and intimidation

Public attention and comment has concentrated mainly on the political violence and intimidation involved but this can make us miss the more general significance of what is happening in black politics.

From a moral and humane point of view it is, of course, utterly deplorable when black councillors are killed and maimed, their houses and shops burnt down, their families intimidated and so



Unrest in the black townships . . . marking a major change in the dynamics of political interaction between urban blacks and the ruling group.

on — just as it is a national tragedy that so many civilian blacks, including many women and children, are shot dead or maimed by police action.

But our shock at these scenes of violence, such as the burnt bodies of the Uitenhage councillor and his sons shown repeatedly by TV in newscasts, should not obscure the new political reality which such scenes represent: this is the fate of those prepared to participate in government-imposed political structures for blacks.

What we are witnessing, at least as far as these black townships are concerned, is the final foundering of the policy of sectional co-optation.

For two decades and more the government's strategy in dealing with the aspirations of the majority of the South African population has basically been that of divide and rule coupled with the selective and progressive co-optation of various sectional elites.

As the experience of the homelands and national states has shown, a strategy of this kind can be quite effective even if it clearly lacks popular support.

As long as some kind of authority structure can be established, even if only tenuously linked to traditional tribal authorities or based on low and disputed electoral polls, and as long as it can be tied to the interests of certain key groupings such as black politicians, bureaucrats and traders, "separate development" can and has been sustained in the face of widespread unpopularity and resistance.

More recently the co-optation has been extended with some vigour to certain elite groups of the Indian and coloured communities. Though it is still too soon to assess the political workings of this new constitutional dispensation for these groups, the fact of the matter is that neither low electoral polls nor more militant protest and boycott campaigns have prevented the recruitment and installation of representatives in Parliament and even in the cabinet.

This leaves the urban black leadership.

As internal and external pressure for political reform grew in recent years, it also became clear that the urban black elites pro-

vided the logical car for the next round of co-optation.

In many ways these "urban insiders" are already set to share urban residence, employment opportunities, standards of living and far in advance of that of the majority of rural blacks.

Though the formula for formal political co-optation, "urban insiders" at a level remained unclear, it was obvious that at a level community councils provide the necessary political infrastructure.

At the same time the obvious advantages in recruitment for administrators and officials, the direct line of communication to unpopular groups such as raising township rates.

In principle the prospect of such a co-optation of the urban black elites, in the face of a similar lack of support, are as viable as has been in the other cases. — and this is the significance of the current unrest — prospects have been shattered.

POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE

By ANDRÉ DU TOIT



Unrest proves failure of co-optation policy



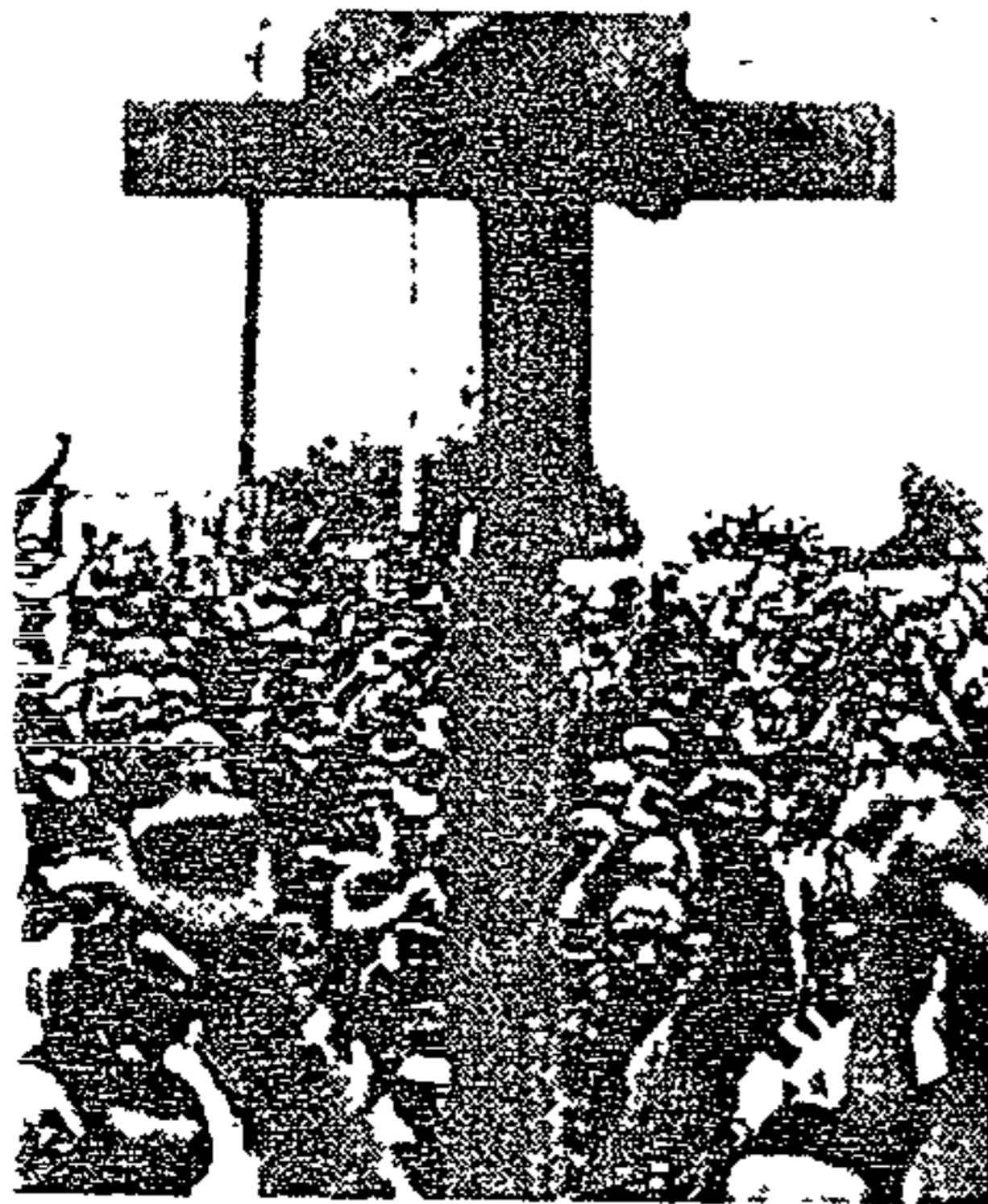
CARL TINKS
27/4/85

POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE

By ANDRÉ DU TOIT



Unrest proves failure of co-optation policy



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experience of the home national states has strategy of this kind can survive even if it clearly support.

As long as some kind of authority structure can be established, even if only tenuously linked to traditional tribal authorities or based on low and disputed electoral polls, and as long as it can be tied to the interests of certain key groupings such as black politicians, bureaucrats and traders, "separate development" can and has been sustained in the face of widespread unpopularity and resistance.

More recently the co-optation has been extended with some vigour to certain elite groups of the Indian and coloured communities. Though it is still too soon to assess the political workings of this new constitutional dispensation for these groups, the fact of the matter is that neither low electoral polls nor more militant protest and boycott campaigns have prevented the recruitment and installation of representatives in Parliament and even in the cabinet.

This leaves the urban black leadership.

As internal and external pressure for political reform grew in recent years, it also became clear that the urban black elites pro-

vided the logical candidates for the next round of co-optation.

In many ways these "urban insiders" are already set apart: they share urban residential rights, employment opportunities and standards of living and schooling far in advance of that of the great majority of rural blacks.

Though the formula for the eventual political co-optation of these "urban insiders" at a national level remained unclear and problematic, it was obvious that at local level community councils should provide the necessary institutional infrastructure.

At the same time there are obvious advantages in removing white administrators and officials from the direct line of fire when it comes to unpopular measures such as raising township rents and rates.

In principle the prospects for such a co-optation of sections of the urban black elites, even in the face of a similar lack of popular support, are as viable as they have been in the other cases. In practice — and this is the significance of the current unrest — such prospects have been shattered.

Whatever the source and inspiration of political forces at work in the black townships may be, they have effectively countered the government's co-optation strategy. They have gone beyond the more traditional methods of non-cooperation and boycott and have resorted to direct and drastic action against the "collaborators".

The results have the makings of something analogous to the occupation syndrome of World War II. In themselves the resistance movements in France or the Netherlands never posed a major threat to the military might of the German occupation, but they greatly increased the personal cost and risk of those prepared to work with the occupying power.

Hard-headed assessment

The final aim was to make any form of civil government unfeasible.

