

S. A. GOVT. & POLITICS

1987

APRIL

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CAPE TIMES 1/4/87 (304A)

# All the candidates in 1987 elections

<b>WESTERN CAPE</b> <b>BEAUFORT WEST:</b> HUGO P F (NP) MARAI S J C S (CP) SCHOLTZ N (HNP) 1981: NP unopposed <b>BELLVILLE:</b> MALHERBE P (PFP) V D WALT A (NP) LEIBOLD J (CP) 1981: NP unopposed <b>CALEDON:</b> FICK L (NP) SUTTON B (NRP) 1981: NP unopposed <b>CERES:</b> VAN NIEKERK W (NP) VISAGIE K (CP) 1981: NP unopposed <b>CLAREMONT:</b> VAN ECK J (PFP) 1986: PFP majority 3 804 <b>CONSTANTIA:</b> HULLEY R (PFP) PELSER P (NP) 1981: PFP majority 3 430 <b>CRADOCK:</b> BROTHERTON C H (PFP) MALAN B (CP) MEYER T (NP) SCHEEPERS S (HNP) 1981: NP majority 3 113 <b>DE KUILLEN:</b> BOTH A G (CP) FRANK J (PFP) PHARO A (NP) STREICHER M (HNP) 1981: NP unopposed	<b>DURBANVILLE:</b> DE BEER J (CP) LE RICHE E (HNP) ROOS B (PFP) V DEVENTER F (NP) 1981: NP majority 3 232 <b>FALSE BAY:</b> COLLARD W (PFP) DE VILLIERS H A C (HNP) JORDAAN A L (NP) 1981: NP majority 5 846 <b>GARDENS:</b> ANDREW K (PFP) BASSON J (NP) 1981: PFP majority 1 227 <b>GEORGE:</b> FINN A (PFP) OPPERMAN J J (CP) ROELOFSE A (HNP) SMIT H (NP) 1984 by-election NP majority 4 665 1981: NP majority 5 604 <b>GORDONIA:</b> LIEBENBURG F (HNP) MARITZ J H (CP) VAN WYK Japie (NP) 1981: NP majority 3 675 <b>GRAAFF REINET:</b> BOTH A W A (HNP) RETIFF J L (NP) RUBIDGE F (Ind) V HEERDEN J C R (CP) 1981: NP majority 3 809 <b>GREEN POINT:</b> CHAIT E (NP) VAN DER MERWE T (PFP) 1981: PFP majority 570 <b>GROOTE SCHUUR:</b> VAN GENT J (PFP) 1981: PFP majority 2 697	<b>HELDERBERG:</b> DE WET L (CP) HEUNIS C (NP) WORRALL D (Ind) 1981: NP majority 2 942 <b>HUMANSDORP:</b> MEYERS D (NP) SAVAGE A (PFP) SCHULTZ G (HNP) VAN EEDEN M (CP) 1981: NP majority 3 630 <b>KIMBERLEY SOUTH:</b> DE BRUYN H (HNP) NIEMANN K (NP) SMIT D B (CP) VAN WOUW G L J (PFP) 1981: NP majority 4 266 <b>KIMBERLEY NORTH:</b> BRAZELLE J A (NP) MARTINS R (HNP) STOCKILL J (PFP) VAN ZYL F W (CP) 1981: NP majority 3 795 <b>KURUMAN:</b> HOON J (CP) SWANEPOEL P J (NP) 1981: NP majority 2 870 <b>MATLAND:</b> BESTER J (CP) DURR K (NP) HIRSCH H (PFP) MOOLMAN P L (HNP) 1981: NP majority 2 906 <b>MALMESBURY:</b> ALEXANDER P (PFP) GOUSSARD J C (HNP) KOTZE G (NP) 1981: NP majority 5 508 <b>MOSSIEL BAY:</b> OOSTHUIZEN J C (CP) VAN RENSBURG Dr H (NP) 1981: NP majority 4 860	<b>NAMAQUALAND:</b> BURNETT N S (CP) LOUW E (NP) 1981: NP majority 3 732 <b>ODTSHOORN:</b> BADENHORST P (NP) SCHOEMAN J (CP) 1981: NP majority 4 381 <b>PAARL:</b> MEIRING K (NP) POTGIETER B D (CP) SMUTS J C (PFP) 1981: NP unopposed <b>PAROW:</b> BACHMAN J H W (HNP) BACK M W (PFP) GREYLING J A (CP) KRIEL H (NP) 1984 by-election: NP majority 5 113 1981: NP majority 6 488 <b>PIKETBERG:</b> DE VILLIERS Dr D (NP) GROBBELAAR P W (CP) 1981 by-election NP majority 6 744 1981: NP majority 6 796 <b>PINELANDS:</b> WALSH J (PFP) WILKEN H (NP) 1986: PFP majority 1 555 <b>PRIESKA:</b> NEL W R (HNP) RUST G W A (CP) VAN NIEKERK Dr K (NP) 1981: NP majority 3 172 <b>SEA POINT:</b> EGLIN C (PFP) MYLES C (NP) 1981: PFP majority 4 967 <b>SIMON'S TOWN:</b> DILLEY H (NP) SCOTT J (PFP) 1981: NP majority 891 <b>STELLENBOSCH:</b> LATEGAN E (Ind) MARAI S P (NP) REYNEKE C A M (HNP) 1982: NP majority 5 622 1981: NP majority 4 003 <b>SWELLENDAM:</b> DUVENHAGE G D J (CP) KOORNHOF N (NP) 1981: NP unopposed <b>TYGERVALLEI:</b> BRITS N (NRP) DU PLESSIS H H (HNP) VAN BREDA A (NP) 1981: NP majority 5 274 <b>VASCO:</b> BOONZAAR C (NRP) HEYNIS J (NP) RABE J (CP) 1981: NP majority 4 954 <b>WALVIS BAY:</b> BOTMA M C (NP) VAN DER WALT H J (CP) 1982 by-election: NP majority 1 186 <b>WELLINGTON:</b> COOMBE Ed (PFP) KNOX J D (HNP) MALHERBE G J (NP) SMIT N (CP) 1981: NP unopposed <b>WORCESTER:</b> BRUWER J S (HNP) RABIE J (NP) 1981: NP majority 5 389 <b>WYNBERG:</b> CARLISLE R (PFP) GRAAFF D (NP) 1981: PFP majority 2 212	<b>LICHTENBURG:</b> BOONZAAR J H (HNP) BURGER L (NP) HARTZENBERG F (CP) 1981: NP majority 2 809 <b>LOSBERG:</b> WRIGHT A (NP) JACOBS F (CP) 1981: NP majority 2 976 <b>LYDENBURG:</b> BEUKES H (HNP) BRUWER A A B (CP) DU PLESSIS P (NP) 1981: NP majority 2 524 <b>MARAISSBURG:</b> DU PREEZ D C B (HNP) MOOLMAN M (PFP) PRETORIUS P H (NP) V WYK A C (CP) 1981: NP majority 2 824 <b>MEYERTON:</b> DUNN G J (PFP) PETERS F (HNP) SNYMAN A J J (NP) V D MERWE W (CP) 1981: NP majority 3 095 <b>MIDDELBURG:</b> COETZEE H J (CP) STRYDOM J (HNP) TERBLANCHE A L (NP) 1981: NP majority 1 489 <b>MODDERFONTEIN:</b> LOUW M D (HNP) MALAN Gan M (NP) MENDELSON J (PFP) VENTER P (CP) 1981: NP majority 4 188 <b>NELSPRUIT:</b> LE ROUX P F D (CP) MARE P L (NP) NEL D (HNP) SNADDON B (PFP) 1981: NP majority 2 933 <b>NIGEL:</b> ANNANDALE F S (HNP) HANEKOM A (NP) SCHOEMAN C B (CP) 1981: NP majority 2 924 <b>NORTH RAND:</b> DE LA REY P (CP) GROBLER A C A C (NP) SCHOEMAN P (PFP) 1981: NP majority 1 086 <b>OVERVAAL:</b> BALLOT C (NP) V D MERWE K (CP) 1981: NP majority 3 194 <b>PARKTOWN:</b> BARNARD M (PFP) MARCHAND Z (NP) 1981: PFP majority 6 413 <b>PIETERSBURG:</b> LATEGAN T (NP) SNYMAN W (CP) 1981: NP majority 2 969 <b>POTCHEFSTROOM:</b> LE GRANGE L (NP) MULDER P (CP) 1981: NP majority 4 281 <b>POTGIETERSBURG:</b> GOLDEN S (NP) LEWIS J S (HNP) PIENAAR S (CP) 1984: CP majority 1 034 1981: NP majority 3 567 <b>PRETORIA CENTRAL:</b> BARNARD P (HNP) LANGUAGE J (CP) NEILSON I (PFP) OOSTHUIZEN G C (NP) 1981: NP unopposed <b>PRETORIA EAST:</b> ALANT T (NP) SCHUTTE C (PFP) V D BERGH H (CP) VISSER J de V (HNP) 1981: NP majority 4 792 <b>PRETORIA WEST:</b> BOTH A J (CP) LE ROUX R (NP) RUDOLPH P J (CP) TREURNICHT A (HNP) 1981: NP majority 2 789 <b>PRIMROSE:</b> CARELSEN J H (CP) VAN HUYSTEEN N (HNP) WELGEMOED P (NP) 1984: NP majority 748 1981: NP majority 3 669 <b>RANDBURG:</b> ACAR A (CP) MALAN W (Ind) VAN ZYL O (NP) 1981: NP majority 698 <b>RANDFONTEIN:</b> DE WIT J M (HNP) GELDENHUIS B (NP) MULDER C (CP) 1981: NP majority 922	<b>ALI WAL:</b> BAKKER H T (CP) HULLEY C B (PFP) PRETORIUS J F (NP) VORSTER S W (HNP) 1981: NP majority 3 139 <b>CRADOCK:</b> BROTHERTON C H (PFP) MALAN B (CP) MAYER T (NP) SCHEEPERS S (HNP) 1981: NP majority 3 113 <b>DE AAR:</b> JOOSTE A (NP) V HEERDEN F (CP) 1981: NP majority 2 995 <b>EAST LONDON CITY:</b> BASSINGTHWAIGHTE G (PFP) DE PONTES P (NP) 1981: NP majority 1 830 <b>EAST LONDON NORTH:</b> BADENHORST C (NP) NIEMAND B (Ind) SPRING E (PFP) 1981: NP majority 979 <b>KING WILLIAM'S TOWN:</b> RADUE R (NP) ROGERS P (NRP) 1981: NRP majority 286 <b>NEWTON PARK:</b> BOTH A S B (HNP) LOUW S (NP) TRENT E (PFP) 1985: NP majority 1 115 1981: NP majority 1 195 <b>CENTRAL:</b> MALCOMESS J (PFP) NASH A (NP) 1981: PFP majority 2 323 <b>PORT ELIZABETH NORTH:</b> DORFLING D (CP) MYBURGH G (NP) WAGENER P (HNP) 1981: NP majority 3 355 <b>QUEENSTOWN:</b> LOUW T (NP) EDELMAN R (NRP) DE WET H P (HNP) DU PLESSIS F (CP) 1981: NP majority 1 475 <b>SUNDAY'S RIVER:</b> DELPORT T (NP) FOWLDS W (PFP) MARAI S P (HNP) OOSTHUYSEN M C (CP) 1981: NP majority 4 266 <b>UITENHAGE:</b> GREEFF W M (HNP) LE ROUX D (NP) SWIEGERS J (CP) 1981: NP majority 3 773 <b>RYBURG:</b> SCHEEPERS J H L (NP) STRYDOM W A F (CP) 1985: By-election NP majority 1 186 1981: NP majority 2 355 <b>WALMER:</b> BALL R (PFP) SCHOEMAN F (NP) 1981: PFP majority 1 330 <b>FREE STATE</b> <b>BETHLEHEM:</b> FARRELL P (NP) PIENAAR C H (CP) LOUW J J (HNP) 1985: NP majority 749 1981: NP majority 3 826 <b>BLOEMFONTEIN EAST:</b> PAUW F H (CP) SWANEPOEL O J J (NP) 1981: NP majority 5 033 <b>BLOEMFONTEIN NORTH:</b> VAN HEERDEN F J (NP) VERMEULEN M J (CP) WEBBER M (PFP) 1981: NP majority 4 551 <b>BLOEMFONTEIN WEST:</b> COETSEE H J (NP) LOMBARD J C (CP) 1981: NP majority 5 960 <b>FAURESMITH:</b> DANZFUSS F V A (CP) HERTZOG C (HNP) OLIVIER P J S (NP) 1981: NP majority 2 897 <b>HEILBRON:</b> DREYER F (CP) HUGO P (HNP) TERBLANCHE A J (NP) 1981: NP majority 3 315 <b>KROONSTAD:</b> BREYTENBACH W (NP) KLEYNHANS J H (CP) 1981: NP majority 4 715 <b>LADYBRAND:</b> VAN DER MERWE A S (NP) VAN RHIJN P H (CP) 1981: NP majority 3 399 <b>PARYS:</b> MAREE J (CP) MAREE M D (NP) STEMMET L (HNP)
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LE ROUX F (CP)  
 SHARE A J (HNP)  
 1981: NP majority 4 207  
**BRENTWOOD:**  
 V ZYL J (NP)  
 KOTZE I A (CP)  
 WINDRICH M J (NRP)  
 1981: NP majority 3 460  
**BRITS:**  
 BOTHA J M N (HNP)  
 GERBER A (CP)  
 V RENSBURG W C (NP)  
 1981: NP majority 1 845  
**BRYANSTON:**  
 LORIMER R (PFP)  
 VAN RENSBURG H (Ind)  
 WILLIAMSON C (NP)  
 1981: PFP majority 3 804  
**CARLETONVILLE:**  
 VAN DER BERG B (NP)  
 CHIOLE J (HNP)  
 PAULUS A (CP)  
 1981: NP majority 1 379  
**DELMAS:**  
 KING E (PFP)  
 NOLTE D (CP)  
 VAN ZYL D J (HNP)  
 VILJOEN J (NP)  
 1981: NP majority 6 991  
**EDENVALE:**  
 GOODALL B (PFP)  
 HUNTER J (NP)  
 1981: PFP majority 1 869  
**ERMELO:**  
 MENTZ J (CP)  
 OTTO H J (HNP)  
 TEMPEL H (NP)  
 1981: NP majority 467  
**FLORIDA:**  
 DU PLESSIS B (NP)  
 STRYDOM J (CP)  
 SUTHERLAND R (PFP)  
 VAN DRUTEN R (Ind)  
 1981: NP majority 3 102  
**GEDULD:**  
 DE BEER S (NP)  
 RICHTER J (CP)  
 1981: NP majority 4 257  
**GERMISTON:**  
 CHRISTOPHERS D (NP)  
 HARPUR R (PFP)  
 HOFFMAN G (CP)  
 POTGIETER J (CP)  
 1981: NP majority 3 147  
**GERMISTON DISTRICT:**  
 BIENEDELL L W (HNP)  
 BOSMAN K (NP)  
 SCHOLTZ B (CP)  
 1981: NP unopposed  
**GEZINA:**  
 BOONZAAR C (HNP)  
 SWANPOEL K (NP)  
 MULDER C P (Jnr) (CP)  
 1981: NP majority 3 740  
**HELDERKRUIJN:**  
 MARAIS F J (CP)  
 MARAIS L (PFP)  
 VAN DER MERWE S (NP)  
 1981: NP majority 3 226  
**MERCULES:**  
 BARNARD S P (CP)  
 MARAIS J (HNP)  
 VAN VUUREN F (NP)  
 1981: NP majority 1 922  
**HILLBROW:**  
 DE BEER L (NP)  
 DERBY-LEWIS G (CP)  
 WIDMAN A (PFP)  
 1981: PFP majority 2 959  
**HOUGHTON:**  
 SUZMAN H (PFP)  
 PAGAN G (NP)  
 1981: PFP majority 5 232  
**INNESDAL:**  
 LIEBENBURG H S M (HNP)  
 NOTHNAGEL A (NP)  
 VAN DEN BERG C L (CP)  
 1981: NP majority 5 191  
**JEPPE:**  
 BEKKER H (NP)  
 LIVANOS J (CP)  
 VILJOEN K (NRP)  
 1981: NP majority 2 768  
**JOHANNESBURG NORTH:**  
 ROBERTS D (NP)  
 SOAL P (PFP)  
 1982: PFP majority 2 647  
 1981: PFP majority 4 858  
**JOHANNESBURG WEST:**  
 DREYER C (NP)  
 V HEERDEN S (HNP)  
 1981: NP majority 3 136  
**KEMPTON PARK:**  
 KEET B (CP)  
 KING T (NP)  
 NEL J (HNP)  
 1981: NP majority 4 514  
**KLERKSDORP:**  
 V D MERWE D G M (CP)  
 VENTER Amie (NP)  
 1981: NP majority 4 319  
**KOEDOEPOORT:**  
 GELDENHUYS E (HNP)  
 KRUGER T (NP)  
 V STADEN F (CP)  
 1981: NP majority 3 287  
**KRUGERSDORP:**  
 DERBY-LEWIS C (CP)  
 WESSELS L (NP)  
 1981: NP majority 3 290  
**LANGLAAGTE:**  
 DAWSON A (PFP)  
 McCABE A P (HNP)  
 VIOLNEL J (NP)  
 VAN VUUREN W J (CP)  
 1981: NP majority 5 431  
 1981: NP majority 3 999  
**ROODEPLAAT:**  
 HART T M (CP)  
 GROBLER P G W (NP)  
 MARAIS W (HNP)  
 1981: NP majority 3 282  
**ROODEPOORT:**  
 CUYLER W (NP)  
 LEATHWHITE M (PFP)  
 PRINSLOO J (CP)  
 SMITH M J (HNP)  
 1981: NP unopposed  
**ROSETTENVILLE:**  
 ANDERSON A (PFP)  
 CAMERER S (NP)  
 DORMEHL J (CP)  
 1981: NP majority 1 392  
**RUSTENBURG:**  
 IFLAND F F (HNP)  
 PRETORIUS C (CP)  
 SCHREIBE L (PFP)  
 VELDSMAN M (NP)  
 1981: NP unopposed  
**SANDTON:**  
 DALLING D (PFP)  
 HOST R (NP)  
 1981: PFP majority 5 742  
**SCHWEIZER-RENEKE:**  
 BEYERS K (CP)  
 KOEKEMOER H (HNP)  
 LEMMER W (NP)  
 1981: NP majority 2 491  
**SOUTPANSBERG:**  
 LANGLEY T (CP)  
 PIETERSE R (NP)  
 V D MERWE M F (HNP)  
 1984: CP majority 497  
 1981: NP majority 3 647  
**SPRINGS:**  
 COETZER P (NP)  
 HARVEY T (PFP)  
 PARSONS G (CP)  
 1985: NP majority 749  
 1981: NP majority 2 481  
**STANDERTON:**  
 DE VILLE J R (CP)  
 HEFER W (NP)  
 V D HOVEN J E (HNP)  
 1981: NP majority 2 181  
**STILFONTEIN:**  
 CUNNINGHAM J (NP)  
 GROENEWALD P J (CP)  
 SMIT S (HNP)  
 1981: NP majority 2 191  
**SUNNYSIDE:**  
 FOUCHE P J (CP)  
 HAARHOF R (PFP)  
 SCHOEMAN F (NP)  
 1981: NP majority 3 285  
**TURFFONTEIN:**  
 FOURIE A (NP)  
 JAYES A (PFP)  
 RUNDLE C J O (CP)  
 1981: NP majority 4 096  
**VAN DER BUIJLPARK:**  
 SCHEEPERS H (HNP)  
 VAN DER MERWE S J (CP)  
 VILJOEN Dr G (NP)  
 1981: NP majority 5 215  
**VENTERSDORP:**  
 POTGIETER M H (HNP)  
 V VUUREN F (CP)  
 WILKENS B (NP)  
 1981: NP majority 2 255  
**VEREENIGING:**  
 BOTHA C (CP)  
 DE KLERK F W (NP)  
 WILLIAMS T (PFP)  
 1981: NP majority 4 202  
**VERWOERDBURG:**  
 SCEALES B (PFP)  
 VISSER J C (CP)  
 VLOK A (NP)  
 1981: NP majority 3 380  
**WATERBERG:**  
 LAMPRECHT P (NP)  
 TREURNICHT A (CP)  
 VILJOEN C J (HNP)  
 1983: CP majority 1 894  
 1981: NP majority 1 461  
**WATERKLOOF:**  
 MARAIS O (NP)  
 VILJOEN A (CP)  
 WELMANS J (CP)  
 1981: NP majority 1 840  
 1977: NP majority 3 668  
**WESTDENE:**  
 BOTHA R F (NP)  
 FOURIE M (PFP)  
 SWANPOEL T J (CP)  
 1981: NP majority 4 609  
**WITBANK:**  
 FOURIE A F (NP)  
 KRUGER G (HNP)  
 V WYK W J D (CP)  
 1981: NP majority 2 389  
**WONDERBOOM:**  
 PETERS M (HNP)  
 STEYN D (NP)  
 V ZYL J J B (CP)  
 1981: NP majority 3 811  
**YEOVILLE:**  
 KRUGER H (NP)  
 SCHWARZ H (PFP)  
 1981: PFP unopposed  
**EASTERN CAPE**  
**ALBANY:**  
 MOORCROFT E (PFP)  
 V D VYVER J (NP)  
 CROUS L (HNP)  
 1981: PFP majority 139  
**ALGOA:**  
 McKIEVER R (PFP)  
 MEYER C (CP)  
 SMIT F (NP)  
 SWIEGERS G J (HNP)  
 1981: NP majority 4 572  
**ODENDAAL W (NP)**  
**STOFBERG L (HNP)**  
**UYS P (CP)**  
 1985: HNP majority 367  
 1981: NP majority 2 619  
**SMITHFIELD:**  
 LABUSCHAGNE H (HNP)  
 OOSTHUIZEN A P (CP)  
 SMITH H J (NP)  
 1981: NP majority 2 839  
**VIRGINIA:**  
 CLASE P (NP)  
 DE KLERK J C (CP)  
 KAHN R (PFP)  
 KRUGER P S (HNP)  
 1981: NP majority 3 454  
**WELKOM:**  
 BELDON G (PFP)  
 JORDAAN E L (CP)  
 MALAN P D (HNP)  
 NEL P J C (NP)  
 1981: NP majority 3 513  
**WINBURG:**  
 BONNET W J (CP)  
 DE VILLIERS J (HNP)  
 STEYN P T (NP)  
 1981: NP majority 3 867  
**NATAL**  
**AMANZIMTOTI:**  
 BARTLETT G (NP)  
 LONDT C (CP)  
 MCGREGOR D (NRP)  
 1981: NRP majority 1 504  
**BEREA:**  
 STRYDOM P (NP)  
 SWART R (PFP)  
 1981: PFP majority 769  
**DURBAN CENTRAL:**  
 GASTROW P (PFP)  
 ALVA-WRIGHT I (NP)  
 1981: PFP majority 1 052  
**DURBAN NORTH:**  
 ELLIS M (PFP)  
 MILLER R (NP)  
 1981: NRP majority 787  
**DURBAN POINT:**  
 MARTIN F (NRP)  
 MATTHEE C (NP)  
 1981: NRP majority 1 327  
**GREYTOWN:**  
 CRONJE P (PFP)  
 REDINGER R (NP)  
 WILLIAMS D (CP)  
 1981: PFP majority 183  
**KLIP RIVER:**  
 MCINTOSH S (PFP)  
 MAREE J (NP)  
 MEYER P (HNP)  
 1986: NP majority 3 033  
 1981: NP majority 3 929  
**MOOI RIVER:**  
 BRUCE D (NP)  
 DU BOIS D (CP)  
 HARDINGHAM R (NRP)  
 1981: NRP majority 295  
**NEWCASTLE:**  
 ALDUM C (CP)  
 HARTUNG O (HNP)  
 NEL W (PFP)  
 SCHOEMAN W (NP)  
 1981: NP majority 2 123  
**MARITZBURG NORTH:**  
 MCINTOSH G (PFP)  
 SCHUTTE D (NP)  
 STEPHENSON A R (HNP)  
 1981: PFP majority 801  
**MARITZBURG SOUTH:**  
 EDWARDS B (NP)  
 TARR M (PFP)  
 VAN ROOYEN P J (HNP)  
 1981: PFP majority 238  
**PINETOWN:**  
 BURROWS R (PFP)  
 VAN ECK C (NP)  
 1984: PFP majority 880  
 1981: PFP majority 2 226  
**PORT NATAL:**  
 BOTHA S (NP)  
 MOHR P (CP)  
 WEBBER W (PFP)  
 1985: NP majority 2 205  
 1981: NP majority 685  
**SOUTH COAST:**  
 FOURIE T (CP)  
 NORTJE R (NRP)  
 THOMPSON A (NP)  
 1981: NRP majority 1 636  
**UMBILO:**  
 MATTHEE P (NP)  
 OLDFIELD G (NRP)  
 1981: NRP majority 2 448  
**UMFOLOZI:**  
 BLIGNAUT J (Ind)  
 GAUCHE J (CP)  
 HEINE W (NP)  
 1981: NP majority 3 071  
**UMHLANGA:**  
 HALSE D (PFP)  
 SCHOEMAN R (NP)  
 1981: NRP majority 446  
**UMHLATUZANA:**  
 HOTZ S (PFP)  
 STEENKAMP J (NP)  
 WILLERS P (HNP)  
 1981: NP majority 90  
**UMLAZI:**  
 BOTHA C (NP)  
 CURRY A (PFP)  
 RENEKE R (CP)  
 VAN RENSBURG P J (HNP)  
 1981: NP unopposed  
**VRYHEID:**  
 ERASMUS J L (HNP)  
 MENTZ J (NP)  
 STRYDOM J (CP)  
 1981: NP majority 3 404

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# Botha warns of more control

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

MR Pik Botha said to loud applause last night that he would not apologise for controls the government had placed on the press and that these would be made more severe if necessary to ensure the security of the country.

Speaking to an enthusiastic election audience of 500 people at Ysterplaat, Mr Botha said the government had placed press control on "security related" reports to avoid the killing of hundreds of blacks by "barbaric" means.

The government would not allow the "blood-thirsty" outside world to be satisfied by the media giving publicity to the "gruesome" murders of people in South Africa. "We won't tolerate it," he said.

Mr Botha said that when the PFP accused the government of not moving fast enough with negotiation "they are in fact asking us to hand over power to the ANC".

Mr Botha dismissed calls by the PFP — "who are also inclined to be soft on the ANC" — that the government should discuss the future of the country with the ANC.

"What do you discuss with an organization that supports violence and the necklace as a method towards achieving power?" he asked.

"We will not negotiate the destruction of South Africa," Mr Botha said.

"Those who shout 'reform, reform' and 'negotiate faster' don't know what they are talking about."

Mr Botha said opposition parties ("not one has got a hope of winning the election") were merely sowing dissent.

(Report by Anthony Johnson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

Election battle lines are drawn

# Record 479 candidates registered

MAX DU PREEZ and  
DOMINIQUE GILBERT

IN THE most open and unpredictable white poll since 1948, four political parties yesterday fielded enough candidates for each to take over government — a record of 479, or 139 more than in 1981.

In the new volatile white political mood, this will be the first election to determine the real strength of the right wing. It will also be a test for the support of disenchanted Nationalist rebels and for the claimed growth of the new-look PFP.

A record number of 30 constituencies will face four-cornered contests, and 87 three-cornered contests.

The CP and the HNP will fight each other in 72 of the 166 seats.

The NP put up 164 candidates; the PFP 82; the CP 125; the HNP 86; and the NRP 14. There are 8 independents.

The PFP indicated yesterday that it intended taking court action in an attempt to have two nominations set aside. PFP national organiser Neil Ross said last night the two would be identified today.

Only two candidates were unopposed: Jan van Gend (PFP) in Groote Schuur, and Jan van Eck (PFP) in Claremont, whose independent opponent's nomination was declared invalid. The PFP and NRP, which have formed

an election alliance, will contest a total of 96 seats between them.

The HNP claimed its candidates were "tricked" by the CP in two constituencies into withdrawing their nominations. HNP official Louis van der Schyff said: "CP candidates cheated our men in Pietersburg and Krugersdorp, saying that if they stood down the CP would stand down in Sasolburg and Carltonville. Our men kept to their word."

HNP candidates in Namaqualand and Umfolozi also withdrew their nominations in favour of CP candidates and in the "interest of right wing unity".

The HNP nominated candidates in 86 seats including most of the constituencies in which the CP has sitting MP's. HNP leader Jaap Marais is opposing the CP's former Langlaagte MP, SP Bar-nard, in Hercules. In Waterberg, the HNP's C J Viljoen will oppose CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht — who is expected to comfortably retain the seat.

There was high drama at the Florida Nomination Court when the PFP — rattled by the decision of former SABC newsman Rusty van Druuten to stand as

oil of the International Metalworkers FOSATU in 1982)

African unions in Johannesburg with ring Union' in Grey Coetzee, J A, th Africa, Cape Town, Jutta, 1976.

## Record number of candidates

an independent — objected to the signature of an unregistered voter on his form. In the 30 minutes given to Van Druuten by the magistrate to rectify it, a CP supporter signed his form.

A large crowd of supporters attended the nomination court in Helderberg where Constitutional Minister Chris Hennis, independent candidate Denis Worral and the CP's Leonard de Wet were duly nominated.

There were friendly scenes in Randburg between the NP's Olaus van Zyl and independent Wynand Malan, who had to get some 70 signatures re-signed after it

was learned they were signed before Parliament dissolved. However, Malan also had more than 400 valid signatures on his form.

For the first time ever the PFP, which is fielding 12 women as candidates, is contesting Meyerton, Humansdorp, Belville, Parow, Paarl, Umhlatuzana and Umlazi and holds the only two uncontested seats in the country — Claremont and Groote Schuur.

(Report by Max du Preez and Dominique Gilbert, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.)

● To Page 2



304A  
B/Dag 1/4/87

# OUR REALISTS?

The National Party has ruled South Africa for almost 40 years.

Most of our plans worked because we were realistic and put South Africa's interests first.

Some fail, and we admit it. But we counter those failures with new and realistic plans.

Whilst other political parties still wish that people were different, lived in different places, and had different political ambitions, the National Party has learned to steer South Africa's future according to what the country is, not what it isn't.

It's a well known fact and reality that there is more peace and stability where people govern themselves.

But then it's also a reality that where one group dominates another, or threatens its self-determination, there is tension, confrontation and

violence.

Because this same reality exists in South Africa, where different peoples and groups live in the same territory, the natural inclination is for each group to put their own interests first.

To acknowledge and accommodate this is not racism, but realism.

We cannot wish away these realities with a dream of a new brotherly political and patriotic unity. Nor can we pretend that the explosive dynamics of group differences are unimportant.

Another stark reality is that we in South Africa cannot create uniform groups simply by moving millions of people back and forth. Most of them, regardless, will continue to work and live where they are now. And will want to exercise their rights, right there.

That's why the National Party is planning a South Africa in which all South Africans can live together in peace.

A South Africa in which each group can remain true to itself on the basis of their own community life. And have the ability to decide together on matters of common interest, without one group being able to dominate another.

That is realism. Especially in Africa. Especially in South Africa.

Vote NP

NP

It makes sense!



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*3047*  
*30/Jan/11/4/17*  
*30 January 1987*

# DREAMERS

The PFP has an idealistic vision of a future South Africa: "United, peaceful, safe and democratic".

But a vision remains a dream until it becomes a reality. If at all that reality is a possibility.

Consider the PFP's proposed plan for South Africa — one man, one vote on a common voter's roll, on all levels. With proportional representation in which majorities can outvote and dominate minorities.

If that appears democratic, you obviously don't place too much importance on minority rights and self-determination.

So much for democracy. Will their plan, as they say, be "united", "peaceful" and "safe"?

Observe for yourself what happened to power sharing without effective group protection in

the rest of Africa. And whilst you're doing that, consider that a founder member of the PFP stated that the party cannot be trusted with the security of South Africa. Also that they're "soft" on the ANC and SA Communist Party.

**But if you think the PFP are dreamers, just listen to the CP's plan:**

Millions of blacks must live, work and die in the CP's "White South Africa", with no hope of anything more than a municipal vote.

It gets better. Coloureds and Indians will have to artificially become nations and accept independence in fragmented homelands.

Millions will be forced to pack-up and cram into these homelands, with no financial aid from "White South Africa" — not even for exorbitant commuter transport costs.

Happily this entire plan won't cost the whites a cent.

Because the CP envisage considerable tax reductions. The funds of which will be purely for white consumption.

One must ask if the CP are going to "sell" this ludicrous plan to the other races. Or force it upon them violently.

The latter is probably closer to the truth, especially when you consider that the CP couldn't even sell itself to the HNP. Not even with the help of radical and dangerous mediators.

Think about South Africa's peace and security before you vote for leaders and plans like these.

They're not even dreams. They're nightmares.

(304A)

White voters 'can help change course of history'

# Eglin predicts big political shake-up

1/4/87 Stan

## Political Staff

Progressive Federal Party leader Mr Colin Eglin has predicted that success by the anti-apartheid front in the election would set the scene for "the biggest shake-up in South African politics in more than 50 years".

He told about 600 people at a PFP rally in the Cape Town City Hall last night that white voters could help to change the course of South Africa's history on polling day.

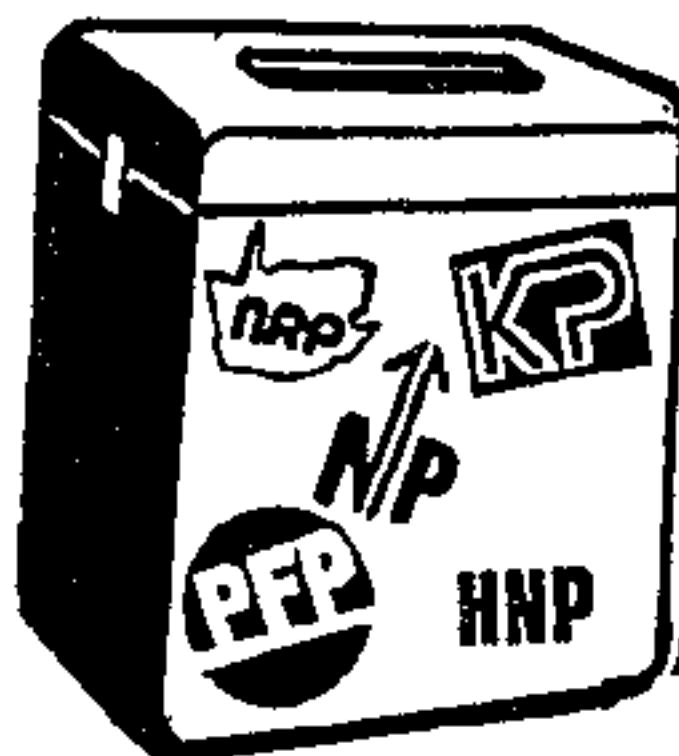
"Whatever the detailed election results may be, I predict that more votes will be cast and more MPs elected for an apartheid-free South Africa than ever before in our history," he said.

With Mr Eglin on the platform were 16 of the PFP's newly nominated candidates — two of whom were unopposed — for Cape Peninsula and Western Cape seats in the House of Assembly.

He said the issue in the election was no longer what was happening on the far right of the political spectrum, but what was happening on the "anti-apartheid front".

Mr Eglin said the tide of disillusionment with the Government was becoming irreversible. The idea of an alternative government, based on an alliance of moderates opposed to apartheid, had caught on "in an unstoppable way".

Earlier Mr Robin Carlisle, secretary general of the PFP and candidate for Wynberg, said the meeting marked the official start of the party's election campaign.



# ELECTION 1987

The disintegration of the National Party had begun in the Western Cape and it was here that "the NP will be buried".

Mr John Scott, PFP candidate for Simon's Town, said: "We are fighting against a system that is rotten and unjust to the core."

Those who chose to vote for the NP would be voting for "constitutional chaos" and "economic decomposition".

Mrs Beverley Roos, PFP candidate for Durbanville, said she

was taking part in the election also as a voter.

One of the reasons why she would vote for the PFP was that she would never accept that colour, rather than qualification and ability, should determine who would rule over her.

Other speakers included Mr Herbert Hirsch, candidate for Maitland, and Mr Jan van Eck, who has been returned unopposed in Claremont.

(Report by FS Esterhuyse, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)



Nominations put Ministers in political peril

# Top Nats will have hard fight for seats

30417 1/4/84

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

Some Ministers and Deputy Ministers will have to fight hard in the election after yesterday's official nominations.

Ministers fighting for their political lives will be Mr Pietie du Plessis (Lydenburg), Mr Eli Louw (Namaqualand, where the HNP has stood back for the CP) and Helderberg where Dr Denis Worrall is expected to put up a strong showing against Mr Chris Heunis.

Deputy Ministers facing a fierce onslaught include Mr Ron Miller (Durban North), Mr Hendrik Tempel (Ermelo) and Dr Stoffel van der Merwe (Helderkruin).

However most seats which could have been marginal may now be safe for the National Party as the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party are standing against each other in more than 80 constituencies.

A record 479 candidates were nominated yesterday — 164 by the National Party, 125 by the Conservative Party, 87 by the Herstigte Nasionale Party, 81 by the Progressive Federal Party, 14 by the New Republic Party and eight Independents.

A minimum of 84 seats is needed for an overall majority in the House of Assembly, so even if the PFP won all contested constituencies it would have to form a coalition with the NRP or Independents to govern.

Only two candidates were unopposed yesterday, giving the PFP Groote Schuur and Claremont in Cape Town.

For the first time in many years all National Party candidates are opposed.

There will be four-cornered contests in 30 constituencies; there are three candidates in another 86.

## Heavyweights

Rivalry between ultra right-wing parties may not only let the Government off the hook in up to 30 seats but may also jeopardise the chances of sitting Conservative Party MPs and the HNP's one MP.

Two CP heavyweights who might not make it back to Parliament because of the strength of their HNP opponents are the party's deputy leader Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg (Lichtenburg) and Mr SP Barnard (opposed by HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais in Hercules).

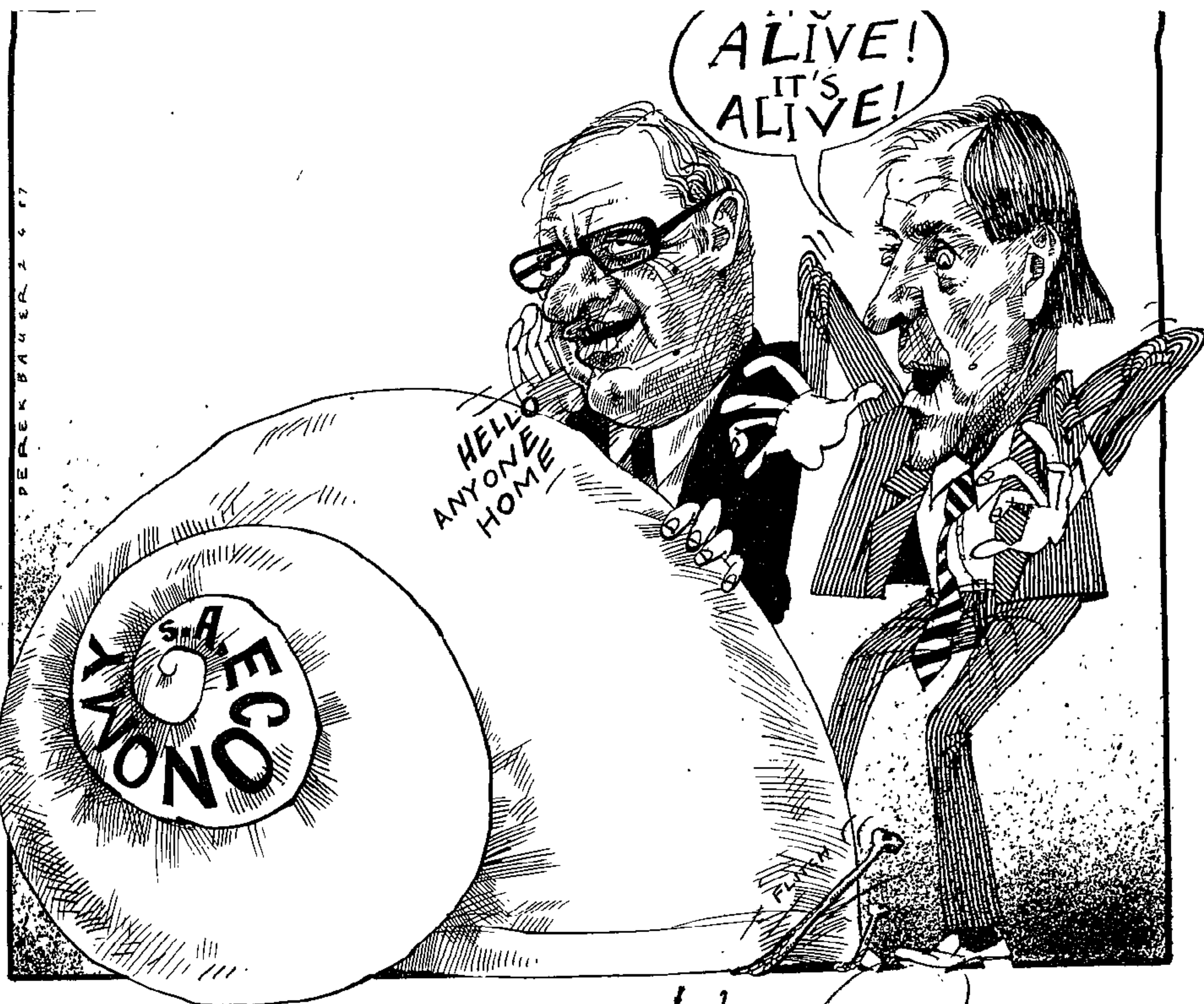
Mr Louis Stofberg, HNP MP for Sasolburg, may be defeated in a split vote which could allow in the NP candidate Dr WA Odendaal.

The HNP was furious today that three of its candidates had stood down at the last minute for CP candidates.

An HNP spokesman claimed this was the result of the CP telling these candidates it would be standing back in Sasolburg and other seats.

(Report by D Braun, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)





# Macho Magnus comes to timid Pik's rescue

NEEDLESS to say Pik Botha failed to fulfil his implied undertaking to disclose the details of the National Party's plans for reform after May 6 when he spoke in our neck of the woods this week. But I am not going to bore you with the demagoguery and distortion with which, instead, he milked the prejudices of a largely spellbound audience.

Neither am I going to admonish Pik for wriggling out of the challenge we threw down to him to spell out precisely what it is that the NP has in store for the country. There is no need to. His colleague, General Magnus Malan, in one of his frequent bursts of military *machismo*, has let the cat out of the bag.

His is the *only* peek which the country has had of what the NP plans for the future and he deserves at least a pat on the back for his candour and for giving the white electorate something substantial to chew on at what is turning out to be a somewhat meagre election banquet.

## Responsibility abdicated to police and military

What it boils down to is that the NP's "policy" for the future is modelled on that of the ill-fated banana republics of South America in the 1960s and 1970s where the political leaders had run out of answers and had abdicated responsibility to the military and police. South Africa's energies will be geared to the dictates of a military and police "strategy" in which the primary role of the politicians we elect on May 6 will be to give the police and military the constitutional powers to do the job.

General Malan did not say this in so many words, of course. What he said was that the state of emergency would stay in force until five objectives had been reached — "security", "effective" local government, "sufficient" housing and home ownership, "sufficient" employment, and "normalised" schools. He added:

"And I think it is going to take a long time."

Since any government, even an ANC or PFP government, would be bound to aim for what it considers to be "security", "effective" local government, "sufficient" housing and employment and "normalised" schools, we are left with the big question: How would an NP government's endeavours differ from the others?

## No substitute for a lack of policy

The most obvious difference is that the NP has no coherent political policy for meeting these objectives. But as every mentally competent adult will know, all the repression of which the police and military, and their allies in the townships, are capable (short of genocide), and all the expenditure on housing, jobs and schools, which possibly could be mustered, cannot be a substitute for this lack of policy.

But General Malan (and his friends in the military and police) seem to strongly disagree. They buzz has it that they believe that a "strategy" of repressing what they call "radicals" and co-opting under their protective aegis those they consider to be "moderates", in order to run the townships ("effective" local government), coupled with huge new infusions of capital for housing, jobs and schools, will solve the problem.

## Theoretically it would have political spin-off

To this end we already have the Government's new economic "strategy" (unveiled to business leaders during *Jaws III* last year) of reducing capital expenditure on infra-structure in favour of social programmes such as housing, schools and jobs. We have the state of emergency to allow the "strategy" to be implemented without all the civilian niceties that so irk the men in uniform. And we



## ISSUES

By Hugh Robertson

have the national network of Joint Management Centres presided over by the police and military and linked to the National Security Council, the *de facto* governing body of the country.

If it all sounds half-persuasive to you, that is because like all good fantasies, it contains some plausible elements. For instance, the provision of more and better housing is an entirely commendable objective and everyone would praise the creation of more employment. Theoretically all this should have some beneficial political spin-off.

## History is filled with these epitaphs

But it would be naive to regard this as an answer to South Africa's towering problems because, aside from anything else, the concept is based upon a critical misjudgment of human nature.

Let us for a moment imagine a ludicrously unlikely situation in which every black adult had a well-paid job and lived in a comfortable three-bedroomed home. Would this make apartheid bearable? Is it not the very essence of human nature always to be dissatisfied with the status quo, to strive for ever greater heights, to believe that things could be even better?

In their last elections, Americans turned against the party which had brought them the highest standard of living in their history. Harold Macmillan's accurate description of living standards in Britain — "You've never had it so good" — did not ensure the long-term survival of his party's rule. Iranians had never experienced as much economic development as

took place under the Shah when they ousted him.

History is filled with the epitaphs of such rulers yet in South Africa where the economy in the best boom years could not absorb anything like the full number of black school leavers each year, where the housing problem is almost certainly insoluble in our lifetimes, a thoroughly discredited government believes it can endear itself to an estranged majority of the people by the simple device of uplifting them and keeping troublesome elements at bay.

Can it be denied that so long as there is political, social and economic inequality, the black majority will have cause for grievance? That no matter how high their living standards might be, they will have every reason to believe that the grass is greener on the other side of the apartheid fence? That their grievances will be as potentially exploitable by "radicals" as they are now?

There is a political ingredient in the military-police strategy outlined by General Malan — "effective" local government. But we know what local government means to the NP already and we have been told by all their spokesmen, from *El Grande* himself downwards, what it will mean in the future — a form of self-administration by blacks within the greater apartheid around them, a system which has as its very basis "group" identity, the 1986/7 euphemism for apartheid.

Is it reasonable to believe that a government which is seen in the black community as the symbol of repression and the source of grievances seriously negotiate a political settlement while retaining even a tiny semblance of apartheid?

For years I have overestimated General Malan, for he and his cohorts clearly believe, against all logic and all the evidence of the past, that it can be done.

(Comment by H S Robertson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)



# Row over election funds spreads

Political Staff

THE National Party was accused today of "serious irregularities" in election fund-raising.

The accusation came after charges by President P W Botha, Cabinet Ministers and Nationalist newspapers that three independent candidates had collected funds in contravention of the Fund-Raising Act.

The accusation of Nationalist irregularities came from the national chairman of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Peter Gastrow.

He disclosed that the PFP had prima facie evidence of "protection racket-like tactics" used by NP fund-raisers in their approaches to businessmen.

## POLICE

Meanwhile legal representatives of the ex-Nationalist independents held talks yesterday with the director of fund-raising, Mr Japie Visser, after Nationalist Press reports that fund-raising by the independents had been referred to the police.

The independents — Dr Dennis Worrall, Mr Wynand Malan and Dr Esther Lategan — said in a joint statement they believed the money they had received for their campaigns was not affected by the provisions of the Fund-Raising Act.

And Mr David de Villiers, QC, former managing director of Nasionale Pers — who resigned recently as director of the Nationalist newspaper group to support Dr Lategan in her campaign — said he had gone into the matter thoroughly.

"Certain aspects seem to be contentious," he said.

One such aspect was the suggestion that even money given spontaneously by individuals to the independents could be affected by the provisions of the Fund-Raising Act.

## TOO SCARED

Mr Gastrow said today the PFP had for some time been investigating complaints from businessmen about tactics used by NP fund-raisers.

"In the past people have been too scared to speak out about these tactics for fear of action being taken against them," he said.

"The NP is spending millions of rands on the current election campaign. Where did all this money come from?"

"The National Party owes South Africa an answer on whether it receives funds from overseas through any of the multinational companies."

## SALARY

Professor Nic Olivier, director of research for the PFP, asked last night why an investigation had not been launched into an appeal to constituents made last year by the Nationalist MP for Klip River, Mr Jacko Maree.

Mr Maree had asked for R24 000 because he could not serve them properly on his salary of R58 000 a year.

Mr Gastrow said a lot of companies that would otherwise not give money to the NP were forced to do so because of the fund-raising tactics.

He accused the National Party of hypocrisy in challenging the fund-raising of the independents when "it has skeletons in its own cupboard".

(Report by F S Esterhuysen, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town, and by B Cameron, 85 Field Street, Durban)



# 'World awaits mandate for reform on May 6'

Staff Reporter

THE outside world wants to see a mandate for reform from the white electorate in the May 6 election and a positive move towards change afterwards, says Mr Kurt von Schirnding, South Africa's former ambassador to the United Nations.

He said the Government would have to give a practical demonstration of its claimed dedication to reform and plans to include blacks at the highest level of government.

Mr von Schirnding, director-general of the South Africa Foundation, was interviewed in

Cape Town yesterday after addressing overseas guests at the Nederburg wine auction.

He said the Government was not doing enough to implement reform and called for the scrapping of the Group Areas Act as one of "too many Acts against the basic principles of democracy".

## Active programme

Mr von Schirnding said the African National Congress was part of the future of the country and, although it was "non-sense" to say they were the only leaders, they had to be included in negotiations.

He said the only way South

Africa could get its point across to the outside world was to solve its internal problems or show that they were being solved. The Government could achieve this by setting up an active programme of reform and sticking to it.

"Plans to include blacks fully must be implemented.

"We are not getting our point across to the outside world. The moment we solve our problems or are seen solving them, it will speak for itself, but the Government is not doing enough," he said.

"They must put something on the table, not a blueprint — an active programme."

Mr von Schirnding called on foreign visitors at the gathering to help the "forces of moderation" by placing the problems here in proper perspective.

He said it was indisputable that reforms of "immense" consequence, such as the abolition of influx control, the repeal of the Mixed Marriages Act, far reaching labour legislation and others, had been enacted.

South Africa received no recognition for this abroad, was told the reforms were cosmetic and was rewarded with sanctions, disinvestment and threats of further isolation and punishment.



# Meeting calls whites-only election a 'circus'

By Sol Makgabutlane,  
Education Reporter

A number of organisations and individuals yesterday dismissed the coming election as a circus and called for one man, one vote in South Africa.

The anti-election meeting was convened by the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) and the South African National Student Congress (Sansco), and was attended by, among others, educationist Mr Franz Auerbach, Dr Beyers Naude and Mr Max Coleman of the Detainees' Parents Support Committee.

Speakers said the elections did not represent a real solution to the country's problems.

Stressing that it was not calling for a boycott of the May 6 elections, Nusas president Mr Steve Kromberg urged whites to consider when casting their votes if Parliament in South Africa had any real power.

"The most effective vehicles for change today are the extra-parliamentary organisations such as the UDF and Cosatu. Jointly these organisations represent millions of South Africans committed to a non-racial, democratic South Africa," he said.

## CLOSING CRACKS

Sansco said it viewed the timing of the elections as a calculated move by the "desperate National Party to attempt to close the cracks created by the democratic movement within the Afrikaner laager over the past few years".

Dr Beyers Naude, who is general secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), said he had noticed much enthusiasm in the white community for the coming election.

"(But) the election is being fought within the framework of a racially discriminatory system that excludes the majority of the population.

"What are the real issues? A clear and unequivocal statement about the future political power sharing in which all citizens can be involved. As long as that question is not addressed, this election will prove to be a farce."

## ANARCHY

He said South Africa would eventually have a one man, one vote system — "let's face the reality of today and face the challenges of tomorrow. If we do not do it, then we are moving towards turmoil and anarchy".

Author Nadine Gordimer said South Africa should not have another election until "we have a new constitution and all South Africans have the right to vote in a united South Africa".

"One negative factor is that the great white hope, Denis Worrall and his company, do not represent a real alternative to the oppression of blacks that has brought us to the brink of a civil war."

She added: "Why doesn't the PFP ally itself with the UDF if it wants to see democracy in South Africa?"

Miss Suzanne Booysen, political science lecturer at the Rand Afrikaans University, told the gathering: "I would like to call on Afrikaans campuses to make clear their support for one man, one vote. This is the only way that lasting and enduring peace can be assured in South Africa."

(Report by S M Makgabutlane, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)



Some of the panellists share a joke after speaking at the anti-election meeting at Wits University yesterday. From left are RAU lecturer Ms Suzanne Booysen, educationist Mr Franz Auerbach, Wits SRC president Mr Etienne Marais, Mrs Helen Joseph, Dr Beyers Naude, Sansco representative Mr Pascal Moloi and Nusas president Mr Steve Kromberg.



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Eglin: more MPs will be elected for real reform

# PFP urges support for NRP in Benoni

By Colleen Ryan  
Political Reporter

The election alliance between the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) and the New Republic Party (NRP) featured prominently last night when the PFP launched its election campaign in Benoni.

Addressing a crowd of about 350 in the Benoni Town Hall, PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin said the election was no longer about right-wing pressure. "The issue in this election is about what is happening on the pro-reform, anti-apartheid side."

He said the May 6 election was the "first critical step in getting rid of the Government" and building an alternative to it.

No matter how "perfect" the PFP's constitutional model was, a new constitution would finally have to be negotiated by all South Africans.

The platform was shared by both alliance parties; the audience was urged to support the NRP candidate Mr Max Windrich in Brentwood and PFP candidate Mr Sam Grolman in Benoni.

Mr Eglin said the scene was set "for the biggest shake-up in South African politics since the Nats got into power 39 years ago".

"I predict that more votes will be cast and more MPs will be elected for real reform than ever before in the history of this country," he said.



**ELECTION  
1987**

Referring to past election struggles against the NRP, he said some contests had been about important policy differences but others had been only personal bickering. This had come to an end and the kwaZulu-Natal indaba had helped reconcile the parties.

Mr Eglin lashed out at the Government's economic policies and said billions of rands had been wasted on the "unworkable" policy of apartheid and unnecessary controls.

He said the new Regional Services Councils which were being placed above municipalities were an example of "new constitution-making by Chris Heunis" which would lead to more bureaucracy. The new chairmen of the RSCs would be appointed by the Government and would be paid R90 000 to R100 000 a year, he said.

(Report by C Ryan, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

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## CURBS SLAMMED

THE Southern African Society of Journalists this week condemned Government restrictions on the free movement of journalists.

In a statement to Sapa in Johannesburg, the national council of the SASJ said:

"Recently the regional adviser for Africa of the International Federation of Journalists, Thami Mazwai, was refused a passport. The passport

of Durban journalist, Marimuthu Subramoney, was withdrawn and another Durban journalist, Sipho Khumalo, was given a passport which restricted him to travel in Southern Africa and was valid for only one week.

"The SASJ condemns these restrictions and the refusal by the Department of Home Affairs to give reasons for them."

Sowetan 3/4/87

# No probe of 'Nel's deal'

31/4/87  
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200A

FORMER Deputy Information Minister Louis Nel's involvement in SA's diplomatic land deals in Tokyo is not being investigated, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday.

Replying to telexed questions from *Business Day*, Botha said there was no reason for such an investigation.

He had no knowledge of how Nel became involved in the land-deal bid. Asked how it was possible for Nel to have known the land was for sale, Botha said: "This is a question that should be put to Mr Nel."

According to his information, it was "no secret" that diplomatic missions of other countries were also being approached to sell parts of their properties.

On the question of whether Nel's bid for the land on behalf of Japanese businessmen would be accepted, Botha said:

"In principle, a single offer in a matter of this nature cannot be considered."

Report by Dominique Gilbert, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg

German MP: Nats solicited cash

# NP gets flak as funding row hots up

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B/Dav

ALLEGATIONS that the NP had tried to raise funds from SA-based German multi-nationals were replied to yesterday by Deputy Finance Minister Dr Org Marais.

While the NP has accused Denis Worrell and other independents of illegally receiving foreign funds, a German politician has claimed the NP regularly solicited donations from foreign-based businesses.

And, as the election fund-raising row grew, PFP national chairman Peter Gastrow accused the NP of fund-raising tactics similar to "protection racket" tactics and said he was collecting affidavits linking an NP MP and "other people" to irregular fund-raising methods.

Independent candidate Wynand Malan has accused government of using its officials to avoid "burning political issues" by dragging side issues like fund raising into the election campaign.

Marais responded to claims in a book, "Apartheid - South Africa and the German interests at the Cape", written last year by German author and Social Democrat Party MP Gunter Veheugen and recorded in *Der Spiegel*.

Veheugen, who undertook a "fact-finding mission" in SA, claimed German businessmen in SA regularly met with NP leadership and Cabinet Ministers to discuss SA's current affairs.

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

Until 1984, Veheugen wrote, money was collected from the businessmen after those meetings for the NP. From 1985, businessmen were not invited to the meetings unless they had already donated money to the NP.

Veheugen mentioned a particular meeting in April last year after which Marais asked for funds from the businessmen for the NP.

Marais said: "Let's be honest. All parties get contributions from SA companies who possibly give money to the PFP and the NP at the same time. This could come from German, American or British companies in SA."

That was not illegal because those companies were registered in SA. Only foreign funding of political parties was illegal. Like all parties, the NP had the right to hold fund-raising dinners.

After the emergence of the disinvestment campaign, Marais said, the SA-based German Chamber of Commerce (GCC) approached him, and asked him to arrange for several Cabinet Ministers to attend a dinner at Buitenvoerweg in the Cape.

He said no funds were collected from the businessmen at the dinner, in fact, "some of the companies named in the

● To Page 2



## Nats get flak over funding

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articles never even contributed to the dinner".

The GCC declined to comment.

Five of the seven SA-based German companies specifically named in Veheugen's book yesterday denied ever having funded the NP.

□ A Deutsche Bank spokesman admitted bank officials met with government "from time to time" but described as "absolute rubbish" and "none of their business" claims that the bank funded the NP.

□ Dresdner Bank's E Reimer refused to comment.

□ Commerzbank's F Zerspohl said the

publications contained "a mixture of truth, fantasy and untruth" but denied his bank provided the NP with funds.

□ Bayer MD Klaus Forstmann said it was strict company policy not to fund any political party.

□ A BMW spokesman said the function referred to was one of an ongoing series of meetings with Cabinet Ministers and other MPs and was "totally above board".

Report by Dominique Gilbert, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg and Ormonde Pollok, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban.

● From Page 1



NATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL

# Nats asked German firms for funds — MP

ARGUS 3/4/82  
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The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A German MP has alleged that several German multi-nationals operating in South Africa were approached by the National Party last year for donations and had given it funds.

Mr Gunther Verheugen, of the Social Democratic Party in West Germany, said he stood by his claims, initially made last year.

Mr Verheugen published a book after his trip to South Africa last year on the link between German interests and the South African Government. His allegations were repeated in an article which appeared in the German magazine, *Der Spiegel*, last October.

## Still hold true

"The comments I made after my trip to South Africa still hold true — German companies have been funding the National Party and the German-South African Chamber of Commerce was directly involved in the negotiations."

He said that Nationalist MP Dr Org Marais had been involved in these approaches.

He said several companies, including BMW, Siemens, Steinmuller, Bayer and three banks, had attended the meeting.

BMW spokesman Mr Pierre de la Rey confirmed that representatives had attended the lunch, which he described as a normal consultation.

However, the company denied that the NP had asked for funds. BMW in Germany had protested about the claims published by *Der Spiegel*, he said.

The chairman of Bayer SA,

Mr E Taeuber, said: "Our company is not involved in party politics and is not funding any party."

The banks have also denied giving funds to the NP. Steinmuller and Siemens have not yet responded.

## "Ask them"

Mr Marais was asked whether one of these companies had made donations to the National Party. He said: "You can't expect me to give you a list of all the companies that make donations to the National Party. You should ask the companies themselves."

He said the NP had not broken any laws in its fund-raising activities and had not accepted donations from overseas.

Mr Verheugen said that after he had made the allegations, "this practice has stopped, partly as a result of the publicity surrounding my comments and partly because companies have been subject to increased criticism".

A spokesman for the SA-German Chamber of Commerce said: "When the allegations first appeared in *Der Spiegel*, neither we nor the Government commented, as the allegations were just too ridiculous."

The article in *Der Spiegel* said that once a year top German industrialists in South Africa met Cabinet Ministers and leading members of the NP. These meetings, organised by the SA-German Chamber of Commerce until 1985, were followed by approaches for donations.

The State President's office was approached for comment, but there was no reply at the time of going to Press.

(Report by Colleen Ryan and Sven Lunsche, both of 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)



Picture: DOUG PITHEY, The Argus

**SKI-HIGH:** Tanya Curtain of Claremont, Caeleen Moir of Plumstead and Belinda-Jane Sutherland of Table View form a human pyramid as they get into trim for Monday's waterski carnival at Zeekoevlei which will include ramp somersaults and Roman chariot races. Springbok waterskier Howard Ramsden and show skier Nicette Levy will take part. Starting time is 2pm at the power boat club.

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# Award-winners Peto withdraw from city festival

By ANDREW DONALDSON  
and MARIANNE THAMM

THE 1986 Shell Road to Fame winners, Peto, have joined the cultural pull-out of the Cape Festival in protest at the presence of police and SADF bands on the festival's programme.

In doing so, the group have cancelled their appearance tomorrow on the popular Radio Good Hope programme, "Sound-around", which was to have been broadcast live from Greenmarket Square at 1.30pm.

The other artist to have been featured on the show, jazz pianist Tony Schilder, announced his withdrawal last week — along with Amaswazi, Louis and the Jive, Ntsikane, who represented Cape Town in the Nice Festival earlier this year, Abasibenzi and several others.

Peto leader Alan Cameron ex-

plained that when Peto agreed to take part in the "Soundaround" concert, the radio show had not been included on the festival programme.

"Afterwards, when we found we were slotted into the festival programme, we cancelled in protest at the police and SADF presence," he said.

The group had apologized to the "Soundaround" organizers and remained "on good terms with them", he added.

Radio Good Hope announcer, Mr Coenie de Villiers, said the station regretted to announce the cancellations and referred inquiries to Mr Hennie Cloete, head of SABC's Cape publicity department, who was not available for comment.

Meanwhile, the End Conscription Campaign has added its support to the artists, who were "making a professional sacrifice" and saluted them.

"It is impossible to reconcile the role that the SADF and the SAP play in the escalating civil conflict, with their involvement in the Cape Town Festival," an ECC spokesman said.

"The members of a Defence Force Band cannot be considered apart from the SADF as a whole. They merely represent the other face of an army that serves to enforce apartheid."

Meanwhile, a spokesman for Leslie Rae Dowling's management has denied rumours that members of the singer's band had received death threats about her scheduled performance on Monday night.

Ms Dowling cancelled on the eve of her appearance.

A police liaison officer for the Western Cape, Lieutenant Denise Benson, also told the Cape Times that police had received no complaints from musicians about death threats recently.



# NP <sup>Capit 7m15</sup> <sup>3/4/87</sup> replies to fund drive <sup>304A</sup> claims

Own Correspondent

TRADE U JOHANNESBURG. — 5

The Deputy Finance Minister, Dr Org Marais, yesterday replied to allegations that the National Party had tried to raise funds from South African-based German multi-nationals.

While the NP has accused Dr Denis Worrall and other independents of illegally receiving foreign funds, a German politician has claimed that the NP regularly solicited donations from foreign-based businesses.

And, as the election fund-raising row grew, PFP national chairman Mr Peter Gastrow accused the NP of fund-raising tactics similar to "protection racket" tactics and said he was collecting affidavits.

Mr Marais responded to claims in a book, "Apartheid — South Africa and the German interests at the Cape", written last year by German author and Social Democrat Party MP Mr Gunter Veheugen and recorded in the German publication Der Spiegel.

## Money

Mr Veheugen claimed German businessmen in SA regularly met NP leadership and cabinet ministers to discuss SA's current affairs.

Until 1984, Mr Veheugen wrote, money was collected from the businessmen after these meetings for the NP.

Mr Marais said: "Let's be honest. All parties get contributions from all SA companies who possibly give money to the PFP and the NP at the same time. This could come from German, American or British companies in SA."

This was not illegal because these companies are registered in SA and all parties have the right to hold fund-raising dinners.

□ A Deutsche Bank spokesman described as "absolute rubbish" claims that the bank funded the NP.

□ Dresdner Bank's Mr E Reimer flatly refused to comment.

□ Commerzbank's Mr F Zerspohl denied his bank provided the NP with funds.

□ Bayer MD Mr Klaus Forstmann said it was strict company policy not to fund any political party.

□ A BMW spokesman said: "We would not fund any political party."

(Report by Dominique Gilbert, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg and Ormonde Pollok, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban)

APR 6 3/4/87

# Black, white together the only way — Tutu

Staff Reporter

BLACKS were becoming more and more alienated from their fellow South Africans, Archbishop Desmond Tutu has told the Institute of Citizenship.

"White and black people look at what appears to be the same reality, yet our perceptions are utterly different.

"Blacks and whites in South Africa inhabit two different worlds."

Archbishop Tutu said at a lunchtime meeting yesterday that what pleased most white people was diametrically opposite to what pleased blacks.

"When the rebel Australian cricketers came to South Africa, the white community was pleased.

## "Mercenaries"

"Black communities condemned the Australians as unscrupulous mercenaries."

Archbishop Tutu said whites and blacks also had different perspectives on violence. What white people called terrorists, blacks called freedom fighters.

"Very few white people are ready to accept the violence in this country is the violence of the State.

"When violence is perpetrated in this country it is done by people in authority. And people believe that because it is legal it is morally right.

He said it was not seen by whites as violence when hundreds of children were detained without trial and when communities were dumped far from their homes.

"We say it is violence," he said.

Archbishop Tutu said blacks did not want reform — they wanted radical change.

"The only way we can be free, the only way we can survive is black and white together."



## APARTHEID BAROMETER

### POLITICAL PRISONERS

THERE were 309 political prisoners serving sentences for "crimes against the state" in South African prisons as at January 31, 1987, the Minister of Justice, Kobie Coetsee, said in parliament. This figure does not include those serving sentences in the "independent homelands" or serving sentences for public violence and other politically-related offences other than treason and offences under the Internal Security Act.

Coetsee said 22 people were serving life sentences for "crimes against the state" as at February 10 this year.

He said 542 prisoners were being held on Robben Island, 262 in maximum security and 280 in medium security, as at February 9, 1987.

He said 57 people serving sentences for "offences against the security of the state" were released last year, five of whom had "renounced violence".

### PRISON POPULATION

The Minister of Justice, Kobie Coetsee, said in parliament South African prisons were over-accommodated by about 30 000 prisoners last year. He said while the "accommodation figure" for South Africa's prisons was 84 283, the average daily prison population in December 1986 was 114 220.

### POLICE FIGURES

The Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, released the following figures in parliament:

● In the year to February 9, 7 605 people were trained at South Africa's four police colleges. The trainees comprise 4 233 whites, 2 412 Africans, 696 coloureds and 264 Indians. He said there were 352 instructors at the four colleges, of whom 228 were white, 85 African, 27 coloured and 12 Indian. The colleges are at Pretoria, Bishop Lavis near Cape Town, Wentworth in Durban and Hammanskraal.

● There were 4 142 vacancies in the SAP as at January 31, 1987.

● A total of 1 651 policemen resigned last year.

● Seven policemen were suspended and one dismissed last year as a result of arrests, interrogations, detentions and other unrest-related activities.

● Six people were shot dead and two injured at police roadblocks in 1986.

● A total of 977 black people were arrested for striking illegally in 1986.

Vlok said he was not prepared to say whether the police forces of South African and Ciskei undertook any joint operations last year because he did not "consider it in the interests of security to comment upon the actions of a police force of another state".

### STRIKES

There were 643 strikes and 150 work stoppages in 1986, the Minister of Manpower, Piet du Plessis, said in parliament. He said 323 808 workers were involved in strikes last year and 100 532 in work stoppages. 10 471 664 "manhours" had been lost in strikes and work stoppages.

Du Plessis said 310 676 of those involved in strikes and 98 099 of those involved with stoppages were black (African).

He said in 1986, 174 recognition agreements and 1 090 other agreements were signed, and that his department had received 1 294 applications for the establishment of conciliation boards, of which 306 had been approved. A total of 36,9 percent of the disputes had been settled and 58 were still under consideration.

Du Plessis said 46 registered trade unions confined their membership to whites, 17 to coloureds and 23 to blacks. There were 109 racially mixed registered unions as at December 31, 1986 and 53 706 union members not classified to population group.

### PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

MOHAMMED VALLI MOOSA, 30, acting national general secretary of the United Democratic Front, was detained under the Emergency regulations on January 12 and is still being held.

Valli was born in Johannesburg but in 1964 his family was forced under the Group Areas Act to move to Lenasia. In 1978 he graduated with a BSc from the University of Durban-Westville, working as a teacher in Durban and Lenasia and, later, as a course writer for the SA Committee for Higher Education (Sached).

Valli was an executive member of the South African Students' Organisation (Saso) when it was banned in 1977. He played a central role in the Anti-SAIC campaign in 1981 and 1982 and helped form the Transvaal Indian Congress in 1983. In June that year he was elected Transvaal general secretary of the UDF and since then has served as a member of the UDF national executive committee. He has also represented the UDF in visits to Europe, Canada and the United States. In 1985, following the detention of UDF national general secretary, Popo Molefe, Valli was elected acting general secretary.

In April 1980 he was detained for two weeks under the Internal Security Act. Since January 12 he has been held in solitary confinement at Randburg Police Station. Valli has a one-year-old daughter, Kim.

### BANNED BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS AND OBJECTS

Sun City: Artists United Against Apartheid — seven single record (Africa Fund, London); Let Me See Your ID: Artists United Against Apartheid — seven single record (Little Steven and Arthur Baker, EMI Records, Australia); Black Uhuru Anthem — gramophone record (Island Records Inc, Island); Viva SRCs: Forward to a People's Education (Education Resource and Information Centre, Observatory); The Russian Revolution (Progress Publishers, Moscow); Cuba International 9/86 (Prensa Latina Direccion de Publicaciones PL, Cuba); Apartheid's Great Land Theft: The Struggle for the Right to Farm in South Africa (Ernest Harsch); Africa Events: Vol 3, No 1/2 (Dar Es Salaam Ltd, London); An Reabhlaid: Vol 1 No 2 Journal of Peoples Democracy, Autumn 1986, and Reabhlaid Vol 1 No 1 Journal of Peoples Democracy, Summer 1986 (both produced by Peoples Democracy, Horizon Books, Ireland); Programme to Combat World Racism (World Council of Churches, Geneva, Switzerland); the Guardian Feb 18, 1987 (Institute for Independent Social Journalism Inc, New York); Magic Islands 1987 (Thompson's International Tour Operators, Johannesburg); International Viewpoint issue no 114, 23 Feb 1987 (United Secretariat of the Fourth International, Montreuil, France); Azania Worker Feb '87 Vol 4 no 1 (Azania Worker, London); Two greetings cards entitled Valentine, I want very much to please you and satisfy your needs, so I'm getting a transplant, 100V5349 and Valentine you exhaust me ... 100V5349 (both produced by Xtra Humor Co, Philadelphia); greeting card entitled On Valentines Day. Pardon me. 90V5221 (Wild and Crazy, Philadelphia).

All publications and objects issued by the Peoples Democracy, Horizon Books, have been banned for importation, except on authority of a permit.

Unbanned: South Africa: Foreign Investment and Apartheid (Lawrence Litvak, Robert de Grasse and Kathleen McTigue).

# Two booths break away

THE government's "homelands" policy has set some minor problems for election officers in the Eastern Cape constituency of Albany.

Two of the old polling stations are no longer within the borders of South Africa but are suddenly inside the "independent state" of Ciskei.

Peddie and the Mount Coke district were both incorporated into Ciskei when it became "independent".

An election officer says he and his

colleagues will make sure South Africans "living abroad in the Ciskei" will be able to vote, although the method has not yet been decided.

"We can place them into a different polling district, or they can vote by special vote," he said.

The seat, presently held by the PFP's Errol Moorcroft, is being contested by the PFP, HNP and NP.

●Report by Peter auf der Heyde, 25 High St, Grahamstown

3-9/4/87 W/Mail

304A



# Coping with instability

FACE TO  
FACE



Roelf Meyer is Deputy Minister of Law and Order and MP for Mayfair.

**FM:** Why does the State of Emergency continue if violence has decreased?

**Meyer:** Only visible violence has decreased. That does not mean that the unrest climate has changed — although we do believe that we are effective in fighting it. We can only say that the unrest climate has normalised when all services start functioning normally. I cannot predict the end of the emergency. As we become more successful in restraining unrest, so do adverse forces sharpen their attacks. I have been incorrectly quoted as having said the emergency will last another two or three years. That would be a foolish thing to say.

**Shouldn't police ensure day to day law and order in SA instead of guarding over the townships, which reduces manpower to combat ordinary crime?**

We are trying to establish order and stability on all fronts. Must we allow schools to be set alight and unrest to continue as before? But we do have too little manpower — that is why we need the help of the army. The control of violence in the townships is as important as the control of crime in the country. The troops in the townships are only there to assist police in combating violence — if and when necessary.

Our police force numbers are well below Western standards. Most Western countries have between 3,5 to 11 police per 1 000

people. The Soviet Union has 16 police per 1 000 people. But SA has only 1,9 police per 1 000. One reason for the problems in the townships is our shortage of manpower. But it is the policy of the department to increase our police force from 56 000 to 87 000 over the next 10 years. We would then have 2,2 police for every 1 000 people.

**Ferdi Hartzenberg of the CP accuses you of doing nothing to eradicate "flagrant violations" of the Group Areas Act in Mayfair?**

Indians moved into Mayfair partly by the whites' own doing. Some of Hartzenberg's own supporters sold or leased their houses to the Indians. I am irritated by the fact that government always has to take the blame, and I challenge anyone to come up with a simple solution to the problem. People have to understand that we are not allowed to evict anyone without supplying alternative housing. The Group Areas Act has become a sensitive issue in Mayfair, but I do not plan to take advantage of the situation.

Also, what is happening in Hillbrow is the result of metropolitan development due to economic pressures. It is not unnatural and could have been expected. Indians and so-called coloureds do not have sufficient housing close to town, and one has to understand their problems too.

**You have said government will have to "pick" black leaders with whom to negotiate?**

Government will have to choose black leaders from the urban community, as leaders have already been established in the national states. It is not within my field to suggest candidates and it would be irresponsible of me to do so, as they may become political targets.

I believe that, at the moment, the process of reform is more important than the result. We will only make constructive progress with people who sincerely want to render their services to the community. It will be no great help to SA to seek co-operation from people who do not honestly want to see progress in the black communities.

**Where do your sympathies lie within the National Party (NP)?**

I am a party man and a loyalist. There are no factions within the NP whatsoever. NP members were split up before 1982, but after Treurnicht's departure the party was united again. People do, of course, have different opinions — I believe in justice and I strive for justice within the party and in my work.

**What do you think about the independent candidates in the election?**

If their ideals are about creating greater peace, prosperity and security, it is something we all have in common. But it's a pity the independents project it as if they were the only ones promoting it. The NP have the same ideals, but we differ in our methods of reaching them.

I believe it has to be an evolutionary process — one which, inevitably, will encounter some knocks. Reform has been strained by pressure from foreign countries and domestic unrest, but I believe government has addressed those problems effectively.

As government said in May last year: the fear of sanctions is worse than sanctions itself. We must have control over unrest. Reform is a package consisting of political and social reform. I do not mean that political rights are unimportant, but does a political vote mean much when people are jobless?



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## ELECTION

### Battles for Natal

The prospect of two Titans of SA politics, Chris Heunis and Denis Worrall, squaring up to each other in Helderberg may for the moment have captivated the electorate's attention.

But no less intriguing is the battle taking place in Natal where the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba remains the dominant election issue.

Putting aside years of bitter rivalry, the New Republic Party (NRP) and the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) have formed an election pact to take on the National Party (NP) and candidates to the right of it.

They start out just about evenly matched. Together the alliance currently holds 10 of the province's 20 seats, with the remainder in the NP's hands. Traditionally, Natal has been NRP/PFP territory. But the defections of three NRP parliamentarians to the NP after the 1981 elections — Ron Miller (Durban North), George Bartlett (Amanzimtoti) and Aubrey Thompson (South Coast) — evened the score somewhat.

Though both the Conservative Party (CP) and Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) have candidates in the field, nobody seriously expects them to win any seats — not even in the conservative north.

What will be of crucial significance on polling day is just where the NRP rank and

file are going to make their mark. They are in many ways the backbone of white politics in Natal, having enjoyed the dominant presence in the Provincial Council and parliament for years.

The psychological adjustment of now having to vote in sympathy with their once bitter foes, the PFP, may be just too big a transition for party loyalists to make. That much has already been demonstrated by the spate of protest resignations of senior party officials that followed the pact's formation.

Moreover, the NP increasingly portrays itself as the party of moderates, moving closer to the political middle ground and taking, some believe, many NRP supporters along with it. It is, of course, quite possible that NRP traditionalists could feel more ideologically at home with the NP than they do in some rapidly cobbled together alliance of convenience.

Informed opinion from the Natal hustings has it that there will be a protest vote. At least 25% of NRP supporters, surmises former provincial leader, Derrick Waterson, will vote against the alliance. A similar proportion of PFP supporters will probably do likewise for the same reason.

Overall, though, he expects most party members to support alliance candidates in their constituencies because "they are intelligent enough to know it is the Nats who have got us where we are now, so how the heck can they be expected to get us out of it again?"

NRP provincial secretary Hennie Brink believes the Nats have badly misread sentiments in Natal over the Indaba. He says Nat party leader Stoffel Botha's over-hasty rejection of the proposals is going to cost them votes. "The message is getting across to voters that the Indaba is a worthwhile initiative that deserves their support," he says.

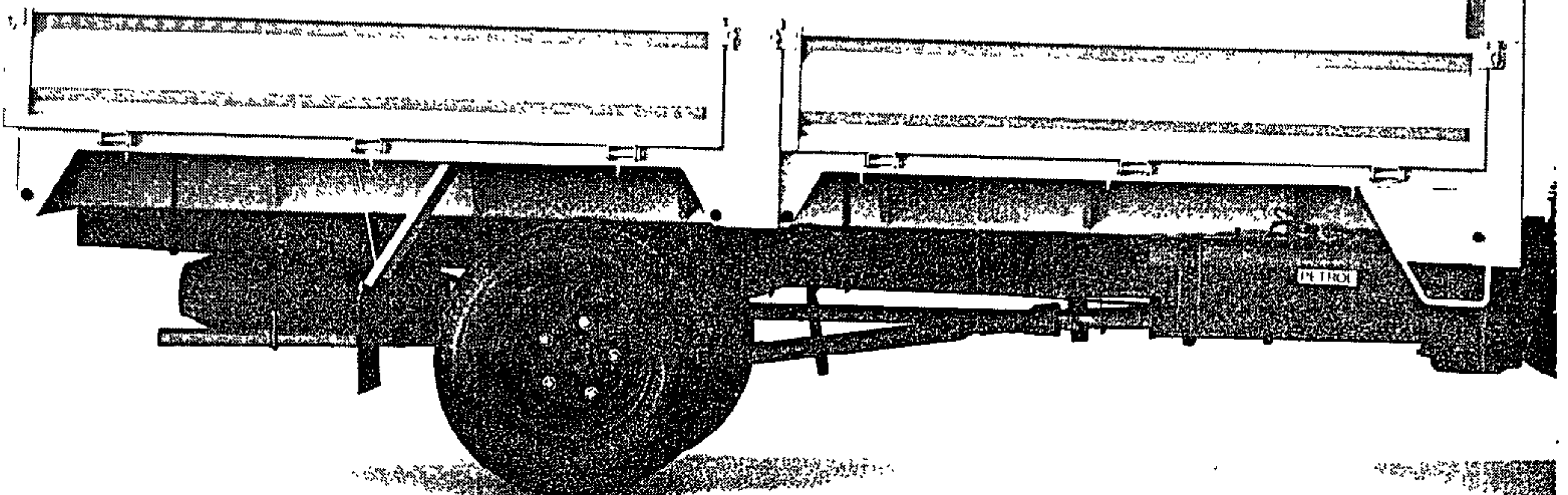
It is, he claims, the favourite topic of conversation at election meetings in the province. The voters have a lot of questions. But once its workings are explained — especially the fact that it affects only second tier government and that government will continue to have control at the top — they seem ready to accept it.

In spite of that most observers don't expect any major swings in the balance of power in Natal. The consensus seems to be that the major parties will end up roughly where they are now, give or take a few seats.

Brink, for one, is convinced the alliance candidates will hold all the seats they are contesting. He also says the NRP defectors are vulnerable and could lose their seats to the alliance.

His best forecast is 13 seats to the alliance (the 10 they hold plus the three "defection" seats), and seven to the Nats.

The seat to watch, of course, will be Port Natal where Stoffel Botha, who was so negative over the Indaba, is standing against PFP nominee Warwick Webber, and the CP's Pat Mohr.





KWAZULU-NATAL

# Executive fall-out

Tactical exchanges between the KwaZulu and South African governments over the future of the Natal Indaba appear to be continuing.

The scene of the latest verbal skirmish was the opening of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in Ulundi on March 17 by the Administrator of Natal, Radclyffe Cadman.

Officiating on behalf of the South African government, Cadman extolled the virtues of the proposed Joint Executive Authority (JEA) for Natal — which is expected to be promulgated in the *Government Gazette* shortly.

The JEA, he said, unlike "conjectural" Indabas, represented "real" and immediate power sharing — a notion which met with a sharp response from KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Replying to Cadman, Buthelezi said while the JEA did represent some progress, it did not entirely square with KwaZulu's "idea of power sharing."

For all that, Natal and KwaZulu are expected to become the first two administrations to make use of the legislation approved by parliament this year to establish joint, executive, decision-making regional bodies.

This follows some 30 months after the KwaZulu Cabinet and the Natal Provincial executive committee met in Ulundi and agreed to form two high-level but informal and non-statutory joint committees: the KwaZulu-Natal working group and strategic policy group (SPG).

The working group comprised departmental heads and secretaries from each authority, and was established to advise the SPG, which consisted of KwaZulu's Cabinet ministers and Natal's MECs (excluding the administrator). The matters of mutual concern envisaged for discussion by the SPG included health services, education, roads, planning, environmental conservation, local government, finance, and traffic control.

From these tentative beginnings, there evolved proposals for a statutory JEA consisting of an equal number of representatives from the KwaZulu Cabinet and the Natal executive committee. Proposals were submitted to government on March 11 last year and the enabling legislation, the Joint Executive Authority for KwaZulu and Natal Act was passed five months later.

Opinions, however, vary over whether the JEA is an end in itself or a means to an end. The KwaZulu government has periodically emphasised that the JEA represents a beginning of effective power sharing, and not the end. The point was driven home again this week when Oscar Dhlomo, KwaZulu's Minister of Education and Culture, noted that the JEA provided only for co-operation at



Cadman

Buthelezi

executive level.

"Without the acceptance and implementation of the Indaba proposals for the establishment of a single legislative authority, the work and effectiveness of the JEA would be minimal," he claimed.

Phase three, he said, would be to provide this executive, policy making body with a legislative arm — and this should be provided within a constitutional framework envisaged by the Indaba.

Just how far government and the KwaZulu authorities diverge on this issue was evident from Cadman's address. He claimed the Indaba had made a "significant if somewhat incomplete" contribution towards power sharing. Moreover, he added that while such exercises were conjectural, a structure for power sharing, the JEA, already enjoyed statutory authority. This meant, Cadman said, "we shall not merely be talking about power sharing, we shall actually be exercising it; it will be real."

That is apparently not a view shared by Dhlomo. Commenting on Cadman's remarks, Dhlomo said: "The JEA obviously does not provide for genuine power sharing because underlying it are two separate authorities simply co-operating in carrying out certain limited responsibilities."

Differences in interpretation there may be, but they are apparently not serious enough to halt implementation of SA's first JEA. In pursuit of their ultimate objective of a single legislative authority for the province, Dhlomo assures the *FM* that KwaZulu will be a partner in the venture. (See "Battles for Natal.")

## SATS STRIKE

### On the edge

As the *FM* went to press, the SA Railway and Harbour Workers Union (Sarhwi) met to consider an offer made by Sats management to end the 18-day strike which affected

freight and passenger services throughout the southern Transvaal. But it was hard to see an early, let alone amicable, settlement — especially if the Cosatu-affiliated union decided to stick to its demands.

These call for: the unconditional reinstatement of a worker, Andrew Nedzamba, whose dismissal over a minor "cash irregularity" precipitated the strike; pay for the duration of the dispute; and no disciplinary action against the strikers.

The dispute, which management estimates involves 12 000 workers at its 23 Witwatersrand depots, and those in Standerton and Vereeniging, has now turned into a classic recognition struggle.

Sats stood by its refusal to negotiate directly with Sarhwi. Claiming that management "is capable of coping for a lengthy period," it said more permanent arrangements would have to be made.

Consequently, Sats gave notice that it is to appoint whites on a permanent basis at, for example, City Deep. And, "those employees will not be transferred elsewhere once the strike has been called off."

Sats went on: "The action of employees on strike will determine to what extent management will act . . . It has become evident at certain centres where employees have been striking that the number of employees is in excess of the demand, and Sats will be able to cope with fewer employees forthwith."

Sats also said that "spokesmen for the employees on strike" undertook at a meeting with its chief negotiator, Brian Berndt, on Monday to "give an indication when strikers will return to work." They had also asked management "to consider appointing a mediator" to deal with Nedzamba's case.

The latter issue, according to a Sats spokesman, never arose at Tuesday's discussions, at which the main topic was the R80 fine imposed on Nedzamba by Sats. The strike representatives, he added, said they'd have to refer the Sats proposals to their leaders, before requesting a further meeting.

Sats says it remains management's "viewpoint that the matter had thus far been strictly dealt with in accordance with prescribed procedures and Andrew had to make full use of channels of appeal. If he fails to do so, his case cannot be reconsidered."

Sats maintains it cannot unilaterally change or deviate from existing disciplinary and grievance procedures "in Andrew's case." Yet, it is prepared to re-negotiate this at a later stage with the *recognised* unions.

Further, management is "unyielding" in its stance that employees on strike will not be paid for the period they do not work. "That will also be the case should Andrew be exon-



# Big spenders

W/C-AR 6/5  
4/4/87  
304A

By MARK STANSFIELD  
Weekend Argus Reporter

POLITICAL parties are spending more money than ever in an attempt to woo voters for the crucial May 6 election.

As accusations fly over fundraising methods and procedures, millions of rands are being poured into campaigns for the country's 166 seats in the House of Assembly.