Obviously, everything possible must be done to prevent things coming to such a pass in our own country but this requires a hard-headed and realistic assessment of the nature of present political realities.

It avails little for the government merely to stress how "moderates" in black communities have come under attack or to call on other "moderates" to come forward. In present circumstances that would be suicidal, politically and even literally.

As far as these black townships are concerned, the government's co-optation strategy has foundered. Political realism requires that alternative strategies now be explored.

Strategy foundered

In theory there is a growing realization in government circles of the need for negotiated political leadership with coherent constituencies and viable political organizations.

In the circumstances this must include community, student and trade union organizations which government spokesmen are increasingly branding as "the enemy".

The renewed speculation that the government might be preparing the ground for security action against the UDF or its leadership indicates a possible compounding of its present policy disaster.

The failure of its co-optation strategy means precisely that the government will no longer be able to "negotiate" with leaders of its own making and choice.

Whether or not security action might help in achieving the short-term ends of restoring law and order in black townships, it will only serve to cut the ground from under the political settlement needed in the longer term.

PFP attacks Pik for SABC 'strategem'

CME Times 27/4/85
304A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE appointment of Dr Brand Fourie as next chairman of the SABC Board of Control has been slammed by the Progressive Federal Party as a political strategem by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, to secure the State Presidency.

The announcement that the South African Ambassador in Washington was to be appointed the chairman of the board from July 1 was made by Mr Botha in the House of Representatives yesterday.

Dr Fourie will replace the temporary chairman, Professor J L Mouton, rector of the University of the Orange Free State.

In announcing the appointment, Mr Botha said Mr Fourie had wide experience and political understanding and described him as the right man for the job.

Mr Fourie had a history of service to all groups in South Africa, was neutral and had

served all prime ministers since General Jan Smuts, Mr Botha said.

However, the PFP's chief spokesman on the media, Mr Dave Dalling, said "the SABC needs another political appointment like a hole in the head".

Mr Dalling said that although Dr Fourie had been a successful diplomat he had "absolutely no experience in broadcasting" or with providing educational or entertainment programmes for the public.

"It is clear that the Minister of Foreign Affairs has finally thrown himself into the ring in the State President stakes and has stolen a march on Dr Gerrit Viljoen and Mr F W de Klerk."

Mr Dalling charged that he had done this by "harnessing his proteges" in the Department of Foreign Affairs, Mr Riaan Eksteen and Dr Brand Fourie.

● Meanwhile, EBRAHIM MOOSA reports that

Mr David Curry, Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture, said yesterday that the SABC's television programmes should cease to be "apologetic" about the reforms brought about by the Nationalist Party.

Speaking during the debate on the Foreign Affairs budget, Mr Curry called on the government to project an "image" on SATV which represented the full spectrum of political opinion and groups of people.

He said he would like to debate with the Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, or the United Democratic Front (UDF) patron, Dr Allan Boesak, in a television debate.

MPs were critical of the SABC's attitude of not reporting criticism of the government. Calls were also made for more coloureds to be given jobs at the corporation and for the appointment of coloured news-readers.



Dr Brand Fourie

PFP/Inkatha: 'Many things in common'

WLG ARGUS 27/4/85

Weekend Argus Correspondent

ULUNDI. — The PFP and Inkatha had far more things in common than things dividing it, the Natal leader of the PFP, Mr Ray Swart, said after an unannounced meeting with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Speaking at a Press conference yesterday called by Chief Buthelezi, Mr Swart said he and KwaZulu's Chief Minister had discussed their differences "like old friends".

"The immediate differences stem from a section of a report submitted by six PFP caucus members, including myself, on the situation in Uitenhage after the recent unrest.

"Great disquiet"

"In that report we made special references to reports made to us by people in Langa township about the presence of a Zulu-speaking unit and the effect it had had on the mood of the people," Mr Swart said.

It was clear the reference had caused "great disquiet" among the people of KwaZulu as it had been felt that it could have implied the police

had been under the control of the KwaZulu Government.

"This was certainly never our intention. Clearly the police units there where SAP units under the control of the Republican Government and where in no way the responsibility of the KwaZulu Government," Mr Swart said.

He will report back to PFP leader, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert on his meeting with Chief Buthelezi on Monday.

Confident

Mr Swart said he was confident the dispute would be resolved as the PFP and Inkatha had "far more things in common than things which divide us".

Chief Buthelezi said he was very happy with the outcome of the meeting which had been "a real man-to-man discussion".

"We both acknowledge the fact that friendship should not be based on pussy footing," he said.

The Chief said he was awaiting a reply from the Government about whether Zulu police had deliberately chosen to help quell the Uitenhage unrest.

"It's wicked if it is true," he said.

DEFY



P W Botha rejects Slabbert's ANC offer

CML-TMH
27/4/85
304A

PRESIDENT P W Botha last night rejected an offer by the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, to mediate in talks between the South African Government and the banned African National Congress.

"I cannot accept that, because I cannot allow anyone to talk on my behalf to an organization supporting violence, just as I am not prepared to talk to any organization supporting violence," Mr Botha said in a statement released in Cape Town last night.

Dr Slabbert said last night he was disappointed at the State President's reaction.

"I would have preferred that the channels of communication were left open, particularly if one keeps in mind that the State President and his government managed to woo Samora Machel from the Russians by means of the Nkomati Accord and that in Namibia, Swapo externally pursues the policy of violence while being allowed to operate internally as a political party," he said.

Moscow

"Surely it's not beyond the ingenuity of all of us inside South Africa committed to peaceful and constitutional change to woo the ANC away from the alleged control of Moscow and the Soviet Union.

"I never offered to speak on behalf of the South African Government, only to act as a go-between in order to es-

tablish whether negotiations are possible," Dr Slabbert said.

"It would be disastrous if we had to repeat the old familiar pantomime of postures and counterpostures that took place in Rhodesia before it became Zimbabwe, and in Mozambique."

Reiterating his offer to all political leaders who renounced violence to join a forum for discussion on the constitutional future of non-homeland blacks, Mr Botha said:

Govt's hand

"I now appeal to all South Africans who oppose violence to strengthen the hand of the government in order to ensure orderly government and economic prosperity for our country."

The State President said he had made it very clear that he was prepared to talk to people and organizations who rejected violence.

"I made it very clear that I am prepared to talk to everyone who seeks political development in South Africa in an evolutionary way. The ANC is a tool of Soviet Russia. I said in Parliament that in the end it doesn't really matter whether or not the SA Communist Party or the ANC will be the dominating factor.

"I refer to the admission by Joe Slovo that the ANC has over the years received considerable support from the Soviet Union and that the Communist Party similarly occupies a cherished and unique position within the ANC."

"The ANC has in turn infiltrated the UDF in various ways. They influence each other to overthrow the government by means of violence, to establish a dictatorship and to abolish and replace the SADF and the police force with forces of their own.

"According to their own admission their present strategy is to make the country ungovernable.

"Yesterday I learned that the leader of the Official Opposition wants to act as mediator.

"I cannot accept that because I cannot allow anyone to talk on my behalf to an organization supporting violence, just as I am not prepared to talk to any organization supporting violence.

"I accept that the leader of the Opposition will equally distance himself from the idea of negotiation with the Communist Party or the ANC and the UDF under such circumstances." — Sapa and Staff Reporter

method. **28/4/85**
"By herding the enemy, so to speak, into separate compounds it made physical control that much easier."

"But now that an attempt is being made to govern more by consent than by coercion, the total separation of rulers from ruled has become a grave handicap, since the rulers have no way of knowing what the ruled are up to, except by listening to the police, whose intelligence reports are by no means always reliable."

At this stage, he says, it is quite unnecessary for the whites to share power with the blacks. It would be sufficient if they were to share the same pub.

It is difficult to imagine having this kind of a talk with an official of, say, Birmingham City Council.

Yet in South Africa, contrary to expectations, the level of political sophistication is very high, particularly among the Afrikaner professional classes.

Nor is this really at all surpris-



P W BOTHA
Imposing

ing, since racial politics in South Africa is the one staple of conversation almost from birth.

Never in the whole history of human conflict can there have been so reactionary a society where so many have talked so much about reform to so little effect.

"Not so," says Port Elizabeth's mayor, Councillor Krige. Only that afternoon the city council had agreed to open the public libraries to all races.

He had personally wanted them to open the beaches as well. But some of the City Fathers representing the hotel and catering trades had objected that this would adversely affect the number of Transvaalers taking their holidays in the area.

In the mayor's view this was a lot of nonsense.

In any case, in his view, it was only a matter of time before the black tide rolled inland far further than the beaches.