Biggest spenders will be the Nationalists.

NP candidate Mr Piet Marais, fighting for the Stellenbosch seat against independent Dr Esther Lategan, estimated that his campaign would cost "nothing less than R30 000".

Taking an average cost of R20 000 for each candidate, the National Party will spend in excess of R3-million — and that excludes the costs of additional "super-propaganda".

The Nationalists have produced a specially-pressed record of President P W Botha asking for votes, which alone cost about R520 000.

The National Party has been placing large colour advertisements in major newspapers, each costing several thousand rands, and has ordered hundreds of thousands of extra copies of The Nationalist.

"Elections are very expen-

sive," said Mr Jannie Momberg, speaking from Dr Denis Worrall's Helderberg campaign office.

He could not predict the total cost of the campaign but said it would be "somewhere between R100 000 and R150 000" — excluding production of videotapes in English and Afrikaans.

Mr Robin Carlisle, PFP general secretary, said SABC rules banned political advertising on TV or radio.

"This creates a key area of expense for the PFP. While the Government gets an enormous amount of coverage, we have to use other ways."

Mr Carlisle said the cost of a campaign would vary, depend-

ing on whether a candidate was a party member or an independent.

"The PFP will spend between R30 000 and R35 000 on a hotly contested constituency, whereas the NP will spend between R55 000 and R75 000."

He refused to say how much the PFP was spending on the election — "but we're running a very powerful advertising campaign compared to the last one," he added.

The Conservative Party's Cape secretary, Mr Reyno Louw, said the party could spend "anything from R10 000 to R60 000" in a constituency.

"The NP can manipulate SATV and it has its own newspapers. That means we have to spend more on ordinary propaganda such as posters, pamphlets and brochures."

Mr Henry Wiggins, campaign manager for Dr Lategan, said the biggest cost was pamphlets and leaflets.

"We're the poorest of the independents but people are offering to help us with things like printing."

Mrs Riena Reyneke, the HNP's Vasco candidate, said her party was made up of poor people.

(Report by M Stansfield, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

## Tips — and a TV bonus

WEEKEND Argus carries details of runners and tips for Monday's holiday racing — See Page 18.

The Argus will be published as usual on Monday, Founders' Day. It will be available soon after noon.



# Top Fair Lady staffers quit

By DICK USHER  
Weekend Argus Reporter

TWO top Nasionale Pers journalists have resigned in a dispute over publication of an article about independent parliamentary candidate Dr Denis Worrall.

Mrs Dene Smuts and Mrs Erica Platter, editor and assistant editor of Fair Lady, resigned yesterday because an article on Dr Worrall planned for the magazine's next issue was withdrawn on management orders.

The resignations followed the departure of Dr Wimpie de Klerk, who resigned as editor of Rapport, and Mr David de Villiers who last month resigned from the board of Nasionale Pers.

Mrs Smuts said the article, written by her, had already been placed in Fair Lady when she was asked if it could be read by management, who told her it could not be published.

"I cannot do the job of journalist, serving the interests and needs of the enlightened Fair Lady readership if I do not have the editorial independence I have always insisted must be a condition of my editorship," she said.

Mr Ton Vosloo, managing director of Nasionale Pers, said in a statement that for some time Mrs Smuts had been "presenting contentious political viewpoints without the necessary objectivity and depth of knowledge" which could have made them acceptable to the full range of the magazine's readers.

It had long been the company's policy that party political controversy should be avoided in the columns of its consumer magazines. Vehicles for this had always been the group's newspapers, he said.

Dr Worrall said the refusal to publish the article was "just another sign of panic within the National Party ranks and of the desperate attempts by a faithful few in Nasionale Pers to prevent an old and exhausted political order from cracking up.

● A large number of the editorial staff of Fair Lady held a meeting and issued a statement in support of Dene Smuts and Erica Platter yesterday.

(Report by D Usher, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)



# Interference with the media

*W/E 4/4/82*  
**A President called "Dada" in the inner circles.**

**An Afrikaans Press which is cajoled, threatened and bullied into line by a Government which will brook no dissent.**

**An SABC which dares do no other than echo His Master's Voice.**

ALL this and more was disclosed in a speech to the Cape Town Press Club this week by the doyen — until his shock resignation as editor of Rapport — of Afrikaans newspaperdom, Dr Wimpie de Klerk.

It was his first public utterance since his symbolic walk-out and he opened a can of worms which will provide an embarrassment to the National Party and give cause for a major rethink in the hierarchy of Afrikaans newspapers.

Dr de Klerk, in fact, warned that the Government was tampering with the very foundations of democracy by interfering with the media and he specifically

named the Afrikaans Press and the SABC.

This was also the first opportunity in the entire career of this highly respected political guru where he could really say what he felt about the political direction, or lack of it, in this country. Until now he has been confined by party political pressures and he has found it extremely difficult to spell out his view of the bottom line.

## Lambasted

In the process he also sketched the circumstances in which he and other Afrikaans editors have to work.

They are lambasted by Government if they take what is seen as the "wrong" line, their directors are poisoned against them, they are denigrated and — he regards this as the most humiliating of all — they receive what he terms "red carpet" treatment.

This was a clear reference to interference from the very top — by President Botha himself — and Dr de Klerk said it was impossible to have a "logical" discussion with the person involved.

His political prognosis: The set-up in Parliament will be very much as it is now after the election. But the plus/minus 22 percent of so-called "Fast Nats" within the party, and they are to be found even at Cabinet level, will have to decide soon how they plan to pressure the Government into real change.

He believes it will be an internal push rather than the often predicted tear in the governing party.

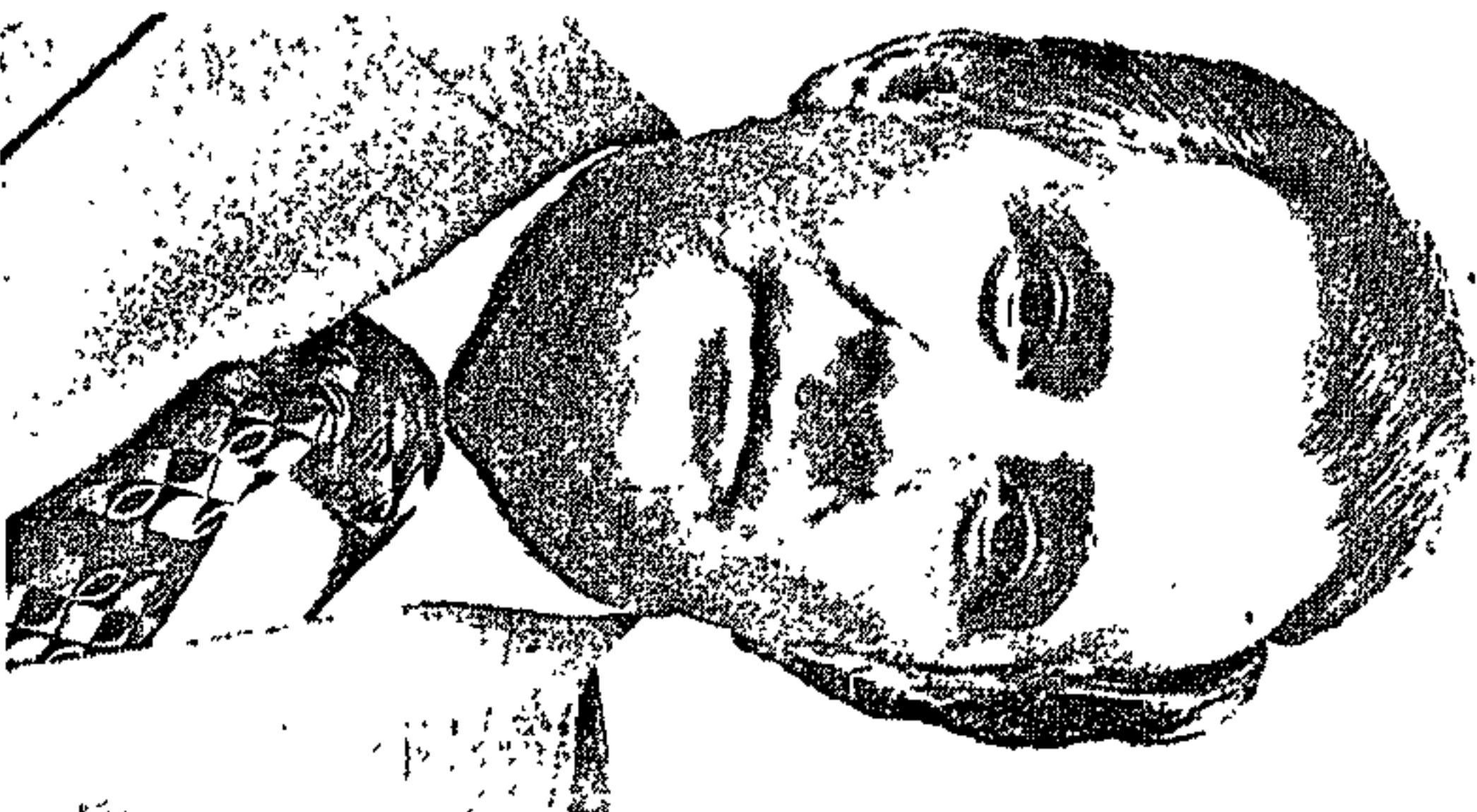
In his view the Government will win the election convincingly and it has — in spite of what is said about it — a good record on reform.

But the big question is what will happen in the NP in regard to post-election politics.

In his view there is a perception that a clearer vision should be given to the cornerstones of compromise politics. People were beginning to deduce that power-sharing, negotiation and one citizenship were not the *leitmotiv* of reform.

At the same time the Government was being questioned on three main core elements of its policy. They are:

by JOHN MACLENNAN  
 Political Staff



Dr de Klerk

- Building a new future with four racial groups as the foundation.

- The retention of the Group Areas and Population Registration Acts.

- The establishments of city states to accommodate urban blacks.

These, he maintains, are questions the Government will have to address. They cannot just be wiped off the slate.

In his view the independent movement would have succeeded if it could have made the Government more sensitive to what is happening to the left of the Government. In fact, he said, if the Government had provided proof of greater openness on these issues there would have been no need for the independents.

It is his hope that the NP will be able to generate power for change from within in order to reposition itself in regard to tempo, style, negotiation, vision, discriminatory laws and constitutional negotiation away from racial group ideas.

But the burden of the message from a man who quit through conscience and admits he has no idea what he is going to do with the rest of his life was devoted to the shackles the Government places on Afrikaans newspapers.

He referred to the "authoritarian manner in which this Government handles the NP-sympathetic media, which comes down to an insult to Afrikaans political journalism."

Rules of the game, world-wide, were that there should be confrontation between governments and the Press. But in South Africa there had always been an understanding that Afrikaans newspapers should play a questioning and reconnaissance role.

## Complaints

But in the past two years there had been a real change. "The atmosphere between the Government and its sympathetic Press became tense."

This took the form of complaints by Government members over so-called "negative" reporting, the demand that Afrikaans newspapers should be Government mouthpieces "finish en klaar", irritable criticism of anything which did not slavishly follow the party line, pressures on directors, "bosses" and editors to march in the NP parade, and an inordinate fussy fault-finding which led to tension.

He warned that as a result the credibility of Afrikaans political journalism was now being affected and was being inhibited. Dr de Klerk blamed this on a nervousness in Government circles over the consequences of reform politics. A, B and C might have been said, but the Government wanted to punish the Afrikaans Press if it attempted to spell out the consequent D.

He said all Afrikaans newspapers were required to obey a "toe the line

commandment" even though they might deny it like the three monkeys who did not see, hear or speak any evil.

The Government's unhappiness with the Afrikaans Press contained a mixture of hurt and aggression. It was complex mixture which said something on the lines of: "Look what we have done for the country. Why don't you accept it?"

He added: "It is amazing that many political leaders in this country have absolutely no conception of what a newspaper is and what it is supposed to do."

He added: "Our function is being affected by Government attitudes. We are inhibited and there are conscious efforts to reduce Afrikaans political journalism to propaganda..."

"There is protest in Afrikaans media circles over the style, content, propagandistic demands which undermine its independence and credibility."

## Important role

"I want to plead with the Government to temper its style and demands on Afrikaans political journalism for the sake of the important role the Afrikaans media and its credibility can play in times ahead. The Afrikaans media should still, as in the seventies, show the way for further political reform."

"The way for P.W. Botha's reforms was determined by Afrikaners through the Afrikaans Press. And the Afrikaans Press must also take responsibility for the way of policy changes which are inevitable in the future if we want to build a peaceful and prosperous South Africa."

"As long as Afrikaans journalism understands that there is not one sole truth — such as spelled out in terms of the Messianic complex of some National Party speakers, that there is not a sole route — as provided by a Messiah for South Africa and its people..."

"The Afrikaans Press must keep on questioning and making reconnaissance otherwise it will be doing a disservice not only to its function and its tradition but to the political future of this country."

(Report by J MacLennan, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)



# t over election

by KAREN STANDER  
Weekend Argus Reporter

WHILE slamming the May 6 election for whites as unrepresentative and meaningless, opinion is divided in the "English" churches on how members should approach the election.

This is in contrast to the 1983 referendum on the tricameral system, when several churches, including the Anglicans, Methodists and Catholics, called for a no-vote.

Anglican Dean of Cape Town, the Very Rev Ted King, described as "appalling" and "a bit wierd" that all three of his bishops (Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Bishops-Suffragan Patrick Matolengwe and Charles Albertyn) could not vote.

Professor Charles Villa-Vicencio, head of the department of Religious Studies at the University of Cape Town, challenged the Church to call for whites not to vote.

He said having called for a "no-vote" in the referendum, it seemed a logical consequence of that position to call for whites not to vote.

Dean King said Archbishop Tutu had made it quite clear that he considered the election to be irrelevant, but the Anglican church had taken no official line.

"It wouldn't be proper for the church to do so," he said.

He would use his vote because he did not want to "opt out altogether".

"Although I believe that the election is totally unrepresentative and meaningless overall, as long as there is an institution such as Parliament I feel some responsibility towards whoever is supposed to represent me," Dean King said



TUTU

The Catholic Church said that members had to choose "between two evils".

"Participating may appear the lesser evil," said a statement by the South African Catholic Bishops conference.

The bishops slammed the whites-only election as a "perpetuation and consolidation of the unjust and evil policy of apartheid" and expressed dismay that such an election could still be held in which only whites would vote.

They said circumstances sometime arose in which "for the sake of what conscience dictates we involve ourselves in something less than good".

"In this case, the two evils would be, on the one hand participating in an unjust election, on the other abstaining from voting or campaigning when we judge in conscience that voting or campaigning may produce some good."

## PRESBYTERIANS

In an article in the official newspaper Presbyterian Life, Dr Greg Cuthbertson, who serves on the church's committees on church and nation and worship, answered a series of questions on how Christians should approach the election.

He said it would be presumptuous to tell people whether to vote or not to vote. Christians were faced with a dilemma because on the one hand they were faced with an election which excluded participation by the majority "and therefore the whole ritual seems a farce".



MATOLENGWE

White voters could responsibly decide to boycott the election in protest and "in order to show solidarity with fellow black Presbyterians who are denied the vote".

"Given that this will probably be the unpopular choice, I would strongly urge Christian voters to indicate their outrage at the flagrant abuse of power which has characterised government rule for decades".

Dr Cuthbertson said that if Christians did vote, they should only support candidates who were against apartheid in any guise — "reformed or unreformed" and who "unequivocally advocated the extension of political rights to all South Africans irrespective of race".

"If we use our vote it should strike a blow at oppression," he said.

Chairman of the Good Hope District of the Methodist Church, the Rev James Gribble, said the leadership of his church had not yet put out a statement on the elections but would probably do so at the end of the month.

He was not prepared to comment on his personal view.

The Rev Alan Brews, of the Buitenkant Methodist Church, said he would not be casting a vote.

Articulating the alternative view that churches should advise members to abstain from voting, he said that if the church took its mission seriously it had to address the issues of the society in which it existed.

(Report by K Stander, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)



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Opinion



Political Survey  
By GERALD SHAW

THE central question of the general election remains peace and security and how to achieve it. As General Malan and others have made clear, the National Party offers the big stick, thumping the black resistance into submission and keeping the state of emergency firmly in place.

The PFP-NRP-independent alliance of moderates places much greater emphasis on negotiation with blacks from a position of strength.

These contrasting approaches are reflected in the campaign and in the letters column on this page, most recently in an exchange between the PFP's Mr Ken Andrew MP, and his NP challenger, Mr Japie Basson.

Mr Basson, a seasoned veteran of many a campaign, is seeking to portray the PFP as soft on communism and not to be trusted with the country's security.

Mr Andrew is concerned to refute this, and on the whole he has common sense on his side.

It does seem unlikely, on reflection, that Mr Harry Oppenheimer and the other top capitalists and financial leaders of the more far-sighted kind who support the PFP should at the same time be "soft on communism" or subject to weak-minded illusions about national security.

If the debate can be lifted above the level of petty scare tactics and boring wrangles about PFP policy statements of 10 years ago, some measure of public enlightenment might result.

The PFP position, as I understand it, is that the ANC and the other banned organizations should be unbanned to enable the arena of legitimate political discourse to be extended to the entire South African community, paving the way for a suspension and ultimately a cessation of violence and negotiation of black political rights. At all stages the full might of the state and of the law would be brought to bear against any organization or individual who sought to pursue political objectives by violent or otherwise illegal means.

The NP position appears unclear and contradictory but appears to lay down that there can be no question of unbanning the "communist-controlled" ANC.

To appease the few lonely verities who might yet remain on the fringes of the NP, a proviso is sometimes added that the ANC could be unbanned if it renounced violence, although this is

Unbanning ANC will  
kill SACP influence



Mr Ken Andrew

seldom put forward with great conviction.

If the ANC is really as communist-dominated as the National Party insists, would they really consider unbanning such a dangerous organization, violence or no violence?

The Botha government's view is that the ANC can be and should be exterminated, wiped off the face of the earth. There is no genuine intention to negotiate.

That being so, a vote for the National Party on May 6 is a vote for continuing conflict, with a muzzled press and even more profound public ignorance of what is going on in the townships.

The state of emergency would continue indefinitely, particularly if the government is encouraged by the voters on May 6 to persevere with its present course.

What are the economic implications? As the international financial community grasps that South Africa is not going to collapse in revolutionary



Mr Japie Basson

chaos overnight, but is merely sliding into a prolonged state of siege, there will be some improvement in perceptions.

This improvement is already taking place, in fact, and should assist the short-term recovery, possibly a mini-boom, which is now in train.

But the economic revival cannot be sustained on the longer run in the absence of a political settlement.

Such a settlement will be impossible without the African National Congress, whatever Mr Japie Basson or other NP candidates may now be saying.

I remember a younger and wiser Japie Basson whose foresight and spell-binding oratory in the House of Assembly inspired a generation of young South Africans to fight Verwoerdian apartheid. Whatever happened to him?

It is sad to see this same Japie Basson supporting

group areas and the most miserable variety of scare propaganda.

The truth about the African National Congress is plain enough, also to Mr Basson himself.

It is the oldest nationalist organization in Africa — older by two years or so than the National Party of Afrikanerdom — having been established under Christian auspices in 1912 and having persisted in the politics of petition and persuasion for more than half a century, as Mr Basson knows, before finally opting for the so-called "armed struggle" — only after being banned and forced underground by the Verwoerd government in the Sharpeville emergency of 1960.

And the communist connection? This became really significant in the late 1950s in the so-called Congress Alliance between the ANC and the white leftists of the Congress of Democrats.

And once the ANC became committed in principle to violence, the communist connection became absolutely crucial — because the only source of weaponry was the Soviet Union and its satellites.

People like the SACP's Mr Joe Slovo, going into exile, were useful to the ANC in providing a link with potential armours behind the Iron Curtain.

As long as the ANC is excluded from legitimate politics in South Africa and so remains committed to a policy of violence, so long will the communist connection remain. But what would happen if the ANC was unbanned?

It is probable that the communist influence would fade rapidly in an open political contest. Theoretical Marxism and the Soviet Union, which are hardly dominant in the ANC anyway, would steadily wane, if the Soviet Union's track record elsewhere in Africa is anything to go on.

As long as the ANC remains in the business of violent revolution, however, the communists will be in their element.

The one thing which would emasculate the SACP is the unbanning of the ANC and the SACP and their return to legitimate politics.

A legalized Communist Party in South Africa would fare miserably at the polls, as it does in Britain and in all democratic countries where it is allowed to operate as long as it obeys the law.

What the Soviet Union and the SACP want is a continuation of the present Nationalist policies of unrelenting group area racism and repression.

Such policies, promoting resentment and endemic unrest, are playing right into their hands.

The question before white voters is plain enough — do they want negotiation or conflict, sustained economic growth or eventual stagnation?

Do they favour unbanning the ANC and a negotiated compromise — or a fight to the finish?



# Easter message a living hope

By RAYMOND HILL

THE spiritual importance of Easter and the influence of Christian values on bringing about change in South Africa have been emphasised by prominent church leaders in the Eastern Cape in specially prepared messages for Weekend Post readers.

The Rev George Irvine, chairman of the Methodist Church's Grahamstown district, said everyone should live out the dream for a new South Africa this Easter.

While many white South Africans would be going to the polls soon, it should be remembered that no human political system or party had all the answers.

"Those of us who vote will do so prayerfully and according to the dictates of our conscience.

"But let our conscience be enthused and informed by God's great dream of Shalom for all people.

"Because of Easter, then, we can dream of a new South Africa in the light of a risen Lord," he said.

Human pride, avarice, fear and prejudice were a few of the obstacles in the way of such a dream.

"But let us get on with it. Jesus lives. His spirit has been given to us."

The Roman Catholic Bishop of Port Elizabeth, the Rt Rev Michael Coleman, said:

"Our Lord is alive. Let us in our country, beset by injustices and trials, be alive to Him and allow His power to penetrate the structures of our society.

"He is the source of any



**Bishop MICHAEL COLEMAN**  
Roman Catholic



**The Rev GEORGE IRVINE**  
Methodist



**The Rev SAM ARENDS**  
Congregational



**Bishop BRUCE EVANS**  
CPSA (Anglican)

hope for the future, and it is from Him that our resurrection comes."

All economic measures, political posturing or social insights were destined to fail unless Christians had the courage to invite Him in all these processes of change and allow His message to influence the country's planning.

The Rt Rev Bruce Evans, Anglican Bishop of Port Elizabeth, said the Easter message was that recon-

ciliation with God and one another was a reality.

If this was accepted, justice and love would be the character of our society.

"And in Christ, who is alive, we can all experience that blessing."

Everybody would then serve each other lovingly, live without judging their neighbours, and trust in God instead of military might, setting free those who were captive and

against whom no charges had been brought.

The Rev Sam Arends, chairman of the Algoa regional council of the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa, said he wished to remind people this Easter that although freedom was uppermost in their minds, it could only be attained in Christ.

"My plea is that they should allow Christ to take control of their lives if they want South Africa to be freed from the shackles of fear, hatred, mistrust, suspicion and selfishness."

The Rev Roger Tucker, minister of St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Walmer, said his wish was that Easter would become a "glorious celebration" of the fact that Jesus was alive today.

"It is my wish that as you come to worship Jesus this Easter, you will not be coming to an empty tomb, but that you will meet God's living, risen Son.

"The wonder of Easter, for Mary Magdalene, was that as she stood weeping outside the tomb the living, risen Lord Jesus Christ met her."

Ds D J Marais, moderator of the NG Kerk in the Eastern Cape, said:

"May God bless us all this Easter time when our hearts shall sing again.

"Death is swallowed up in victory, and by believing in Him we know that we are more than conquerors.

"The meaning of the resurrection of our Lord from death is that God 'can, and will' save."

# Police probe Wiley death

Cape Times 4/4/07 30443

By CHRIS STEYN

POLICE are investigating rumours in the wake of the death of the former Minister of Environment and Water Affairs, Mr John Wiley, early on Sunday morning, including one related to the suicide of a Port Elizabeth businessman Mr Dave Allen.

A police spokesman said last night that there was no evidence available "at this stage" to suggest that rumours surrounding the death of Mr Wiley were true.

The police called on newspapers to await the outcome of a pending inquest.

Besieged with lengthy lists of questions from journalists all over the country, the Law and Order Press Secretary, Brigadier Leon Mellet, said earlier yesterday: "The South African Police is not prepared to reply to speculative

questions. All the circumstances relating to Mr Wiley's death will be dealt with fully during public inquest proceedings."

He could not say when the inquest would be held.

Official sources have privately expressed concern that the death of the colourful Mr Wiley, and the mysterious circumstances of his death, could harm the government politically.

Earlier this week senior state pathologist Dr Leendert van Ieperen said that his post-mortem report had been handed to magistrates via the police, but he was not able to say when the formal cause of Mr Wiley's death would be known.

A persistent rumour of a mystery visit by two police colonels to the Noordhoek home of Mr Wiley before his death — and which was mentioned in the Financial Mail this week — has

gained momentum.

Repeated attempts by the Cape Times to obtain clarification regarding this visit have failed. High-ranking police sources have steadfastly declined to issue an on-the-record denial of the visit.

Official sources said, however, that, following Mr Wiley's death, police had investigated — among other allegations — the relationship between him and Mr Allen, who shot himself six weeks ago.

Police investigations were continuing, but official sources said the "first stage" of the inquiry had not produced any proof of anything illegal.

The full statement issued by the Directorate of Public Relations for the South African Police last night said: "Following numerous questions put to the SAP by various newspapers in regard to the death of Mr John Wiley, it has become

evident that rumours surrounding the death of the former minister are being wilfully spread.

"It is also obvious that attempts are being made to cast a slur and to link Mr Wiley's death with the death of other persons."

"The SAP wishes to emphasize that from the evidence available at this stage there is no evidence whatsoever to substantiate any of these rumours. In fact it has already been established beyond any doubt that some of the rumours are blatantly false.

"A full public inquest into Mr Wiley's death will follow in due course and all relevant evidence will be publicly tested.

"The SAP therefore urges the media and others concerned to refrain from spreading any unsubstantiated and untested rumours and to await the outcome of the inquest."

Rumours



# Editor quits over Worrall

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By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**THE editor and assistant editor of Fair Lady resigned in protest yesterday because the magazine's government-supporting publishers, Nasionale Pers, suppressed the publication of a interview with Dr Denis Worrall.**

News of their resignation coincided with charges by the former editor of Rapport, Dr Wimpie de Klerk, that mounting government pressure and "autocratic" treatment of the Afrikaans-language press amounted to an "insult" to Afrikaner journalism and "reduces us to propaganda institutions".

The editor of Fair Lady, Ms Dene Smuts, said last night that she had no choice but to resign because it had become necessary to protect her "journalistic reputation and integrity" in the face of "political pressure".

Ms Smuts, a two-times winner of the Stellenbosch Farmers' Winery award for excellence in journalism, said: "I cannot do the job of a journalist, serve the interests and needs of the enlightened Fair Lady readership or those of a country looking for ways out of its current crisis if I do not have the editorial independence I have always insisted must be a condition of my editorship."

Ms Smuts emphasized that she was "not into party politics" and took pride, together with the Fair Lady team, in the "circulation and financial performance" of the magazine.

Reacting to the resignation, the managing director of Nasionale Pers, Mr Ton Vosloo, said it had long been the policy of Nasionale Media that party political controversy should be avoided in the columns of its consumer magazines.

However, over a period of time Ms Smuts "has been presenting contentious political viewpoints without the objectivity, detachment and, indeed, the depth of knowledge which could have made it acceptable to the full range of her readership", he said.

However, Mr Vosloo said he wished to thank Ms Smuts "for excellent and often extremely demanding service during many years of creative association".

Ms Smuts disclosed that she had offered her resignation to Nasionale Pers last year "for similar reasons" but had remained in her post after management had reiterated a guarantee as to her editorial independence.

The assistant editor, Ms Erica Platter, said the action of Nasionale Pers in suppressing the feature — due to appear in the next issue — was an attempt "to muzzle the magazine and erode its editorial independence".

She said that, like Ms Smuts, she held no brief for Dr Worrall but she did hold dear the principle of the free flow of information.

"In stifling this story, Nasionale Pers are threatening this principle," Ms Platter said.

A large number of the editorial staff of the magazine attended a meeting and issued a statement to Sapa yes-

From page 1

terday which said "we very much regret the Nasionale Pers decision to withdraw the Denis Worrall feature".

"We would like it to be known that we fully support the stand taken by Dene Smuts and Erica Platter."

"We believe that editorial independence should not be impinged upon and we will strive to maintain the integrity which is fundamental to Fair Lady," it said.

Dr Worrall, the independent Helderberg candidate, said last night: "This is just another sign of panic within the National Party ranks, and the desperate attempts by a faithful few in Nasionale Pers to prevent an old and exhausted political order from cracking up."

"It is also sad that a mighty organization, like Nasionale Pers, no longer allows its journalists their basic right to political objectivity and fairness. However there comes a time when decent people refuse to have their values compromised," Dr Worrall said.

Addressing a Cape Town Press club lunch yesterday, Dr De Klerk noted that he was not alone in his protest resignation from the country's largest Afrikaans-language newspaper as he had just been informed that Ms Smuts and Ms Platter, "had resigned for the same type of protest as I resigned".

Dr Klerk noted that government pressure on the "friendly" Afrikaans media had steadily increased over the past two years and had reached "monstrous" proportions on the SABC.

"There followed a continuous criticism and blatant intervention which brought mounting tensions."

"This toe-the-line syndrome is just like the three little monkeys — it is a never-seen, never-heard and never-spoken-of toeing of the line."

"Our credibility and function is impaired by these attitudes and inhibits and reduces us to propaganda institutions," Dr de Klerk said.

(Report by Anthony Johnson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

To Page 2

# Zolani 4 get service sentences

By SHAUNA WESTCOTT  
Supreme Court Reporter

A HISTORIC sentence, aimed at effecting reconciliation in a bitterly divided community, was imposed by Mr Justice D M Williamson in the Supreme Court yesterday on four Zolani activists convicted of public violence.

The sentence, comprising suspended jail terms, compensatory payments to the victims and a two-year period of community service, was passed on Samuel Mangcola, 30, Charles Msoki, 44, Timothy Tyhalisitu, 40, and Lemi Mhlomi, 25.

It is the first sentence imposed in the recent spate of public violence cases that has not involved imprisonment.

The four — convicted of stoning the house and car of Mr Jim Calata and of stoning and setting alight the car of Mr Stanford Matroos — were sentenced to six years conditionally suspended for five years.

They were ordered to pay compensation of R4 500 and R4 000 to Mr Matroos and Mr Calata respectively, with interest of 15% calculated from yesterday. Each is to pay R500 immediately to each man from their bail money.

Thereafter they are each to pay monthly instalments of between R20 and R30.

In addition they were ordered to perform two years of community service from 8am to 4pm every Saturday. They are not to be under the influence of liquor or drugs while doing so and must work two extra Saturdays for every Saturday missed for whatever reason.

Mr Justice Williamson said that had anyone been injured as a result of the men's actions, he would not have had any hesitation in sending them to jail "for a long time".

"This is not to say that jail is not an appropriate sentence for public violence where no injury to persons is caused. But circumstances alter cases and this case has fea-

tures which make it somewhat different to the type of public violence which has unfortunately been so common in recent times where indiscriminate attacks are launched on innocent members of the public."

The judge said he was impressed by the evidence of Mr David Bosch, a former advice office worker in the area, who was "obviously a person who cares deeply and who became involved in Zolani community affairs".

The thrust of Mr Bosch's evidence was that "quite a large section of the Zolani community felt frustrated and upset at not being able to curb the excessive zeal of the vigilantes which they felt was connived at by the police".

Evidence has been that both Mr Calata and Mr Matroos were vigilantes.

Mr Justice Williamson said he was unable to make a finding on this issue, which had not been fully canvassed in evidence. "Nevertheless, I am left with the uneasy

impression that there may have been a reluctance on the part of the authorities to receive and act on complaints against the vigilantes," he said.

A "spiral of violence" ensued and the accused had acted "in revenge and retaliation for the grievances" they felt they had against the vigilantes.

Although neither this nor anything else could justify their display of organized violence, the judge said, he had considered the appeal from counsel for the four, Mr J R Whitehead, that he should pass a sentence that would effect reconciliation in the community rather than aggravate or prolong current resentments.

"Perhaps I am being too lenient," Mr Justice Williamson said, "but I have decided to give you the opportunity to pay for your misdeeds in a way that does not involve the destructiveness of prison."

Mr G Titterton was an assessor. Mr C Culliers appeared for the State.

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Reports by Sapa-Reuter, AP and UPI



# Assessor disputes dismissal

Sunday Times Reporter

THE controversial Delmas treason trial took another turn this weekend when Professor Willem Joubert issued a statement again challenging the judge's decision to dismiss him as an assessor.

Mr Justice K van Dijkhorst dismissed Professor Joubert because he had signed the United Democratic Front's "One Million Signature" campaign.

The judge said the UDF campaign was a significant factor in the State's case against the 19 accused and as such merited dispassionate consideration by the assessors.

Professor Joubert has sent his statement, detailing his side of the affair, to many prominent South Africans, including President Botha and Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee.

He is awaiting a response.

(304A) S1487

# Election: shock new trend emerges

DAVID BRAUN  
Political Correspondent

A shock new trend is emerging in the run-up to the election. With one month to polling day, political parties are hitting a wall of voter rejection.

In spite of 750 000 new voters, and a record number of candidates for a general election, if the campaign fails to generate more enthusiasm, the new House of Assembly could be elected on one of the lowest percentage polls in history, said political analyst Professor Willem Kleynhans.

Political observers say that the cause appears to be the opposition parties' inability to excite the electorate. This is borne out by the appallingly low attendance figures at their public meetings so far.

If the trend is not reversed it could, the analysts said, lead to a reduced voter turnout on May 6, which would certainly assist the National Party. It could even gain seats because of it.

"Tired old political clichés are no longer exciting the electorate," Professor Kleynhans said last night.

Countrywide, the attendance figures at meetings of all political parties were so far appalling, he said. Not even Mr Pik Botha has been able to attract the large audiences he had previously.

The apathy was across-the-board and it had affected

● To Page 2

## Election

● From Page 1

all parties, he said, including the National Party. But ironically this could be the one party to benefit from it all.

"The Nationalists are so entrenched they can afford to lose voters and still be on top. The opposition parties cannot."

Professor Kleynhans said surveys had shown there was support for the Progressive Federal Party, but the party had seemed unable to mobilise it. There had not been much enthusiasm even at the launching of its individual constituency campaigns.

The official Opposition has been plagued by political setbacks and organisational problems.

Leading members of the PFP are privately furious at the way the party's campaign is being organised and conducted.

The low turnout of the public at this week's Southern Transvaal PFP election launch meeting in Johannesburg was the subject of bitter recriminations in the highest ranks of the party.

Highly-placed PFP parliamentarians, who for obvious reasons would not be named, confided that they are not at all happy with the way their party's election campaign is being run. They also do not like the way the PFP seems to have taken a back seat while the three independent candidates, which the party is endorsing, are hogging all the limelight.

If there is restrained enthusiasm for the PFP, there is even less enthusiasm for the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party, as apathy seems to have set in following their inability to form an election pact.

The National Party has meanwhile been dealt a series of blows in recent weeks, the latest being a series of allegations about the party's fund-raising techniques and sources (hotly denied by NP leaders).

This development is potentially damaging for the party in view of President Botha's widely publicised attack on the independents' funding.

Sensational speculation about the motives for Mr John Wiley's suicide may also have a detrimental affect on the NP's fortunes.

Independent candidate for Helderberg, Dr Denis Worrall, this week said the level of fluidity in the white electorate and the frustration of voters with the existing political parties had, according to a recent opinion poll, caused a surge of support for the independents. At more than 7 percent of the electorate, its support was now half that of the Conservative Party's and three times that of the New Republic Party's.

● Spokesmen for both the PFP and the NP said last night that they believed there would be a high turnout of voters on May 6. They both said their parties had encountered tremendous interest in the election.

● Report by DM Braun, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.



Wink 304A  
Page 8  
S/14/81  
S. Times

**I'm going to vote PFP because they've got the courage to put aside party politics to form an alliance of moderates.**

I'm going to vote PFP because they're bringing talented people together to build a new South Africa.

I'm going to vote PFP because I agree with them and Wynand Malan that there must be real negotiation.

I'm going to vote PFP because they agree with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's efforts in the KwaNatal Indaba.

I'm going to vote PFP because I agree with them and Denis Worrall that there should be real power sharing.

I'm going to vote PFP because they agree with Wimpie De Klerk about National Party intolerance of uninhibited political reporting.

I'm going to vote PFP because they agree with the

Stellenbosch professors that the Group Areas Act must go.

I'm going to vote PFP because I agree with Harry Schwarz about the Government's mismanagement of the economy.

I'm going to vote PFP because I agree with Helen Suzman that the detention of children is wrong.

I'm going to vote PFP because I agree with Colin Eglin that the time has come to form an alliance of moderates to replace the Government.

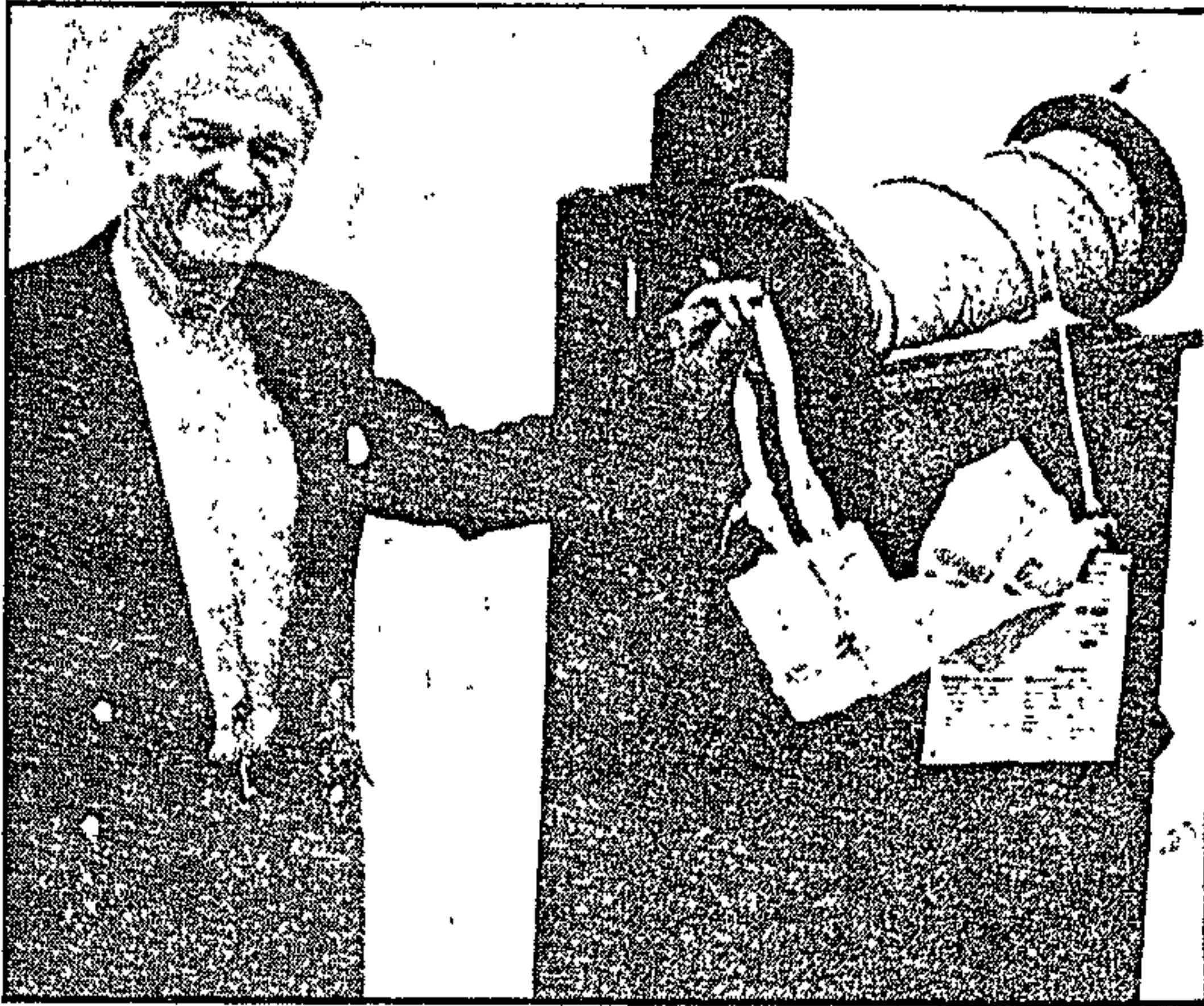
I'm going to vote PFP because I want a new, better South Africa with security for me, security for my family and security for all South Africans.

**I'm going to vote PFP.**





## DEATH OF A POLITICAL SURVIVOR: MANY FACES OF



John Wiley after attempting to rescue a surfer off Strandfontein in July 1980



Romantically linked ... Linda Christian and a younger

# Wiley, the Eni

**IN POLITICS** he was relentless ... in his private life intriguing.

John Wiley built up a reputation as a political survivor, earning the rare distinction of being elected to the same constituency for three different parties.

And in his relations with women he carried with him a rakish quality: married three times, romantically linked with a famous actress, fiercely sought by some of the Cape Town and Pretoria social set.

For whatever reason, John Wiley, Oxford law graduate, Cabinet Minister and MP for Simon's Town, ended his life in his Noordhoek house last Sunday.

He was within sight of the sea and the beach he loved, and which ran as a theme throughout his personal and professional life.

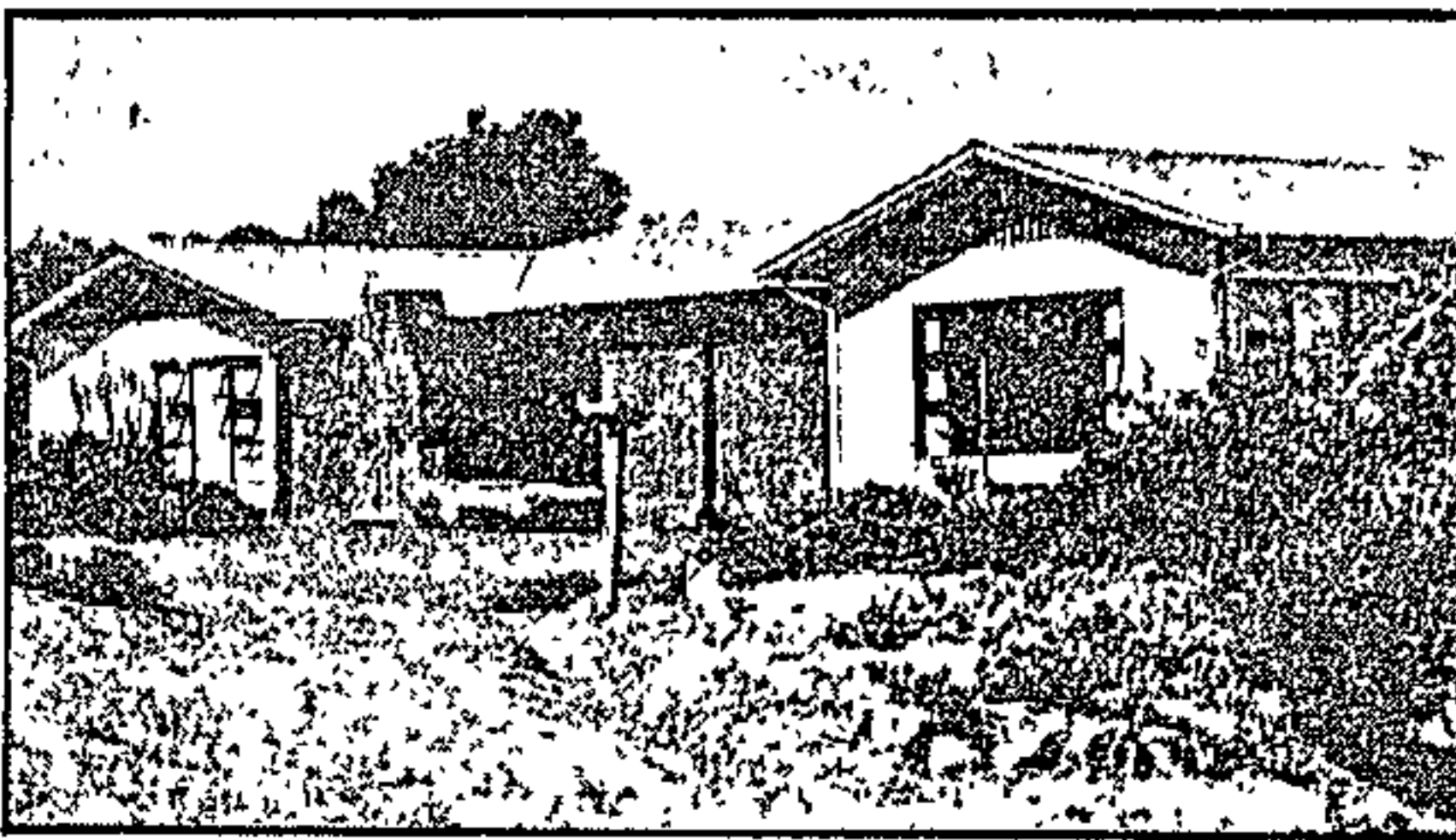
To the 60-year-old John Wiley the sea and its riches remained a matter of absorbing concern well beyond the responsibilities

he carried as the Minister of Environmental Affairs.

In the opposition benches — first the United Party and then its quixotic conservative offspring, the South African Party — he ceaselessly challenged Government policies which led to the systematic raping of the country's marine resources.

It was a battle he waged with a quiet dedication: defending the rights of seine fishermen, investigating collusion between officials and poachers, arguing with the State's marine biologists.

A shrewd political move to the National Party eventually brought him into the Cabinet and gave him ultimate responsibility over environmental affairs.



The Noordhoek house where John Wiley died last Sunday

### Sunday Times Reporters

He outraged some of the bureaucracy by siding with a controversial marine biologist on ways to preserve the pelagic fish resources, and introduced a commission of inquiry into the country's marine industry — a move which is credited with helping restore the country's pelagic resources.

### Questionable

There was, however, a more questionable side to his interest in nature. He became involved in exercising an option over the exploitation of kaolin deposits in an environmentally sensitive

area, which had originally been earmarked for declaration as a reserve.

But, ironically, it was his private life, and not his considerable professional achievements, that have dominated discussion since his puzzling death.

The record reveals a man restless and adventurous in his personal relationships.

During his second marriage, for example, his wife, Kay, was shocked to learn via newspaper reports that Mr Wiley was romantically linked with the former wife of movie star Tyrone Power.

While Miss Linda Christian was painting Mr Wiley's portrait as a birthday gift to the politician, his wife — who ran a clothing boutique in Johan-

nesburg — was denying reports that they had legally separated.

Mr Wiley and Miss Christian — a glamorous movie star in her own right — were introduced at a Fish Hoek festival in 1975.

They were both judging a Miss Mardi Gras competition and remained close friends.

The couple made a romantic tour of the Peninsula, taking in Cape Point, Table Mountain and enjoying the view from Bloubergstrand, while rumours of wedding bells spread through Simons-town.

Meanwhile, in Johannesburg, John's wife told reporters in her luxurious apartment that "she was shattered and couldn't look people in the face".

She said she had married Mr Wiley more than seven years previously and, after living with him for three years in Cape Town, she had decided "that the weather did not agree with her in Cape Town".

### Divorced

She had decided to move to Johannesburg to open a dress business.

She denied that there were problems in the marriage.

"I still love and trust John," she said. "We always take our holidays together and are constantly on the telephone to each other."

They were divorced the following year. Kay Wiley died in a car crash in 1978.

Miss Christian told reporters 10 years later that she and Mr Wiley still "kept in touch. He is one of the most charming men, and he writes to me regularly in Spain".

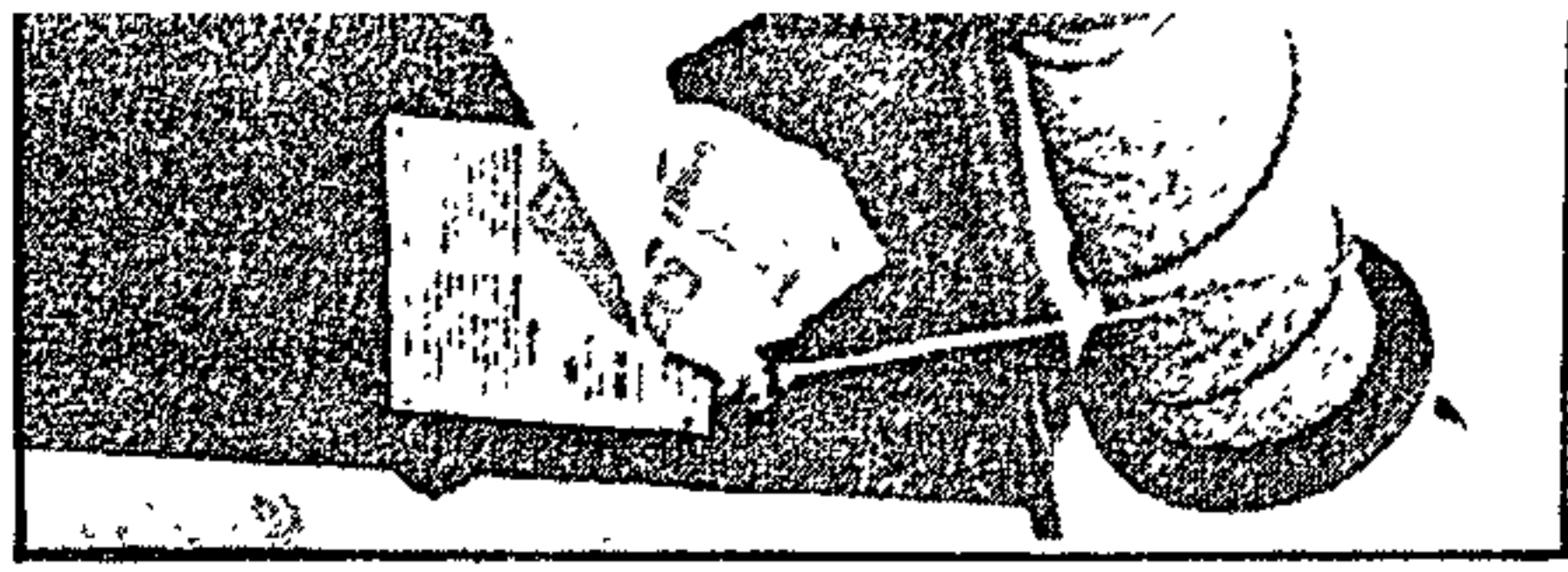
Mr Wiley's third marriage was to Mrs Jeanne Els, of the Strand. The couple tied the knot in February 1981 after a three-year courtship.

A divorcee, the third Wiley bride is the daughter of Mr Percy Niehuas who was a United Party senator. She has two sons from a previous

marriage, with his hard training against the field suspicious



# AL SURVIVOR: MANY FACES OF THE MP OF THE SEA



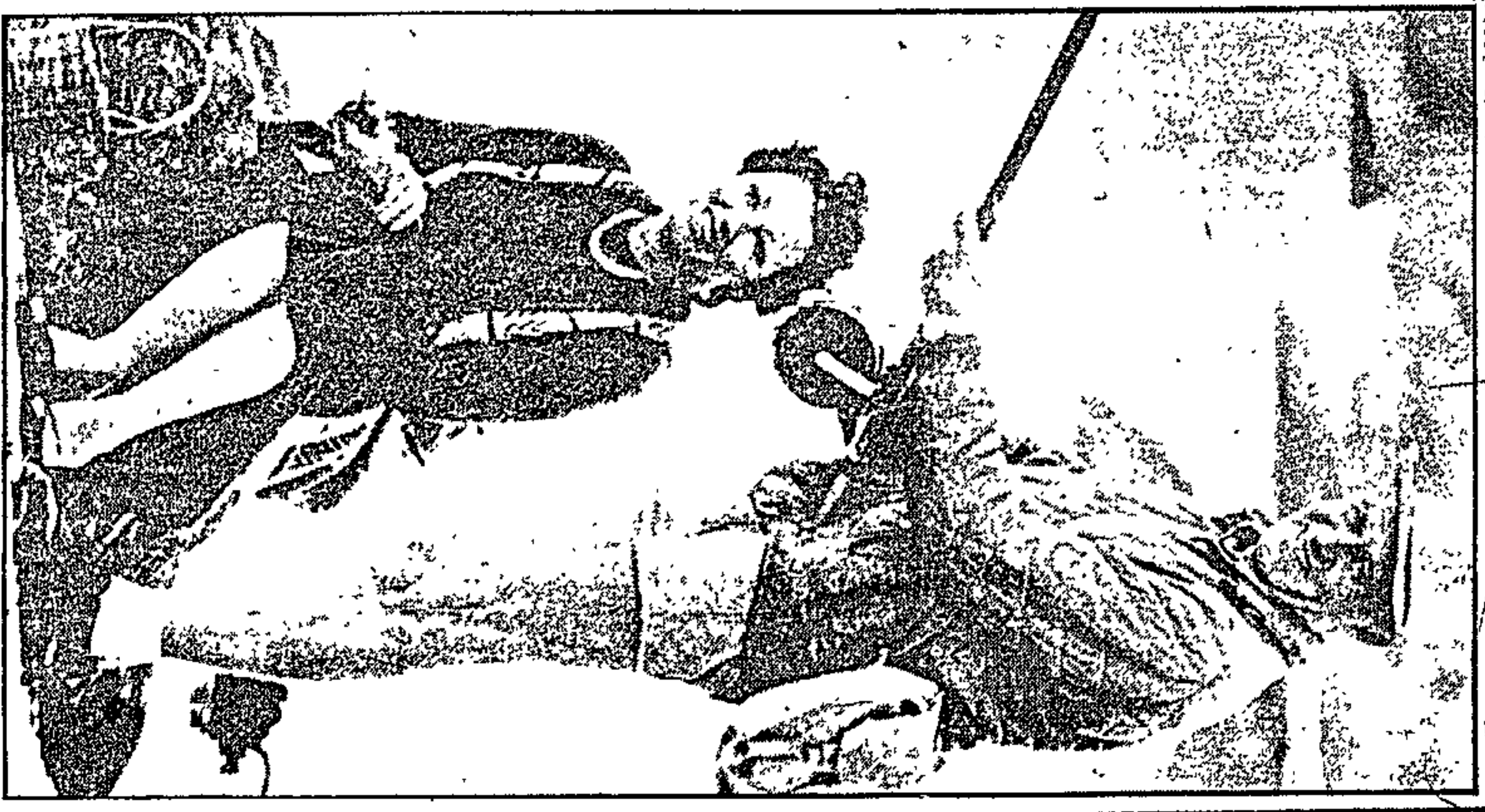
dfionteIn In July 1980



Romantically linked ... Linda Christian and a younger John Wiley



John Wiley — cricketer — played for Western Province and Oxford University



## , the Finisima

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marriage. Meanwhile, this image of dilettantism sits uneasily with his other image, the die-hard conservative demanding in Parliament the censure of rapists, railing against sportsmen kissing on the field of play, obsessively suspicious of the "liberal

English-language Press. It was this contrast between the public puritanism of the man and his personal free spirit that provides the intriguing contrast. And led, perhaps, to his death — alone, except for the sea from which he drew inspiration.

John Wiley, the fisherman, and his third wife, Jeanne



She said she had married Mr Wiley more than seven years previously and, after living with him for three





BY MURPHY MURUDE  
Acting Publicity Secretary of the  
United Democratic Front

IT has always been fascinating how the National Party has succeeded in hoodwinking its electorate to the extent that the voters are seemingly incapable of perceiving reality independently of the party.

As May 6 approaches, one observes with keen interest how the National Party's mind-bending machinery swings into action. The party, quite predictably, throws away all pretences of reform and quickly goes back in time. It sounds like 1948 all over again!

This time, however, going back to the laager is not without its problems. Recent events have clearly shown that reality is catching up with the whole notion of white supremacy.

In fact, as these elections take place, large chunks of that notion are being relegated to the dustbin of history.

While shouting reform, the National Party is unable to extricate itself from its own quicksands. In fact, the National Party is incapable of bringing about genuine change for South Africa.

### PROMISES

Some reforms here and there, perhaps, but giving way to a democratically elected majority government seems to be still as far away for the whites as the sun is from the earth (at least in white minds).

I feel very sad when I think of what the many years of National Party rule have done to the minds of white South Africans. Without even realising it, white South Africans have painted themselves into a corner of fear and uncertainty.

They have allowed their thought processes to be at the mercy of the party, which, when it came to power in 1948, promised them heaven on earth. They were promised a kingdom to be shared and ruled by no one else but themselves.

The entire folk donned "oog-klappe" and the apartheid wagon rolled on to the '70s and the 80s.

### BIRTHRIGHT

This oxwagon has now come across a wall of millions of disenfranchised blacks who are equally determined to claim what rightfully belongs to them — their birthright.

In attempting to get out of this quagmire, the Nats devised the unrepresentative and unworkable tri-cameral system, itself still trapped in the old Verwoerdian concept of racial exclusivity. It was with much anger that we again watched whites pretend that we did not exist and hold a referendum among themselves in 1983.

There are, of course, many other instances in the past where whites have taken decisions about us, for us and without us.

I need not recount these here.

President Botha's latest manifesto does nothing to salvage the situation. Instead, this manifesto will die the same death as all other manifestos contrived in the same way as Botha's with a view towards adjusting, but not doing away with white domination.

What is quite clear is that the

# After May 6 the big question will still remain: WAR or PEACE?

Nats are determined to continue with every possible scheme of fragmenting this country in both human and geographical terms.

The mandate the Nats allege to be seeking in this election has nothing to do with the broadening of democracy. Instead, it has a lot to do with white rights and privileges as opposed to democracy and equality for all. This is vividly portrayed in all recent Nat election speeches.

Now, on May 6, whites will be called upon to vote. One does not have to be an expert to realise that the National Party will be returned with a comfortable majority.

However, for as long as whites exclude blacks from such processes they can have as many elections as they want but will never have peace of mind as long as the majority is being deliberately excluded from the highest decision-making bodies of the land.

To all intents and purposes, President Botha's National Statutory Council has room for only those blacks who will make themselves receptacles, dispensers — and even enforcers — of Nat Party decisions.

We cannot waste our time with such futile political exercises. They have been tried before and they failed.

### FEAR

I must say to my white compatriots especially those who still see some virtue in this racist Parliament: your continued support is bound to lead to tragic consequences for this country.

It is in your name that South Africa today is being run by the military and police. Blatant scare tactics and security gimmicks are being used by the present rulers to convince you of the need for increased repression and concentration of power in the hands of fewer and fewer men.

The future peace of our country and its people is daily being jeopardised by the dictatorial approach of such men. Nevertheless, May 6 will

come and go and our demands for a free, nonracial and democratic South Africa will still have to be met.

It is quite ironic that when we, who have for over three centuries been discriminated against are saying as in the freedom charter: "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white..." those who are in need of assurance and security are adamant about sticking to the myopic call for so-called "group security" for minorities.

Coming from the Nats, this can only be based on racism and fear. Far from the legitimate cultural aspirations of the Afrikaans-speaking people being safeguarded by apartheid, these aspirations are being threatened with extinction.

### CHALLENGE

I can only see hope for the development of the rich cultural heritage of all South Africans as lying in a future South Africa based on the principles enshrined in the freedom charter which guarantees equal rights for all national groups and protection by law against discrimination.

The protection of cultural, religious and other freedoms does not entail protecting minority privileges based on the domination of the majority.

The challenge facing white South Africans, even as they go the polls, is to take that BOLD STEP and break with the past. Voting in itself is no substitute for active day-to-day campaigning for an end to minority rule.

The question now is no longer whether violence and bloodshed can be avoided. It is whether the violent conflict engulfing South Africa can be stopped in time to save our country from destruction so that future generations may live in peace and harmony and not as enemies in the land of their birth.

### ILLEGITIMATE

It thus cannot be expected of some to renounce violence while those who stubbornly cling to power continue to wield their military might against an unarmed and defenceless people.

It is my wish, and that of my organisation, that a way be found to resolve this conflict.

Without the unbanning of the ANC, the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners, and the lifting of the state of emergency, such resolution of the conflict will remain an elusive goal.

Like the UDF, I believe that this Parliament and Government are illegitimate and that the only solution for South Africa lies in one person, one vote — in a united country.

More important than whether whites vote or not is the crucial question of WAR OR PEACE.

Even if one does not want to be drawn into saying whether whites should vote or not, their conduct during this period will determine how far, or how near, we are from either war or peace.



# Diana is having a baby breather

Sunday Times Reporter  
London

PRINCESS DI is taking a break before adding to her family.  
She revealed her baby plans to Marie Dry, 33, during a visit to a dead unit at Preston, Lancashire, England. Marie told Dr they had four children and quipped: "You've got a lot of catching up to do."  
DI replied: "Oh, we're having a breather for a while."  
The princess, who is president of the British Deaf Association, also had a silent "chat" with residents. She also visited a leisure centre and revealed how she keeps her figure.  
She stopped to watch Beryl Wharton, 56, working out on a tummy-trimming machine, but declined the offer to have a go saying "I have my own machine at home."

# It's 'Yster' Lategan

THE "Iron Lady of Stellenbosch," Esther Lategan, quite openly says she intends turning South Africa on its head.

Whether she will, only time — and the May 6 elections — will tell. It needs guts and a lot of persuasive power to have some of the country's finest academics licking postage stamps, tracing former students and doing house calls.  
Hardened Nats frown at this daughter of veteran MP Wynand Malan (no relation to the Randburg rebel) who seemingly out of nowhere stepped on to the Independent platform with renegade Nais Wynand Malan and Dr Denis Worrall.

**ELSABE WESSELS**  
spoke to Stellenbosch's Independent candidate



Dr Ester Lategan with her husband Professor Bernard Lategan and children Wynand and Helena

## THE IRON MAIDEN OF THE MATTIES

But who is the person behind the public face? She admits, happily, she enjoys being a woman. "It has never stopped me from doing anything," she says when asked about her role as woman in the male-dominated world of politics. "I have a wonderful husband. He is truly emancipated and we share domestic responsibilities."  
"I love my three children. They are very supportive. I have reared them to be self-reliant and independent."  
But late night talks in the kitchen and in her study keep the family thus close. Holidays and weekends are spent on trains or the family's Northern Transvaal farm. "I make the best tomato brede in the country," she adds confidently.

Yet, running a home, a factory and an election campaign requires neat footwork. "We're amateurs at electing but we have the finest team in the world," Dr Lategan claims. She is visibly delighted by the fires of discontent kindled in the cradle of leading Afrikaner intelligentsia. "I believe in this country," she and her theology student, finance set off for Utrecht in Holland where they were married. "My father was against it," she said. "But I was always like that. I always wanted to change the world and I still want to solve the world's problems."  
"People have described me as aloof," she says, but those who know her describe her as something of the past. "The self-reliance and independence that grew out of that realization determined and shaped her personality. As the second eldest of seven children on a Boland farm, she soon learned the meaning of self-expression, responsibility — and a dash of rebellion. After gaining a BA degree

commitment to her family, her business and burgeoning political career as quixotic — generous, unselfish and imaginative.

As the daughter of Wynand Malan, NP parliamentarian for Paarl from 1958 to 1981, she was "raised in South African politics."  
"I remember my father's first election in Paarl. He won the UP-held seat with conversion."

### Hopes

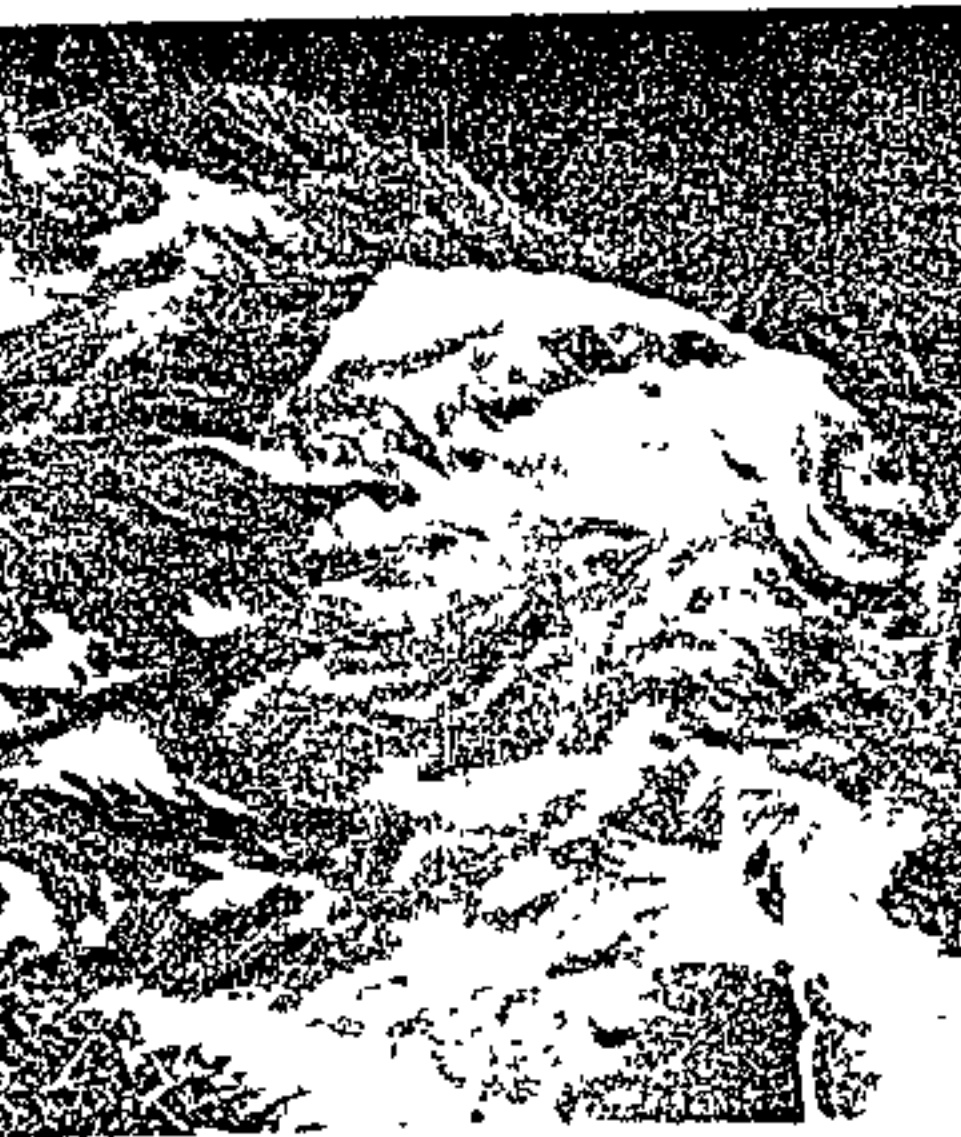
"With the 83 Referendum I like many others, felt P W Botha should be given a chance. We really believed it was the beginning of reform. However, our hopes were snuffed by the fatal Rubicon speech."  
"But the single thing that moved me to action was Wynand Malan's speech after resigning from the NP. I immediately phoned Willie Esterhuysen (professor of philosophy) and said we should get someone to stand in Stellenbosch."

"I am an activist and I don't fear anything. What makes me tick is the development of human potential," she says describing her career as social worker, lecturer, businesswoman and now as politician.  
But Dr Lategan is never involved in one thing at a time. She devoted 10 years of her life to her children, upon whom she does. And also completed a doctorate.

### Lecturer

At the same time she became actively involved in National Child Welfare and later president of the organization's national council.  
In 1975 she accepted a lectureship at the university and in 1983 decided to put her money where her mouth was and developed, with the help of partner Retha van Rensburg, a clothing factory in a bid to create job opportunities for unemployed coloured women in Stellenbosch.

The success of her Vinelli sportswear factory — which now has a turnover of just over R2 million — is well known and her achievements were recently acknowledged when she won the Finance Writers' Club Emergent



Relaxing at home: Dr Lategan with son Jan and pet dog Salomon. Picture: TERRY SHEAN

Business Person of the year award.  
"I started the business with nothing in I no know ledge — but by team effort we turned it into a success."  
Fighting an established NP stronghold is not her rationale for serving a new South Africa with equal rights and safety for all. "I have served her another winning team."  
"I am always interested in new ideas," she said explaining her involvement in a book on human rights.  
"I wanted to highlight the logical relationship between rights and responsibilities." Both issues are evident in her campaign which calls for the establishment of a Bill of Rights and the scrapping of all apartheid laws.  
"The Afrikaner is busy growing up. However, I prefer to call myself an Afrikaner (Afrikaner) she says referring her commitment to one South Africa for all.  
© News by E Wessels 122 34  
George's Street Cape Town

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**“We must hate —  
hatred is the basis of communism.  
Children must be taught to hate  
their parents — if such are not  
communists. If they are, then the  
children need no longer worry  
about them.**

**Children should be present at  
the executions, and should rejoice  
in the death of the enemies of the  
proletariat”.**

V.I. Lenin 'Defeat of one's own government in Imperialist War' Selected Works Vol 5 p 147

You've probably noticed that this barbaric philosophy has been violently evident in our black townships of late.

The question you must ask yourself now and on 6 May is whether you want the South African Communist Party to operate freely in the towns and cities of South Africa.

Now consider this. Senior PFP spokesmen maintain that a PFP Government will unban both the ANC and the South African Communist Party because they say they will be dealt with through our courts. But our courts have long since been dealing with terrorists who murder and maim people and destroy property. However, in order to *prevent* bloodshed Parliament has empowered the Government to take preventative action in advance by *banning* these organisations because they showed total disregard for the law. And still do.

Consider this too. A founder member of the PFP recently resigned from the party giving this as one of his reasons: *"The PFP's proposed constitutional and legal mechanisms have no more chance of stopping the devious and determined SA Communist Party than a red light has of stopping a runaway train"*.

He was a PFP front bencher. He should know.

Yet in their election advertisement, the PFP still asks you to vote for them because they can offer you a *"new answer"*.

Also because they have *"leaders with vision"*.

And because they offer *"security for me, security for my family and security for all South Africans"*.

To promise you security by asking you to vote, inter alia, for the unbanning of the SA Communist Party is dangerously naive.

Lenin was less polite. He bluntly labelled such naive liberals as *"useful idiots"*.

**Remember on 6 May: It takes realists with experience of South Africa's problems to plan, negotiate and implement a better future for our country.**

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By **BILL SUTTON**  
Leader of the NRP and member  
of the President's Council

**APARTHEID**, both the word and the concept, has become a curse on all South Africans.

The Nationalist government is the father and mother of apartheid.

The system of segregation and the pride of race, the legacy of Empire, were systematised and organised into a political programme that became more harsh and strident as the evidence of its failure mounted.

This political programme has become the biggest failure in the history of Western political parties.

It has distorted the entire social pattern of South Africa; it has given a hostile world a bridgehead against us; it has reduced our would-be friends to exasperated silence; and it has failed to achieve any of its local objectives.

The policy has always been a chimaera, a will-o'-the-wisp, flitting over the bogs of self-delusion which lure the blundering and incautious traveller to a watery doom.

The only solace that can be derived from the whole sorry episode is that it was perhaps necessary to burn out of the soul of whites the whole idea of blanke baasskap, of separation and supremacy.

I believe that in this election we are at last reaching that point, because the real issue before the electorate is apartheid and its antidote, *saamheid*.

South Africans have been fed such a forced diet of fear and suspicion by a political party interested only in its own grasp on power that an antidote in the political system must carry a convincing message of togetherness, of confidence and caring.

This message I have tried to typify in the word *saamheid*.

Objection has been made that *saamheid* is not a good Afrikaans word, or not an Afrikaans word at all. I accept the point.

*Saamheid* is a South African word with a particular application to the South African situation and to the image of South Africa abroad.

The correct Afrikaans word, so my professor friends on the President's Council tell me, is *samehorigheid*.

That I accept also, but when I consider the difficulty the outside world has had for 40 years with *apartheid*, I shudder to think what they would do with *same-horigheid*. They could all, however, manage to say and understand *samehide*.

This is a problem of marketing a new concept to the outside world. The success of the attempt is vital to our image. If *apartheid* is dead, what do we put in its place but

# **APART HIDE is dead; so let's replace it with SAME HIDE**

*samehide?*

The understanding of the issues in the outside world will be just as vague as it is now, but the message will get across that we have changed and that, as South Africans together, we can see the doors along the corridors of the future opening for our children.

What we need to do is to take a single basic decision. We are all South Africans and therefore we take decisions jointly in one Parliament which is the guarantee of the liberties of us all.

When we have once taken that decision, the ideal of *saamheid* is within our grasp.

Notions of constitutional protection are a myth. Ultimately, in the South African society, constitutional devices that are designed to entrench and safeguard white separatism and privilege will turn out to be counter-productive, as they have in Zimbabwe.

The actual form of the constitution is not important. What is important is the attitudes of those who work within the parameters of that constitution.

If we picture the South African ship of state, having dumped the blighted baggage of apartheid and loaded aboard the promise of *saamheid*, casting off from its moorings and heading downstream towards the sea and the great challenges that await us, those who are not on board can bay at the moon as much as they like.

They will not be in the mainstream of power and wealth where the real decisions will be taken.

In the present situation the whites aboard the ship will be the pilots — in the engine room and sharing the bridge.

Those who have cut themselves off from the mainstream of power and wealth in Morgenzon will simply wither on the vine.

Participation in the mainstream of power and wealth, which is shifting decisively into the black sector, is the only guarantee of relevance for whites in the future.

The future of whites will be decided in black politics. This statement will soon become a political cliché.

Any whites, coloureds and Indians who do not participate in the black political struggle will be swept off the political board.

This statement has already become a political cliché — but nothing has yet been done to take the steps necessary to make such participation a reality.

Our party, quietly and without seeking publicity, and in great humility, has reached out hands across colour and party lines to bring together leaders, and political figures in a coalition of South Africans intent on discussing reform with the Nationalist government.

We believe that black leaders, participating as South Africans in a group of South Africans seeking discussion with the government on reform, will avoid the savage retribution meted out by radicals to all who appear to be collaborating with the establishment.

Political organisation by black political parties with the incentive of participation in the Cabinet and in Parliament is the only way in which the unrest in the urban areas can be controlled and the state of emergency ended.

The unrest is politically motivated by enemies of the democratic process, and only a counter-motivation will enable the long-suffering population of those areas to put an end to intimidation and oppression by radicals.

Political motivation will inspire the men to put the lid on the boys.

The opening up of Parliament opens the doors to *saamheid*. If white voters in this election will endorse the principle that reform begins with the inclusion of blacks in Parliament, the future of South Africa will take on a new and brighter look.

We must close the doors on apartheid and gisterpolitiek and open the doors to *saamheid*. We must knit up again the riven fabric of our society in togetherness.

In *saamheid* we can seek a common future.



# Local right-wings agreements foreseen

Will some far-right candidates withdraw from the election battle after being formally nominated? Such a possibility is foreseen by Rapport in the absence of an agreement between the leaders of the CP and the HNP.

Rapport said that in some constituencies members of both parties were preparing to make local arrangements of this kind.

"The thought is that, after nomination day, some rightist candidates will withdraw in favour of the other party's candidates. Their names will appear on the ballot papers, but, in campaigning, all voters will be asked to vote for only one right-wing candidate.

"Agitations towards this end in the Brits, Rustenburg and Delmas constituencies have already come to Rapport's attention. This is

happening despite the explicit instructions from CP leaders that there are to be no local agreements."

However, Rapport said, the local moves were not going too smoothly. Local quarrels involving candidates who did not want to stand aside were reported.

Meanwhile, a right-wing withdrawal on a far larger scale is foreseen as a "future option" by Professor Carel Boshoff, leader of the Afrikaner Volkswag and a leading figure in right-wing political and cultural circles.

Professor Boshoff, who has been keeping rather a low profile lately, told Tim du Plessis of Beeld that he believed a day would come when it would no longer make sense for the far-right parties to stay in

Parliament. That day would be when there was only one Parliament and this was "loaded with more and more blacks".

Mr Du Plessis described Professor Boshoff's statement as a serious indication that an extra-parliamentary option was being considered by the far right.

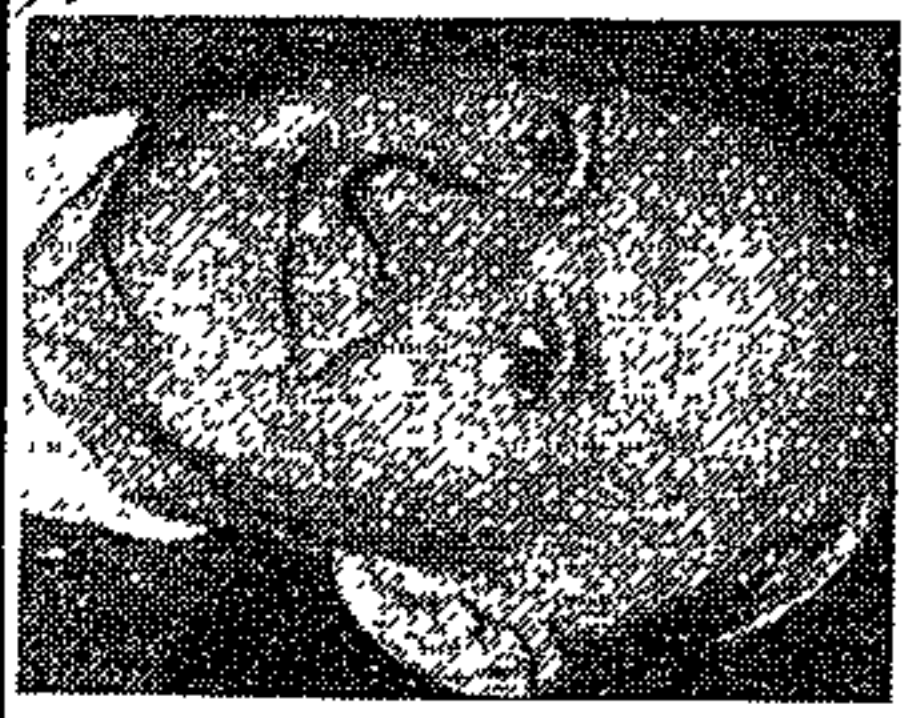
Asked whether he had ever discussed this option with the leaders of the two parties, Professor Boshoff said that as yet he had only mentioned it to them on "informal occasions" and had therefore had no reaction from them.

Beeld's political columnist Lood said he understood that Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the CP, was opposed to the idea.

With a team of new brooms on its board, the SABC had a fresh oppor-

## NADERE KENNIS

A weekly review of the Afrikaans Press by JAMES MCCLURG



tunity to sweep clean, said Beeld.

It was heartening to hear from the new vice-chairman, Professor Christo Viljoen, that problems at broadcast headquarters were to be tackled.

"It is good that the board wishes to take an active responsibility on itself. Professor Viljoen mentions that attention will be given to matters which, according to re-

ports and rumours, are not right."

Even if it were only to show that the "reports and rumours" were false, said Beeld, the proposed more active involvement of the new board was a big step in the right direction.

Voters sometimes got the uneasy feeling that the National Party wanted to share power

on a basis where minority rights were so entrenched that the minorities would in fact retain all the power, said Dr Albert Wessels, a leading Afrikaner industrialist, in an article in Rapport.

Dr Wessels said he still believed the NP was "the only instrument for implementing reform", but called for more clarity on what the party meant by power-sharing.

It was no good the government complaining that blacks would not negotiate. The government led the country, and it was its responsibility to initiate negotiations.

He recognised that some of the black leaders' demands were unreasonable. "I do not suggest that they should all be accepted, but I fear there will be no progress towards the normalisation of our tense situation if nego-

tiation does not take place," Dr Wessels said.

Commenting on the government's decision to declare the first Friday in May "Workers' Day", Die Vaderland said it had evidently not been thought politically desirable to recognise May 1, internationally celebrated as Labour Day.

"But the whole question of public holidays is being investigated, and in the light of strong

public representations and the preference of most trade unions for May 1, a revision is not out of the question."

Ds Chris Jordaan, director of the church-recognised Institute for Reformative and Contemporary Studies, told a meeting of the Afrikaanse Sakekamer in Pretoria that recognition of May 1 would be a moral victory for Marxism, as it would "take the place of Good Friday".

## Sayings of the week

● South Africa must pay its people better and thus ensure that they do not leave the country. In this way an end may be brought to the worrying brain erosion that is becoming more and more serious with the deteriorating political situation and sanctions. — Dr Aidan Edwards, chairman of the Council for Mineral Technology, as reported in Beeld.

● Afrikaners ought to be grateful that English is one of our country's official languages because it is through our use of English that we are regarded as one of the world's civilised countries. — Joey Delport, of Bloemfontein, in a letter to Die Volksblad.

# Hulley calls for Wiley death probe

*Call time 6/4/87 304A*

JOHANNESBURG. — Progressive Federal Party MP Mr Roger Hulley yesterday demanded a public inquiry into the death last week of the Minister of Environmental and Water Affairs, Mr John Wiley.

He said that rumours and speculation about Mr Wiley's personal and business lives should be answered in full.

The Sunday press carried the most extensive reports yet on possible reasons for his death last Sunday.

Senior writers on three newspapers told UPI they were holding back important information because they did not want to provoke the government into using its extensive powers to detain reporters and to seize or close newspapers.

They said they could not risk publishing without irrefutable physical or written evidence to support their reports.

Responding to growing speculation about Mr Wiley's death minutes after he was reportedly visited by two senior police officers last Sunday, Mr Hulley called for a public inquiry into his death.

"It is a mystery why" an apparently "healthy and successful man at the peak of his career would take his own life", he said.

Police issued a statement on Friday urging newspapers not to spread "unsubstantiated and untested rumours" about the death of the only white non-Afrikaner in the cabinet.

Reports in four Sunday newspapers mention his 10-year friendship with Port Elizabeth-based salvage diver Mr David Allen, who committed suicide on February 25, a few hours before he was to stand trial for homosexual offences with juveniles.

"It is essential for a public inquiry to establish whether or not there was any link between the two deaths," Mr Hulley said.

"It has been reported that Mr Allen was the beneficiary of certain marine concessions. Such concessions will have been granted by Mr Wiley's department," he said.

At the weekend Mr Wiley's widow and third wife, Mrs Jeanne Wiley, responded to the rumours.

"If there are rumours, it doesn't matter what I say to deny them. I had no suspicions about John's friendship with Mr Allen. We were a happily married couple.

"I was not in my husband's confidence in relation to his financial affairs, so I cannot comment on that," she said in her statement published in the weekend press.

The Sunday Star newspaper said: "Mr Wiley's office was among the first to phone the Allen family with condolences."

The Sunday Tribune quotes State pathologist Mr Leendert van Ieperen, who examined Mr Wiley's body, as saying he did not do specific tests for Aids, but was confident that Mr Wiley did not have the disease.

Mr Allen's brother, Geoffrey, said examination of his brother's body revealed that he, too, did not have the disease.

Claims that one or both men had Aids are among persistent rumours that, police said, "are being wilfully spread ... to cast a slur and link Mr Wiley's death with the death of other persons".

The Sunday Star quotes a Barclays Bank spokesman as saying that Mr Wiley had debts of R2 million but was not under pressure for repayment. — UPI



# NRP seeks mixed parliament

By Susan Fleming

6/4/87

South Africans of all races should be allowed in Parliament and the Group Areas Act should be scrapped, according to the election manifesto issued by the New Republic Party (NRP) Transvaal branch this weekend.

The NRP's Transvaal secretary and NRP candidate for the Jeppe constituency, Mr Klasie Viljoen, said the NRP was committed to building a new constitution which incorporated the ideals and expectations of all people.

"The National Party Government has, after 39 years, dumped our country in a state of emergency, into poverty and international sanctions. Why? It is because it has ignored the rightful demands of black people," said Mr Viljoen.

Bringing pride back to the citizens of South Africa was a priority. South Africans should also aim at restoring the country's esteem among other nations.

"But the NRP will take the strongest stand possible against any meddling in our affairs from abroad," the NRP manifesto said.

Security formed a major thrust of the manifesto and Mr Viljoen said safety of the individual and of the State were NRP priorities.

"Attacks on the State and the safety of its people in or beyond the borders of the country will be vigorously opposed by the NRP. Any form of terrorism must be forcefully repressed."

Other plans within the manifesto included to:

- Abolish services which served only to control and regulate people.
- Prune State spending and curb inflation.
- Privatisise in deed and not word.
- Abolish all rules and red tape which prevent people from using their initiative, labour and experience.
- Wipe out State interference in the economy and prevent abuse of economic freedom.

# Churches divided on whites-only election voting

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6/4/87

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Opinion is divided in the "English" churches on how members should approach the May 6 election, although one church official has described it as unrepresentative and meaningless.

This is in contrast to the 1983 referendum on the tricameral system, when several churches, including the Anglicans, Methodists and Catholics, called for a "no" vote.

The Anglican Dean of Cape Town, the Very Rev Ted King, thought it appalling and a bit weird that all three of his bishops (Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Bishops-Suffragan Patrick Matolengwe and Charles Albertyn) could not vote.

Professor Charles Villa-Vicencio, head of the department of religious studies at the University of Cape Town, challenged the church to call for whites not to vote.

## No official line

He said it seemed logical after having called for a "no" vote in the referendum.

Dean King said Archbishop Tutu had made it quite clear that he considered the election to be irrelevant, but the Anglican church had taken no official line.

"It wouldn't be proper for the church to do so," he said. He would use his own vote because he did not want to opt out altogether.

"Although I believe that the election is totally unrepresentative and meaningless overall, as long as there is an institution such as Parliament I feel some responsibility towards whoever is supposed to represent me," Dean King said.

A statement by the South African Catholic Bishops' conference said that participation may be the lesser evil.

The bishops slammed the whites-only election as a perpetuation and consolidation of the un-

just and evil policy of apartheid, and expressed dismay that such an election could still be held.

"In this case, the two evils would be, on the one hand participating in an unjust election, on the other abstaining from voting or campaigning when we judge in conscience that voting or campaigning may produce some good."

In an article in the official newspaper *Presbyterian Life*, Dr Greg Cuthbertson said it would be presumptuous to tell people whether to vote or not to vote.

White voters could responsibly decide to boycott the election in protest and to show solidarity with fellow black Presbyterians.

"Given that this will probably be the unpopular choice, I would strongly urge Christian voters to indicate their outrage at the flagrant abuse of power which has characterised government rule for decades."

Dr Cuthbertson said that if Christians did vote they should support only candidates who were against apartheid in any guise.

Chairman of the Good Hope District of the Methodist Church, the Rev James Gribble, said the leadership of his church had not yet put out a statement on the elections but would probably do so at the end of the month.

The Rev Alan Brews, of the Buitenkant Methodist Church, said he would not be casting a vote.

Articulating the alternative view that churches should advise members to abstain from voting, he said that if the church took its mission seriously it had to address the issues of the society in which it existed.

In an editorial in *Kerkbode*, the official newspaper of the Ned Geref Kerk, members were urged to study the policies of the different political parties and to test these policies against Scripture.