When I ask whether it is dangerous for an Afrikaner mayor to express such defeatist opinions, he replies: "Not when his term of office is nearly over."

None of these Afrikaners seems at all willing to fit into our stereotype of them as narrow-minded, humourless bigots. Surely there must be some of the old blood and thunder school extant?

There are. In the evening, at a braai given on a farm just outside Port Elizabeth, I meet a senior academic from the university — a member of the Broederbond.

"The choice for the whites remains 'rule or be ruled'. So it is for the blacks. If the whites talk about power-sharing now, as some of them do, alas, that can only mean that they are becoming resigned

ing how many years ago, interviewed Dr Verwoerd. At the first mention of Dr Verwoerd the host interrupts to warn me that the lady on my left is Dr Verwoerd's daughter.

The lady in question is a middle-aged social worker, married to a teacher — about as unfrighting as it is possible to be.

She maintains that her father never saw apartheid as a permanent solution to the race problem. Its purpose was to keep the races apart until the blacks were ready for assimilation, a stage which she thought he might well have concluded had now been reached.

In her husband's view, apartheid had been a temporary expedient for giving the Afrikaners time to develop enough self-confidence for power-sharing with the blacks.

FRIDAY:

Visit Crossroads — 100 000 so-called illegal immigrants crammed together under makeshift corrugated iron roofs with no proper drainage.

The municipal official who is showing us around says the Government has definitely decided against any further attempt at forcible removals — previous ones ended in bloodshed — preferring to rely on the squatters eventually deciding to move voluntarily.

Why has the Government made this concession? Because it has realised that forced removals are no longer practical politics — an example of black power coming into play even without the vote being granted.

In the official's view, this major change in government policy may also have been partly brought about by pressure from the new Indian and coloured Cabinet Ministers who had threatened to make it a resignation issue.

I ask Mr Rajbansi, an Indian Cabinet Minister, about this when I meet him in his impressive office in the Parliament Buildings.

He confirms that opposition from the new Indian and coloured parliamentary Chambers had made the Government pause over a number of controversial measures, if only because, at this stage in the new constitutional experiment, the Government was very anxious to make its power-sharing elements seem genuine.

The fact that the white Ministers had to submit themselves regularly to questioning by the coloured and Indian MPs — question-and-answer sessions which were widely reported in the Press — did genuinely constitute a new factor in the power balance, none

304A
The people present has ever bothered to attend any of the debates in the new Chambers, preferring to write them off as a charade.

They seem relieved to be able to point to the fact that coloured and Indian MPs are still not allowed to use the white members' diningroom.

SATURDAY:

Meeting with State President Botha, whose office, like the man himself, is large and imposing.

Nor does the elevated dais on which his desk is set, forcing the visitor to look up at him, make my task seem any less formidable.

So I fall back on the name-dropping ploy, mentioning that when I had interviewed Dr Verwoerd in 1960 his great predecessor had given the impression of knowing exactly where he was leading the



DR TREURNICHT
Blank wall

Afrikaner people. Did Mr Botha feel equally sure?

Circumstances had changed since Dr Verwoerd's day, he replied, not only in South Africa, but also throughout the continent. Dr Verwoerd had initiated one phase and he was initiating another.

His goal was to negotiate a new constitutional settlement which all races would feel able to accept as just in the special circumstances of South Africa.

Some sections of all races purported to accuse him of ambiguity, not to say deception. But their real complaint was that they knew full well where he was trying to go and did not wish to accept the sacrifices that would be involved for them.

As for the charge, which wounded him a lot, that he had broken up the unity of Afrikanerdom, he found it much exaggerated.

In any case, the same pessimists who were predicting a growth of right-wing reaction in the future had been proved quite wrong in the past, particularly in respect of the result of the 1984 constitutional referendum, which had been even more favourable to him than he had expected.

The time for successful revolution or reaction had been then, when black anger at being excluded from the franchise given to coloureds and Indians had been at

as irrelevant as black extremists claimed, were they going to such lengths to eliminate them?

He hoped that the West world had drawn the right lesson from Senator Kennedy's visit to South Africa: that the country's black politics were much more complicated than anything dreamt of in Bishop Tutu's philosophy.

As for Western pressure to stabilise South Africa, he thought this was playing with fire, for the sparks of a race war in South Africa might well set alight similar conflagrations in other parts of the world, notably in the United States, where the racial matter was still much more explosive and inflammable than American liberals liked to recognise.

Engaging

His advice to the West seemed to be: "Leave ill alone."

Dare I admit that I find Botha's earthy realism rather engaging?

He even has a sense of humour. When after the interview over I asked him how he had fared Mrs Thatcher during his Chequers visit last year, he replied: "Rather embarrass the Prime Minister herself with my admiration would be more diplomatic to say that I got on famously with her."

My next meeting is with Dr. Treurnicht, the Conservative Party leader who is expected — not by Botha — to increase 17 seats at the next election. Notorious as a rabble-rouser, his private manner is very to the point of saying nothing motely memorable.

For 20 years he was a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church and sees his political role as much an extension of his religious role, ie, to preach the word of which to him means preserving Afrikaner supremacy as the means of preventing the triumph of the heathen.

Where does he differ from Botha? "The President wants to preserve white political power and will give the blacks everything except the vote."

"For us, however, the only of political power is to preserve a certain way of life of which blacks can never be a part."

What about blacks who speak Afrikaans, join the Dutch Reformed Church, why can't they part of that way of life? Dr Treurnicht has no answer and our conversation runs into a blank.

I had rather hoped to meet a South African version of E. E. Powell. In the event, however, Treurnicht turns out to have in common with Ian Paisley to fly back to Johannesburg.

to be able to take up Dr Nkomo's challenge to see how black life is like for myself in Soweto, the largest black township in the country with a population thought to be nearly two million.

Compared to Crossroads, course, or even to the slums of Brazil or Calcutta, it is decent enough. But if one drives there I do, straight from the luxury of suburban white Johannesburg.