Christians could only vote for a policy if they were convinced that the policy tried to be obedient to the Bible.

(Report by K Stander, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)



**B**usinessmen and -women must be pragmatic.

**D**SA is presently experiencing a parting of the ways — a historical bifurcation. As never before we need pragmatists and creative visionaries because, without doubt, SA society is now entering a period during which time its leaders will have to learn to manage one of the most important transformations of its history.

Apart from being more closely involved in the planning process, management should give special attention to the application of environmental scanning and scenario development procedures.

☐ Global perspectives:

The dominant socio-political mood of the world has changed significantly since the Second World War. In general it seems to be becoming increasingly secular, humanistic and meritocratic.

One logical consequence of this process is that one must expect elitist or racist formulae in governmental and intergovernmental relations to become systematically less acceptable to the world community of nations.

**I**t is therefore a serious matter that the internal politics of SA have become such a visible and emotive issue internationally.

Various socio-economic trends inside SA clearly indicate we can strengthen the economy and promote political stability only by giving a high priority to a significantly fairer and more participative governmental form.

It is wishful thinking to assume a so-called more conservative government in, for example, the US, UK or West Germany can make a significant difference to SA's international standing over the longer term.

☐ Economic perspectives: SA is faced with a major economic challenge, which could be the single most important determining factor for long-term socio-political stability in the country.

SA is now perceived to be still a developing country — part of the Third World or the so-called "South".

**S**uch a perception, with all the associated implications regarding the need for socio-economic advancement of the mass of the population and a continued inflow of foreign capital, is placing a totally new emphasis on the requirements for an appropriate political and economic strategy.

☐ Employment perspectives:

The population explosion (especially of blacks) coupled with a depressed economy is a formula for political unrest, it represents a serious threat to market growth specifically and to the prospects

# Planning: the basis of a future SA for all

B/Day 304A

7/4/87 PHILIP SPIES

for a free market economy in SA in general.

☐ Educational perspectives: The shortage of skilled labour and entrepreneurs is one of the most important bottlenecks to economic development in SA.

The financial implications of the increased demand for educational services could be significant.

**I**t seems evident SA's educational problems are not likely to be solved by means of the traditional remedies of spending more money, building more schools and training more teachers.

Rather, bold and imaginative solutions, such as the use of information technologies, will have to be implemented. Failure could imply increasing numbers of more poorly qualified entrants to the job market, who are unable to compete on equal terms for jobs and who do not have the necessary skills and abilities to advance in a modern economy.

☐ Urbanisation perspectives:

If the pattern of urbanisation of other developing countries is to repeat itself in this country, then we must expect that major SA metropolises — especially the PWV-Southern Transvaal region — will be burdened with most of the increases in population.

Urbanisation is the single most important socio-economic and political transformation in SA.

This overview has highlighted the systematic build-up of stress within the SA socio-economic system. But it may be a point of departure for identifying some of the

options for this country.

What are the options?

SA is presently experiencing one of its worst bouts of political unrest which regrettably is affecting our perspective of the future. It is possible to present a case for a more positive vision of the future.

We have a relatively sound economic infrastructure, a strong industrial and scientific base, a committed population (despite some emigration), a nucleus of highly-trained manpower and, even in the midst of the present unrest, goodwill between groups in the country.

**I**t is nevertheless necessary to choose our vision carefully and not to buck the dominant socio-economic trends. Instead we should use the thrust of these trends to our benefit.

Government will have to broaden its electoral base by including all population groups within an equitable constitutional formula. We also understand the culture of a future South African society will have to reflect the increased importance of new political and economic interests.

For many South Africans, these changes will be an acid test. It will be necessary for them to search for the true meaning of their existence, role and future in this country. Like Socrates, they will have to choose between the essence of their loyalties and the symbols of their loyalties.

The economic organisation of the new SA is likely to be mixed with a fair amount of State participation. The industrialisation pro-

cess will emphasise the role of small business. Industrial development and the SA market are likely to be dominated by the need to provide relatively affordable goods and services to the mass of the population.

**I**ncome redistribution and social programmes are expected to receive a high priority in budget programme of government in the period 1990-2000.

In short, we must expect that the new South Africa will have to reflect the needs, priorities and culture of a wider spectrum of the population.

Some of these strategies will have to outline the responsibilities of the business community to society.

Wide discrepancies in income limits market growth and economic development; it also affects socio-political stability and perceptions of the worth of a free market capitalist economy. The true wealth of a modern industrial society lies in the quality of its people and in the ability of its people to work together.

Therefore, the active support by a company of social programmes such as education and training can be seen a sound long-term investment strategy. Collective and concerted action from the business community may change the business environment in a positive direction.

What we need for SA is the businessman's equivalent of the Hippocratic Oath.

**I**n order to accommodate current shortcomings in SA society, a strategy for the future must therefore:

☐ Broaden an understanding of SA realities within the whole of the population;

☐ Improve society's understanding of the workings of a modern economic system;

☐ Assist the development of a new generation of constructive leaders from all population groups;

☐ Search for symbols that will provide SA society with a common focus;

☐ Help with the formulation of achievable visions of our future;

☐ Support development actions that can help to provide for the basic needs of the population;

☐ Support an economic philosophy that will promote entrepreneurship in business enterprise; and

☐ Support a constitution that will increase the participation of the whole population.

PHILIP SPIES is director, Futures Research, University of Stellenbosch. The above is an extract of his address last year to the Cape Chamber of Industries.



"South Africa: The Solution" proposes a political system for South Africa which would meet all the aspirations of blacks without in any way prejudicing the rights and freedoms of whites.

The book proposes that South Africa be divided into cantons using the present magisterial districts as a starting point. There are about 300 magisterial districts and their purpose is purely administrative. Their boundaries were established without reference to apartheid laws such as the Group Areas Act and thus most are multiracial. Each has a magistrate's court, licensing office, tax office, school board, labour bureau, welfare office and so on.

To finalise canton boundaries a referendum would be held among all the people living in each magisterial district to determine whether they wished to keep the magisterial boundary as their canton boundary or to join up with neighbouring districts or split to form more than one canton.

It is impossible to predict how many cantons South Africa would end up with. That would be decided by all South Africans. But we believe that, initially at least, there would be many — at least 100 — because existing differences and tensions would be reflected in a division into numerous cantons.

Each canton would have its own cantonal government responsible for all aspects of economic, political and social policy except those few assigned to central government. Government policies would differ considerably from one canton to another, as each area would reflect the wishes and needs of the people living there.

The central or federal government would control only those affairs which are of mutual interest to all the cantons, for example, foreign policy and trade, national finance,

# Cantons would bring true democracy to SA

national defence and the provision of major infrastructure.

A bill of rights would be written into the central constitution. This would guarantee every South African certain basic freedoms, would be binding on every level of government and would include the following:

- All people, regardless of colour, race, creed or gender, shall be equal before the law and any discriminatory law will be forbidden.

- All people will be citizens, including those living in all homelands.

- Every adult citizen will be entitled to vote.

- All citizens may move freely throughout South Africa.

- All citizens will have the right to own property and property rights may not be taken away by any government.

- Any person may associate or transact with any other person or refuse to associate or transact with any other person for any reason.

- There shall be freedom of speech and freedom of the Press.

There would also be a system of referendums whereby any proposed change to the central constitution MUST be put to the popular vote and citizens would have the right to request a referendum on any law, practice or policy they disagree with. The referendum (direct democracy) is one of the most reliable ways of preventing governments from abusing their powers.

The book "South Africa: The Solution" by Leon Louw, executive director of the Free Market Foundation, and Frances Kendall has sold more than 26 000 copies since its publication less than a year ago. The authors' proposals for the implementation of the Swiss canton system as the answer to this country's constitutional and political problems have been taken up by a movement known as Groundswell, which has launched a campaign to raise R30 million to promote the concept locally and abroad. Here the authors outline their proposals.

A truly democratic system like this allows many different policies and practices to exist at the same time in one country. In this way most people will be able to find at least one canton in which they feel at home and can live according to their own values.

Moreover, it encourages good government because it provides a demonstration effect whereby it is possible for everyone to see for himself which policies bring about the best results.

People will move to the cantons and communities which offer jobs, good wages and attractive living conditions. Canton governments will have to compete with each other for people, just as shopkeepers compete for customers. As a result, the economic and social policies of the suc-

cessful cantons will soon be copied by others.

South Africa's problems will not be solved until apartheid is dead and people of all racial groups — blacks, whites, Indians and coloureds — are equally free to live where they choose, to buy land and houses, start businesses, seek employment and vote for their leaders without fear of domination. All this would be possible under the system we propose.

The Bill of Rights would ensure basic human rights for black people while at the same time protecting those same rights for white people. The canton system, combined with freedom of movement, would ensure that no South African would be forced to live under a government they dislike.



# Why Nico Smith won't cast his vote

Whoever wins the Stellenbosch constituency on May 6 — Herstigte Nasionale Party, independent candidate or National Party — will do so without the vote of Dr Nico Smith of Mamelodi.

The loss of Dr Smith's vote has nothing and everything to do with the fact that he left the constituency in which he is registered to vote five years ago.

He did so to join the black Ned Geref Kerk in Afrika and moved to the Pretoria township of Mamelodi last year.

"I will not participate in any election until there is a government representing all inhabitants of South Africa," Dr Smith has vowed.

Speaking from the cool interior of his house — a geodesic dome rising above the dusty brick rows of the low Mamelodi skyline, next door to the burnt remains of the house in which community leader Dr Fabian Ribeiro and his wife were gunned down last year — Dr Smith asks: "Why should I vote for another white regime to continue the existing regime in another form?"

He turned his back on institutionalised Afrikanerdom when he left the fold of the white Ned Geref Kerk and academia to practise

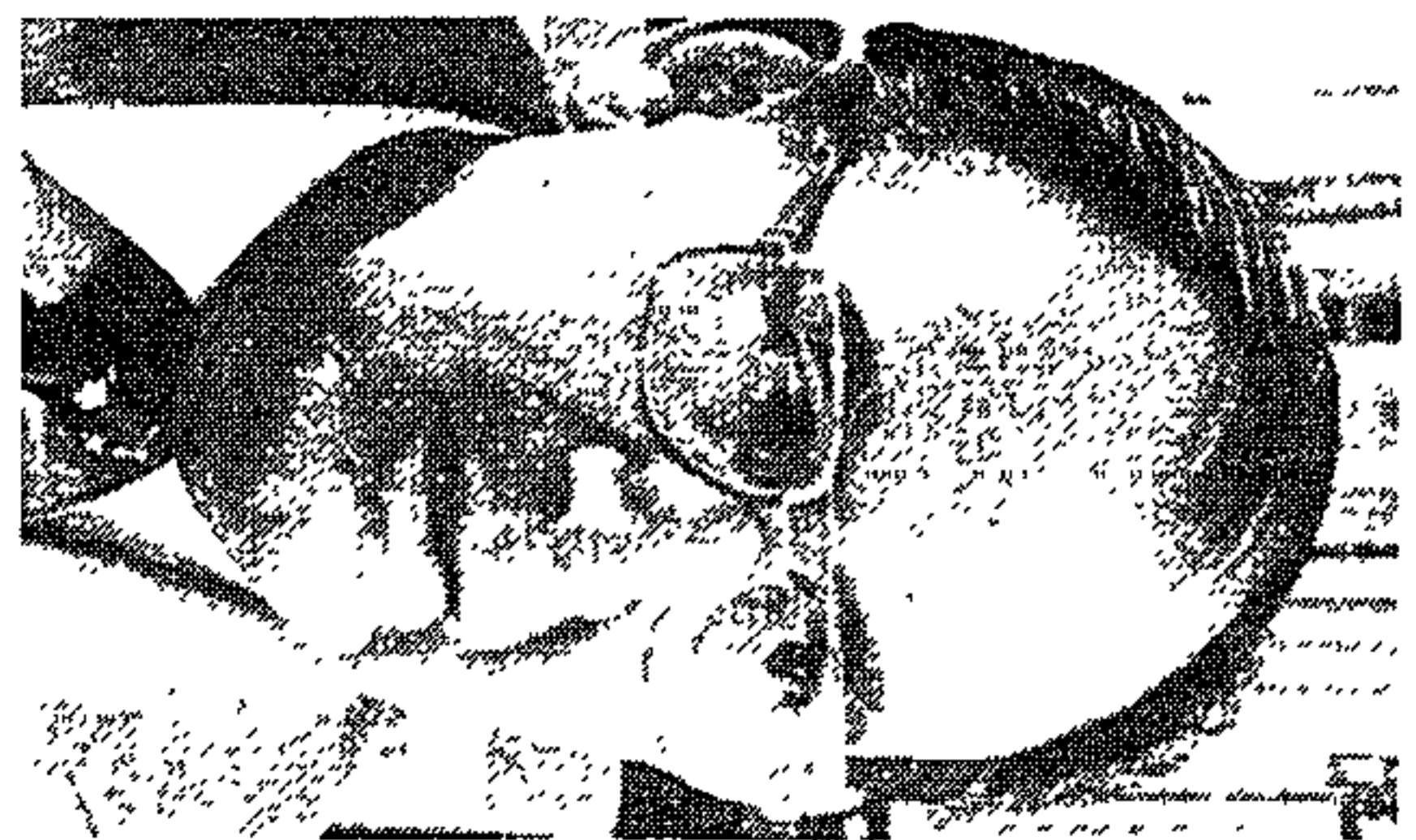
**'I would be lying if I gave people the impression that there could be peaceful change... I don't think there can be any other group in the world in a greater predicament than white South Africans.'**

what he had preached. In turn he was shunned by the volk.

Dr Smith finds it ironic that the Stellenbosch academics now making headlines as "verligtes" for renouncing the National Party and the Broederbond are the very ones who criticised him 12 years ago when he held that the NP, Broederbond and Dutch Reformed Church were the "unholy trinity" which were channels not for change but for disaster.

"Now they are all leaving. It is a hopeful sign, but 12 years have already gone by... it's sad."

"From a Christian perspective, my conscience does not allow me to vote. I cannot vote in a political sys-



Dr Smith... "act of solidarity".

tem where the existing laws are continued.

"If I think of so many of my friends in Mamelodi that are in detention, how can I ever be willing to participate in this unchristian system?"

He and his wife Ellen are the only people living in Mamelodi who have a vote to exercise on May 6.

But "as an act of solidarity with the people among whom I am living, I cannot vote".

Ignoring the white election is not difficult for Dr Smith. In Mamelodi — in Soweto, Atteridgeville, Alexandra — it is the non-event of the year: "In the black community, it is almost as though there is no election at all. It is seen as an inside fight among the whites."

Reluctantly, Dr Smith says it may

be too late in the day to hope for peaceful change in South Africa. "I would be lying if I gave people the impression that there could be peaceful change."

"People keep saying that a Christian must always have hope — but a Christian also has brains in his head."

"I don't think there can be any other group in the world in a greater predicament than white South Africans. They are caught in what they have created, and now their leaders are simply rearranging the furniture."

Dr Smith's life, when he is not ministering to his Ned Geref Kerk in Afrika congregation, is devoted to easing the transition to a South Africa in which his conscience will allow him to vote. This will be a violent period, he believes.

"I am not working for the prevention of a disaster — it is too late for that — but to prepare people for the disaster. I try to get them to sit down with black people and decide what sort of life they will have after the disaster."

"It is like a doctor diagnosing that you are headed for a heart attack, and nothing can prevent it. You must get yourself in shape so that you can survive the attack and then prepare yourself for a better life-style afterwards."

Whites must be willing to make a political confession of guilt, he says. "Maybe then black people will start to think change is possible... but we have to go through a catharsis."

He will not vote in Stellenbosch, but his lost vote is more than a statistic: "To not vote is the only protest I can voice — to cry out against the system, to say I do not want to participate."

(Report by C Robertson, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

# CP<sup>DP 7/4/87</sup> man opts out of Wits<sup>204A</sup> debate<sup>5</sup>

JOHANNESBURG

The Conservative Party candidate for Krugersdorp, Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, has withdrawn from a planned inter-party debate due to be held at the University of the Witwatersrand later this month in protest against the university's admitting Mrs Winnie Mandela as a student.

Mr Derby-Lewis' office gave as one of the reasons for the withdrawal the alleged "revolutionary antics... of the likes of Winnie Mandela".

He also demanded that all government subsidies to Wits be withdrawn until such time as the university took action "against the violence and damage to property being caused by the black racists on campus."

Mr Derby-Lewis also demanded the university take action to "stop the intimidation of legitimate students who do not agree with Wits' Marxist philosophies."

(Report by R. Norton, 626 Old Mutual Bldg, Harrison St, Johannesburg).



(204A) sme 7/4/87

# Battle is on for farmers' votes to oust sitting CP 'pretenders'

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

Barberton and Lichtenburg may be at the opposite extremes of the Transvaal, but they are two constituencies which have a lot in common in this election.

They are both predominantly farming districts and their politics are closely tied to the weather and other agricultural factors.

They are also constituencies which have been represented since 1982 by MPs who crossed the floor from the National Party, on whose ticket they were elected, to the Conservative Party.

Now the National Party is pulling out every stop to oust the pretenders and reclaim these constituencies as its own.

The incumbent MPs are two CP heavyweights: Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, the party's deputy leader (Lichtenburg), and Mr Cas Uys, CP shadow Minister of Agriculture (Barberton).

In both constituencies the Nationalists have fielded strong local people as candidates and in both constituencies the Herstigte Nasionale Party has put up candidates who are not expected to do well, but will spoil the CP chances.

The Nationalist candidate for Lichtenburg is Mr Len Burger, a farmer from Ottosdal and a chartered accountant.

A prominent member of a string of local organisations, and chairman of the Ottosdal town council, Mr Burger is fighting on the ticket of urgent reconstruction of the district's agricultural sector after six years of crippling drought.

"A member of the governing party will be in a better position to do so," he says in his election pamphlet.

## GUIDED WITH DISTINCTION

In Barberton, the NP candidate is Dr Jaco de Clercq, a specialist in African languages and a former personnel clerk to a Secretary of Bantu Education.

His message to the voters is that the NP has, since the unrest following Sharpeville in 1960, guided South Africa through a series of crises with distinction.

"Now that South Africa is facing its greatest psychological onslaught, we need to stand united and not against each other," he recently told a public meeting at Komatipoort, in his constituency.

No one can say how well the HNP candidates will do in these constituencies.

In Lichtenburg, the HNP man is Mr JH Boonzaaier, who is standing for his party for the fourth time. In the 1981 general election he cut Dr Hartzenberg's majority (then for the NP) from 6 614 in 1977 to 2 809.

The HNP switched its candidate in Barberton at the last minute last week from Mr Daan Nel (who stood in 1981) to Mr R Peens. Mr Nel cut Mr Uys' majority from 4 650 in 1977 to 1 478 in 1981.

The HNP polled about one third of the votes in both constituencies in the last election, but, although there is clearly right-wing support it is not clear how this will split between the HNP and the CP.

The NP's effort to win back Lichtenburg and Barberton may be measured by the public meetings the party has scheduled. President Botha opened his contribution to the election campaign in Lichtenburg last month, drawing a crowd of about 1 400 people. In Barberton no fewer than eight Ministers and Deputy Ministers have scheduled public meetings, prompting CP candidate Mr Cas Uys to retort that there were so many Ministers in the area a Cabinet meeting could be held.

## GOVERNMENT HINT TO FARMERS

Lichtenburg has about 16 800 voters, of which at least half live in Lichtenburg town and the other small farming towns of Groot Marico, Zeerust, Ottosdal and Coligny. Local NP organisers say Dr Hartzenberg is not a good constituency MP as he spends much of his time out of the region on CP business. Their candidate, they say, is bound to be more popular among the farmers as he has an agricultural background and knows something about finance.

President Botha made a concession to this vital sector of the local electorate when he hinted, to loud applause, at his Lichtenburg meeting that the Government could take over the debts of farmers and that the time had come to consider ways of putting young people back on the land.

The CP has reacted by saying Mr Botha only hinted at, not promised, relief, and the Government's promises were no longer to be believed. The CP is trying to make a big issue of the Group Areas Act and the fact that the Government is planning to bring blacks into the central level of government.

Dr Hartzenberg claims that from a single Indian family moving into Zeerust in November 1985 there are now five or six in the white part of the town. At least 27 black families have moved on to white smallholdings in his constituency, while in Ottosdal, he says, a white man is living in a white area with his black wife.

There are about 18 000 voters in Barberton, many of them living in the constituency's 24 small towns and villages. These include Machadodorp, Carolina, Hendrina and Belfast.

One major issue in the town of Barberton itself is a persistent suspicion that the Government intends handing over the town to kaNgwane after the election. According to local CP organisers the uncertainty has caused the bottom to fall out of the property market in the town.

## MAJOR ISSUE OF BLACK RIGHTS

Mr Uys, who has scheduled 15 public meetings to be addressed by him in his constituency, says that apart from agricultural problems, the biggest issue in the constituency is the whole question of political rights for blacks. Certainly, there is much confusion in Barberton about the Government's plans in this regard.

One local says he heard the Government announce on television that next year there would be integrated local government elections. This would obviously mean Barberton would have a black mayor next year, he said.

Others are convinced the Government is handing over the reins of power to blacks and that this election is the last opportunity to stop this plan. The CP is fighting here, as in Lichtenburg, to stop this plan.

The NP is fighting the election on the basis that the country cannot be divided into water-tight compartments and that the black labour force cannot be expelled without bringing the economy to its knees. The party is stressing the own affairs concept of its policy that whites are electing their own representatives to govern over themselves.

At a recent meeting at Komatipoort, addressed by Deputy Minister of Constitutional Affairs Mr Piet Badenhorst, only one question was asked: Would the Government please look at the ailing Nkomati Accord because there were 12 million starving people across the border and South Africa stood ready to feed them.

(Report by D M Braun, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

# Labour continues efforts to form broad new front

Political Staff

A group of dissident Labour Party members is to continue efforts to form a broad political front which could lead to the formation of a new multiracial party.

Weekend discussions in Germiston were attended by 10 MPs who have broken away from the Labour Party because they maintain it is not truly committed to dismantling apartheid.

Other Labour supporters were present and the group is confident more MPs will join them.

Mr Charles Redcliffe, MP for

Schauderville, who is one of the leading figures in the group along with Mr Peter Mopp, MP for Border, said yesterday a further meeting was planned for Uitenhage on April 25.

He said it had been agreed at the weekend's successful talks that there should not be another coloured political party but that there was a need for a multiracial party.

## ALLIANCES

There was also the possibility of having alliances with other parties.

The group of dissidents would soon discuss with the Speaker how they could operate in the House of Representatives.

Mr Redcliffe said the Labour Party clearly did not have an agenda for the dismantling of apartheid and had become an appendage of the National Party.

The new group would fight for the dismantling of apartheid in various ways. It was opposed to the present tricameral system and would try to obstruct it in various ways in an attempt to bring it to an end.

(Report by T. Wentzel, 122 St. George's Street, Cape Town.)

3044  
24/5/82  
7/11/82



# Suzman tells students: election relevant

Dispatch Reporter

PIETERMARITZBURG

— The May 6 white election, while not democratic, was relevant because it was in Parliament that laws could be repealed and apartheid dismantled, the veteran politician and Progressive Federal Party MP for Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman, said here yesterday.

In her address to a lunch-time meeting on the Natal University campus, Mrs Suzman was reacting to a belief in certain quarters that neither the election nor Parliament were relevant.

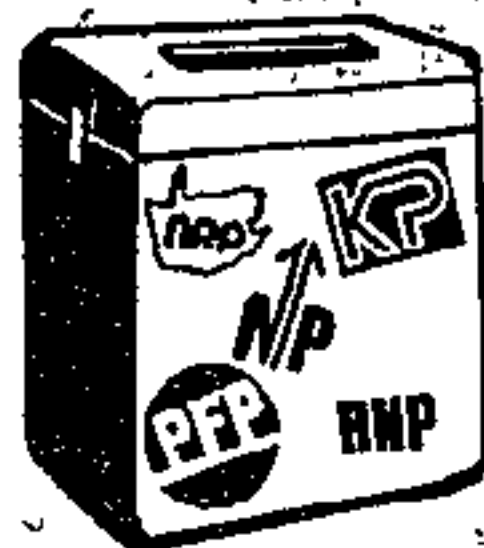
She said Parliament provided the best forum for the removal of all discriminatory legislation from the statute book.

"It is also in Parliament that important information is elicited by means of questions. During February the PFP put 1 600 questions to cabinet ministers and the majority were answered. It was because of this that people are able to know something of what is going on in South Africa today.

"We believe that the tri-cameral Parliament must go but the only way we can get rid of it is through Parliament itself," Mrs Suzman said.

She told the meeting that the work done by extra-parliamentary organisations was very valuable — and that it should be complementary to the work done in Parliament.

Apartheid had to be replaced by a non-racial democracy, Mrs Suzman said.



# ELECTION 1987

2/4/87  
SNAC

## Marais: Reform is revolution

### Govt 'to blame for unemployment'

304R

Unless South Africa's unemployment problem was solved, no possibility existed of solving the constitutional problem, Mr Harry Schwarz, chief Opposition spokesman on finance, said last night.

Addressing a Progressive Federal Party meeting attended by about 90 people in the Turffontein constituency, he said the country's unemployment problem was one of the major contributing factors to the unrest gripping South Africa.

"And I lay the blame for unemployment and for the large scale bankruptcies which occurred after 1984 squarely at the door of the Government."

The Government had also failed in its duty to provide and maintain security for the citizens of South Africa. Crime had become uncontrollable and when security within a state could no longer be maintained, the Government in control had no business running the country any longer, he said.

People are leaving the country because they have no confidence that the Nationalist Government can solve its problems, said Mr Schwarz.

Mr Ian Jayes, PFP candidate for Turffontein, said the NP feared the emerging alliance of Opposition candidates because it was an alliance of moderate and thinking South Africans.

(Report by R.F. Nuffall, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

By Gien Elsas,  
West Rand Bureau

Every revolution in history started with reform, according to the leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Mr Jaap Marais, who addressed a gathering of about 100 supporters in the Roodepoort City Hall last night.

Mr Marais said the Government wanted an election in May for the purpose of getting a mandate to carry on with their policy of reform.

"Revolution is reform at a faster pace, and it is impossible to say where reform ends and revolution starts," Mr Marais said. He added that other African countries started with reform and that this stopped when the blacks took over.

Mr Marais said the white South African had given the black man everything he had. "We have given them education and have got rid of their tribal fighting and so on. The black man owes us something — we don't owe him anything."

(Report by T. Elsas, Sanlam Building, Van Wyk Street, Roodepoort.)



577 2/4/87 304A

# Calmer times coming, judge tells faculty

By Sol Makgabutlane,  
Education Reporter

The trauma and troubles of the present made it difficult to realise calmer times lay ahead, Mr Justice R J Goldstone said last night.

Mr Goldstone, a Rand Supreme Court judge, was speaking during a graduation ceremony of the Faculty of Arts at the University of the Witwatersrand.

He said many talented South Africans left the country in 1960 after Sharpeville and the drain "has continued in fits and starts ever since".

The debate in South Africa in the 1960s and 1970s was "essentially a socio-moral one about superior and inferior races, with recourse being made to the debate to scriptures".

"The debate in South Africa

has changed. The protagonists of racial segregation are now to be found only on the extreme right. For other South Africans the issue is political.

"How is racial discrimination to be eradicated and what is to replace the existing constitutional order? At the same time we must recognise that this change in emphasis, important as it is, brings cold comfort to the millions of blacks who still suffer the indignity and economic and other deprivations of racial discrimination."

Mr Justice Goldstone said past victories raised expectations which were frustrated by the slow pace of reform.

"The one side demands too much too soon, the other gives too little too late."

He said universities, which accommodated the best youth from all different communities, were in the best position to debate the issues of the day.

"It is no less than proper for the university, as it has done, to make public its stand on the moral issues raised by discrimination and inroads into the rule of law. These are issues which transcend politics and which do not detract from the political neutrality of the university."

However, he reminded his audience that those who footed the bill at the university could hardly be expected to provide that financial support if the university as an institution abandoned political neutrality and was seen to support one or other political or ideological goal.

## 5 Matie academics support Nusas votes-for-all drive

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Five academics from Stellenbosch University have pledged support for the National Union of South African Students "one-person-one-vote campaign".

The Stellenbosch academics supporting the Nusas campaign are Professor Gerhard Lubbe and Dr Victor Corder from the law department, Mr Victor Honey from the arts department, Dr Arnold Blumer from the German department and Mr Jannie Gagliano from the political science department.

A host of academics from the University of the Witwatersrand, the Rand Afrikaans University and the University of Cape Town have also supported the campaign.

### "MEANINGLESS" VOTE

Addressing Wits students yesterday, Nusas president Mr Steve Kromberg said interest in this year's election was lower than in previous ones and the white vote was "more meaningless" than ever before.

It was understandable, he said, that whites were afraid they would be treated as they had treated the black people when this country had a black-majority government.

"In Nusas we have met nearly every non-racial black organisation and they have argued for development, not chaos," he said.

The president of the Black Students Society, Mr James Maseko, said most people saw the election as a perpetuation of apartheid ideology.

(Report by Susan Fleming, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)



POLITICS

Argus 9/4/87 (304A)

# Politics will never be the same again, says 'Lang Dawid'

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE  
Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICANS were responding dramatically to the independent movement, Mr D P "Lang Dawid" de Villiers QC, told a cheering crowd at an election meeting in Helderberg constituency.

Mr de Villiers, former managing director of Nasionale Pers, said: "A process has started which cannot and will not stop. Our politics will never be the same again".

Mr de Villiers was speaking in support of independent candidate Dr Denis Worrall at one of the biggest public meetings of the election campaign held in that constituency.

More than 1 000 people packed the Somerset West town hall. They cheered, clapped and shouted.

## "A vision"

Mr de Villiers said the independent movement had brought a vision while none was apparent from the National Party.

It was "a vision for breaking bottlenecks and logjams, for getting away from prejudices, bigotry, fears, petty politics and stereotyped slogans".

South Africans were beginning to see a "realistic possibility" for restoring confidence inside and outside the country's borders, for a recovery of the economy and for halting the "brain drain".

Mr de Villiers also criticised the Government's handling of the state of emergency.

He said there was strong re-



Mr D P de Villiers

sentment among moderates against the detention of people whose political conduct was often explicitly peaceful and entirely lawful.

Peace-loving people who were opposed to violence were among those being detained. "Each round of such actions diminishes the stock of remaining goodwill, and the radicalising effect on moderates is alarming".

Dr Worrall said in his address there was a movement "waiting to be created". It would draw together people of moderate views from all population groups.

He envisaged that after the May 6 elections the movement would become "a powerful political party".

At question time Dr Worrall was asked about allegations by Minister Chris Heunis that he had sought a National Party seat before he stood as an independent.

Dr Worrall said he had never asked Mr Heunis for a seat.

(Report by F S Esterhuyse, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

Vote for alliance a vote

nine pups they found on the my-over.

## Admission on fund-raising claim

The Argus Correspondent 3641

PRETORIA. — Mr Hennie Bekker, National Party candidate for Jeppe, has confirmed that one of his campaign workers raised cash from businessmen under the name of a charity not registered with the Department of Fund-raising.

But he denied the money raised under the name of the National Party Jeppe Fund for the Aged was intended for the National Party's election campaign.

The PFP has obtained a signed affidavit from a Johannesburg businessmen who claimed that the National Party campaign worker, Mr Laubscher, told him the contributions to the charity were in fact intended for National Party campaign.

The admission by Mr Bekker that funds were collected in the name of an unregistered fund-raising body comes at a time when police are investigating independent politicians for allegedly doing the same thing.

Mr Bekker said the money —

R350 — had been intended for a "non-political" social function planned for Jeppe senior citizens who were "well-disposed to the National Party". But the function was postponed to later in the year when the election was announced.

Mr Bekker decided to discontinue the fund because it was not worth the trouble of applying to have it registered with the Department of Fund-raising.

### "FALSE ACCUSATION"

Mr Bekker said the impression had been created that he was "running a massive fund for old-age people which was actually meant for my campaign".

This was a "false accusation" he said. He said Mr Laubscher, a fund-raiser for the Jeppe National Party, had approached two companies for campaign funds.

"When they indicated they were not prepared to give money for the National Party campaign, he indicated that we do have functions for the Jeppe aged and they could give to that."

Mr Becker also denied newspaper reports that Mr Laubscher had told potential donors that contributions to the NP Jeppe Fund for the Aged would be tax-deductible. No donations to welfare organisations were tax-deductible, he said.

Mr Peter Gastrow, PFP national chairman, said he had yesterday obtained an affidavit from the managing director of a Johannesburg business who had been approached by Mr Laubscher for funds in January this year.

When the businessman refused, "he then suggested I should make a donation to the National Party Jeppe Fund for the Aged," the businessman said in the affidavit.

"He said in that way it would be seen to be a donation to a charitable organisation and not to the National Party and that this fund had been utilised in the past for donations to the National Party campaign."

(Report by P Fabricius, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)



# NP gets biggest bite of television time

AREAS 9/4/87  
30/4/87

Dateline: GRAHAMSTOWN

**T**HE Conservative Party and Herstigte Nasionale Party have in the past week enjoyed the most television coverage in the election campaign so far, but the largest share of actuality was given to the government.

This was the finding of the Policom Survey, conducted by the Rhodes University Department of Journalism and Media Studies on coverage given on SABC television from March 30 to April 5, the third week of the white election campaign.

Reasons for the 25,3 percent coverage of the CP and HCP are the two Network features on the policies of both parties following their failure to reach an election pact before nomination day on March 31 and effectively splitting the rightwing opposition vote.

## NP not always given "last word"

A Sunday night feature on government job creation was the main reason for the rise in coverage in this category to 32,5 percent from 13,7 percent in the previous week.

The survey also found that the National Party was not always given the "last word" during Network election round-ups, but the arguments given were never contrary to NP policy.

NP coverage dropped from 28,8 percent to 9 percent, the PFP/NRP alliance dropped to 10 percent from 17,1 percent.

The "last words" in the three election round-ups since the start of the election campaign were given by leader of the CP, Dr Andries Treurnicht on March 27 when he commented on the failure of the CP and HNP to make an election pact, Dr Dennis Worrall, Independent in Helderberg, on March 31 when he endorsed the government's policy on the African National Congress and communism, and Mrs Helen Suzman on April 2 talking on women in politics.

"The sources quoted in *News* and *Network* programmes are those of acceptable groups as defined by the SABC and by the government. The acceptable political spectrum runs from the HNP to the CP, on the right, to the PFP on the left.

"Anything outside those limits is 'political extremism' with the political 'centre' being the NP."

The week's score and the cumulative score for the United Democratic Front, Azapo, Cosatu and other extra-parliamentary opposition speakers including the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging remained at zero.

— Sapa.

(News by Heloise Henning, 626 Mutual Building, Harrison Street, Johannesburg.)

# White polls 'a circus'

THE National Union of South African Students yesterday compared the forthcoming white elections to a circus and said it considered them illegitimate because they excluded eighty percent of the country's citizens.

A meeting in support of a call for a one person one vote system heard speakers call on whites not to participate in the May 6 elections. A

packed Wits University social sciences hall applauded Nusas president, Mr Steve Kromberg, Wits Black Students Society president, Mr James Maseko, and veteran activist Mrs Helen Joseph when the three said they were not calling for a boycott, but for non-participation.

Mr Kromberg said it would be holding a non-racial poll in the week

preceding the elections. All students have been invited to cast their vote for a democratic future.

He said: "The fact that we are running a non-racial poll at the time of the racist election is symbolically significant and we believe it will serve to provide a pointer to what South Africa will be like under a non-racial, democratic system of government."

Mr Maseko listed three reasons which he said were the real issues behind the calling of early elections. He said the first was the split between the State and top capitalists, which saw businessmen going to Lusaka for talks with the ANC; the second was the resignations of high ranking Nationalist Party members who are disillusioned with the reform strategy; and the third was the split between the Afrikaners themselves as shown by the Herstigte Nasionale Party, the Conservative Party and the Afrikaanse Weerstand Beweging.

Some organisations and academics have shown support for the Nusas poll.

(Report by Sello Rabothata of 61 Commando Road, Industria).



# PFP 'economic solution'

THE PFP had an economic blueprint to repair the severe damage done to the economy by government mismanagement, PFP finance spokesman Harry Schwarz said in Pretoria last night.

He said that when things went wrong in the economy, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis blamed factors beyond government control. "Or he hides behind his officials."

He said major points in the blueprint were:

21/4/77  
30/4/77  
B. Day  
GERALD REILLY

- ☐ Plans to bring inflation under control, among them cuts in State spending; and more effective consumer legislation to eliminate exploitation;

- ☐ Negotiations with commerce and industry and trade unions on voluntary wage and salary restraints, as well as a voluntary restraint on prices; cutting back severely on unnecessary bureaucracy.

*B/Day 9/4/87 304A*

THE Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa) had never tried to hide the source of its funding, executive director Alex Boraine said yesterday.

He was reacting to a report in the Citizen that Idasa received funds from overseas organisations.

Idasa is a non-profit, Cape-

## Idasa funds 'not secret'

Business Day Reporter

based research organisation run by Boraine and former Opposition leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert.

"We have never tried to hide

the fact that we are raising funds from sources both inside and outside the country," Boraine said.

He was "at a loss" to understand how the minutes of the organisation's February meet-

ing had come into the possession of the Citizen.

"I think it is a smear tactic. The inference is that if you get funds from countries critical of South African policies, it is somehow unpatriotic," he said.

"We will take funds from any source provided there are no strings attached," Boraine said.



**D**uring the short period I have been in SA, it has struck me how often SA's wealth and economic potential has been described in terms of its vast storehouse of minerals — particularly gold.

There is no denying the country is blessed with natural resources. But, frankly, I had thought the question of the fundamental nature of wealth was decided long ago. Over 200 years ago, Adam Smith — then an obscure US professor of moral philosophy — made an important discovery, one that underlies the theory of free enterprise.

Smith found the wealth of a nation was not measured by the amount of gold in its coffers, but by the talent and enterprise of its people. And when the people had the freedom to exercise their talent and enterprise to work, the entire nation would prosper.

**T**his simple idea illuminates the relationship between free enterprise, politics and society. If wealth is based on possession of any limited resource or combination of limited resources, then we play the dismal game in which the more wealth you have, the less will be available to your neighbour.

I believe wealth is something created through the vision and hard work of the individual, as he co-operates with others to mutual advantage.

If the wealth of a society resides in its people, no country is rich enough to waste the talent and drive of a single individual.

Expenditures on people — from education and training to basic health care — should no longer be viewed as a mechanism for transferring wealth from one group to another, but as an investment in the well-being of future society.


Even in a country as committed to free enterprise as the US, there are often obstacles placed in the path of individuals that have hindered them from achieving up to full potential. But, the denial of opportunity to any individual — whether based on race, sex or other arbitrary set of characteristics — limits the achievements of society as a whole.

**I** will not be the first to point out SA will be able to enjoy the benefits of a dynamic free market system only when all its people have the opportunity to participate fully in government and the economy.

Free enterprise available to only a minority is no more acceptable or ultimately any more sustainable than democracy available only to a minority.

Eventually the prosperity and stability of a post-apartheid SA will depend on how deeply and widely free market principles are

# SA: free enterprise as the future



□ PERKINS

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## EDWARD PERKINS

304A

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accepted and practised within this country. Currently, the natural preoccupation of most South Africans is how to free the country from the strictures of apartheid. Following a transformation of the political and social system, they will face many of the same problems confronted by nations around the world:

- How to create enough jobs to keep a growing population gainfully employed;
- How to create new wealth to overcome poverty and inequality; and
- How to shape an economic system compatible with broad democratic ideals.

**I**t is important to remember SA will not have to confront these challenges alone. All Western nations have had to struggle for solutions to rising unemployment. None has completely eliminated poverty.

In the US we have sharply cut taxes and pruned regulations and red tape that have strangled entrepreneurs. European countries — ranging from conservative Britain to socialist Spain — have been returning their state-owned corporations to the private sector.

US Secretary of State George Shultz, in his recent visit to Africa, found intense interest for the strengthening of free market institutions. I believe that in confronting their own challenges, South Africans will find free enterprise — buttressed by the infusion of talents and entrepreneurial skills from the black community — relevant in a post-apartheid SA.

I know of no economic system more successful in the creation of meaningful employment than free enterprise.

**S**ince the initiation of market-orientated reforms early in the 80s, the US economy has created more than 6-million new jobs — and seven out of 10 were created by small, innovative new firms.

By turning the US population into a nation of entrepreneurs, there are 230-million Americans thinking about ways of creating work for themselves and others — much more effective than leaving the task to a handful of government economists.

This is not to say government is unable to create employment. In most cases, however, it was found twice as expensive to create a job in the public sector as in the private sector.

**E**limination of poverty and the inequalities built up over years of apartheid will require the creation of new wealth and rapid economic growth in the new SA society.

Economists calculate that to provide jobs for the 350 000 new workers entering the labour force each year, SA must achieve a growth rate of 5%/year.

There is no better way to stimulate economic growth than to unleash the energy and innovation of people — all of the people.

A government powerful enough to restrict an individual's freedom to use his/her talents in his own enterprise is soon powerful enough to restrict political freedoms.

There are those who associate free enterprise with apartheid. That is not so. Apartheid is completely at odds with the principles of free enterprise.

I hear much talk about a new SA, and what it will be like. The political vision is one of a system in which all of the people of SA participate in determining how they are to be governed.

**T**he vision includes a social system which also involves freedom of choice, freedom of movement, and the opportunity for all South Africans to excel and achieve to their highest ability.

But what of the economic system and the opportunities it should afford for a better life, and a chance for every individual to meet his/her potential?

Achievement as a fundamental, inescapable element of dynamic societies means second-best is not good enough for the individual or society of which he is a part.

There is, in this time of transition, a need to reassure people the change that is coming will be positive and productive. It is not only Afrikaners who want this reassurance, but millions of other South Africans.

The bland idea that all will be well after the demise of apartheid is somehow not reassuring to everyone. People rightly believe a better world must be created — as well as envisioned.

Entrepreneurs represent one of the strongest forces for dynamic change and progress in any nation — that is individual achievement.

Many SA entrepreneurs, particularly the black businessmen, have had to conquer an intimidating gauntlet of obstacles in striving to bring their vision of the future into reality.

**I**n conclusion, the wealth of a nation is not its gold but the ability and enterprise of its citizens. The greatest resource I have seen in SA is the well of talent, dedication and optimism embodied in its people, black and white.

Freedom to achieve and participate is the only way to unlock this potential. The application of the principles of free enterprise will benefit those who have been systematically excluded from the system. But a free economy is not one that can be used by only one segment for its exclusive benefit.

The expansion of freedom for one is the security of freedom for everyone. As the Spanish writer Cervants said: "When God sends the dawn, he sends it for all".

□ Extracts of an address by US Ambassador EDWARD PERKINS to the Cape Town and Western Cape Chambers of Commerce, March 26 1987.

# Fund money *Cape Times 7/4/87* 'deductible' — affidavit *30kA*

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The managing director of a Johannesburg company yesterday claimed a National Party official approached him for money, which was to be tax-deductible and channelled through a party-run charitable fund.

The claim was made in an affidavit given to the PFP's national chairman Mr Peter Gastrow.

Mr Gastrow said the NP official's procedure was "tantamount to attempted tax fraud".

The MD's name and that of his company are being withheld for personal reasons. The company had previously donated money to the NP.

Commissioner of Inland Revenue Mr Clive Kingon confirmed that funds donated to political parties and charities were not tax-deductible.

In the affidavit, the MD said he had been approached in January by an NP worker who said he was telephoning on behalf of Jeppe's NP candidate Mr Hennie Bekker.