Just endless rows of grey dwellings

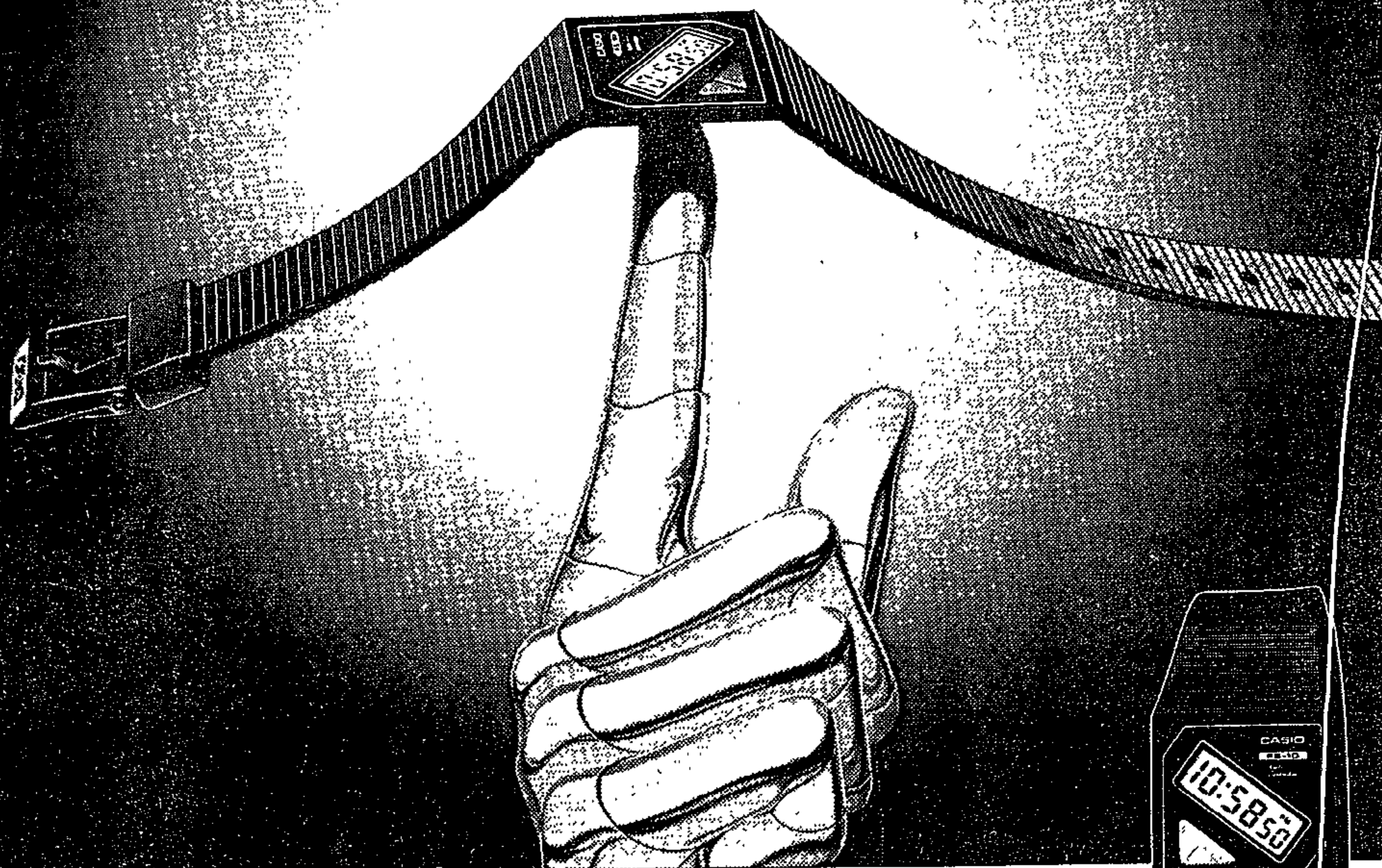
28/4/85

304A

...bourgeoisie, are a cut above the others. But since even those with sionalous, but it is only bringing in foreign tourists who stare clst. (First published in the Sunday ...)

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Gold tone



It induces intense sympathy for the plight of the blacks, and for the dimension of the dilemma faced by the whites . . .

the contrast is stupefyingly deplorable — not a tree or shrub in sight, just endless rows of grey dwellings.

The only sign of colour or brightness, and the only smiling faces to be seen, are on the advertisement hoardings which are also the city's only form of ornamentation.

As for civic buildings, there is nothing worthy of the name. A few of the houses, lived in by the black

money have not been allowed, until recently, to own property, there has been no incentive at all to improve the look of the place.

There is a tiny Barclays bank and a massive church, which seems sensible enough in a city whose inhabitants undoubtedly have better prospects in the next world than in this one.

By day the streets are empty and still, since all the work is in white areas. One sees the occa-

through the windows at the world-famous trouble spot, not daring to get out, rather as if they were in a game park.

High on the list of tourist attractions at the moment are the houses where black "collaborators" have been burnt to death. As the sun goes down, the tall klieg lamps get switched on (in an attempt to reduce the muggings) suffusing the whole city in a kind of yellow smog.

Violence

White friends, who are trying to bring commerce into the area by organising trade exhibitions, take us to call on the editor of a black women's magazine, who has promised to show us Soweto by night.

Eventually the party is complete and Julius, a black entrepreneur with a vast Land-Rover, drives us to a fried chicken joint.

After eating we visit shebeen after shebeen, where several bottles of Glenfiddich whisky are consumed at my expense.

After the shebeens, all equally stuffy and uncomfortable — ground-floor rooms with a few old chairs to sit on — we drive to a neon-lit dance hall owned by another friend, Lucky Mick.

It is now about 2am and everybody is in the best of spirits.

Lucky Mick runs this dance hall with a rod of iron . . . literally, and there are quite a few drunks being expelled with a degree of violence which, if used by the London police in Brixton, would be de-

Lucky Mick escorts us to the bar, which is a tiny, lighted coastal strip, so to speak, beyond which, in the dark, lies a great raging and roaring sea of some 1 000 ululating couples.

So long as one remains within this coastal strip, under Lucky Mick's protection, all is fairly orderly. But being an intrepid reporter, I decide, drink in hand, to explore.

What a mistake, since irresistible currents instantly sweep me far away from the safety of the shore. A great black hand grips my arm in a vice and another calmly removes the drink without a word being exchanged. No hostility is shown; no communication of any sort.

The press of bodies is so tight that breathing is difficult. I try to call for help, but meet nothing but bloodshot eyes that stare at me without any glimmer of human recognition.

Never before in my life have I felt so frightened; or more relieved than when Lucky Mick eventually comes to the rescue.

I am glad Dr Motlana pressed me to visit Soweto. In many ways the experience induces intense sympathy for the plight of the South African blacks.

But it also induces, in my heart at least, an equally intense sympathy for the dimensions of the dilemma faced by South African whites.

Perhaps every visitor to South Africa should end his stay in a Soweto dance hall, where the heart of darkness is still reality enough to snuff out all but the

28/4/85

304A

SOWETO, HEART OF DARKNESS

PEREGRINE WORSTHORNE, a leading British conservative commentator, paid a recent visit to South Africa during which he interviewed President Botha and visited a Soweto dance hall. These are extracts from his South African diary.

TUESDAY:

Fly to Port Elizabeth, home of the South African motor industry which is at present in recession, pushing up unemployment among the local blacks.

None of this impinges at all on the white (ie, relatively rich) part of the population, who live totally separate existences.

Places at work are the only meeting grounds. But at times of mass unemployment, as at present, even these exiguous opportunities for communication between the classes/races are further diminished.

Never before in history, therefore, has there been a society where the rulers are so out of touch with the ruled.

When I put this point to a senior official in the city administration, he says that this is indeed the case, which is one of the reasons why apartheid had to go — precisely because, in present circumstances, it was making it more difficult, rather than less, for the whites to keep the blacks in order.

What does he mean, I ask, by "present circumstances"?

"Apartheid made sense," he replies, "in the days when naked repression was the approved

to the rule of a conquered nation.

"So serious black politicians talk about power-sharing, since they still believe they are strong enough to be the winners who take all."

Outsiders could afford to overlook the realities and pretend that there could be an accommodation between the races. Insiders like himself, could not afford to be under any such delusions.

If the rest of the white world wanted to put an end to apartheid, then it in turn would have to conquer white South Africa, since the blacks on their own certainly would never be able to do so unless President Botha turned out to be a traitor in disguise, as President de Gaulle had turned out to be in Algeria.

In that event the army might have to take over, in the name of true Afrikanerdom.

WEDNESDAY:

Stay the night at a hotel just outside George, where we are collected by a young government official who has arranged a dinner party in his home for us to meet some of his colleagues and friends.

To establish my credentials with the company I start recount-

the less real for being intangible.

In the past, white Ministers had never had to explain or defend their policies to non-white legislators or listen politely to hostile criticism.

I spend the rest of the afternoon listening to debates in Parliament.

In the Indian Chamber the Minister of Justice, on the front bench, is being harranged with fiery eloquence by an MP about the death of Steve Biko.

Teased

At the end of the debate, through which the Minister had sat with head bowed, he gets up to announce that, in view of the arguments put forward by his learned friend, the Government had decided to withdraw its opposition to a new inquiry into the Biko affair.

In the coloured Chamber various white Ministers are being mercilessly teased about the book purporting to demonstrate that they all have coloured blood. "Why don't you join our Chamber?" shout the coloured members and when the white Ministers refuse to reply, the cry goes up: "Answer, answer."

Later at a Progressive dinner party, I discover that not one of

its fiercest, as had been white anger at the inclusion of the Indians and coloureds.

Having weathered that critical time, he did not feel that the present troubles need to be taken all that seriously.

Manifestly the black revolutionaries feared the growth of black moderation, which was why so many of the moderates were being killed.

If the forces of black modera-



—by—
David Braun,
Political Correspondent

304A 5 Jan
27/4/85
**Govt's
guideline
for talks
with the
blacks**

CAPE TOWN — The Government this week spelled out clearly-defined points of departure to be used as guidelines in the negotiating process with blacks.

At the same time it has recognised that a wider group of people than those leaders in elected positions will have to be involved in the intended discussions.

The broad policy position with regard to blacks is contained in a remarkably frank new National Party booklet "... And what about the Black People?" compiled by political scientist and MP for Helderkruijn Dr Stoffel van der Merwe.

The booklet catalogues fundamental flaws in previous National Party black policy.

Dr van der Merwe refers to the National Convention of 1909 where one of the thorniest problems was the question of franchise for people of colour. "Ultimately it was decided to maintain the status quo," he says.

"The limited franchise people of colour enjoyed in the Cape Province and Natal, would be retained but would not be extended to the other provinces.

"Clearly this arrangement was a compromise by means of which the founders of the Union of South Africa actually postponed the problem.

"Now, in 1985, we have reached the stage where it can be postponed no longer."

Dr van der Merwe says in implementing the policy of complete separate development which was to have led to all-encompassing independent states for the black nations, three problems had arisen:

- The problem of development.
- International resistance.
- Domestic opposition.