## 'Tax-deductible contribution'

The worker suggested the MD make a "tax-deductible" contribution to the "National Party Jeppe Fund for the Aged" which "had been utilized in the past for donations to the NP campaign".

Mr Bekker yesterday described the MD's allegations as "nonsense", but confirmed the worker referred to was a temporary employee in his office.

Mr Bekker said a total of R350 in donations had been received by him for the aged but this was not in the form of a fund but a "column in our bookkeeping books" which is used for functions involving senior citizens "not related to the elections because that would be tantamount to 'treat-you-to-tea-please-vote-for-me'."

The NP worker could not be reached for comment.

(Report by Dominique Gilbert, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.)



ELECTION COUNTDOWN

# Pik Botha claims ANC 'plan to kill'

## Political Staff

UVONGO. — Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha last night said ANC terrorists were on their way to disrupt the elections and warned neighbouring states the government would take "whatever action" was necessary to stop them.

South Africa has used similar terminology in the past before making pre-emptive, cross-border strikes against alleged terrorist bases.

He told an enthusiastic crowd of about 500 at a meeting in support of the National Party's candidate in South Coast, Mr Aubrey Thompson, that the "heavily armed terrorists" had assembled near Lusaka from where some had already left for South Africa.

The expectant crowd were told before the meeting that Mr Botha would be late because he was discussing an important statement with the State President, Mr P W Botha.

He said he had called on the

governments of Zambia, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Mozambique to prevent these forces from reaching South Africa.

"They are on their way via Zimbabwe, Botswana and Mozambique to come and kill innocent people and disrupt the elections," he said.

"If these terrorists proceed and cross into our country and carry out their evil plan, our security forces will take whatever steps are necessary to retaliate and to protect our borders."

He wondered how Mr Bob Hawke in Australia would react to Mr Oliver Tambo, the leader of the ANC, who was his guest.

"I cannot accept that the majority of Australians — with whom we have fought two world wars and in Korea, and with whom we have always been friendly — will simply accept that Mr Tambo is not responsible for these terrorists who want to kill and butcher innocent blacks, whites and coloureds," he said.

He hoped the Australian media would ask Mr Tambo if he had given the order to move to these terrorists "to throw bombs and kill people to stop a democratic election".

All South African missions abroad had been informed of the plan in a message sent out last night by Mr Botha.

The message said: "The government has reliably learned of an ANC offensive which is being planned to disrupt the general election through violence."

"The plan involves the infiltration of several groups of heavily armed terrorists who have been assembled in Zambia from where some have already left for South Africa via Botswana, Zimbabwe and Mozambique."

"The SA government urges the government of Zambia to prevent those in Zambia from leaving its borders ..."

(Report by O Pollak, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban)

By Colleen Ryan  
Political Reporter

# Widman opposes Pik: ANC on way opening of 364K Some areas only

The Progressive Federal Party MP for Hillbrow, Mr Alf Widman, said he would strongly oppose the Government if it declared the suburb open to all races while it retained the Group Areas Act in most other areas.

Addressing a public meeting attended by about 100 people in Hillbrow, Mr Widman said he suspected that after the election the Government would declare certain areas like Hillbrow, Woodstock and Mayfair open to all races.

"If Hillbrow is singled out as an open area, I will fight it tooth and nail. There is only one solution — to scrap the Group Areas Act entirely so people can live where

## Call for private enterprise

QUEENSTOWN — Blacks would be happy to join the army to defend South Africa if they were allowed to take their place in the economic and constitutional system.

"We must make them proud South Africans," the RP candidate here, Mr Robert Edlmann, said at a meeting in Cathcart yesterday.

If the system was changed, with many State bodies being turned over to private enterprise, blacks would come part of "a mighty economy" in South Africa, Edlmann said. — Sapa

(Report by A Monteath, 64 Cathcart Road, Queenstown)

ever they can afford."

He said Hillbrow was already over-concentrated and would not be able to cope with a large influx of homeless people. Mr Widman again hit out at his NP opponent in Hillbrow, Mr Leon de Beer, alleging that his workers were "tricking" people into applying for postal votes when they did not qualify.

Mr Widman read out numerous statements made by Hillbrow voters who claimed that they

had been told they could "vote at home" and be spared the inconvenience of going to the polls on May 6.

"When a man stoops so low as to steal votes and get people to sign applications to which they are not entitled, and to which they expose themselves to prosecution, is that a man you can trust?"

Mr de Beer earlier denied the allegations.

Mr Widman referred to escalating crime in the area and said he had been trying to get the Minister of Law and Order to visit Hillbrow and had been pressing for more police on patrol.

He said the Government had failed to give Hillbrow adequate protection because numerous policemen were occupied in the townships in terms of the state of emergency.

(Report by C Ryan, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

## to disrupt elections

UVONGO — The Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha last night claimed ANC terrorists were on their way to disrupt the elections and warned neighbouring states the Government would take whatever action was necessary to stop them.

He told a crowd of about 500 at a meeting in support of the National Party's candidate in South Coast, Mr Aubrey Thompson, that heavily armed terrorists had assembled near Lusaka from where some had already left for South Africa.

The crowd had been told Mr Botha would be late because he was discussing an important statement with the State President, Mr P W Botha.

He said he had called on the governments of Zambia, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Mozambique to prevent these forces from reaching South Africa.

"They are on their way via Zimbabwe, Botswana and Mozambique to come and kill innocent people and disrupt the elections," he said.

## HAND OF FRIENDSHIP

South Africa, he said, had consistently extended the hand of friendship and co-operation to its neighbours, with whom it wished to live in peace.

However, he said he had made it clear to the neighbouring governments that this Government would not tolerate their territories being used by terrorists.

"If these terrorists proceed and cross into our country and carry out their evil plan, our security forces will take whatever steps are necessary to retaliate and to protect our borders.

"The Government however cannot allow terrorists to enter the Republic from neighbouring countries. This should not be construed as a threat.

"The Government regards this matter in a very serious light and trusts the Government of Zambia will most urgently take effective action to counter this plan of the ANC. — Sapa.

(Report by O Pollok, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban.)

## Quotes from the election platform

Nationalist pamphlet in support of its candidate in Pietermaritzburg South, Mr Brian Edwards: "... the future of South Africa is in your hands and the National Party is best suited to secure that 'failure' for all South Africans." (The word "failure" was a misprint for "future").

★ ★ ★  
Natal leader of the PFP Mr Ray Swart, speaking in the Westdene constituency: "The performance and style of the Foreign Minister worry me. He is one of the longest-serving foreign ministers in the world, but he behaves like an incompetent amateur."

★ ★ ★  
PFP candidate in Yeoville Mr H Schwarz, speaking in Pretoria: "I'm an African but my colour is white and I'm entitled to be here. I've also got rights."

★ ★ ★  
Health Minister Dr Willie van Niekerk, speaking in East London: "Do you want a revolutionary government for your children? If the answer is yes then vote for the alliance."

(Compiled by J M Patten, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

## NP seeks 'failure' pamphlet

A "valuable collection piece" of 1987 election memorabilia being hunted down in the Natal Midlands — particularly by the National Party.

It is an NP propaganda sheet called "The Natal maritzburg South candidate, Mr Brian Edwards. It states: "He believes that the future of South Africa is in your hands and the National Party is best suited to secure that failure for all South Africans."

He also believed until yesterday that all the copies of the pamphlet had been sent back to the printer for destruction and a reprint with the word "failure" changed to "future".

(Report by B Cameron, 85 Field Street, Durban.)



**Election opponents' stories differ**

# I didn't ask for Nat seat — Worrall

304A  
SMA  
9/4/87

**SOMERSET WEST —** Dr Denis Worrall last night denied specifically asking the man now his opponent in the Helderberg constituency, Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development, if he could stand for the National Party in the election.

Mr Heunis made the allegation during an election meeting on Tuesday in Brakenfell. Dr Worrall, an independent candidate, replied at a meeting attended by about 1 000 in Somerset West town hall.

## VISITED

Mr Heunis had said the former ambassador to Britain would be "telling a lie" if he said he had not sought an NP seat or that he had not wanted a position in the Cabinet.

Dr Worrall, he said, visited him in his office on January 19 and asked to contest an NP seat.

Dr Worrall said last night: "I never specifically asked Mr Heunis for a seat."

Mr Heunis also said his opponent had sought the backing of Dr Anton Rupert. Mr Worrall told the meeting he had sought Dr Rupert's advice about an idea he had early in January and added:

"What surprises me and what I think Mr Heunis does not like is that within hours Dr Rupert had phoned his son and asked if he was registered as a voter in Helderberg because there was 'an interesting candidate' due to stand."



**ELECTION  
1987**

Dr Worrall, loudly applauded before and during his speech, said it was time to get the message across that whites were ready to face the problems of South African society.

"It is time to demonstrate to the world that peaceful answers are possible," he said. "It is also time to send a message of hope and reconciliation to blacks."

He was confident of winning the election. "I am going to Parliament — that's for sure," he said.

He was not contesting the Helderberg seat because of any personal grudges against Mr Heunis. Rather he was standing against a senior Minister in a Government that, among other things:

- Said it believed in reform but would not scrap the Group Areas Act,
- Said it believed in negotiation but rejected the kwaNatal Indaba.
- Blatantly abused radio and TV.
- Had hopelessly mismanaged the economy.

He said all the Government's constitutional thinking was based on the assumption of white identity and interests — the same mistake made by white Rhodesians who defined rights in racial

terms, defining themselves as the minority.

Groups had to be recognised in constitutional negotiations but on the basis of language and culture and voluntary association, not race.

Answering a question on national service, he said it had to be recognised that South Africa was threatened from outside but the use of servicemen in black towns was quite obviously upsetting many people.

"Many of the concerns we have would fall away if we found political answers to our internal problems."

## REALITY

He said he was horrified by Deputy Minister of Law and Order Mr Roelf Meyer saying the state of emergency could continue for another two to three years. The Government was wrong if it thought blacks would be more amenable after such a period.

He told another questioner the homelands were part of South Africa's political reality. Any revised constitution affecting them would have to be tested in the homelands before being put into effect. — Sapa

(Report by G Smith, 801 Nedbank Centre, Strand Street, Cape Town.)

## Decision on Inanda removals

DURBAN — A Cabinet committee decision on controversial proposals to resettle 600 black families from an Inanda dam site to the Waterfall area near Hillcrest should be announced next Wednesday, Mr Rudi Redinger, NP candidate for Greytown, told a meeting in Kloof last night.

In response to a question also addressed by the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Mr Piet Badenhorst, and Mr Tino Volker, senior MEC for Natal, Mr Redinger said "feedback" from the Cabinet committee meeting had been "good".

Mr Badenhorst said group areas would remain. Whites would continue to rule with power-sharing between the groups. — Sapa.

(Report by A Maggs, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban.)

## NP spurned only peaceful solution, says Treurnicht

KRUGERSDORP — The National Party has rejected the only peaceful solution for South Africa, which was separate states for the different race groups, said the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, last night.

Would the National Party Government, he asked his audience of about 450 people in the town hall here, take up arms against its white brothers who demanded to be governed only by whites?

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha's, recent attack on the CP in Benoni was typical of his alarmist attitude. Mr Botha had said the CP was following an outdated policy.

"Mr Botha says if there is no reform there is revolution. This spirit of talking people into surrender is making them cowards (hendsoppers).

"We are called to heroic deeds if we want to live on in freedom. We will have to reverse this power-sharing, multiracial government into a government for ourselves by ourselves.

"Any constitution that has become a millstone of death around a nation's neck must be changed."

Dr Treurnicht said self-determination could only be applied in an own sovereign parliament.

The security forces should be separate. Whites should act in white areas and blacks in black areas.

— Sapa.

(Report by H Henning, 626 Mutual Building, Harrison Street, Johannesburg.)

## Swart questions Pik's ability as Minister

Natal PFP leader and Opposition spokesman on foreign affairs Mr Ray Swart last night launched a stinging attack on Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha.

At a Roosevelt Park meeting attended by about 200 people, held in support of Mrs Margaret Fourie who opposes Mr

Botha in Westdene, Mr Swart related a "catalogue of mistakes, gross incompetence and inconsistency" by Mr Botha.

"He once told the world that South Africa could have a black president and was ignominiously reproved by the State President. Later, he glibly told the interna-

tional media that he had made a mistake.

"Last October he tried by long distance to lobby US congressmen to vote against sanctions on South Africa. He threatened that South Africa would not import wheat from the US if sanctions went through. This was ham-handed behaviour."

Last year Mr Botha had expelled the International Red Cross after South Africa was suspended from the body — although it was generally agreed within the IRC the suspension was unconstitutional.

"He justified the abduction of people, including two Swiss nationals, in Swaziland last year and said they were involved in 'devilish plans against South Africa'." Later he said they were being returned because of the good relations between South Africa, Swaziland and Switzerland.

(Report by SM Makgubutane, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

## Curb AWB — van Rensburg

Independent MP for Bryanston Mr Horace van Rensburg has called on the Government to curb the activities of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) "before it is too late".

Mr van Rensburg said in a statement he was calling on the Government to take action because he believed no organisation that aimed to bring about a totalitarian system in South Africa should be allowed to exist.

"The Government has taken action to prevent the ANC/Communist Party alliance from operating in South Africa, and it should now demonstrate that it is prepared to act as resolutely and ruthlessly against the emerging menace on the far right of our society," he said.

(Report by D M Braun, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

304A

Star

9/4/87



5/17/87  
9/14/87

# Govt policy has 'aggravated difficulties for businessmen'

30417

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South Africa's political establishment had done much to aggravate the difficult position many large companies are experiencing and had created a fertile environment for those wishing to exploit the already explosive and polarised situation, Mr Donald Gordon, founder and chairman of the R7 637-million Liberty Life group said in his annual statement today.

Mr Gordon stressed that: "The Government's continuing pre-occupation with maintaining or modifying the unacceptable system of institutionalised racialism and apartheid has made the ability of the business community to defend our position at home or abroad virtually impossible.

"Clearly, all vestiges of discriminatory policies must unequivocally and summarily be dismantled to create a foundation from which South Africa can return to normality and provide the environment which will facilitate political stability and economic growth.

"The world, however, cannot expect standards of behaviour which few, if any, nations are realistically able to sustain.

"These objectives are even more critical than they were a year ago and their implementation progressively more difficult in view of both the increasingly radical polarisation of our society and the lack of recognition and

encouragement by the Western World of any steps, however tentative, taken by the State and by others willing to embrace a realistic and acceptable agenda for change."

He said South Africans were making efforts to resolve the country's problems with little support.

Mr Gordon said unemployment was the critical problem for the South African economy. And it was difficult to correct without a major de-escalation of international and local pressure and the adoption of a meaningful agenda for reform.  
— Sapa.

# Showdown on race laws



Mr GENE LOUW  
... hot seat

**Post Correspondent**  
**CAPE TOWN —** A major confrontation is looming between the Cape Town City Council on the one hand and the Administrator of the Cape, Mr Gene Louw and ultimately, the Government.

Behind the row is a series of decisions taken by the local authority to fight all Group Areas Act (GAA) removals within the city.

The council has also refused to have anything to do with the "racially-based" regional services councils.

Several councillors said: "Relations between the city council and Louw have never really been amicable, and the strong public stand we are now taking on these issues will certainly raise the animosities to new levels."

At the same time they have no desire to precipitate a clash.

The hope is the authorities will not press ahead with applying the GAA strictly with enforced evictions and removals, and also revise plans for the RSCs.

Councillors said, however, there was little doubt the Government would take steps to strong-arm the city council back into line.

Cape Town has been loud in its condemnation of Government's RSC proposals, decrying them for perpetuating apartheid, being totally flawed and adding another costly level of bureaucracy for taxpayers to carry.

Last month it emphasised its views by refusing to allow the municipality to be used as an agency to collect RSC levies.

Councillor Clive

Keegan said yesterday: "It would have been incongruous for us to act as the tax collectors for apartheid."

The task will be taken over by the Cape Divisional Council, which was to have been abolished once the RSCs came into effect.

The averted threatened row, however, might only be postponed for councillors have still to decide whether they will also refuse to elect people to sit on the RSC.

Based on a motion submitted by Mr Jan van Eck — unopposed PFP candi-

date for the Groote Schuur constituency in the May general election — the decision to "fight" the Government on the GAA issue was initially aimed at tackling the evictions threatening coloured families living in Landsdowne, Rondebosch East and Kenwyn.

It included all Cape Town's suburbs, as well as the racially mixed suburb of Woodstock, which Government is determined will become a purely coloured group area — despite strong opposition voiced by residents of all groups living there.



against the dollar. as the rand strengthened

gramme.

# Business 'silence' slated

Own Correspondent 30411

JOHANNESBURG. — Incoming Johannesburg Consolidated Investments (JCI) chairman Murray Hofmeyr yesterday accused SA business leaders of naivete and complacency in dealing with government.

He told the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce's (JCC) annual meeting that a "deafening silence" from businessmen was allowing government to ride rough-shod over its critics and lending support to widely held black and foreign fears that business paid only lip-service to reform.

Hofmeyr, who succeeds Gordon Waddell at the head of JCI in June, singled out the lack of response to recent smear campaigns against government opponents.

"In the name of security — the prin-

ciple under which any action now seems possible in SA — these tactics are excused and indeed justified. Doubt is cast on the patriotism and character of those subject to the campaign and the real issue involved is conveniently forgotten."

"It should be a matter for serious reflection how readily businessmen are duped by these manoeuvres, thus displaying a naivete which, on a matter of business judgment, would be quite inconceivable."

The purpose of these campaigns was to isolate politically outspoken individuals.

"It is a matter of fact that business has been perceived both here and abroad to be extremely cautious about being seen to give support to individuals which government has judged to be beyond the pale.

# Row over NP advert's Lenin quote

By BARRY STREEK

*CAPE TIMES 10/4/87*  
A COMPLAINT has been made to the Advertising Standards Authority by a Stellenbosch University researcher about a National Party advertisement on the grounds that an incorrect source was cited in quoting Lenin.

The researcher, Mr Jeffrey Lever, yesterday said the source of the Lenin statement, as quoted in the advert, was wrong.

And Mrs Desi Halse, the PFP candidate for Umhlanga, said she had been subjected to a spate of dirty and racist telephone calls as a result of the advert which, after quoting the Russian revolutionary leader, had

made insinuations about the PFP. *3RA*  
She said the NP campaign had started in the past few weeks and had deliberately associated the PFP with communism and the ANC.

A spokesman for the advertising agency which handled the advert, Mr Eldad Louw, said the Lenin quote had been taken "in good faith" from a book written by Mr Ian Greig and published by the Foreign Affairs Research Institute in 1981.

Mr Lever said the adverts, published last Sunday, stated that the Lenin quote came from "The defeat of one's own government in the imperialist war" published in Volume 5 of the Collected Works of Lenin.

However, the original article was not published in this work but in Volume 21 of Lenin's Collected Works.

In any event, the quote used in the advert did not come from the article cited.

In his letter to the Advertising Standards Authority, Mr Lever said he wanted to complain about what was "either a blatant falsification or extremely careless compilation of a matter of national importance".

After making checks, he said Mr Greig's book was "obviously a totally disreputable right-wing publication with no academic standing whatsoever".

(Report by B Streek, 122 St George's St. CT)



Leaders politically 'complacent'

# New JCI boss slams top SA businessmen

10/4/87 B Day 304A

INCOMING Johannesburg Consolidated Investments (JCI) chairman Murray Hofmeyr yesterday accused South African business leaders of naivety and complacency in dealing with government.



● HOFMEYR

He told the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce (JCC) annual meeting a "deafening silence" from businessmen was allowing government to ride roughshod over its critics and lending support to widely held black and foreign fears that business paid only lip-service to reform.

Hofmeyr, who succeeds Gordon Waddell at the head of JCI in June, singled out the lack of response to recent smear

DAVID FURLONGER  
Industrial Editor

campaigns against government opponents.

"In the name of security — the principle under which any action now seems possible in SA — these tactics are excused and indeed justified. Doubt is cast on the patriotism and character of those subject to the campaign and the real issue involved is conveniently forgotten.

"It should be a matter for serious reflection how readily businessmen are duped by these manoeuvres, thus displaying a naivety which, on a matter of business judgment, would be quite inconceivable."

The purpose of these campaigns was to

● To Page 2 ➡

## Hofmeyr slams businessmen

304A B Day 10/4/87

isolate politically outspoken individuals.

"It is a matter of fact that business has been perceived both here and abroad to be extremely cautious about being seen to give support to individuals which government has judged to be beyond the pale.

"Small wonder that business leaders are perceived ... as being prepared to tacitly condone government tactics — some motivated by narrow party political gain and all of dubious morality."

He said business suffered from two misconceptions — that it was incumbent on business to explain to the outside world the realities of the economic and political environment, and that business had the power to force government to abandon apartheid.

"The need to point out the realities of both issues often comes across as a justification for inactivity or condoning the status quo. Business has failed to get the balance right, and the combination of

inactivity and what sounds like self-justification reinforces the highly-damaging equation of capitalism with apartheid in black circles."

Hofmeyr said businessmen must be unequivocal in rejecting injustice and in their willingness to be identified as doing so. He rejected the idea that silence on basic political and ethical issues was justified by the argument that a business leader should not confuse his corporate and personal identities.

While admitting that most business leaders had a public platform because of their position in a company, he added: "If every leader is going to be reduced to the lowest common denominator of his most cautious shareholder, policyholder, depositor or employee, those who have scant regard for basic freedoms will be given free rein."

Report by David Furlonger, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.

◀ ● From Page 1

# Wiley: Call on govt to come clean

By CHRIS STEYN

THE Progressive Federal Party last night called on the government to come clean on the circumstances surrounding the apparent suicide a fortnight ago of Mr John Wiley.

The call came amid speculation this week about the events which took place at Mr Wiley's Noordhoek home in the hours before he died.

In another development following closely on Mr Wiley's death, his friend and ministerial secretary, Mr David Rossouw, has been transferred from the minister's office to the Department of Sea Fisheries.

PFP candidate for Wynberg Mr Robin Carlisle said last night that every candidate canvassing in the field was aware of voters' concern and the speculation that was occurring on "a massive scale".

Addressing a house meeting, he said, "There is concern that whatever lay behind the events of last week may also reach into the cabinet."

"Many voters whom I have canvassed have volunteered the opinion that this matter will not be dealt with until the election is over. The authorities have a responsibility to ensure that this view is dispelled — and quickly."

"Given Mr Wiley's status, this question rests primarily with the State President."

Among the "too many unanswered questions, which could be answered immediately by the authorities" and would help to prevent the spread of current rumours, were:

□ "Why have the police never officially denied that two police colonels visited the Wiley home on the morning of March 29?"

□ "If there were two such visitors, what was their purpose?"

□ "Were charges (of sexual abuse of juveniles) against Mr David Allen (a friend of Mr Wiley), who committed suicide in Port Elizabeth, dropped?"

□ "If so, why were they brought in the first place?"

□ "While one can understand the granting of sea-fishing concessions to Mr Allen, who was a deep-sea diver, on what grounds were the guano concessions made to him?"

Meanwhile, speculation is rife about incidents which allegedly took place at his home on Sunday morning and which could have triggered his apparent suicide.

Allegations made to the Cape Times centre on an alleged visit that morning by two unidentified men, who imparted sensitive information to him.

Even close family members have given conflicting accounts of the sequence of events on that morning.

The police version was that Mr Wiley's body was discovered when his wife, Jeanne, after fetching the morning papers at the local café, found the house locked at 11.30am.

But when the Cape Times spoke to Mrs Wiley two days ago, she said she left the house at 9.30am to "go and pick up some pineapples and get braai-wood".

She said she returned to the house at 10.30am



Mrs Wiley



# Storm grows over 'new ANC offensive'

## Political Staff

THE row over charges of an African National Congress "offensive" grew today.

The Botswana government says South Africa has threatened it with armed aggression for being involved in the alleged offensive.

Top Zambian government officials also warned that South Africa was preparing the way for another armed incursion against the frontline states.

Referring to allegations by Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, of an ANC plot to disrupt the elections with violence, the Leader of the Official Opposition, Mr Colin Eglin, said no security issue should be used for cheap party-political electioneering purposes.

## "TUB-THUMPING"

"If there is a serious situation developing, one expects it to be dealt with seriously and not at tub-thumping election meetings." He was getting tired of all the "red herring stuff".

He would ask that the PFP's defence spokesman, Mr Brian Goodall, be briefed on the allegations, but he would not accept at face value what was being said as part of electioneering.

The Conservative Party and the New Republic Party have also accused Mr Botha of trying to make political capital out of the security situation.

Diplomats of most countries represented in South Africa were called to the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday to be warned of the alleged ANC plan.

In statement issued last night a spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs said Mr Botha told them it was the responsibility of those governments who had condemned South Africa for taking preventive and retaliatory action, to warn the neighbouring states against the consequences of colluding with terrorists.

He again hinted at reprisal action, saying South Africa was keeping "all its options open and will be guided by what the Government considers to be in the best interests of the country".

The ANC was "already going into action with several groups of terrorists in the process of moving towards South Africa, via Botswana, Zimbabwe and Mozambique".

In a statement Mr Botha blamed the ANC for the explosion in a minibus in Gaborone, Botswana, yesterday.



Mr Pik Botha

Dr Quett Masire

The Botswana Ministry of External Affairs said South Africa's Ministry of Foreign Affairs had sent a telex to Gaborone threatening Botswana with "dire consequences" if it allowed its territory to be used for the alleged offensive.

"In the past raids have followed such telexes and these South African raids are invariably totally unjustified," the Botswana government said.

The threat of raids was being used for internal political purposes in South Africa, such as "placating elements in their own society" and to attract rightwing votes.

A woman, a seven-year-old child and a nine-month-old baby died and four people were wounded in the blast in Gaborone West.

## OUTRAGE AT KILLINGS

The office of Botswana's President, Dr Quett Masire, has expressed its outrage at the killings. It said the minibus in which the bomb was planted had a South African registration — JKT 735 T.

The Zambian Foreign Minister, Mr Luke Mwananshiku, said Mr Botha was preparing the ground for an attack on Zambia and other frontline states and said there was "no truth ... no substance" in the allegations.

Mr Botha's message was handed to the Zimbabwean government yesterday morning but there has been no comment on it.

The official Mozambican news agency, Aim, said the statements indicated that South Africa intended to launch new attacks against the frontline states.

(Report by JS Rita and R Drew, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg; T Wentzel, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town, and B Cameron, 85 Field Street, Durban)

meads go to those who...

# Fragile peace in townships, says Anglo boss

ARGUS  
10/4/87  
305AA

**The Argus Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG. — Business leaders have been warned that the apparent peace in the black townships under the state of emergency security clamp-down is "sullen and fragile".

Mr Murray Hofmeyr, executive director of the Anglo American Corporation, also warned of the dangers of "creeping complacency" in business attitudes on political issues.

Mr Hofmeyr was addressing the annual meeting of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce last night.

## "DUPED"

He said businessmen had been "duped into silence" by tactics such as smear campaigns casting doubts about their patriotism and character if they dared attack apartheid and injustices.

Mr Hofmeyr, named as successor to Mr Gordon Waddell as chairman of the vast Johannesburg Consolidated Investment mining empire, urged

business leaders to "stand up and be counted" in the run-up to the May 6 election.

He told a packed audience of executives, heavily sprinkled with government officials and members of the overseas diplomatic corps: "We would do well to remind ourselves regularly that a state of emergency gives the state and its agents almost unlimited powers to act against individuals and groups and makes it virtually impossible for others to establish what is going on."

"The extent to which freedoms have been curtailed is well illustrated by the fact that the authorities consider it to be unlawful in certain circumstances to call for the charging or release of people in detention," Mr Hofmeyr said.

"We also need to remind ourselves of the widely-held perception by a great many blacks that business is quick to speak out when things are going badly, but equally quick to lapse into silence when things are going well."



we're page 304A

# Lose votes? The Nats? Not this time

BEHIND the misguided euphoria about the "Independents", nearly all polls tell the same story about the coming general election: National Party support is about as high among whites as it has ever been.

Never mind the economy, international isolation, the rebellion in the ghettos, the crumbling of the party establishment to left and right or the lack of any real policy. The NP is set for yet another comfortable victory on May 6, reflecting the power which flows from controlling information and shielding one's supporters from the crisis.

Applying the same diligence with which it has circled off and contained the rebellion in the ghettos, so the government has created a totalitarianism which is unique to the white suburbs.

The British political philosopher Bernard Crick said totalitarianism

was not merely a word of abuse for authoritarian practices writ large (a definition which closer fits rule over black South Africa).

Totalitarian regimes, according to Crick's definition, govern with the consent — or, to put it more strongly, the mass support — of the governed, in this case the citizens of the white republic.

If it were any other parliamentary democracy, South Africa's ruling party would surely be facing rejection from the electorate. Apart from the general issues such as economics and lack of policy, the Nationalists are entering this election in a crisis.

The defection of a number of prominent *verligte* members of the Nationalist business, academic, press and political establishment is a very real and deep schism.

But, given the implications of the breakaway in terms of the perceived

A lot of people are euphoric about schisms in the ruling party. But it may be premature, reports PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

bankruptcy of the NP's policies, the party has so far been largely successful at restricting the dissidence to the elite.

The *verligtes* and the Progressive Federal Party could be the precursors of a new white political alliance willing to negotiate the transfer to a non-racial democratic society. But that potential lies in the future, and depends on pressure from the townships and factories and when the NP is torn apart by its own contradictions — including its lack of vision, the growth of the far right and the looming succession struggle.

The only real effect of the *verligtes* in the 1987 election has been to turn Afrikaner yuppiedom into contested

terrain.

The NP, which had geared up for a fight against Andries Treurnicht and company, has had to spend more time than they budgeted for convincing the waverers that they are still wedded to "reform".

But for every yuppie that is lost to the cause, the NP probably gains one and a quarter rightwing English speakers — old United Party supporters who voted for the New Republic Party in 1981 and crossed into the NP camp when they voted yes in the 1983 referendum.

The party has been further hit by wildfire rumours surrounding the mysterious apparent suicide of the Minister of Environmental Affairs, John Wiley, and the resignation of former Deputy Information Minister, Louis Nel.

And NP leaders have found themselves in confusion and disarray

over the Group Areas Act, the one issue where they seem to have been badly affected by having to play to two galleries at once.

In spite of these difficulties, at least three recent polls have shown NP support to be almost as high as ever among the white electorate.

The last *Rapport* poll put Nationalist support at 54,2 percent of those people who will vote. Its closest opponent, the PFP, had the support of 22 percent.

Another poll published three weeks ago by *Beeld* put NP support at 58 percent compared to 17 percent for the Progressives, and 13 percent for the Conservative Party.

Opinion polls of individual constituencies published by *Argus* newspapers found that the Progressives would struggle to hold onto even those seats they have at present, such as Bezuidehoof.

NP canvassers are predicting a repeat of the 1983 referendum where the NP ended up with two thirds of the total number of votes against the combined far right and left-of-NP vote.

It is difficult to see, on the basis of the polls and short of some real disaster for the NP, how the division of seats after May 6 will be vastly different from what it is now.

Much of the NP popularity is clearly due to the partisan political stance of the SABC, which is the only source of political information for many whites.

While the party establishment crumbles to the left and the right, NP supporters are shielded from the crisis within their own party and among their own leaders.

In addition, the State of Emergency restrictions on the media have ensured that many will be voting without much knowledge of events in the country.

Few whites ever venture into the black townships and most have no other knowledge of the African National Congress than that which they learn from cabinet ministers.

In the Transvaal, where the PFP stands to lose seats, the closure of the *Rand Daily Mail* since the 1981 election has cost them crucial newspaper support and led to a further imbalance of information on the side of the NP.

But what makes this process possible is that many whites are receptive to propaganda, being brought up to accept things without question.

The NP have been helped by other factors.

The dissidents on the far right — who could have posed a major challenge — threw away three months of electioneering time squabbling over an election pact which they were finally unable to arrive at.

The PFP and NRP have had a lacklustre campaign, overshadowed by the media hype that has surrounded the independents and reflected in abysmal attendances at public meetings.

The NP also does well out of a voter registration campaign which has increased the number of registered voters by 750 000, or almost a third more than voted in the last election.

These voters include some of the most apathetic, who will more than likely support the status quo. The party's efficient election machine will in all likelihood get them to the polls in combis on May 6.

It is difficult to see how, even without these factors in favour of the party, most white South Africans — the 54 to 58 percent party faithful — would be swayed very far from their anaesthetised daydream of cloud cuckooland in 1987.

These are, after all, much the same people who applauded Breyten Breytenbach with a standing ovation when he lambasted them as horrible oppressors in Stellenbosch last year, a few days after staging the same performance at the Pretoria Opera House.

When he came off the stage, Breytenbach turned to a journalist and summed the audience up with one word:

"Zombies."

(Report by Phillip van Niekerk, 190 Marshall St, Johannesburg.)

## Oom Poem: Political Lionkiller of the North

By HANS BRANDT

"STOP Inflation! Reject Integration! Save the Nation! Vote CP!" The rhyming election posters are hardly out of place in Nylstroom, the major town in the huge Waterberg constituency. Here, the CP has every reason to be light-hearted: this is the centre of the ultra-conservative Northern Transvaal.

Dr Andries Treurnicht, whose portrait smiles down from the lampposts at the passing voters, has held this seat for 16 years. There is little doubt he will retain it.

Hannes van Zyl, the regional CP chairman, is a towering giant with a hearty, crushing handshake. "Today is a very busy day for Doctor," he explains. "He is addressing schoolchildren shortly, then there is the divisional council meeting this afternoon, and the 'saamtrek' tonight, of course." They all call him "Doctor" with a mixture of awe and admiration. "But we can make some time for you," Van Zyl assures me.

Treurnicht may look like a great leader on the posters. In real life, he is small in stature and wears platform heels. Yet he is an experienced politician, suave and sophisticated in an immaculate pinstripe suit with knife-edge creases. He is relaxed, on top of the world, shakes hands with the male party-workers, fools around with the women in pink and light blue who answer the phone and look after the voters' roll.

On the wall hangs a CP-badge knitted in orange, blue and white, probably a gift from a loyal supporter. Treurnicht, whose name, literally translated, means "mourn not", proudly shows me a CP sticker, "Vote CP and Treurnicht, Vote NP

Waterberg's Nat candidate "Oom Poem" Lamprecht says he will add the CP's "Lion of the North" Andries Treurnicht to the snarling trophies which grace his living room

and Treurnicht, it declares. Another humorous salvo in this not-so-funny campaign.

"John Vorster, a very pragmatic leader," Treurnicht points to a picture on the wall. "And there, HF Verwoerd, the great intellectual leader. And here, JG Strijdom, my great predecessor in the Waterberg constituency. A fiery leader. The 'Lion of the North'."

"Where would you put youself," I ask. "Fiery, pragmatic or intellectual?" He laughs, and points to the space between Strijdom and Verwoerd.

For the National Party, fighting this fiery intellectual, this new "Lion of the North", is especially difficult. The wounds caused by Treurnicht's breakaway from the NP in 1982 have not yet healed. In Waterberg, the instigator and leader of this betrayal has to be vanquished.

It is a particularly bitter fight, which pervades the whole community. Neighbours who have known each other for decades no longer talk. NP supporters do not buy in the shop of "a CP". No one can escape the dispute in

a town where everyone knows everyone else.

This the NP wants to exploit. Treurnicht is an outsider, not native to the region. "A Waterberger for Waterberg," is the motto of the NP. Their candidate: Johannes Lamprecht, a 60-year-old man with pure white hair. He has lived here all his life, is known to everyone as "Oom Poem" and is, above all, a world-renowned big game hunter. The new "Lion of the North" is meant to be his next prey.

"A lion is much more difficult and I have shot 19 already," "Poem" Lamprecht says confidently. "This enemy is not going to be so difficult."

We are sitting in the trophy room at his farm outside Ellisras. There is certainly no doubt that "Oom Poem" is an accomplished hunter. A huge lion peers over his shoulder, frozen in bloodthirsty attack. Buffalo heads, a grizzly from Alaska and various kinds of buck grace the walls. They are all perfect specimens. After all, if you shoot 19 lions, you don't stuff every one of them.

Next door in the sitting room, where white lace doilies protect the red lounge suite, scores of silver cups are on display. Many a shooting and hunting competition was won by this man. There are also copper ashtrays, their base the foot of an ostrich or the hoof of an antelope. The white porcelain animals seem all too graceful and out of place.

"Oom Poem" is an engaging, straight-forward man. Church-going, a member of various committees; he's a pillar of the community. "Poem, that is an abbreviation of the name which the blacks gave me," he explains. "Poemisa" — he who can push. I can speak their language just as well as they can."

Lamprecht is a millionaire but lives simply. His wife cooks on a traditional wood-burning stove. He owns six farms but concentrates on the game farms, where he receives wealthy trophy hunters from all over the world.

For Lamprecht being a loyal NP supporter in this region often means that he is classed with liberals and communists. For years, he has worked

hard for the party. "I carried Treurnicht in on my right shoulder in 1981," he says somewhat sadly. "I want to be the one who carries him out." But party loyalty is not enough in this election battle.

"CP! CP! CP! CP!" chant the more than 600 people from all over the Northern Transvaal as Treurnicht walks into the Nylstroom town hall. The atmosphere at the "saamtrek" is heated and Treurnicht has to calm the crowd.

These are hard people, many of them farmers with faces burned and lined from the sun. They have no time for communists and liberals. That includes PW Botha. "The NP behaves, as if it had exclusive access to reform," Treurnicht roars. "But to let me tell you: when the CP comes to power, we will have to reform many of the things that PW Botha has misformed. We as whites demand that we are governed only by our own people, only by whites."

He finishes off with another CP rhyme, sweet sounding yet unsavoury: "People with vision vote for partition!" In the thundering applause, he smiles benignly.

That may be old-style, Verwoerdian Apartheid. But it has clarity, it seems to give direction. The voters can cheer with enthusiasm. "Oom Poem", on the other hand, has difficulty in stirring some life into the vague Heunis-speak of NP policy. "The blacks helped develop this country," he assures his audience. "We must talk to one another. They should also have rights in South Africa."

However, deeply held convictions and upright indignation do not win election battles. "Oom Poem", in his green suit and shiny tie, cannot touch Treurnicht's smooth performance.

"I want to be able to go to the State President, PW Botha and say: 'Mister President, here is the Waterberg, back where it belongs'," he says hopefully.

But big game hunter Johannes "Poem" Lamprecht does not have the experience to enter the political wilderness. The NP has not even given him the right weapons. The modern "Lion of the North" will continue to rule the Waterberg.

(Report by Hans Brandt, 190 Marshall St, Johannesburg.)



Waterberg's Nat candidate "Oom Poem" Lamprecht says he will add the CP's "Lion of the North" Andries Treurnicht to the snarling trophies which grace his living room

WJ/Mgill  
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The executive of Diakonia condemns the detention of Ian Mkhize, recently appointed Education Programme Organiser.

Mr Mkhize, a committed churchworker and a respected community leader, was detained on January 6, and is being held under Section 29.

"When all the prisoners in a country are crushed and trampled underfoot, when human rights are overridden in defiance of the Most High, when people are deprived of justice, does the Lord not see it?"

Lamentation 3:34-36



## How relevant?

Is parliament relevant? The question is increasingly raised as extra-parliamentary forces have started playing a bigger role in shaping parliament's decisions, and as the continued exclusion of the great majority of citizens from that central institution becomes increasingly untenable.

No clear "answer" emerged from a debate on the topic last week. Taking part were Denis Worrall, independent candidate in Helderberg, arguing in favour, and Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, the former leader of the official Opposition who resigned in disillusionment two years ago, speaking against the relevance of (this) parliament.

Worrall was possibly a little out of context as he spent much of his time arguing in favour of parliamentary government as a universal concept.

Clearly, however, this was not what was implied by the question. Slabbert quickly pointed this out. He said while he is unre-servedly committed to the concept of parliamentary government, he saw little relevance to it in the present South African parliament, which he described as a contradiction of parliamentary government.

Worrall maintained, though, that "it is the concept we're talking about." To oppose the argument was like saying it is better to have



Worrall



Slabbert

no press (or judiciary) than to have an inhibited one. He asked whether the info scandal would have been uncovered without parliament; what about the role of Helen Suzman in promoting civil liberties in parliament, and how effective would our newspapers be if there were no parliament?

"The House of Assembly and the tricameral parliament are clearly relevant," Worrall asserted. "It is relevant to whites and blacks in the sense that it passes laws that affect them," he said, adding rhetorically that blacks want nothing more than to be in parliament.

While it may be argued, said Worrall, that the dynamism for change in SA is stronger outside parliament than inside it, this was because they were primarily inanimate economic forces. These ought to be distinguished from the "animate" forces inside parliament, where the effort should be to direct what is happening out there into for-

mal institutions. He gave the example of labour reforms, which were "more a reaction to changes than their inspiration."

Anyone who said that parliament was not relevant was saying white South Africans were not relevant to where the answers were to be found, said Worrall. "The road to black liberation lies through white security," he added. Conceding that there is a role for those like Slabbert in helping the negotiating process along outside parliament, "the primary cockpit and focus of this attention for the moment, and in the months to come, will be parliament," Worrall concluded.

Slabbert argued that this parliament has no relevance for representative government as it does not reflect the wishes of most adults in the land. "We have not only a rigged parliament, but a rigged electorate as well." Secondly, he observed that parliament's accountability and sovereignty have been transferred to an executive with vast powers. Thirdly, this parliament has no relevance for constitutionally changing the government, since it "specifically makes it impossible for the adults of this country to peacefully change the government."

To Slabbert, this parliament symbolises a contradiction of parliamentary democracy. It could not be used to restore democracy because of two basic flaws. The first lay in the process of white politics, which did not have a very encouraging history. Parliament had been systematically used to undermine parliamentary government by, for example, the packing of the old senate to get rid of the coloured franchise, curtailing press freedom, appointing outside bureaucratic tribunals, bringing in the President's Council to resolve deadlock, and passing security legislation despite opposition. In the 1975 invasion of Angola, said Slabbert, parliament was not only by-passed, but deliberately lied to.

"The executive decided it was not in the public interest to inform parliament." Nor was the emergency debated in parliament. In effect, Slabbert maintains we have an extra-parliamentary government. He likened being in parliament to having a grandstand ticket at a Wimbledon final — it provides a great view, but very little participation. It had further become "a recruiting base for the allocation of privilege."

According to Slabbert, parliament feeds on the illusion that whites can plan the future without blacks. And if a democratic culture was to survive in SA, it would be in spite of this parliament, not because of it.

If politics is a game of power, then the contest in SA is between an extra-parliamentary government and an extra-parliamentary opposition, he added. Parliament legalised racial discrimination and was a forum for protest, which is not the same as being able to change things.

Slabbert seemed to come across as the better, more charismatic speaker before the large audience hosted by the Wits Business School. In the end, though, the argument boiled down to how best to accommodate blacks in the South African polity. ■



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## ELECTION — KRUGERSDORP

### The 'Munsie' factor

It would be difficult to say who came out worse in the verbal exchange between Manpower and Public Works Minister Pietie du Plessis and the hecklers at the back of the hall in Krugersdorp last week.

The level of debate was not high-brow. Threats, boos, hisses and chanting were met with ministerial rejoinders like "let's hear from the boer with the boep," "you pigs," "I'm sorry for your mothers," "get someone to change his nappy," and so on.

Yet, in an election which is marked by a conspicuously low turnout at public meetings, the one at Krugersdorp last Friday was at least lively. Du Plessis was there in support of the National Party's (NP) candidate, sitting MP Leon Wessels. The local town hall was packed with supporters as well as the opposition — an indication of the tough challenge from the Right that the NP is facing in the town.