On the development problem, Dr van der Merwe says: "In the late Fifties and early Sixties we in South Africa and the statesmen of Europe (and of Africa) made the same mistake.

PUMP IN MONEY

"We believed that the development of under-developed areas and states was a relatively simple matter. "One merely pumped some money and technical aid into such a state, and lo and behold development took hold, generating its own momentum.

"We thought that it would be relatively easy to get these black areas to develop economically so that they would eventually provide a living for the vast majority of their people.

"According to our estimates at the time, this development would result in a reversal of the tide of black people streaming to the white urban areas by 1978 and to an exodus of the black people back to their own areas."

In the event, South Africa experienced a widening of the gap between the developed and the under-developed areas.

It became obvious that the independent black states would not be able to accommodate all the country's black people and that the tide of blacks to white urban areas had actually increased.

On inevitable international resistance, Dr van der Merwe says: "Although we decided to continue granting independence to states in spite of the lack of international recognition, the failure to achieve recognition has had important consequences."

These new states are not able to take part in international politics. They cannot join international organisations.

LESS ATTRACTIVE

Their citizens are not able to travel abroad on their own passports. Above all, they do not qualify for international aid.

"All this not only makes independence less attractive to these states, but it also materially inhibits their development, further complicating the whole policy of separate states."

On domestic opposition, he says: "It was not unexpected either that there would be considerable internal opposition to the idea of independent states.

"Even people who were not against independent states in principle began to withdraw their support from the policy because of the problems encountered in development and international recognition."

Dr van der Merwe goes on to say that when it was realised that the vast majority of black people would not be returned to

the black states, the response was that it should be possible to link black people with their homelands even though they no longer lived in their own states.

"The inherent difficulty with this solution," he says, "was that the franchise a black person obtained in his state of origin was unable to influence in any way the problems he experienced where he lived.

"This form of franchise was, therefore, ineffective and consequently rather meaningless."

The central theme of the booklet is that a system has to be found in which all who live permanently in the country are able to enjoy the vote in such a way that no group dominates others.

That would enable the country to deal with the questions of citizenship, property rights and political rights.

Dr van der Merwe makes the point that it might be possible to produce a formulated plan within a month or two, but that any system will succeed only if it enjoys the support of the people for whom it is meant.

Any plan should be worked out in close co-operation with the leaders of as many black interest groups as possible.

Consequently, it would be futile and wrong to come forward with a pre-conceived plan.

But, he says, whatever form the plan eventually takes, there is no doubt that it will have to meet certain conditions.

CONDITIONS

- Provision for the continued existence in security of the whites, coloureds and Indians.
- Approval of the whites, coloureds and Indians as well as the blacks.
- It must be formulated in close co-operation with all groups.
- It must ensure peace and good order of society.
- It must safeguard the Western norms and standards that have already been achieved.
- Contribution to greater security and prosperity for all groups and individuals.

Dr van der Merwe says that in view of the urgent need to discuss with blacks the form in which their political rights may be realised, the question is with which black people should there be negotiations.

These, he says, must include the elected leaders of the homelands and local authorities — as well as those leaders who have chosen not made themselves available for election within the present system.

He accepts many of the people who will have to be involved in negotiations have developed a mistrust of the good intentions of the Government over the years.

"Before meaningful discussions can begin," he says, "it will be necessary to create a climate of confidence among the parties to the discussions."

For this reason, there should be a series of informal talks to find out with whom the negotiations should ultimately be held and on which points it will be possible for the Government to reach agreement with black leaders.

"In the final analysis, the National Party remains the representative of the white electorate. That is why it will not take part in any government action which might be to the detriment of its voters."

He adds: "The best way in which the interests of the whites are to be served, however, is to ensure the interests of every other group and of all individuals are similarly protected."

While his booklet is not a blue print or a statement of intent, it does represent an exposition of how the Government would like to start the process of negotiating SA's political solutions.

THE prevalent political wisdom in turbulent South Africa is that talking is better than torching.

President Botha subscribes to that view. Opposition and coalition partners agree. And so do the leaders of the extra-Parliamentary resistance.

Why then the negative response outside Parliament to President Botha's open-handed invitation to serve on a non-partisan negotiating forum to thrash out what amounts to a common political destiny for all South Africans? And what's the solution?

The answers lie trapped somewhere between the prejudices of the past and a hesitancy to meet the future.

It lies, even more, in a cruel dilemma confronting President Botha's Government.

The acceptance of a limited participation in power by coloureds and Indians has, within white politics, made possible much which once was thought impossible — including the principle of black participation in central Government.

Alienation

But the implementation of the tricameral Parliament has led to a catastrophic alienation of blacks and deeply radicalised the coloured and Indian communities.

So while the Government and the majority of whites are all prepped for a Jamboree of Jawing, blacks, in significant numbers, are refusing to accept the invitations.

Last week President Botha nudged the initiative that bit further — he proposed a non-party-political "core forum" on black political issues organised on an informal basis.

Indications are the President's offer caught even some of his closest colleagues off-guard.

But it did succeed in netting the PFP — a treasured acquisition for the Government's constitutional strategists who are critical of PFP policy but sharp enough to accept that the white official Opposition's status in the black community is perhaps higher than the Government's junior coloured and Indian partners.

Courageous

The broadening of the informal forum — a politically courageous act by the President — has in effect created a mini-national convention for whites.

But will it be adequate to engage authentic black leadership in serious debate? The answer, from first indications, is not.

The main problems lie in both the circumstances in which the offer has been made and the nature of the forum. Both problems are not insoluble — given some genuine give-and-take between the Government and the burgeoning extra-Parliamentary resistance forces.

Four main areas for "scene-setting" on the part of the Government suggest themselves.

Firstly, the Government will have to give moderate

When the talking HAS to start...

(and WHY and HOW)

Right at the top of South Africa's national agenda is the question: can black and white leaders get together for a true indaba? Today, and in the weeks to follow, contributors from across the political spectrum will address this key issue.

By BRIAN POTTINGER

black leadership — in today's South African context that means *anybody* who rejects violence as a means to attain political power — something with which to protect their flanks from the insidious out-radicalising which so characterises the country's resistance politics.

A cogent declaration of intent would help nicely; the President has all but done so in dribs and drabs this year but it needs summation and coherence.

In essence, he should admit that the informal negotiating forum is being called upon to propose a federal political structure based on the common citizenship of all South Africans and with guarantees of equal opportunities and access to resources.

The bottomline can be spelt out: protection of minority rights, maintenance of administrative norms, guarantees about control over the instruments of law and order and a convention on civil rights — as ironic as it might seem, coming from a Government which has over 36 years assiduously violated those rights. The modalities can be argued later.

Such a declaration — not a blueprint — should be a first priority of the informal forum.

Point Two. President Botha can no longer get away with the basic contradiction

between his proclaimed desire to negotiate and the State security apparatus' unrestrained determination to crush.

The Government's responsibility to maintain order has never been more onerous than now. But the persistent use of detentions and prosecutions under a widely thrown definition of treason simply raises questions about the sincerity of the Government.

A moratorium on detention without trial and review of treason charges with a view to reducing them to lesser charges — of intimidation, public violence or, if necessary, murder — would help.

The Government's unrestrained attacks on the UDF as a whole are also unhelpful — cutting away the ground from beneath the feet of those UDF affiliates genuinely opposed to violence.

Negotiations

Recent opinion polls show that a surprising 40 percent of whites favour negotiations with the UDF.

But if the Government continues with its public attacks on the UDF as a whole it will be hoisted by the old Namibian petard — when the time inevitably comes for talks, the Government has a hostile

white public opinion created through its own short-sightedness.

Thirdly, the Government should re-address the Nelson Mandela issue. In retrospect, the initial offer of conditional release was a blunder — despite the political courage required.

A unilateral decision to release Mandela — with a strong warning that if he breaks the law he will be re-arrested — would return the ball to ANC court. Already indications are that the ANC are not demanding his release as a precondition to talks.

President Botha, meanwhile, has already accepted the principle of release — again it is just the means that need clarification.

Fourthly, an acceptance that the existing "establishment" black leadership has become, to use a well-worn phrase, part of the problem and not part of the solution. The government must be prepared to entertain discussion with a far wider circle of black leaders — even if it means establishing representativeness by poll.

This scene-setting demands a dramatic leap of confidence by the Government, but it would at last — after countless wrecks of Government-created political structures for blacks —

put them a few steps ahead of the game.

And the quid pro quo from the extra-Parliamentary resistance leaders?

They are going to have to accept the limits of Government flexibility — and at this point those limits do not allow a complete rejection of the tri-cameral Parliament the National Party Government created so assiduously and at such high political cost.