It's a straight fight between Wessels, who is thought to be a leading "New Nat," and the Conservative Party (CP) candidate Clive Derby-Lewis. The PFP have stood aside for Wessels, and Derby-Lewis says the CP and HNP reached a pact in Krugersdorp whereby the HNP agreed not to stand.

Both candidates agree that the single most important local issue is the black township of

Munsieville. This run-down settlement borders on the new white suburb of Dan Pienaarville, in which the whites invested because they expected the blacks of Munsieville to be moved to Kagiso.

The battle for Krugersdorp is therefore one observers will be watching to gauge just how strong rightwing sentiment is.

About 30% of the constituency are English-speaking and they include "the broad spectrum of the South African voting population from blue to white collar workers," says Derby-Lewis, whose wife Gaye, incidentally, is standing for the CP in Hillbrow. "If Krugersdorp falls the NP will fall in the Transvaal," he claims.

Wessels, a lawyer, is not playing down his national verligte image — and his honesty could earn him a few votes. He says that if he can keep his seat in what is perceived to be a conservative constituency, it will be a victory for negotiation and reform politics, and proof that the broad mass of South Africans can be persuaded to accept reform.

The hecklers at last week's meeting were there ostensibly in support of Derby-Lewis, but the chants were in favour of the AWB, not the CP. And Derby-Lewis' links with the AWB is one issue he is having to deal with.

Recently, *Beeld* published photos of him with the AWB at Pik Botha's memorable meeting in Pietersburg last year, which was broken up by the Right. Derby-Lewis has no remorse about having been there together

with the other rightwing parties, and acknowledges having informal links with the AWB. "They are decent people, unlike the ANC which burns people," he says.

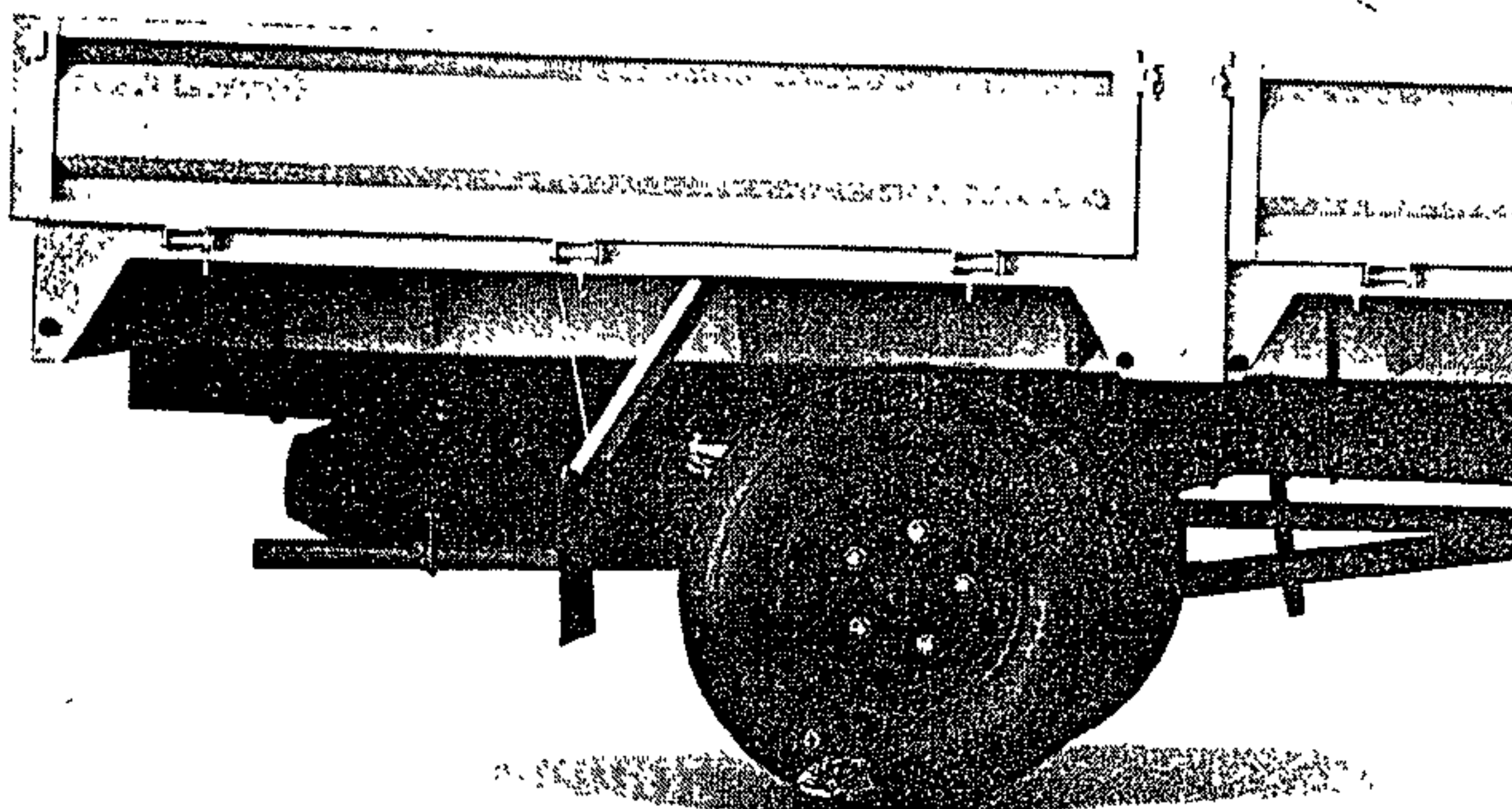
Munsieville has become a hot issue ever since it was reprieved when, in 1985, government announced a moratorium on forced removals. Within weeks of the announcement tension flared up between the two communities. A white family's house was petrol-bombed and local residents declared they were going to form a vigilante group to protect themselves. To keep the peace, the army was moved into the strip of land dividing the two communities.

Wessels has had a hard time of it. At a meeting in the town hall last year about 500 whites passed a motion of no-confidence in him. A petition calling for the removal of Munsieville was signed by more than 11 000 people.

At the last election Wessels won the seat by a majority of 2 126 votes. Compared to his total count of 5 748 votes, the PFP got 1 164, and what was Connie Mulder's New Conservative Party, 2 458. So the petition could be indicative of a drastic swing. However, Wessels says that it is not relevant as many of the signatories are people who fall within the municipality but not in his constituency.

Subsequently a decision was taken to build a road through the strip to separate the two communities. This is now under construc-

# Canter's b



tion.

But, somewhat emotionally, Derby-Lewis says this is not enough as no road can be an effective barrier to deter "rapists and criminals." He says Wessels has let down the voters, adding: "If government can move Oukasie at Brits and Lawaai camp at George then they can move Munsieville. I'll see to it that Munsieville is removed." Voters, he says, will have a final opportunity to say whether they want Munsieville to stay or go on May 6.

As for the residents of Munsieville, who ironically are the main issue in the local white election, it's difficult to get their official view on the matter. Almost the entire leadership of the Krugersdorp Residents' Organisation, with representatives from both Kagiso and Munsieville, have been in detention since the declaration of the State of Emergency last June. ■



# What the parties offer

304A 19/4/87

Ideologically, all the political parties contesting the May 6 election broadly support capitalism — though with disparate views on the desirable degree of State intervention. But that support tends to be hinted at — through new buzz words like deregulation — rather than directly advocated as part of a platform. What, then, do they have on offer?

The National Party (NP) presents itself as the staunchest supporter of free enterprise. Says Finance Minister Barend du Plessis: "Government believes in private ownership, private initiative and the benefits of an efficient market system."

On the Independents' side, Wynand Malan believes in individual responsibility and private initiative as the basis of the economy, but also in "justice and fairness in the economic process."

The Conservative Party (CP) blends support of free enterprise with heavy concern for special groups like white farmers, consumers and small business. Clive Derby-Lewis says it will "encourage true free enterprise."

The Progressive Federal Party (PFP) is also relatively interventionist, mixing free

**Finance Minister Barend du Plessis would prefer economics to stay out of the election. While that may be a forlorn hope, the economic policies of the major contestants mostly offer only broad generalities.**

enterprise with social welfare support. It, says Harry Schwarz, believes a "market system should operate . . . but within the constraints of a social conscience."

The PFP is adamant that "economic reform must go hand-in-hand with political reform." The NP too, says Du Plessis, believes interaction between political, social and cultural reform and economic development is unavoidable. Here are some details:

## Fiscal policy

The "basic norms" in NP policy are that annual expenditure increases should not be excessive; the tax burden for both companies and individuals should be reduced "if at all

possible;" the deficit before borrowing should be held "within reasonable limits;" current government expenditure should not be financed by borrowing "in normal circumstances." Policy must aim at reducing government's share in the economy.

At present, with the private sector "evidently reluctant to consume or invest," a "temporary departure from these norms is warranted," Du Plessis argues.

The CP will apply conservative fiscal and monetary policy. It will "ensure big business pays its due share of the tax burden and reduce taxation in proportion to its success." It also talks about correcting "the NP policy of redistributing wealth from the middle class to the rich."

The CP will abolish estate duties, which are "particularly detrimental to the farming community." Husbands and wives will be taxed separately, as this is "financially more advantageous."

To Malan, the tax system causes a disproportionate amount of household savings to be directed to insurance and pension funds. "We must strive for a tax system which is

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neutral in respect of the various savings and investment channels."

The PFP mentions creating incentives through "an acceptable taxation system" which will also enable provision of "adequate" social services; privatisation "where appropriate;" and deregulation "on a substantial scale to reduce bureaucracy."

## Privatisation and deregulation

"Privatisation just gives more and more of SA's assets to big business, the only people able to purchase State assets with their excessive untaxed profits," says Derby-Lewis.

The NP is nearer the PFP on this score. Linked to its policy of "orderly urbanisation" is an acceleration in implementing free trading areas, providing further assistance to the informal and small business sectors, and meeting the demand for infrastructure and housing.

Du Plessis says the "optimal utilisation of capital must be pursued through privatisation, by applying business principles to the business activities of the public sector, including cost-benefit and other appropriate evaluation techniques."

Malan says deregulation must be carried out quickly. "The State must have an extremely limited role and only deliver that which cannot be delivered privately."

## Inflation

All are against it, but, barring the CP, thin on solutions. Derby-Lewis considers excessive money creation and the narrowing of the wage gap as major causes of inflation.

He thus believes in stronger control over the printing of money and the "immediate suspension of the policy of narrowing the wage gap unless accompanied by a concomitant increase in productivity. Black unions will not be permitted in white SA," so elimi-

nating inflationary wage demands.

Schwarz says inflation should be fought by "restricting the share of government in the economy, ensuring that monopolies and economic power do not artificially increase prices and ensuring true competitive circumstances exist, with adequate legislative consumer protection." The PFP will also introduce an "inflation-proof savings medium" for the elderly.

All Du Plessis offers on inflation is that government is "seriously concerned," and has asked the Economic Advisory Council to make firm proposals. "There can be no instant remedy for this complex problem," he says.

He stresses: "It is vital that the rate of economic growth be increased," while accepting that further "moderate stimulation" is not likely to push up inflation in the short term. "Both monetary and fiscal policy should remain mildly stimulatory for the present."

## Monopolies and economic concentration

The CP is heavily against "monopoly control of the economy by big business" and portrays the NP as the party of big business. Derby-Lewis says the sector enjoys preferential interest rates. "Bank interest rates with a ceiling of 32% are crippling independent small- and medium-sized businesses, and much of the agricultural sector."

Tough anti-monopolistic and consumer protection laws, he insists, are reconcilable with free enterprise. "There is never a totally free system: the degree of freedom depends on the degree of abuse. Control ensures minorities do not abuse the majority."

Malan also suggests that "economic power concentration" be addressed. "Not because large is wrong as such, but because the structural character of most large companies

means that enterprise is limited. Managers of small companies in big groups become simply administrators who have to consider the interests of large companies."

## Monetary policy

The NP relies on the "strict discipline" of the market. It accepts the need for flexible interest and exchange rates, but with the reservation that the authorities can and should periodically intervene.

Schwarz says the PFP is not monetarist: "Money supply is not the key to everything. Controlling it is but part of an effective monetary policy."

Reserve Bank Governor Gerhard de Kock will be interested to hear that the CP will "use the Reserve Bank for the benefit of all sectors of our economy to eliminate preferential treatment." The CP reckons the rand's "disastrous level" results in the "paradox of a depression while big business flourishes."

## Unemployment

Integral to curing this, is the promotion of rural development. Du Plessis stresses that we must accept the dualistic nature of SA's economy. Manpower policy is aimed at creating opportunities through, among others, appropriate training and education.

The PFP will introduce an employment programme of creating jobs to improve the quality of life in under-privileged areas. "This will deal with unemployment, economic growth and stability," says Schwarz.

A CP priority will be training all workers. The CP will encourage development in the territories of other national groups "wherever economically possible," in line with its idea that each "nation in SA" is responsible for its own economic development.

So now we know. Or not, as the case may be.



telex that no formal charges had been laid. The funding row started when Louis Nel, former Deputy Minister of Information and now "international business consultant," alleged that funds raised by the "Reform Trust" were illegal. (The trust was set up by businessmen to promote ideas similar to those advocated by the independents).

In any event, the National Party's (NP) attack on the independents' source of funding seems to have boomeranged.

Worrall has provided a breakdown of his campaign funds to smother Nat allegations that he is receiving contributions from abroad. And the NP has yet to make known its sources of funding.

At a recent meeting in Ermelo, President Botha had asked: "Who is behind the independents? Who is financing them? Is it just South African interests?"

Worrall put his finger on some of the more outrageous aspects of the campaign when he told the Cape Town press club: "The fact that the State President, who is supposed to be a uniting factor, has tried to discredit people on the basis of the funding of their campaigns is sad to behold."

Worrall says he has received 89 contributions, of which 13 have come from Cape Town, eight from Durban, 12 from the Transvaal and the remaining 56 from Hottentots Holland, around Helderberg. He listed no foreign contributions.

Wynand Malan also denies receiving any foreign funds. He has challenged the NP to reveal its own sources, but says the party has not responded in any way — and he did not expect it to.

President Botha's liaison officer, Jack Vi-  
viers, says the State President has made no further statements on the issue, adding "there are still many election meetings to come."

Malan says the NP confuses the Reform Trust with the individual funding of the independents. "The trust was formed by businessmen with the aim of publicising the independents' political views countrywide. It is not led by the independents," he explains.

A statement issued last week by Malan's campaign manager Harald Pakendorf said: "Malan has never solicited funds from the public and unsolicited amounts received by him from individuals fall outside the prohibition of the Fund Raising Act which is concerned only with the collecting of funds from the public."

Malan says he does not believe the Act has ever been interpreted to mean that independents have to apply for permission to receive funds; and Visser confirms that no independent has applied before. ■

## CAMPAIGN FUNDING 304A

### Nat flailing

There is some confusion over whether the police have been asked formally to investigate the funding of independent election candidates Denis Worrall, Esther Lategan and Wynand Malan.

Fund raising director Jaap Visser initially told the *FM* "written charges" had been laid at the Randburg, Somerset West and Stellenbosch police stations. But the Randburg police station, for one, has no record of any such charges.

Visser, however, later informed the *FM* by



MIKE MYBURGH

## Right on track

One would expect a man who has masterminded some of the bigger rail construction projects in southern Africa in the last decade to slow down, if not retire. But this is not for Mike Myburgh.

After being shifted from one career path to another in Sats, Myburgh (45) succeeded John Irving as Assistant GM (SA Harbours), a challenge he eagerly rose to. He took up his new position on April 1, and became the youngest assistant GM in Sats.

Myburgh's thinking should find favour in the private sector. He is a free marketer and he likes the concept of privatisation, but believes it must be "proper" privatisation. It must not, he says, be a handover from one monopoly to another. He's acutely aware of Sats's monopoly position, and knows that its service is less than perfect. Asked what changes he proposed to make in his new department, his response was immediate: "Service!"

"There's always room for improvement in any business organisation," he says, "but in a monopoly, such as Harbours, there's a very heavy responsibility on the man at the helm to keep a tight rein on all aspects of service."

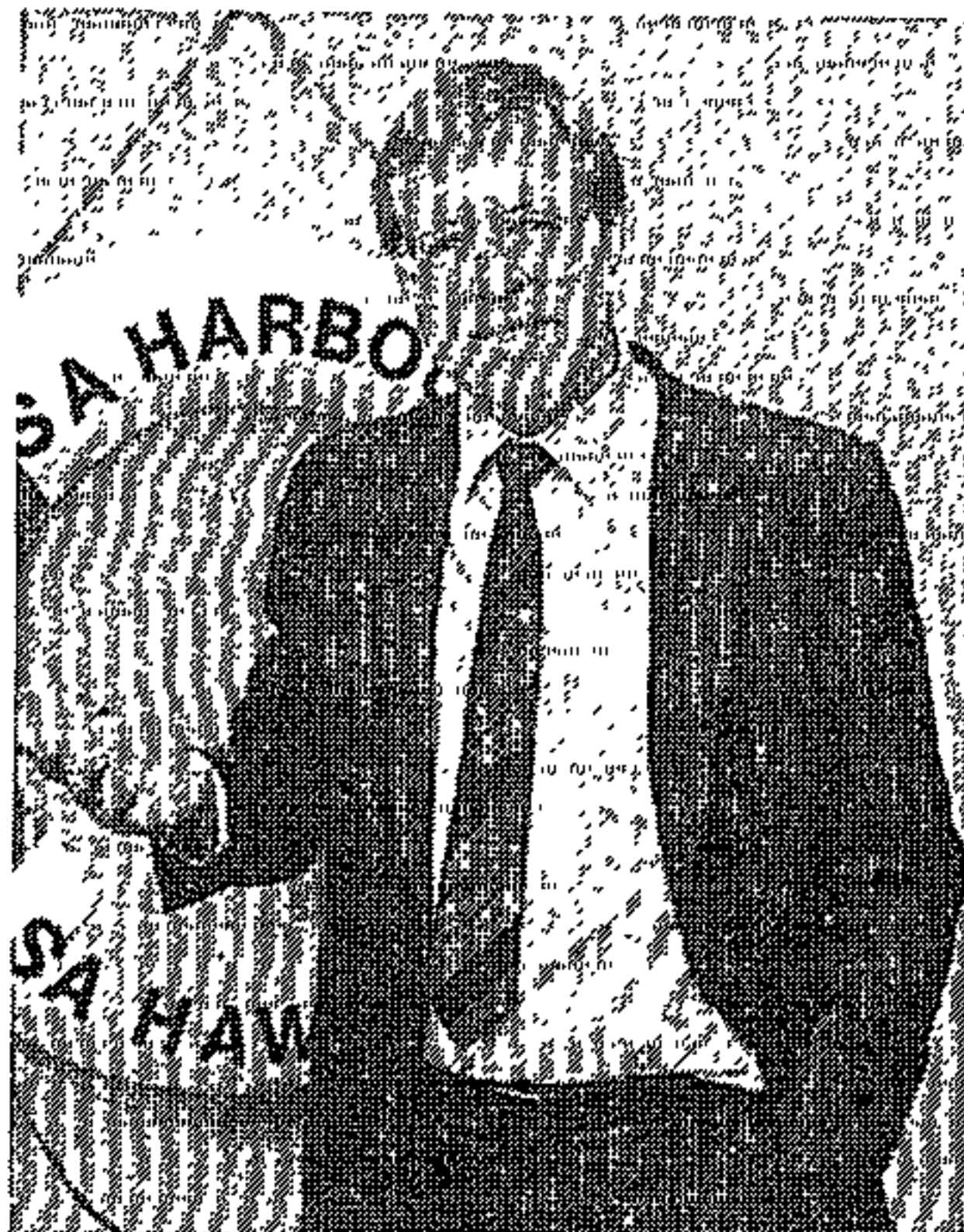
Myburgh married his wife, Lena, in 1966; and they have one son, Dawid. He believes in physical fitness, and plays tennis regularly, and enjoys an occasional game of golf. He paints occasionally, and is interested in photography and ornithology — which he combines to enlarge his collection of slides on birds. At school he played cricket, and hockey at university. Not surprisingly, he feels he has neglected his leisure activities. Had he paid more attention to recreation, his CV would have made much less interesting reading.

He is a product of Stutterheim High School and the University of Stellenbosch, where he obtained his BSc Eng and M Eng. He also obtained an MBA from Unisa.

Myburgh joined the then SAR & H at the end of 1963, as a "matter of financial expediency." It offered him an extremely attractive bursary for his Master's degree. When his contractual six-year period expired, he said he did some deep thinking and decided to stay on.

There were several aspects of the organisation he felt he could improve, and he decided it would be more interesting to fight for a top spot in a big organisation, than to be a big fish in a small pond.

His first appointment was as an assistant engineer in East London. In 1968 he was promoted to district engineer in charge of ballast quarries and permanent way inventory control in Johannesburg. But, halfway through his expected term in that position,



Myburgh ... getting around

he was moved back into civil engineering, and transferred to Cape Town. There he took charge of building the new Bellville-Kensington railway line, and the line linking Kensington with the harbour container depot.

Those two lines cost about R62m — peanuts, really, when compared with the projects he would mastermind later.

Myburgh's big opportunity came in 1979, when Sats GM Kobus Loubser promoted him out of civil engineering to assistant systems manager in Port Elizabeth. A year later, he became systems manager in Windhoek.

Myburgh returned to his original field in 1983, when he was appointed Sats's assistant chief civil engineer in Johannesburg. And early in 1984 he succeeded Denis Hill as chief civil engineer, where he really flowered. His most important projects in his three years in that position were:

- Planning the upgrading of the Richards Bay coal line and harbour;
- Doing the conceptual planning for the Philippi-Khayelitsha line in the Cape;
- Planning the doubling of the Natal line between Newcastle and Volksrust; and
- Planning the improvements to the Cape line through the Hex River Valley, and the tunnel through the mountains.

Those projects cost nearly R1,8 billion.

Myburgh confesses to feeling a bit strange in his new office. "It's a ballroom compared with my old one," he jokes, "and it isn't cluttered with plans."

He reckons he'll get used to it soon, and

will now be addressing himself to improving his division.

For this, Myburgh does have a headstart. He's been in control of the harbours in Port Elizabeth and Walvis Bay — and with his superb engineering background, perhaps we'll now see our harbours properly upgraded. ■

HERCULES HEFER

## New labours

Philip Scales' recent double by-pass surgery has plunged his successor, Hercules Hefer, into the position of UBS Holdings' chairman. Scheduled to take over after the directors' meeting on April 24, Hefer returned to SA from London last week to find himself assuming responsibility immediately.

Scales' retirement has been pending for some time — he will be 76 next month — and there has been much speculation about his successor. Liberty chairman Donald Gordon was, at one stage, the obvious choice. But, as a director of Standard Bank Investment Corporation, he would clearly have been a contentious appointment. Having dissolved its working arrangement with UBS last year, Standard Bank is now moving aggressively into the home loans market, while UBS is negotiating a share swap and formal co-operation with Volkskas.

Little more than a month ago, the board of the new UBS holding company resolved the problem by offering its chairmanship to chartered accountant Hefer. This includes



Hefer ... equal to the task



chairmanship of the insurance and development companies, while CE Piet Badenhorst takes over the chair of the building society board of directors.

Hefer (59) was born in the Free State, matriculated at Klerksdorp High School, graduated with a B Comm degree from Potchefstroom University, and went on to qualify with honours as a chartered accountant.

A managing partner at Aiken & Carter, he has served as president of the Transvaal Society of Chartered Accountants, chairman of the Public Accountants' and Auditors' Board, deputy chairman of Soekor, and as a member of other commissions and inquiries.

Originally, Hefer saw two possible conflicts of interest in accepting the UBS chair. His firm audits the books of the Allied Building Society and Volkskas Bank (at that stage he was unaware that a potential deal with the latter was in the pipeline). Before accepting, he consulted both institutions and got an unqualified go-ahead.

The offer, which "came out of the blue," fits perfectly into his career plans. "I have always believed that, if you stay too long in one job, you become obsolete. And I have been managing partner for 12 years now," he comments. He first joined the firm in 1951, the day after his articles expired, so the move will be his first.

Hefer is bubbling with enthusiasm at the opportunity — despite the other pressures that will be on him. Not only does he have to acquaint himself with the intricacies of the building society movement, but also with the insurance industry. The inquiry into last year's collapse of AA Mutual Insurance is to open on April 21.

So he has no intention, at this stage, of emulating the hands-on approach for which Sceales is now a legend. "I don't think it's necessary, because Piet Badenhorst is full of energy and ideas. We have an excellent working relationship; with my exposure to the workings of public companies, we should complement each other very well."

Transfer of the chairmanship marks a new era in the evolution of UBS. Sceales' association with the group has been a long one. It goes back to 1936 when he practised as a partner in the firm of attorneys retained by the society. In 1964, he joined the board of directors and four years later, was elected chairman.

An astute financier, Sceales brought a new dynamism to an industry which was known for its conservative approach to home financing. When he took over as chairman in 1968, the assets of UBS stood at less than R1 billion and he turned it into a high-powered, profit orientated organisation with assets of almost R10 billion.

But his business interests were broad. After retiring from a career as an advocate in 1936 and from his practice as an attorney in 1964, he went on to become chairman of 12 major companies and a director of many others. His will be a hard act to follow but, like his classical namesake, Hefer is prepared to rise to all challenges. ■

## JOHN SCOTT AND HARRY DILLEY

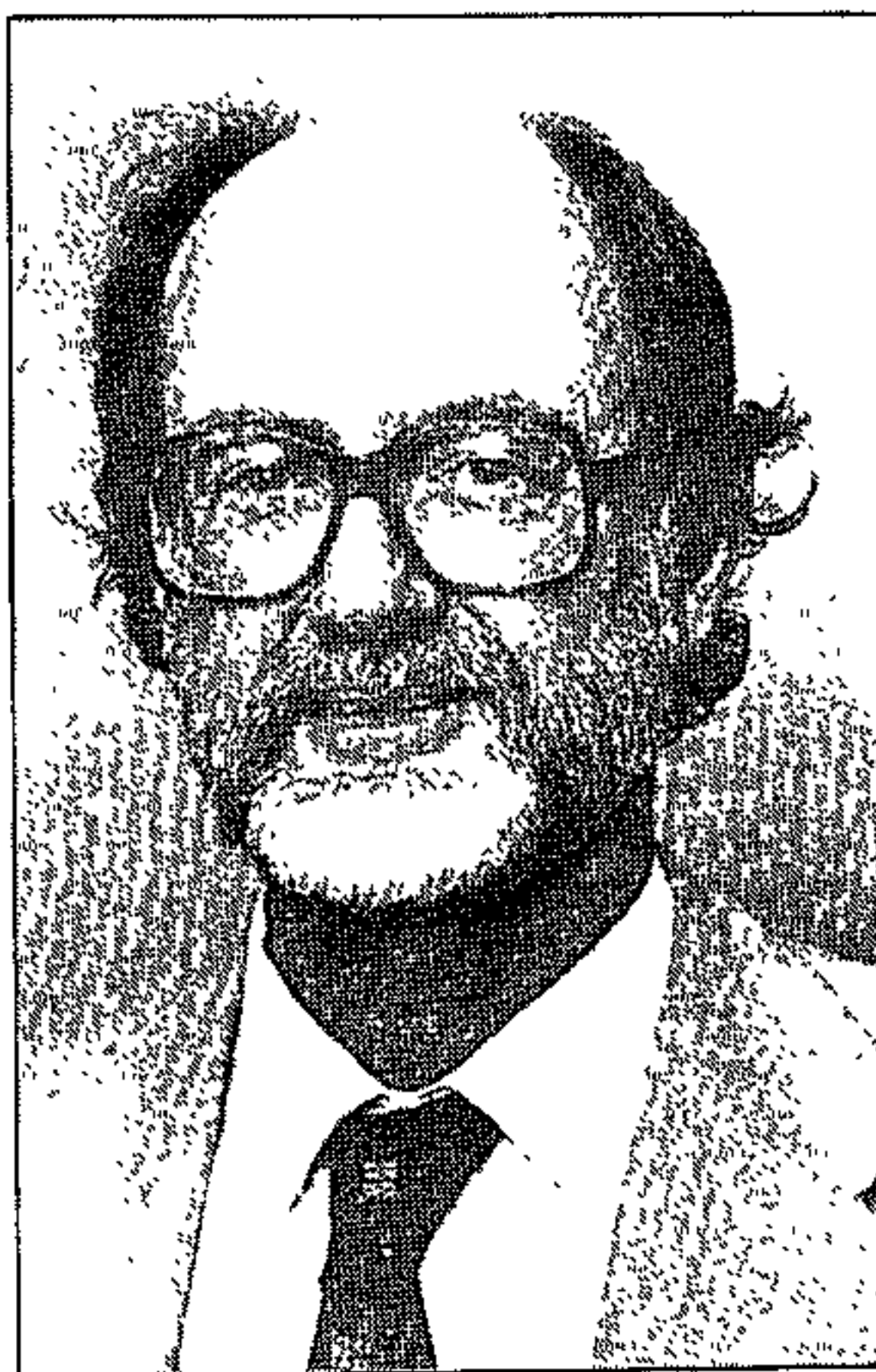
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Until John Wiley's death two weeks ago, the Simon's Town constituency was regarded as one of the Cinderella stories of the election campaign. It became completely overshadowed by the clash between Denis Worrall and Chris Heunis in Helderberg.

Away from the glare of TV lights, Wiley was fighting to retain his seat. PFP candidate John Scott was confident of a narrow victory, and some senior Nationalists were pessimistic. But Wiley's death drew attention back to the sleepy False Bay coast.

The stopgap Nat candidate, Harry Dilley (44), says he was initially reluctant to enter the fray, but felt he couldn't "let the side down."

Scott says Wiley's death has put a different complexion on the contest. Wiley's tremendous personal popularity was his main strength. Scott believes many constituents will vote against the NP, whereas they would have voted for Wiley the man.



Scott ... from pen to party

The campaign is Dilley's first venture into national politics, although he is well-blooded at a local level. He's a local businessman, and has been mayor for six years; as local NP chairman, he was earmarked by Wiley to succeed him as MP.

When an emergency meeting was called at Chris Heunis's home only hours after Wiley's death, Dilley's family urged him not to accept nomination. "But I am a great supporter of the State President, I made him a freeman of Simon's Town." Dilley says his family's attitude changed after nomination day, and his wife Gillian

is now behind him.

Scott (48), a former senior assistant editor on the *Cape Times*, is also a novice in active party politics. He decided to stand for parliament, because he believed it was time that Wiley — one of SA's toughest and most experienced white politicians — was "sent on his way." Scott was confident of a narrow victory against Wiley, despite the strong personal ties Wiley had built up in the constituency over 30 years. He now believes there will be a swing away from the NP.

Scott claims Simon's Town is not, and should not be an NP seat. "I would say that it's the only non-NP constituency that is held by a Nat. It's an anomaly in South African politics. This is a constituency which, broadly speaking, favours real reform as opposed to the pseudo reform of the NP. But people were not voting Nat, they were voting John Wiley," he says.

Dilley believes he has a similar personal appeal to Wiley, and can attract support on the same basis. "I believe I can match John Wiley's performance as a constituency man. My 11 years in local government put me in a favourable position to do so.

"I have the advantage of having grown up in Simon's Town; being married to a naval man's daughter; being a seaman; and having a good working relationship with all the groups that make up the community," he says. He disagrees that Simon's Town is basically an anti-NP constituency: "I believe the people here are an ordinary, hardworking community and a little conservative. That is why, when Wiley crossed the floor in 1980, he was still able to win the seat."

Dilley regards SA as a very complex society, which needs its own solutions. "But we have a tremendous future. We must move ahead with reform. I believe the NP and PW Botha are the only means by which we can achieve it. In five years the changes have been incredible."

Scott became involved because he feels a crucial stage has been reached in SA's history. "This is the time and opportunity to bring about not change, but a change of government," he says. "If we don't do that, then we are facing what John Vorster described as a future too ghastly to contemplate."

Scott gave up a senior and secure job to stand for election in what is (even now) hardly a safe PFP seat. Why did he do it?

"There comes a time in your life when you have to decide whether you're going to maintain your sense of security, or whether you are going to stand out and take a big gamble. I felt that if I didn't take this opportunity, I would regret it for the rest of my life," he says.



(3044) (SME) 10/4/87

## Warning of plan to disrupt elections

Political Staff

Diplomats of nearly every country represented in South Africa were called to the Union Buildings yesterday to be warned of "an ANC plan to disrupt the elections".

The meeting was called in the wake of a storm over the claims by Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, at a National Party meeting in Natal.

And in a statement Mr Botha blamed the ANC for the explosion in a vehicle in Gaborone yesterday that had "regretably claimed three lives".

He rejected accusations that South Africa was responsible, saying the bomb had probably been intended for South Africa.

The explosion could also be seen as a result of a lack of firm action against the ANC, he said.

Mr Botha has been accused by the Conservative Party, New Republic Party and Progressive Federal Party of attempting to make political capital out of the security situation.

### NO DOUBT

Mr Botha made an unscheduled flight to Pretoria yesterday to speak to the 35 envoys.

According to a spokesman from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs he told them there was no doubt about the information.

Mr Botha had said it was the responsibility of those Governments who had "one-sidedly condemned South Africa for taking preventative and retaliatory action" to warn neighbouring states against the consequences of colluding with terrorists.

He again hinted at reprisal action saying South Africa was keeping "all its options open and will be guided by what the Government considers to be in the best interests of the country".

The ANC was "already going into action with several groups of terrorists moving towards South Africa, via Botswana, Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

Mr Botha said many black states were being allowed to camouflage their social and economic shortcomings by condemning South Africa.

(Report by R Cameron, 85 Field Street, Darbaa.)

# Threats fly over SA's ANC plot accusations

The Star's Africa News Service

GABORONE — Southern Africa faces yet another political and military crisis today as South Africa and its neighbours exchange accusations and threats of military retaliation.

The Botswana Government said last night South Africa had threatened it with armed aggression for involvement in an alleged ANC offensive.

Earlier, top level Zambian officials had also warned that South Africa was preparing the ground for another armed incursion against the Frontline states.

In a statement, the Botswana Ministry of External Affairs said South Africa's Foreign Ministry had sent a telex to Gaborone yesterday threatening Botswana with dire consequences if it allowed its territory to be used by ANC guerillas in their alleged planned offensive against South Africa.

The statement said South Africa had alleged that ANC cadres were being infiltrated into South Africa.

"In the past raids have followed such telexes and these South African raids are invariably totally unjustified," the Botswana Government said.

It added that the threat of raids was being used for internal political purposes in South Africa such as placating elements in their own society and attracting right-wing votes in the forthcoming general election.

### CALL FOR RESTRAINT

The Botswana Government called on South Africa to restrain itself and to "address seriously and coolly the root cause of the problem — apartheid".

The threats against Botswana follow a bomb blast in Gaborone West which killed an elderly woman, a seven-year-old child and a nine-month-old baby and wounded four other people.

All the victims were Botswana nationals.

In a statement the office of the Botswana presidency has expressed its outrage at the killing of innocent people and said that the car bomb responsible for the killings had a South African registration number — JKT 735 T.

The statement said that 19 houses had been damaged by the blast.

An ANC spokesman said on Wednesday Mr Botha's allegations had no basis whatsoever.

Zambia also strongly denied that ANC cadres were concentrating in Lusaka for their offensive.

Reports from Harare are that scant attention is being paid in Zimbabwe to the warning from South Africa that it should not help ANC guerillas disrupt next month's general election.

There has been no comment from official sources and no mention on radio and television.

Diplomatic sources say Mozambique was first warned of the alleged ANC plan a fortnight ago.



# Give political clout to the suffering millions

One dictionary definition of want is "grave and extreme poverty that deprives one of the necessities of life".

Millions of people in South Africa are living in want. The cold statistics convey something of the magnitude of this human suffering in a country where there is enough, a country blessed with rich mineral resources and enormous potential for economic growth; a country in which there are some extremely rich people and where the standard of living for a minority is among the highest in the world; a country in which the majority are getting poorer each year.

Operation Hunger is feeding 1 000 027 people five days every week. Applications for food for another 70 000 are on hold while ways are sought to meet their need.

In 1982 between 70 and 77 percent of rural people in Transkei did not have the minimum income requirements for survival in the short term; 40 percent of rural households earned less than one third of the then Household Subsistence Level of R2 446,50 a year; 33,7 percent of Transkei urban households were living below the HSL (C D Cragg: Carnegie Conference Paper Number 44.)

## HOUSING SHORTAGE

Forty-seven percent of Alexandra's population are currently unemployed, according to a survey. Unemployment in the Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage area in 1985 was 56 percent.

No one knows the total number of unemployed people in South Africa including all the homelands but estimates vary between 2 million and 3 million — and it is increasing.

The Urban Foundation has estimated that there is a national shortage of 700 000 houses. This means that 700 000 families, 3,5 million people, are either homeless or living in totally inadequate accommodation. This month communities of homeless people all over the Witwatersrand are being ordered to demolish their shacks within seven days or face arrest and prosecution. They are not being offered any alternative place to stay.

**The Five Freedoms Forum is an alliance of organisations working for a South Africa which guarantees freedom from want, freedom from fear, freedom of speech and association, freedom of conscience and freedom from discrimination. Continuing a series of articles highlighting these freedoms, Sheena Duncan writes on freedom from want.**

All this is happening while newspapers report increased company profits, an annualised current account surplus of R13 billion in the last quarter of 1986, and headlines declare: "A bullish mood pushes the JSE closer to record heights."

The Five Freedoms Forum does not pretend that the answers are easy, but it does know that there are no answers at all as long as apartheid lasts.

"Reform" is a much more sophisticated, much more subtle way of

mechanism through the provisions of section 10(1)(b) of the Urban Areas Act.

Those in the non-independent homelands who are still South African citizens can now move freely to towns and cities to look for work, but most will remain migrant workers. They cannot bring their families with them because they cannot afford the kind of new houses which are on offer. The extensive site and service schemes in the metropolitan areas which would be of use to them are few and far between.

"Orderly urbanisation" is the in-vogue phrase which covers more forced removals — at Oukasie, Machadadorp, Motherwell. Every such removal means increased rents and service charges and few opportunities to earn enough to pay them.

There can be no proper planned economic development that does not go hand in hand with rural renewal and agricultural development and that is impossible as long as the Land Acts and the homelands policy dictate that black people may occupy and use only land within that 14 percent of South Africa's total land area which lies inside the homeland borders.

There will be no proper social support for the poor and unemployed until they have the vote. Poverty is a consequence of powerlessness.

It is only the right to vote in free, fair and frequent elections which assures that governments must respond to the needs of all the people.

● Sheena Duncan is Black Sash National Advice Office co-ordinator.



entrenching apartheid — political power and economic privilege for the few, powerlessness and increasing impoverishment for the many.

Migrant labour, the single greatest cause of impoverishment in Southern Africa, has not been abolished. Millions of people in the TBVC homelands are now locked into a perpetual oscillating migrancy (if they are lucky enough to have jobs at all) because "abolition of influx control" repealed their only escape



# Businessmen warned over complacency

By Michael Chester

Business leaders have been warned that apparent peace in the black townships under the state of emergency is "sullen and fragile", and they have been alerted to dangers of "creeping complacency" in business attitudes on political issues.

They were told last night they had been duped into silence by tactics such as smear campaigns casting doubts about their patriotism and character if they dared to attack apartheid and injustices.

The battle cry for more reform pressures from inside the business sector was delivered by the executive director of Anglo American Corporation, Mr Murray Hofmeyr, when he addressed the annual general meeting of Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce last night.

Mr Hofmeyr, named as the successor to Mr Gordon Waddell as chairman of Johannesburg Consolidated Investments, urged business leaders to "stand up and be counted" in the run-up to the May 6 general election and beyond.

## 'State has unlimited powers'

He told an audience of company executives, top Government officials and members of the Diplomatic Corps: "We would do well to remind ourselves regularly that a state of emergency gives the State and its agents almost unlimited powers to act against individuals and groups, and makes it virtually impossible for others to establish what is actually going on.

"The extent to which freedoms have been curtailed is well illustrated by the fact that the authorities consider it to be unlawful in certain circumstances to call for the charging or release of people in detention.

"Unfortunately," he said, "the need to point out the realities of such issues very often comes across as a justification for inactivity or for condoning the status quo.

"The ultimate issue for business, as for any other sector of society, is whether there will ultimately be confrontation or negotiation.

"Business would seem to me to have a quite unique responsibility to make it clear not only that it has opted for the second choice, but that it really does mean negotiation and not some form of consultation."

(Report by M Chester, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

"We also need to remind ourselves of the widely-held perception by a great many blacks that business is quick to speak out when things are going badly, but equally quick to lapse into silence when things are going well.

"This serves to strengthen the very widely-held view that business is not going to do too much to rock the boat of apartheid, or indeed the boat of injustice and oppression.

"In recent months we have witnessed the unedifying spectacle of a number of deliberate smear cam-



Mr Murray Hofmeyr ... "South African businessmen duped by smear campaigns casting doubt on their patriotism."

paigns followed by the all too familiar technique of guilt by association.

"In the name of security, the principle under which any action now seems possible in South Africa, these tactics are excused and indeed justified. Doubt is cast on the patriotism and character of those subject to the campaign, and the real issues conveniently forgotten.

"Obviously, one of the objectives of these strategies is to isolate individuals who have been particularly outspoken in their political opinions.

"It is certainly a matter of fact that business has been perceived both here and abroad to be extremely cautious about being seen to give support to individuals or causes which Government has judged to be beyond the pale.

## 'Condoning Government tactics'

"Small wonder that business leaders are perceived by many people of goodwill in South Africa and abroad as being prepared tacitly to condone Government tactics, some motivated by narrow party political gain and all of dubious morality."

To be fair, said Mr Hofmeyr, business had to face fundamental problems in clearing misconceptions about some of the realities of domestic and international economic and political environments, and about its power to force the Government to abandon apartheid or to address key questions of the franchise and power-sharing.



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LABOUR  
AFFAIRS  
DICK  
USHER



## Govt 'reforms' pose dilemma for trade unions

By DICK USHER, Labour Reporter

APPLICATION of two Government "reforms" are bound to produce some interesting reactions from the trade union movement soon.

The measures in question are the introduction of regional services councils and the abolition of influx control, both of which the Government claims as part of its reform programme.

The first is allegedly a form of redistribution of wealth and the introduction of "power-sharing" at regional level, and the other allegedly did away with controls on freedom of movement for black people in South Africa.

### POWERS-THAT-BE

Because they employ people as officials and organisers and office staff, unions appear to be classed as employers by the powers-that-be in control of setting up the RSC system, and this week unions in the Cape started receiving forms requiring them to register.

Presumably the authorities will eventually claim they're liable for the regional services council levy on payrolls and start suggesting that they pay up.

The problem facing the Cosatu unions especially is that coming through with the readies to help support the regional services councils would seem to be in direct conflict with principles of the living wage campaign.

Another union principle is that

there should be no form of Government control over where people should be allowed to live and work.

This used to be called influx control, but as soon as Influx Control was out, bowled Reform, the old master, Aliens Act of 1937 came in to bat, and the cheering that accompanied the dismissal was swiftly muted.

Under the Aliens Act, it very quickly became apparent to employers and workers, that anyone who was not a South African citizen faced pretty much the same type of bureaucratic controls on their rights to be anywhere and have a job that black people had faced all along.

Work permits had to be applied for, books had to be stamped and employers were warned that they faced stiff penalties if they didn't stick to the rules. Workers without the required bits of paper faced the prospect of deportation.

And people from Ciskei, Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda were not classed as South Africans.

However, the Government has been asking employers to complete forms stating which of their employees were aliens and, as unions employ a variety of people, they have been getting the same treatment.

For the union movement, the partition of South Africa into homelands was illegitimate, discrimination and all that goes with it is anathema.