Resistance leaders will have to break black radical tradition and accept for once that the content of the dialogue is more important than the context. And that they will have to sit with other political figures — the Rev Allan Hendrickse and Mr Amichand Rajbansal for example — who have chosen collaboration as a political strategy to achieve change.

Concessions

It is perhaps difficult for the Government and whites to realise what a major concession this would represent to the extra-Parliamentary resistance spectrum.

The nearest historical parallel — in the eyes of black activists — would probably be Danie Theron negotiating the Treaty of Vereeniging with the National Scouts.

The concessions on both sides are significant given their political communities. But it is necessary if even a flickering hope of conciliation is to pierce the enveloping gloom.

The country has suffered from a succession of disasters in black political forums caused by Government insensitivity and hesitancy. After each collapse black militancy drew only one conclusion: stone-wall, and the Boere will give in.

Reforms — important in Government terms — have meanwhile been dribbled out, only to disappear like water in the sand. Pathetic and often implausible attempts are made to cast the credit for those reforms on the Government's junior partners. Cynicism in the communities grows.

The pattern has to be broken.

Moderates

Black moderates, the Tutus and the Boesaks, must be drawn into the negotiating process; disillusioned establishment figures like Chief Gatsha Buthelezi must be given the chance to re-enter the political debate; hard-line black militants must be isolated; and the township terror gangs must be crushed by the most effective bulwark against anarchy — a sturdy citizenry imbued with the confidence that they can find their political destiny through negotiation.

Only a bolder Government initiative and more compassionate counsel in non-violent resistance quarters can achieve it.

Cape Times 29/4/85

304A

Oppenheimer puts his head on the block for P W Botha

LONDON. — African business circles in Nigeria and Kenya may feel obliged to challenge the most powerful voice of business on the continent — Mr Harry Oppenheimer.

He raised his voice from London recently against arguments (that are now ringing round the world) in support of disinvestment, arguments intended to stop the flow of capital to South Africa.

Instead, Mr Oppenheimer advanced the bold, even breathtaking argument: "President Botha, I believe, is making a genuine effort to reform."

However rich you are it takes a great deal of moral courage to voice such convictions.

Whether you have the protection of the bottom of the Great Hole outside Kimberley, or the centre of the London Sunday Times, one must be aware of exposing oneself to a gale of universal contempt or disbelief.

Connections

Yet there seems to be no plausible reason for putting oneself in such a ridiculous position, except perhaps for a sound business consideration or a lunatic regard for truth.

In African business circles with connections with Oppenheimer interests — and there are quite a few of these — there will be a number of men who will heartily agree that it's time somebody spoke up for the

great services to Africa rendered by the Oppenheimers.

There will be many others involved in African business and economics who will applaud South Africa's being cut off from the sources of world capital and condemn Harry Oppenheimer's arguments against it as the polemics of political convenience.

Yet it would be well for such doubters to consider whether Harry Oppenheimer is not speaking the truth and trying to bolster the means of a better life for most of this continent's 700 million people.

At the moment, while this continent is R40 billion in debt to the rest of the world, we need to be careful of our words about men who are still able to attract large infusions of cash to Africa and provide opportunities of added employment.

It might be suggested that, even if he is determined that truth shall prevail in Africa and President Botha shall prevail in Southern Africa, Mr Oppenheimer is more concerned that his great wealth shall prevail than that the eternal verities and justice to mankind

shall be advanced.

Perhaps it may be asked whether Mr Oppenheimer is not willing to risk the full realization of the political benefit to mankind in promoting Mr Botha's "genuine effort to reform".

However great Mr Oppenheimer's sincerity, does he really take into account the moments of terror in the soul of Mr Botha at the charges that ultimate verkrampes may lay against him?

There are young blacks who believe that many semi-verkrampte policemen and officials will only be content to keep order by exercising the right to kill.

Others believe that if only South Africa is brought to the condition of semi-permanent Ethiopian or Sudanese starvation, even if it turns out to be incurable, will the whites be persuaded to co-operate in a system of justice for all.

I prefer to believe that Mr Oppenheimer's ideas are aimed at attaining "a new and better society by peaceful means" even if it means following the

road advocated by President Botha to the final discarding of apartheid.

Mr Oppenheimer says of this "better society" that "its nature cannot be determined according to the ideas of any one group, inside or outside South Africa" — and this means according to any one group inside or outside the OAU or the UN.

New big ideas for African business are to be seen in a R2 billion barter deal between Nigeria and Brazil.

The agreement is between the Nigerian National Petrol Company and the Brazilian National Oil Company.

Nigeria will sell 40 000 barrels a day of oil to the Brazilian National Oil Company, Petrobras.

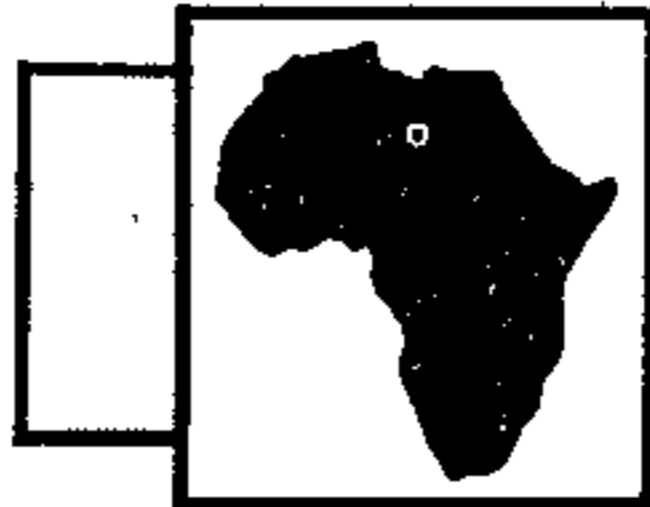
Head-shaking

In return Nigeria will import R1000 million worth of Brazilian goods — Volkswagen car kits, chemicals, paper, sugar and other raw materials.

There is a certain amount of head-shaking about this deal however imaginative it strikes outside observers.

The terms of the arrangement of the general finance will be handled through a New York Bank and the details of the deal will be in the hands of a major Brazilian import-export concern.

One banking comment on the deal is: "It mortgages Nigeria's oil supplies."



Africa Report

By ANTHONY DELIUS

Nat-ANC talks a matter of time

Sowetan 29/4/85
THE question of violence has scuppered talks for the immediate future between the Government and the ANC, but observers believe a simple diplomatic formula can and will be found to satisfy both sides and clear the way for negotiations.

The possibility of talks seemed closer than ever this week as ANC head Oliver Tambo announced the outlawed body was willing to discuss the country's constitutional future with the Government. He did so without setting any of the usual pre-conditions — such as the release of Nelson Mandela or the legalisation of the ANC.

But he refused to renounce violence, the main weapon in the ANC arsenal, because he believes it is essential

as a lever to rid the country of apartheid.

President Botha has, as result, rejected the offer of the Leader of the Opposition, Dr van Zyl Slabbert, to act as a go-between.

Observers do not believe a deadlock exists and see this exchange as initial power plays between two sides which have to identify common political ground for negotiation.

One such expert is Professor H W van der Merwe, who has extensive ANC contacts and heads UCT's Centre for Intergroup Studies. One easy way out of the impasse, he notes, is for the ANC to "suspend" violence during talks as in a ceasefire. This route would likely satisfy President Botha, lead to

low level exploratory talks and avoid compromising the ANC.

Nor is he surprised that President Botha has spurned Dr Slabbert's offer, even though he has the highest regard for the Opposition leader's integrity. "I believe a third party could play an important role (in getting the talks off the ground), but I doubt that one political party could accept a member of another political party as a neutral broker."

He said he was aware Nelson Mandela had agreed to suspend violence and said he backed National Party MP Wynand Malan's assessment that the time was ripe for unofficial talks now and official talks in

about a year or two.

In the meantime Dr Slabbert has expressed his disappointment over the Government's stance.

In an interview, Dr Slabbert said he had offered his services because he believed it necessary that talks should start, and not because he necessarily believed he had the best credentials for the job.

He added that he could not see how peace could be achieved unless there was a willingness to negotiate on both sides.

On the question of violence, he pointed out that the Government was already negotiating indirectly with Swapo, an organisation which espouses violence, on the future of Namibia.

Solution needs 'all leaders'

Staff Reporter

ALL leaders, including Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Oliver Tambo, were necessary for negotiating a political settlement in South Africa, according to an editorial which appeared in the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper Rapport yesterday.

Rapport said it could be assumed that the government had a justification for its detention of United Democratic Front leaders as well as the maintenance of law and order.

However, it was "another thing" to keep doors open for negotiation and settlement.

"Mandela and Tambo (ANC), Lekota and Molefe (UDF), Buthelezi (Inkatha), Motsuenyane (Nafcoc), Dlamini (Fosatu), Tutu (SACC) are all important people and also represent important groups in South Africa.

"For the great settlement, everybody is needed. All leaders," it said.

However, it remained a "justified demand" that violence should be renounced and that realistic negotiations about "own determination and co-determination" of groups should be on the agenda for discussions.

"We trust that the government will state this willingness to negotiate, subject to the one precondition of non-violent settlement, with increasing clarity."

Ex-editor Woods hits at Oppenheimer

Sawyer 29/11/85 (3041A)

LONDON — Exiled South African journalist Donald Woods has hit out at statements made by Harry Oppenheimer during a recent visit here.

In a letter to the London Sunday Times yesterday, Mr Woods, former editor of the East London Daily Dispatch, says Mr Oppenheimer repeated many of the myths of white South African society, "reflecting that society's massive ignorance of blacks there."

"And, despite his expressed concern for the welfare of blacks, his ad-

vocacy is clearly related more to the economic interests of the white minority than to the political interests of the black majority."

Grants

Mr Woods describes Mr Oppenheimer as "a kindly man who inherited from his father not only a financial empire but also the belief that

the wealthy have a duty towards the less fortunate. He has done much to implement his belief by way of grants to deserving causes in South Africa."

"But most black South Africans would challenge his credentials to speak for their best interests. Sympathisers can never have precisely the same perspective as

the oppressed...

"Black South Africans do not have Mr Oppenheimer's comfortable vantage points and pressureless overview. Their plight is daily and urgent, their priority is the earliest possible end to apartheid, and they do not share Mr Oppenheimer's belief that President Botha is making concessions which

significantly advance this end."

304A

D. Dispatch

SADF would outclass six front-line states — expert

29/4/85

HARARE — Zimbabwe's leading military analyst has warned that in any conventional military confrontation with South Africa, the six front-line states "are simply no match for the highly integrated and standardised South African Defence Force."

But Major Michael Evans, lecturer in war studies at the University of Zimbabwe, believes that the Republic's black neighbours may soon be able to eliminate South African forces on cross-border raids by acquiring relatively low cost "precision-guided munitions" (PGM) which would negate Pretoria's present overwhelming superiority in armour and air power.

Major Evans, who holds a master's degree in war studies from the University of London, is the leading academic theorist involved in training all Zimbabwe's senior military personnel. He predicted in a lecture delivered earlier this month and serialised by the Sunday

Mail newspaper, that "any change in South Africa will be a by-product of bullets and barricades."

"... like the Roman before me I am filled with a sense of foreboding and I seem to see not the Tiber but the Limpopo, the Vaal and the Orange foaming with much blood."

Paraphrasing Abraham Lincoln, Major Evans said that "ultimately, Southern Africa cannot survive half racist and half non-racist."

Either South Africa's "constellation of Southern African states" concept must triumph, or the Southern African development co-ordinating conference (SADCC) formed by the front line leaders.

He said the present loose association of the front-line states is designed only for international diplomacy. The six countries lack any standardisation in ideological doctrine, training or weaponry, and any joint defence manoeuvres "might be interpreted by Pretoria

as a convenient cause Belli."

But, he said, there were three areas where the front-line states could collaborate usefully:

- A combined military intelligence staff modelled, ironically, on the successful South African-Portuguese-Rhodesian network run from 1964 to 1974.

- A military staff-exchange programme to forge consensus among senior officers on regional security problems.

- A joint defence procurement and weapons systems study group.

Major Evans said the world appeared on the brink of an age of "intermediate military technology" which by 1990 might revolutionise the battlefield.

"It is high time that the South Africans should taught that their helicopters, tanks and infantry fighting vehicles will in future be endangered and indeed eliminated by missile-armed infantry of the front line states during cross bor-

der raids," he said.

Although "precision-guided munitions" may not be the complete answer to front-line states' defence, they were a "great alternative" to buying expensive tanks and jets such as those possessed by South Africa.

Major Evans agreed with European theorists that, strategically, Pretoria is attempting to create a "shield of instability" in the front line states behind which apartheid can be perpetuated.

However, the black states' strength lay in their "Africanist ideology" which contrasted with Pretoria's own internal weakness as a result of the ideological rejection of apartheid by over 80 per cent of South Africa's population.

Major Evans believed no charismatic Afrikaner leader like France's General Charles de Gaulle was poised to "save the volk from racial catastrophe," but he believed a "silent dictatorship" of verligte military men

such as General Magnus Malan would inevitably gain ascendancy.

"Given the stark absence of any internal political mechanisms for resolving racial conflict, the military will probably emerge as the future arbiters of power. This will symbolise the ultimate moral bankruptcy of apartheid."

"It will also mark the end of the powerful psycho-political metaphor of the Afrikaner's Great Trek. The myth will die as it was born — in the wilderness and in despair."

The British-educated academic, who holds a commission in the Zimbabwe National Army's staff corps, said that although Afrikaner intellectuals argued that economic crises would force the SADCC states into an open accommodation "with apartheid, front-line leaders believe time is against the Afrikaner, who will be "engulfed" by combined international and internal forces "whether he submits or defies." — DDC.

ARGUS 30/4/85

THE UDF

Le Grange on the attack

Parliamentary Staff

GOVERNMENT attacks on the United Democratic Front reached a new peak when the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, launched a far-reaching and scathing condemnation in the House of Assembly.

At the start of the Budget debate on the Law and Order vote, Mr le Grange said the UDF was at the forefront of unrest in South Africa.

This is the third major public attack made on the UDF by Mr le Grange in the past two weeks. Recently he told a meeting of the Afrikaanse Sakekamer that UDF attempts to protest against the All-Blacks tour would be prevented.

He also slammed the UDF during the debate on his vote in the House of Delegates last week.

ALL THREE HOUSES

The State President, Mr P W Botha, attacked the UDF in all three Houses of Parliament recently, claiming it was an internal wing of the banned ANC and SACP.

Referring to country-wide unrest, Mr le Grange said it had intensified and spread to rural areas in 1985 and there had been direct attacks on the police, the army and community councillors, in line with ANC strategy.

People had been encouraged by the ANC to use traditional weapons to "disarm the oppressors" and to buy and steal weapons.

THE POLICE

Blaming UDF for unrest 'unrealistic' — Suzman

Parliamentary Staff

THERE was a fierce clash between members of the official Opposition on the one hand, and Conservative Party and Government members on the other, over police conduct in townships during the unrest.

Speaking during the Law and Order vote in the House of Assembly, Mrs Helen Suzman, chief Opposition spokesman on law and order, said it was "totally unrealistic" to believe that organisations such as the UDF were the major cause of the unrest.

Replying to the lengthy attack on the UDF by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, Mrs Suzman said: "We warned the Government that a constitution excluding 70 percent of the people would polarise the situation and make blacks feel totally excluded."

"There is also apparently no understanding by the Govern-



Mrs Helen Suzman

ment of the increasing economic hardships faced by black people."

Mr le Grange should investigate his police force to see whether members were not deliberately trying to undermine the Government's reform programme for political reasons.

Amid sharp interjections from Mr le Grange, who said the police force was not "politicised", Mrs Suzman asked whether he did not think that the Conservative Party was

"working away like beavers among the Civil Service to undermine the political reform programme".

Referring to police conduct in the townships, Mrs Suzman said affidavits collected by members of the PFP from victims of township unrest, as well as the Catholic Bishops' report on police conduct in Transvaal townships, made "horrifying reading".

Funerals

Mrs Suzman said that when police kept away from the funerals of unrest victims there were no incidents.

She said she had also received reports that police were being "thoroughly obstructive" to attorneys acting for relatives of young people charged with public violence in Uitenhage.

Mrs Suzman moved an amendment to the vote that Mr le Grange's salary be reduced by R69 500 to equal the salary of a constable.

Several NP members attacked Mrs Suzman, saying she "lived in a different atmosphere" and was constantly "vilifying" the police.

Mr L Wessels (NP Krugersdorp) appealed to the Leader of the Opposition, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, to relieve Mrs Suzman of the law and order portfolio.

"She's more radical than Bishop Tutu, the UDF and the international media," he said.

The Conservative Party came out in strong support for Mr le Grange in his "efforts to maintain law and order".

Mr Frank le Roux (CP Brakpan) said these efforts were under strong attack from the left wing.

Mr le Roux added that it was a pity that the Kannemeyer Commission, appointed to inquire into the events at Uitenhage, was held in public as it did harm to the image of the police who had a difficult enough task maintaining law and order.

Suzman hits at riot police 'licence' to kill

By BARRY STREEK

PARLIAMENT. — A police telex authorising the elimination of people throwing bombs, sent two days before the killings at Langa, was a licence to kill, Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP MP, said yesterday.

She said the senior police officer who sent the telex should be discharged from the police or severely reprimanded.

The contents of the telex, sent by General de Wit, senior Deputy Commissioner of Police, were disclosed in evidence before the Kanne-meyer Commission of Inquiry into the Langa incident.

Speaking in the debate on the Law and Order vote in the House of Assembly, Mrs Suzman said the police appeared to have abandoned all the training in riot control they had received.



MRS HELEN SUZMAN
"licence to kill"

"It seems the preservation of life — implicit in the standing instructions that firepower is to be used in riot or crowd control only

as a last resort — has been superseded by a very different attitude, expressed in the instruction telexed from police headquarters in Pretoria on March 19, two days before the incident.

"The instruction said that police manning Caspir patrol vehicles in all areas were to be issued with R1 rifles and that 'when petrol bombs or acid bombs are thrown at police vehicles, every attempt must be made to eliminate the guilty party'.

"When members are trapped in unrest situations and their lives endangered, they must not hesitate to use the R1," Mrs Suzman said the telex message read.

If this was the case, the instructions so painstakingly explained to MPs when they visited Maleoskop by General P J Coetzee, Com-

missioner of Police, had been replaced "by what is tantamount to a licence to the police to kill".

Mrs Suzman said the PFP condemned this attitude in the strongest possible way.

"Police excesses must be curbed, not encouraged.

"The senior officer responsible for sending that telex must be severely reprimanded or discharged from the force," she said.

Mrs Suzman also called on the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, to weed out Conservative Party supporters in the police force because they could do severe damage to South Africa.

Mr Le Grange, who will reply to Mrs Suzman today, interjected to say that her call for action against CP members of the police force was "a very bad comment".

Is there a democratic alternative to black majority rule?

RDM 30/4/85

304A

IT IS particularly sad that the Rand Daily Mail, which has tried so hard for a quarter of a century to promote the concept of political reform, should be closing down just as South Africa is being forced by a formidable combination of pressures to face up to certain crucial questions that can no longer be held in suspense.

These are:

- What is the ultimate political dispensation towards which reform is heading?
- How, given the country's population structure, can the white minority share power equitably without surrendering it in time to the massive black majority?
- Is there, in fact, a democratic, mutually acceptable alternative to black majority rule?

This is the essence, the core, the heart of the South African dilemma and the new negotiating forum arising out of the enlarged special Cabinet committee on constitutional reform will have to come to grips with it.

With black unrest becoming more persistent, more widespread and more violent than ever before, the matter is now extremely urgent.

The Leader of the Opposition, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, points out that without a coherent reform programme embodying stated goals, the Government is having to seek stability (law and order) through coercion, whereas the only durable stability must be based on consensus (the consent of the governed).

The Government, so sure of itself all these years since it won power in 1948, no longer pretends it has all the answers and has emphasised its willingness to listen to all points of view that exclude violence.

As the annual report of the Director-General of Co-operation and Development, just issued, puts it: "... it is essential that precedence be given to the development of the necessary political structures to meet the political needs and aspirations of the various black nations in South Africa".

Quite so. In short, the subject is now before us — and wide open.

Until fairly recently, the political debate has swirled round such issues as the pass laws, influx control, group areas, forced removals, detentions without trial, trade unionism for blacks, the opening of public amenities to all races, multi-racial sport and so on.

These are important, but secondary, issues and they leave the primary issue of white-black political rights still to be properly addressed.

Oddly enough, when the debate has touched on it now and again it has tended to turn aside, as if afraid to uncover too awful a prospect.



LAURENCE GANDAR... "Clearly there is now some reluctance simply to specify black majority rule as the solution for South Africa's problems"

LAURENCE GANDAR, former Editor of the Mail

This is hardly surprising in view of the record of black rule in Africa which, with only a handful of exceptions, has been dismal indeed, ranging from brutal authoritarianism to gross administrative incompetence leading to mass poverty and starvation.

Today Black Africa is a mess — the world's number one humanitarian headache.

But while the majority of whites tend to see this as proof of black peoples' shortcomings, blacks themselves have a different perception of the matter.

They speak of their perfunctory preparation for self-government by the former colonial powers, of the artificial national

tatorships of yesteryear to more democratic forms of government or to restructure their chaotic, inflation-riven economies.

So it is understandable that most blacks support the principle of majority rule, though some do entertain considerable doubts about it.

But if, it is argued, the world has conceded the principle to the rest of Africa, why should black South Africans be required to accept something less when they are generally acknowledged to be better educated, more economically advanced and more sophisticated than most other blacks on the continent.

And besides, what blacks in Africa, despite their hardships and setbacks, would choose the return to their status of colonial times. If one is going to be messed around or bossed about, it's better if it's by one's own kind than by aliens of a different race.

At what stage, then, is South Africa as the big indaba on its future gets under way? Some useful gains have been made, such as general recognition of the following:

- Race discrimination is untenable and must be dismantled.
- All must enjoy adequate human and civil rights and must have an effective voice in the decision-making processes affecting their interests.
- Separate development has failed in its main purpose of securing the future of so-called white South Africa and also the black homelands which remain impossibly fragmented, economically dependent on South Africa and internationally unrecognised.

● Thus a common citizenship for all living within the "old" recognised boundaries of South Africa has become necessary.

● Finally, any new political dispensation must be worked out in consultation with all the different population groups and not imposed by one group on the others.

The implications of these gains are considerable.

This is not to say that the road ahead is not strewn with immense obstacles. Indeed it is.

Not only are the various population groups of widely different cultures and at widely differing levels of education, economic development and political sophistication, but it is evident that the ruling white group still holds firmly to many if not most of its traditional attitudes.

This applies particularly to the key question of which community leaders it is prepared or not prepared to consult. The State President's sharp attack on the United Democratic Front is not a hopeful sign in this regard.

In a nutshell, the daunting task is to reconcile "full and equal participation of all in the political process" with, on the one

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These are important, but secondary, issues and they leave the primary issue of white-black political rights still to be properly addressed.

Oddly enough, when the debate has touched on it now and again it has tended to turn aside, as if afraid to uncover too awful a prospect.

That is because the logical end of the process has seemed all too likely to be black majority rule and this is something few whites (or coloureds and Indians for that matter) can bring themselves to contemplate with equanimity.

Even our main overseas critics have become more guarded in their demands upon us. The 10 heads of government of the European Economic Community meeting in Brussels earlier this month, stated that what they wanted of us was a dialogue within the country leading to "the full and equal participation of all in the political process".

The United States expresses its hopes for South Africa in much the same terms.

Clearly there is now some reluctance simply to specify black majority rule as the solution for South Africa's problems.



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They speak of their perfunctory preparation for self-government by the former colonial powers, of the artificial national boundaries resulting from the big African carve-up of the colonial era, of an exploitative world economic system that milks developing countries for the benefit of the developed, of crippling debt burdens made worse by wild international currency gyrations, of destabilising pressures by the super-powers selfishly seeking strategic spheres of influence, of imported technologies quite unsuited to basic rural needs and many other reasons for Black Africa's poor performance.

There is much truth in these contentions and one has only to look at the earlier history of South America to realise that until a certain level of socio-economic development is reached, power resides in the breech of a gun.

That troubled region is not finding it at all easy to move away from the military dic-

accept something less when they are generally acknowledged to be better educated, more economically advanced and more sophisticated than most other blacks on the continent.

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This applies particularly to the key question of which community leaders it is prepared or not prepared to consult. The State President's sharp attack on the United Democratic Front is not a hopeful sign in this regard.

In a nutshell, the daunting task is to reconcile "full and equal participation of all in the political process" with, on the one hand, the historical fact of white minority rule and, on the other, the emotional commitment of most blacks to majority rule if not immediately then in some phased progression.

Non-Africans will be concentrating on federal, confederal or cantonal systems, proportional representation, constitutional guarantees, bills of rights and so on to safeguard their minority positions in any new constitutional arrangement.

There is material enough here to exercise the finest intellects and the biggest hearts. Obviously there can be no swift results and much will depend on the slow education of public opinion.

I am just terribly sorry that the Rand Daily Mail won't be around to make the kind of contribution it undoubtedly made towards getting reform going in the first place.

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