Someone up there must have a strangely wry sense of humour.

2 Cape Times, Saturday, April 11, 1987

# Call for govt briefing on ANC plans

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, should, as a matter of urgency, take opposition parties into his confidence about his warning that the ANC was planning to disrupt the May 6 election because of widespread confusion and doubt, the independent candidate in Helderberg, Dr Denis Worrall, said yesterday.

In a statement, Dr Worrall said that since Mr Botha's warning that the ANC was planning a violent disruption of the election, the Progressive Federal Party and the Conservative Party had made serious allegations that this was merely a National Party election ploy.

"In the light of the widespread doubt and confusion in the public mind, which my canvassers have also picked up, I appeal to Mr Pik Botha to take the leaders of the PFP, the CP and the HNP into his confidence and reveal his sources of information as well as the details of the proposed disruption.

"After all, he has already briefed foreign diplomats on the issue.

"Naturally, the public at large is extremely concerned and even intimidated by news of such sensational nature, and it would be unfortunate if this created an unnecessary atmosphere of tension at election time.

"In order to allay public doubts and fears, and to assess the reliability of the information proffered — thereby ensuring that the election process runs smoothly — the minister should, as a matter of urgency, take all the parties into his confidence.

"This is common procedure in most Western countries, and in this case it would most certainly be in the national interest.

"The minister should not evade this crucial issue by claiming that it would be a breach of national security.

"The electorate has a right to reassurance by its chosen leaders," Dr Worrall said.

(Report by B Streek, 122 St George's St, CT)

## Campaign against SA links

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Anti-apartheid campaigners have launched a "spring offensive" against companies with links with South Africa.

The campaign organized by the...



# Police complete probe on Wiley



General Coetzee

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By CHRIS STEYN  
POLICE have completed their investigations into the apparent suicide of Mr John Wiley, the Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee, said yesterday.

His statement came in the wake of escalating rumours about the circumstances in which Mr Wiley died, and in particular events which allegedly took place at Mr Wiley's Noordhoek home in the hours preceeding his death.

In a statement issued in Pretoria, General Coetzee said there was "absolutely no substance" to allegations that the investigation would not be finalized before May 6, the day white voters go to the polls.

"As a matter of fact, police investigations have been concluded and only the pathologist's report is awaited before the dossier is handed to the Attorney-General with a view to commencing inquest proceedings," General Coetzee said.

General Coetzee said he noted "with regret" that some newspapers, particularly the Cape Times, had "completely disregarded" a request by police that newspapers should refrain from spreading unfounded rumours about the death of Mr Wiley.

Referring to a report in yesterday's Cape Times, General Coetzee said:

"There is absolutely no substance to allegations that the investigation will not be finalized before May 6.

## Body discovered

"In the same way, there is also no substance whatsoever to allegations that the late Minister Wiley was visited by police officers on the morning of March 29, nor is there any truth in the allegations that criminal charges were withdrawn against Mr David Allen, of Port Elizabeth (a friend of Mr Wiley).

"Mr Allen's body was in fact discovered the day he was due to appear in court."

General Coetzee's statement closely followed a call by the Progressive Federal Party on the government to come clean on the circumstances surrounding Mr Wiley's apparent suicide.

This week the Cape Times reported that speculation is rife about incidents which allegedly took place at his home on Sunday morning and which could have triggered his shock suicide.

Even close family members have given conflicting accounts of the sequence of events on that fateful morning.

The official police version was that Mr Wiley's body was discovered when his wife, Jeanne, after fetching the morning papers at the local cafe, found the house locked at 11.30am.

But when the Cape Times spoke to Mrs Wiley three days ago she said that she left the house at 9.30am to "go and pick up some pineapples and get braaiwood".

She said she returned to the house at 10.30am after "dropping things at two friends".

"The only time not accounted for on Sunday morning is the hour between 9.30 and 10.30," she said.

But Mr Delfino de Sousa, of Noordhoek Supermarket, said in an interview with the Cape Times on the day of Mr Wiley's death that Mrs Wiley arrived at the cafe at "just about 9am" on Sunday and asked whether Mr Wiley had picked up the papers.

PFP MP Mr Roger Huley demanded a public inquiry into the death of Mr Wiley last weekend. He said rumours and speculation about Mr Wiley's personal and business lives should be answered in full.

(Report by C Steyn 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)



## PW warning

● From Page 1

The fact that Mr Botha's warning is also being recognised here as a pre-election rallying cry for right-wing voters does not seem to be detracting from the gravity being attached to his words.

Mr Botha also said in his speech that steps would be taken after the elections against people who received funds from outside the country "to bury South Africa".

Mr Botha told the crowd of about 1 300 that communist elements were being fed with foreign capital and funds to conduct their propaganda and their "devil's work".

Mr Botha did not specify what steps were envisaged against which people, but he did say that such action had already been started. (He may have been referring here to the recent declaration of the United Democratic Front as an affected organisation, which made it illegal for it to receive overseas funds.)

Mr Botha dismissed Opposition criticism that the Government was using information on planned terrorist disruptions of the elections as an election gimmick. Opposition politicians were free to run around the country slandering the Government only because of the security actions the Government had taken, he said.

Mr Botha said the primary task of the Government was to ensure the security and welfare of its citizens.

"I can tell you with great confidence tonight that the Government is dealing with this threat on every level with force and meaning. But we need your help. Why is the Government being weakened while it is trying to keep the wolves away from South Africa?"

Mr Botha said the people of South Africa must get the biggest possible unity against the communist onslaught. "We cannot do it with just the SADF and the police. We must get the co-operation of as many people as possible in South Africa — black, coloured and white.

"If your soldiers are standing on the borders and the police are ensuring your protection at night, but the whole population is against you, then it is not possible to keep South Africa going."

Meanwhile, Mr Colin Egger, leader of the official Opposition, said at a lunchtime meeting with businessmen in Port Elizabeth yesterday that the basic problem facing South Africa was not communism or the ANC or the outside world but the National Party policy of apartheid.

● Reports by DM Braun, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria, and P Cull, 19 Baakens St, Port Elizabeth

The United States and South Africa appear to be squaring up for a major fight as a result of recent threats by South African Government Ministers that action will be taken against neighbouring states for harbouring the ANC.

Mr P W Botha, speaking at a National Party election rally in Kuruman, delivered another blunt warning to people "who planned attacks or allowed neighbouring states to be used for attempts by terrorist organisations to disrupt the May 6 elections".

"They must not cry if they pay for their irresponsible actions," he said.

Mr Botha, calling this a "friendly warning", said he hoped it would be heeded by people on the other side of the country's borders. "If it is not, I say forewarned is forearmed."

Mr Botha said South Africa must be left in peace to solve its problems in a constitutional way. Any attempt from outside the country with the support of violence or support to terrorists would be regretted by those who initiated such action.

Mr Botha said that Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha had called the ambassadors to brief them on South Africa's information on planned disruptions of the elections.

"We wanted to warn them that they complained whenever we went over the border and now they must talk to our neighbouring states so that they apply to them what they applied to us," he said.

While he was speaking, the United States was reacting sharply to the South African Government threats urging: "Don't do it."

A State Department official said the US had been in touch with all sides in the issue to encourage restraint and the use of diplomatic means to resolve differences.

The US was responding to a warning from Mr Pik Botha, who told 35 diplomats in Pretoria that South Africa would take pre-emptive action against African National Congress infiltrators now grouping in Botswana, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Mozambique.

"We have long regarded the use of violence by any party in South and southern Africa as irresponsible and unproductive," the State Department official said. "We reject cross-border raids by any party part as well."

Signs are that Mr Botha's warning is being taken very seriously in Washington and by the four neighbouring states which recall a similar pattern of SA Government statements before previous raids on ANC positions across the country's borders.

● To Page 2

POLITICAL STAFF and  
CORRESPONDENTS

# Down for peace

Show

W threatens, the US warns: 'Don't do it'

SAF 11/4/87



## FOCUS

# A day in the private life of PW — by PW



PRESIDENT BOTHA: "I like to be with friends where I can have some laughter."

I get up at half past six and listen to the morning news. I read two or three papers. While I do that, my breakfast is brought to me — just some fruit juice and a biscuit.

I never eat heavily. If there isn't an official function I work right through lunch time. My main meal is dinner, just two courses, fish or meat. I'm not a good cook: my wife, Elize, says all I know is when water has come to the boil.

After breakfast, I go for a brisk walk — this is usually the only exercise I get — I'm good at delegating — so I delegate the jogging to my horse Prince. But I think I'm in good health.

## LIKES TO LAUGH

Look, I find speaking about myself rather awkward. But I'll tell you this: I am presented by my enemies and my opponents as being very strict and despotic, an evil being. That is not so. I like the lighter side of life and I like to be with friends where I can have some laughter. Also, English is not my natural language; I express myself better in Afrikaans.

So, I get to the office at about eight. I work until about seven or eight, sometimes I might take a five-minute break.

## President Botha talks to DAVID BLOCK of the London Sunday Times.

for a nap during the day. Afterwards, I may have public meetings and other functions to attend. It seldom happens that I work at home at night. I prefer to read, I'm very fond of reading. To relax, to take my mind totally off things, I turn to my Bible which I read at least once a day.

I make an attempt at weekends and holiday times to be with my family. We are rarely all together at once. Three of our children are married and their holidays don't coincide. Of the other two, Rozanne, who works for a film company and is a part-time journalist, is out most of the time, and our youngest son, Rodson, is 17 and just completing his university entrance.

We enjoy meeting at our holiday home, Die Anker, in the Wilderness resort on the Cape coast. It is one of the most beautiful places in the world. We are in a more "natural" family position there than when I am working in Cape Town or Pretoria. There we become relaxed and again a close-knit family. Some of

the children like to water-ski on the lagoon outside Die Anker and I like to drive the speedboat for them.

I like to hunt small game, deer and so on, but my favourite pasture is riding. I have two horses in stables near Cape Town. When I don't have commitments, I ride every Saturday. I have an affinity with horses; I grew up on my father's farm and he bred them. I now have a farm myself, just a few hectares, with cattle and sheep. It takes my mind off my ordinary work and gives me a glimpse of the problems of farmers.

## KEEP IN TOUCH

My mother really wanted me to become a dominie in the Dutch Reformed Church, but early in my life I decided I would not fit in there. I love my church and go every Sunday if I can. But you must be driven by a calling to become a churchman and I had an inclination to serve on a broader front.

My school days were very happy. I keep in touch with some of my school friends, and three of my teachers still write to me from time to time, including my kindergarten teacher, now over 90.

Black friends? Well, up to a few years ago, on my brother's farm lived black people who were youngsters with me on my father's farm. And when they see me we behave in a natural way towards each other, as we did when we were boys. We talk about old times and sometimes they question me on my present-day activities. I love to get in touch with the ordinary people of South Africa. It's the only way to stay human. Otherwise this job would kill you.

I also get grassroots feedback from very good friends who invite me to their homes. We have ordinary discussions and I try to listen to them. It is better to listen to what people say than to read what people write.

## A GREAT MOMENT

I was 20 when I started in politics. I remember alighting at Caledon Station to take up the position of a national organizer. Two party men approached me and asked if I'd seen a Mr Botha. When I said it was me they looked astounded. "My God, what have we here?" one said.

Almost exactly 50 years later, I had one of the great moments of my life. I was invited to a gathering by the Zion-Christian Church, the biggest church in South Africa, with more than four million members, predominantly black. In one arena, I addressed more than three million people. And they were so well disciplined and well behaved. They were singing hymns, they were praying, but they were also clapping hands while I was

It was not the kind of crowd that you must convince. They were a meeting of people with a genuine feeling that they wanted peace and they wanted to convey to you their good relationship.

It gave me a feeling of deep appreciation for the fact that these people invited me there. And also a feeling of heavy responsibility.

I do not complain of such responsibilities because if I want to leave, I can leave tomorrow. I am not bound by any chains to my present position. I once told Parliament that I can think of a lot of things I would rather do. At my age, I told them, other people have retired.

I have done many things, but there have also been a lot of mistakes. I told them that only people who do a lot of things make mistakes. A person who does nothing makes no mistakes.

My Ministers come into my office and say I must slow down, that I do too much. And when they depart there is a new pile of work on my desk.

## TRY TO RELAX

When I am visiting overseas, I try to take the chance to relax. I like to ride and to visit chateaux and castles. History is very interesting to me, especially of those countries from which we stem. I like to go to Great Britain, to France and Germany. But we are Africans, our history is African and I always want to come back to my country.

I relax also by working in the garden, and from time to time I watch television. My favourites are Wild West stories. In earlier days I used to read them.

My wife is very interested in music and to live with her I must also be. I enjoy all the composers, particularly Beethoven. I am not so much in love with Bach. Sometimes my daughter, Rozanne, tries to play me pop music. The beat is all right, but some of the songs are bad.

Last thing in the day, I like to have a walk to collect my thoughts. Of course, one must have a drink to wind down. Either a small white wine or a whisky. These days, whisky has become very expensive, so it's more often I take a good South African wine.

I always read before I switch off the light. I have a number of books by my bed. I am reading five or six at a time. I will read one tonight by Kissinger, and tomorrow one on military strategy and the night after a biography. And if I don't want to be overloaded with the difficulties and problems of life, perhaps I will take out an ordinary, light work, perhaps a novel in Afrikaans. And, of course, the Bible.

I switch off the lights and sleep within a few minutes. I never take a guilty con-



# NP candidate was fired

From Page 1

Beer the option of resigning, which he immediately accepted.

Mr de la Cruz, the leader of the official Opposition in the House of Representatives, confirmed Mr Rhoda's version.

"I could have had him locked up, but instead I asked for his resignation," he said. "He was in tears and admitted everything. We had called in the police but decided against prosecuting him."

Mr de Beer at first denied the charges relating to his alleged use of the air ticket, but then conceded that he had resigned "because of bad feeling over the misunderstanding".

He admitted signing a document terminating his employment and confirmed that the police had been called in.

## NP candidate was fired over ticket rumpus

By IVOR CREWS

A NATIONAL PARTY candidate standing on a law and order ticket was once forced to resign as a political researcher after police investigated his irregular acquisition of an airline ticket.

Mr Leon de Beer, 28, NP candidate in Hillbrow, was told to resign by the tiny Democratic Workers Party after applying in one of their MPs' names for an 80 percent discount (to which he was not entitled) on an SAA air ticket.

The NP candidate was also involved in a row over his use of parliamentarians' names to order liquor from KWV on a quota which is only available to MPs.



MR LEON DE BEER Resigned "in tears"

### Declines

This week Mr de Beer insisted that the whole thing had been a "misunderstanding". He declined to elaborate.

DWP officials confirmed that Mr de Beer, while working as a political researcher for them in Cape Town in 1985, used an SAA concession pass belonging to Mr Yusef Rhoda, DWP MP for Bokke-

veld, without obtaining his permission.

Although the police were called in by the DWP it was decided not to press charges. However, Mr de Beer was asked to resign from his job, which he did "in tears".

The abrupt departure of the NP candidate from the service of the DWP, whom he had served during 1985 and 1986, was recounted this week by senior officials involved.

Mr Rhoda told the Sunday Times that SAA telephoned him last year to confirm his booking and to ask when he would pick up his ticket to Bloemfontein.

### Identified

He told them he had not booked the ticket and was able to identify Mr de Beer as the man responsible.

He and the party leader, Mr Dennis de la Cruz, then confronted Mr de Beer.

"I asked him what was going on and told him it was illegal. He admitted it and apologised. He said he had meant to ask my permission."

Mr Rhoda said that after discussions with Mr de la Cruz and MP Mr Anwar Essop, it was decided to call in the police.

However, they gave Mr de

over the incident. A statement by his campaign manager later pointed out that the ticket had never been used.

Mr de Beer is also embroiled in a row over orders for liquor in the name of DWP parliamentarians.

Both Mr Rhoda and Mr Anwar Essop told the Sunday Times this week they had received accounts from the KWV for liquor ordered in their names.

However, since they had not ordered it they refused to pay.

KWV later confirmed that the accounts were settled by Mr de Beer.

On Friday Mr de Beer denied the claims of the parliamentarians and said he ordered the liquor with their permission as they did not want to use their quota privileges.

Yesterday, Mr Alf Wideman, PRP candidate in Hillbrow and sitting MP, said it was a matter for Mr de Beer's own conscience whether he continued running for office. (News by I. Crews, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.)

### Price rise

THE price of the Sunday Times increases to R1.07 plus 13c GST from today.

Production and distribution of South Africa's biggest-selling newspaper is costing more, but the Sunday Times continues to provide amazing value for money.

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

IN YOUR MARKS. GUILTY!

THE tragic killing of a young man in 1981 - the hands of alleged terrorists

By IVOR CREWS

Terror

So different So Free

GAULOIS

The flavour of France. Filtre or Plain. Now made in South Africa.

To Page 2



# LESTER VENTER'S ELECTIO

**OOM Gert Nel, a 66-year-old Soutpansberg farmer, behind the seat of his Mercedes-Benz.**

His flowing pioneer's beard bristles with impish pride as he holds his handiwork — a polished, carved wooden phallus with an Afri-standsbeweging flag taped to it.

The unadorned symbol of dominance is largely what politics in the far-northern Transvaal constituency is about. tough, uncompromising people facing an uncompromising choice

When 18 000 Soutpansbergers go to the polls on May 6 they will decide either on permanent subjection of blacks in the region to white dominance through the Conservative Party's policy of political partition — or siding with the power of the day, the National Party government.

## Reality

The seat, South Africa's most northerly, is already in the hands of the CP.

Most people there, however, are in intimate contact with an otherwise underlying South African reality — intense government and military activity to ensure the security of the country's barbed-wire northern border.

It is a reality all too frequently highlighted by landmine blasts and other terrorist incidents in the constituency.

To people like Oom Gert, the issue is quite clear:

"When you have a weak government it must fall away to make room for one that is stronger," he says.

"The Government is giving millions to the blacks, who only burn and throw stones at what they have been given.

"In a few years where will we be? We need a much firmer government."

Oom Gert says he isn't much interested in the parties and their policies.

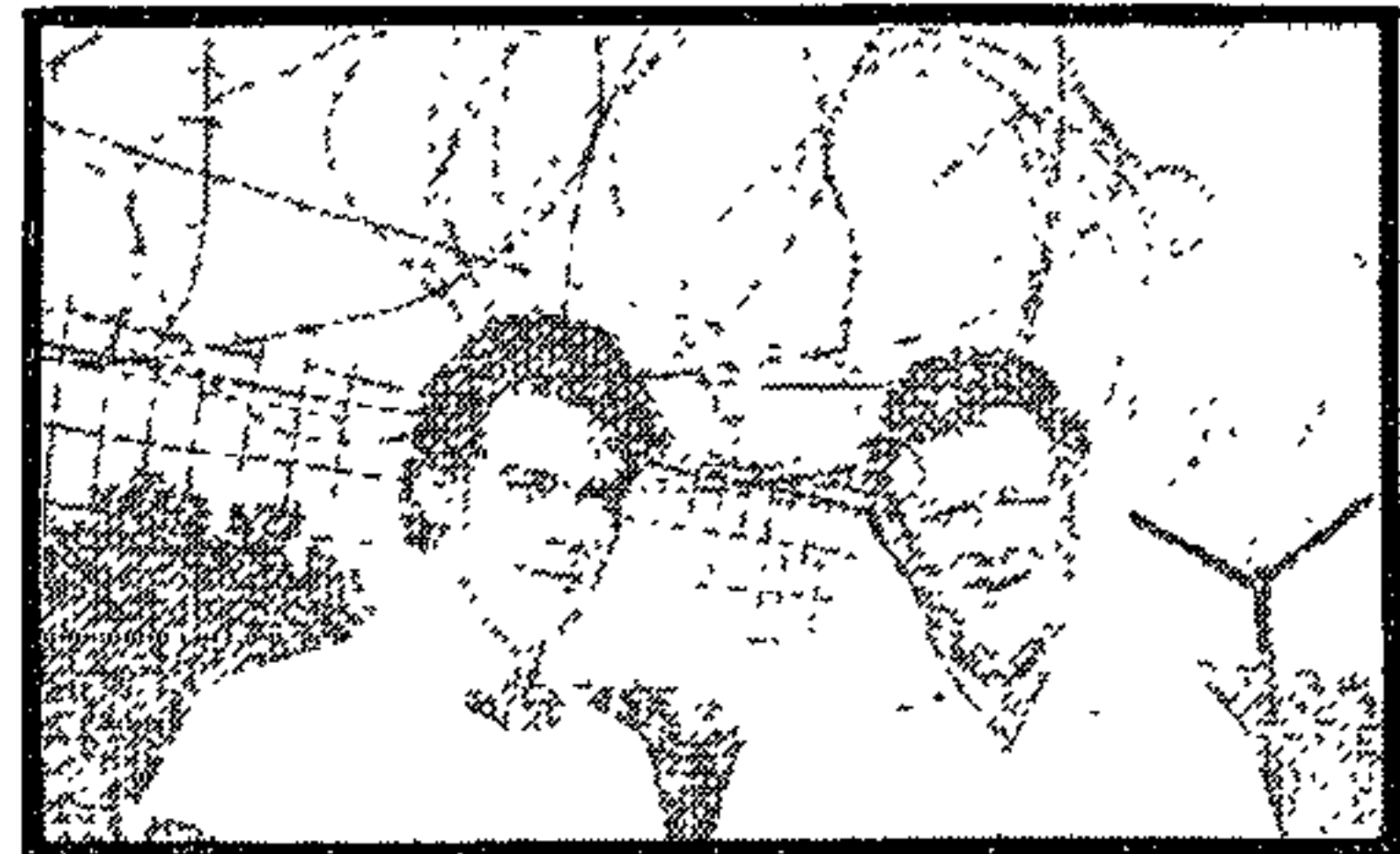
What one needs is simply to vote for the strongest man. In his book that is CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht

Reaching a different conclusion is border farmer Mr Carel Pieterse.

Relaxing on a shady lawn within sight of the barbed wire fence that runs along the southern banks of the Limpopo, he says:

"This is a hard way of living and you need some help from the Government."

That help comes in mainly two ways. The army patrols the road that leads to his and other farms.



ONE :: the farmer his son

# Oom Gert & the carved symbol that sums up th

It is a road on which there have already been several landmine fatalities and the military presence affords him some peace of mind.

While he sweeps aside any suggestion of being driven from his land, Mr Pieterse admits:

"After an incident one's stomach is shaky, but then you think: if something like that must happen, then it

must happen. Life must go on."

There is, however, an even more material form of government help. The "frontline farmers" — those within 50km of the border — receive extensive assistance in the form of near interest-free loans for land and equipment and are entitled to an outright cash stipend of R500 a month for merely occupying



ONE MAN, ONE AIM ... get that CP ..



THE MAN, NO VOTE ... not CP, not Nat, not anything at all



reaches

reveals his  
ner Weer-

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5 times

ONE FOE

wire separates

are! Pieterse and  
Gerhard, from

nd

t



ONE COUPLE, ONE WAY ... and that's onward to the past

## the politics of the North

he land.

Many far-north farmers  
suffering financial diffi-  
culty brought on by a six-  
year drought that has caused  
them to sell off cattle herds  
and some to abandon their  
lands.

But few seem intent on  
taking this out on the Govern-  
ment in the form of an oppo-  
sition vote.

The NP candidate, 37-

year-old advocate Mr Renier  
Pieterse, unhesitatingly pin-  
points the crunch issue:  
"swart gevaar".

"People are frightened of a  
black majority government,"  
he says.

Oom Gert, who keeps a  
tame kudu in the farmyard,  
has a flamboyantly direct  
way of expressing this.

Referring to necklacing —  
which blacks do "just be-  
cause they can't get their  
way" — he says:

"They are still doing the  
heathen things they have  
always done. Now the Gov-  
ernment wants to bring them  
into the church and into Par-  
liament."

### Debts

Oom Gert is equally dis-  
missive of the farmers who  
he believes will vote for the  
Government because of the  
subsidy system.

"They will vote Nat be-  
cause they want their debts  
written off," he says. "I'll  
pay. I don't sell my feelings."

### JAMES SOULLIER took the pictures

Oom Gert is currently  
waging a battle over a tech-  
nicality that prevents his re-  
ceiving the cash subsidy.

Oom Gert launches an at-  
tack on SABC propaganda,  
which he believes — along  
with other CP supporters —  
is part of a Government soft-  
ening-up to prepare for  
power-sharing, and worse,  
with blacks.

"I listen to the news, I lis-  
ten to the lies.

"Who's paying for that? Is  
it PW's money? It's mostly  
the country's money. All the  
news is just for the blacks."

Once again, Carel Pieterse  
addresses the same problem  
and comes up with a different  
view.

"We must give the black

people their chance," he says.

A rising generation of edu-  
cated young black people  
around the Soutpansberg will  
have aspirations Mr Pieterse  
feels can be accommodated  
within NP ideology.

He also feels the ANC  
threat has to be distinguished  
from the broad sweep of  
South Africa's northerly  
neighbours. Pointing across  
the Limpopo, he says

"In 20 years the people on  
the other side have done us no  
harm."

### Mammoth

The differing attitudes of  
the men, both pitted against  
unsympathetic forces of na-  
ture and an uncertain politi-  
cal future as they struggle  
for their living, encapsulate  
the opposing political forces  
that will be measured  
against one another on May 6

The NP is pouring in its  
mammoth resources to wrest  
Soutpansberg back from the  
CP's Mr Tom Langley.

Candidate Mr Pieterse is  
confident it can be done. He

believes the seat went to the  
CP in February 1984 through  
NP bungling and neglect.

Since then, the consti-  
tency has won party trophies as  
the best administered con-  
stituency in the Transvaal,  
and as having enlisted the  
most new members.

Mr Pieterse believes the  
battle of Soutpansberg has  
broad significance for South  
African politics.

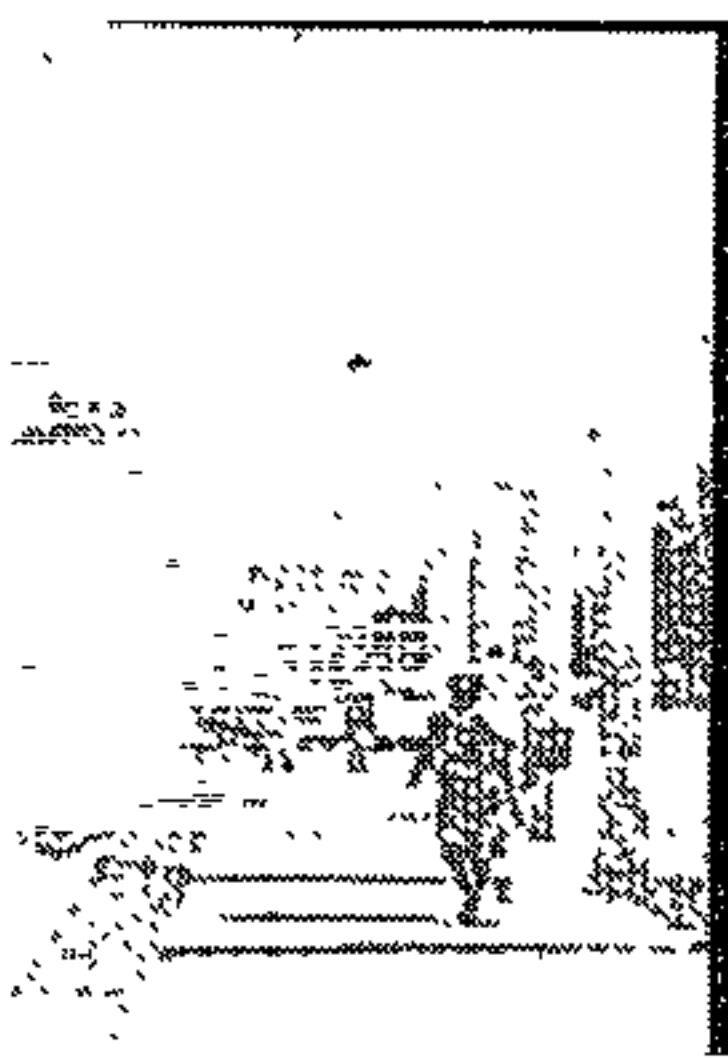
"If Soutpansberg is pre-  
pared to accept reform, why  
should any other part of the  
country not be prepared to  
accept it?"

Mr Langley dismisses the  
NP's confidence. Addressing  
about 400 people in Tzaneen  
on a platform shared with Dr  
Treurnicht, Mr Langley said  
the NP was "whistling while  
walking past the graveyard".

But with the NP clearly  
recovering to have a fighting  
chance of winning back the  
seat, it is also clear that the  
CP is not going to let it go  
without a fierce battle that  
will see a sweeping aside of  
the normal niceties of demo-  
cratic contest

NP posters in Louis Tri-  
chardt have been sprayed  
with a red "V" — for the Afri-  
kaans word for "traitors".

(News by L. Venter, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)



outa here



ARGUS 13/4/81

CITY/NATIONAL

# Botha rejects black majority rule concept

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The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — President P W Botha has totally rejected the concept that blacks eventually could negotiate their way to majority rule in South Africa.

He insisted it was unacceptable that one day there could be a black head-of-state in South Africa.

With the whites-only general election due in more than three weeks, he stated emphatically there were limits to power-sharing.

President Botha said in a BBC radio interview yesterday: "I believe in a Christian approach. At the same time, however, I have never read in the Bible that to be a good Christian means I must commit suicide to please the other man."

## Westminster system

He discussed the idea of political evolution to reflect power in terms of population in South Africa with its 18-per-cent white population.

"I don't foresee that, in the Westminster sense, there could be a black majority because the Westminster system didn't work in Africa."

Instead, President Botha

talked of a "unique system" which would safeguard the rights of minorities and create authorities to deal with common interests.

The British, he added, should understand that concept as there was a Secretary of State for Scotland and also a Welsh Office. The implication was that these were merely minorities whose cultures had to be protected.

He said his refusal to negotiate with ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, who has been in jail

for 23 years, was perfectly legitimate — and equivalent to Mrs Margaret Thatcher's refusal to talk to the IRA.

He made it clear he would not go to see Mr Mandela in jail, nor would he agree to a meeting unless he first renounced violence.

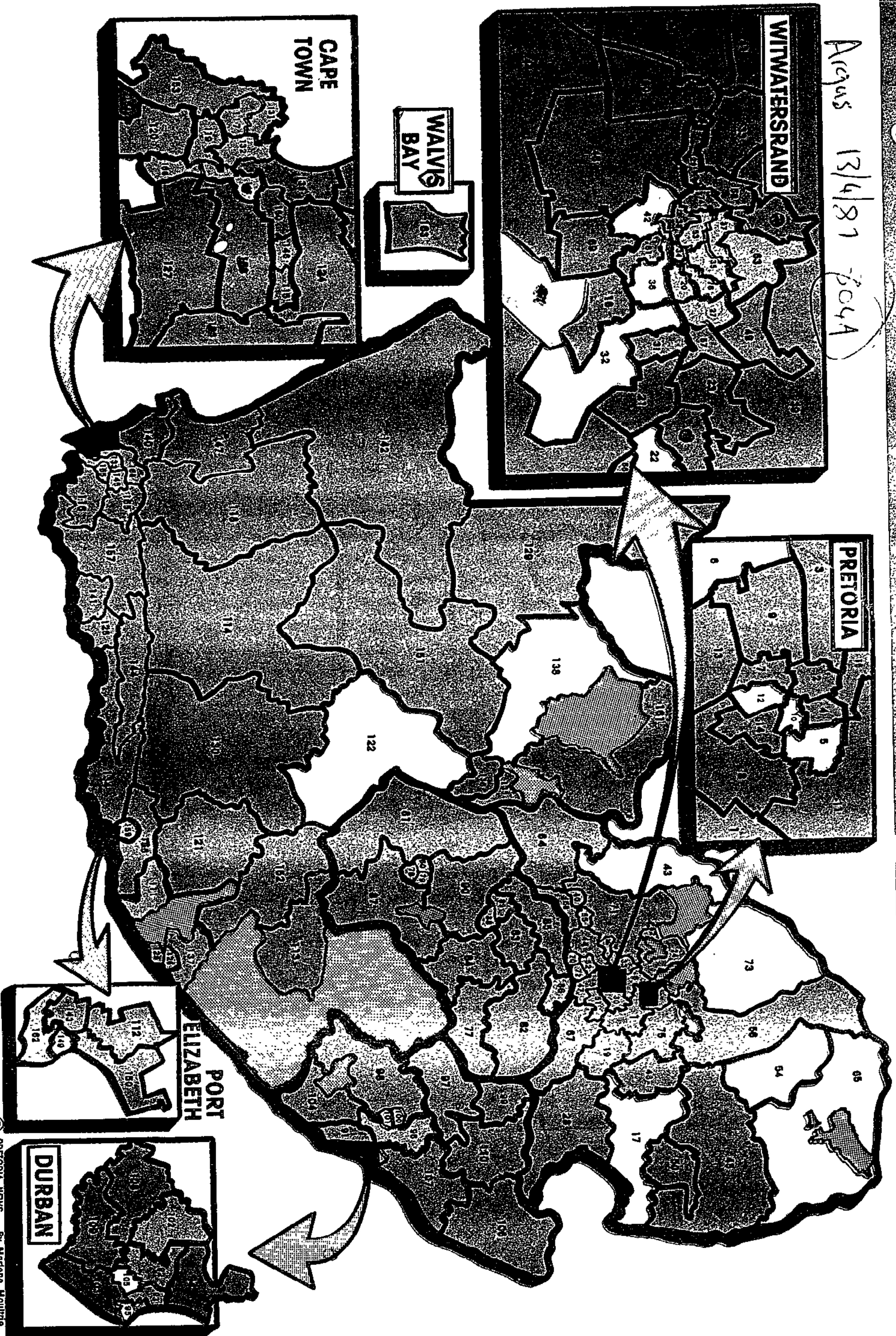
Claiming that apartheid was a most-misunderstood term, he said the system of segregation was being progressively phased out, and no particular aspect of apartheid was sacrosanct.

(Report by A F Retief, 32 Hatton Garden, London EC1.)



# May 6: How will the map change?

August 13/4/81 7044



NATIONAL PARTY  
 PROGRESSIVE FEDERAL PARTY  
 NEW REPUBLIC PARTY  
 CONSERVATIVE PARTY  
 HERSTIGTE NASIONALE PARTY  
 INDEPENDENTS



By TOS WENTZEL  
Political Correspondent

**T**HERE is growing confidence in National Party ranks that the party can, especially in tough general election fights against the rightwing parties in the Transvaal and the Free State, improve its position on May 6.

The Progressive Federal Party, too, is confident that it can gain seats from the National Party especially in Natal and the Border area.

In spite of its claims of enthusiasm among its workers there is a growing realisation in Conservative Party ranks that although the party may draw a considerable number of votes, it will not win so many seats.

In the Herstigte Nasionale Party there is growing despondency about the chances of the rightwing after the two parties' failure to come to an election agreement, but the party is hopeful that it can retain Sasolburg, its only seat in the Assembly.

The independents have drawn a lot of publicity and large and enthusiastic audiences but it appears as if only Mr Wynand Malan in Randburg has a chance against a strong National Party election machine.

In the Western Cape the key seat is Simon's Town where, according to Mr Neil Ross, the party's national director, the party is now confident of winning.

The death of the sitting member, Mr John Wiley, may have improved the PFP's chances but its workers there maintain that it had this chance all along.

### One of the top seats

The PFP also claims that a breakthrough is possible in Maitland and that this is becoming one of the top priority seats but Nationalists strongly dispute this.

In the Border area the PFP is making a strong bid for both East London City and East London North. Here, too the National Party maintains that it is strongly entrenched.

The party is also hopeful of regaining Kuruman and De Aar, the two seats in the Cape Province which are held by Conservative Party MPs who were elected as Nationalists.

Cape Nationalist politicians traditionally decline to make on-the-record predictions before an election but they are clearly optimistic about the party retaining Stellenbosch comfortably against the independent and the HNP candidates.

They are also confident that Mr Heunis will beat Dr Denis Worrall in Helderberg. Nationalist canvassing figures at present show the party well ahead but there is a realisation that the fight will be very much about the size of Mr Chris Heunis's majority.

# Swings predicted in general election

Dr Worrall's supporters remain hopeful, especially because of the large number of undecided or doubtful voters they are coming across in their canvassing.

In this election the National Party may well be up against a big "lie factor" or a stayaway vote from disgruntled supporters, people who have misgivings about the slow pace of reform or about economic issues such as the high cost of living.

### Trouble in two seats

In Natal the PFP is especially hopeful of winning the Durban North seat where the sitting MP is Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Ron Miller, who won the seat for the New Republic Party in 1981 before later defecting to the National Party.

In Natal the other needle contests between the PFP and the NP are in Umhlanga, Umhlathuzana and Umlazi, with the PFP hopeful of winning in all three.

The PFP feels that a freak result, with it winning, is possible in Klip River, but its chances of winning in Port Natal against the Natal Nationalist leader Mr Stoffel Botha seem to be receding.

The PFP seems to be in trouble in two of the seats it holds in the Transvaal, Bezuidenhout and Hillbrow.

The National Party is making a determined bid in Bezuidenhout and claims that it is ahead there but the PFP maintains that it can retain the seat.

In Hillbrow, where many blacks have moved in, the Group Areas Act has become a big issue with the CP going all-out to exploit this.

In the Transvaal the PFP, according to Mr Ross, also has high hopes for North Rand and Helderkruin.

### Stay-away vote developing

PFP canvassing shows that there is a swing to the party of a large number of doubtful voters and that a stayaway vote is developing among Nationalists.

In Krugersdorp, Mr Leon Wessels, one of the National Party's leading verligtes is involved in a tough battle with the CP and could well lose the seat.

In both the Transvaal and the Free State the Nationalists are openly delighted and relieved at the fact that the HNP and the CP failed to

form an election alliance and are causing three-cornered contests in many seats. The National Party can only benefit from this although it concedes that its majorities may be slashed in many cases.

One of the big battles is in the 12 seats in and around Pretoria where the NP is confident of winning back at least Rissik and Sunnyside from the CP.

The CP is also likely to lose Germiston District, Jeppe and Langlaagte to the NP. In the country as a whole the CP is likely to lose seven of the 17 elected seats it held in the old Assembly.

It is in the Northern and North Eastern Transvaal where the toughest struggle is taking place between the NP and the rightwingers.

In Lydenburg the Minister of Manpower, Mr Pietie du Plessis may well lose, but his chances have been improved by the fight between the HNP and the CP.

Other Ministers whose chances have improved are Mr F W de Klerk in Vereeniging, Mr Danie Steyn in Wonderboom and General Magnus Malan in Modderfontein.

### In serious trouble

In Ermelo, however, Deputy Minister Mr H J Temple is said to be in serious trouble.

Carltonville, a mining constituency where the rightwing leader of the white mineworkers, Mr Arrie Paulus, is standing for the CP, may also be lost to the National Party.

Seats the CP is sure of retaining are Waterberg, Dr Andries Treurnicht's seat, Lichtenburg, Pietersburg and Soutpansberg.

An optimistic calculation at present shows that the CP can win about 14 seats.

Dr Lukas Nel, the Transvaal Nationalist provincial secretary, is confident that the election will show that the rightwing has over-estimated its strength and that it will have fewer seats than before. While he concedes that Nationalist majorities will be reduced in the tough fight, he maintains that his party will do well.

In the Free State, too, the National Party is confident of beating the rightwingers in all the 14 seats, according to its provincial secretary, Mr I Aucamp.

The HNP does not seem to have a hope of retaining Sasol, although its general secretary, Mr Louis van der

continue

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Schyff, maintains that its canvassing figures show that its support there is holding fast.

He is pessimistic about the chances of the rightwingers and feels that at most his party can win up to six seats and the CP only about three or four.

Mr Koos van der Merwe, MP for Jeppe who is now standing in Overvaal, and who is one of the CP's main organisers, said there was tremendous enthusiasm among party workers.

Although he did not want to make a firm prediction he thought the party could win about 30 seats this election but that there could be a real breakthrough of up to 80 seats in the following election.

He was confident that the party could win a large number of votes, up to 800 000 all over the country.

(Report by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

## KEY TO MAP

### PRETORIA

1 Delmas; 2 Gezina; 3 Hercules; 4; Innesdal; 5 Koedoespoort; 6 North; Rand; 7 Pretoria Central; 8 Pretoria East; 9 Pretoria West; 10 Rissik; 11 Roodeplaat; 12 Sunnyside; 13 Verwoerdburg; 14 Waterkloof; 15 Wonderboom

### TRANSVAAL

16 Alberton; 17 Barberton; 18 Benoni; 19 Bethal; 20 Bezuidenhout; 21 Boksburg; 22 Brakpan; 23 Brentwood; 24 Brits; 25 Bryanston; 26 Cartonville; 27 Edenvale; 28 Ermelo; 29 Florida; 30 Geduld; 31 Germiston; 32 Germiston District; 33 Helderkruijn; 34 Hillbrow; 35 Houghton; 36 Jeppe; 37 JHB North; 38 JHB West; 39 Kempton Park; 40 Klerksdorp; 41 Krugersdorp; 42 Langlaagte; 43 Lichtenburg; 44 Losberg; 45 Lydenburg; 46 Maraisburg; 47 Meyerton; 48 Middelburg; 49 Modderfontein; 50 Nelspruit; 51 Nigel; 52 Overvaal; 53 Parktown; 54 Pietersburg; 55 Potchefstroom; 56 Potgietersrus; 57 Primrose; 58 Randburg; 59 Randfontein; 60 Roodepoort; 61 Rosettenville; 62 Rustenburg; 63 Sandton; 64 Schweizer-Reneke; 65 Soutpansberg; 66 Springs; 67 Standerton; 68 Stilfontein; 69 Turffontein; 70 Vanderbijlpark; 71 Ventersdorp; 72 Vereeniging; 73 Waterberg; 74 Westdene; 75 Witbank; 76 Yeoville

### FREE STATE

77 Bethlehem; 78 Bloemfontein East; 79 Bloemfontein North; 80 Bloemfontein West; 81 Fauresmith; 82 Heilbron; 83 Kroonstad; 84

Ladybrand; 85 Parys; 86 Sasolburg; 87 Smithfield; 88 Virginia; 89 Welkom; 90 Winburg

### NATAL

91 Amanzimtoti; 92 Berea; 93 Durban Central; 94 Durban North; 95 Durban Point; 96 Greytown; 97 Kliprivier; 98 Mooi River; 99 Newcastle 100 P/Maritzburg North; 101 P/Maritzburg South; 102 Pinetown; 103 Port Natal; 104 South Coast; 105 Umbilo; 106 Umfolozi; 107 Umhlanga; 108 Umhlathuzana; 109 Umiazi; 110 Vryheid

### CAPE

111 Albany; 112 Algoa; 113 Aliwal; 114 Beaufort West; 115 Bellville; 116 Caledon; 117 Cape Town/Gardens; 118 Ceres; 119 Claremont; 120 Constantia; 121 Cradock; 122 De Aar; 123 De Kuilen; 124 Durbanville; 125 East London City; 126 East London North; 127 False Bay 128 George; 129 Gordonia; 130 Graaff-Reinet; 131 Green Point; 132 Groote Schuur; 133 Helderberg; 134 Humansdorp; 135 Kimerley North; 136 Kimberley South; 137 King William's Town; 138 Kuruman; 139 Maitland; 140 Malmesbury; 141 Mossel Bay; 142 Namaqualand; 143 Newton Park; 144 Oudtshoorn; 145 Paarl; 146 Parow; 147 Piketberg; 148 Pinelands 149 PE Central; 150 PE North; 151 Prieska; 152 Queenstown; 153 Sea Point; 154 Simon's Town; 155 Stellenbosch; 156 Sundays River; 157 Swellendam; 158 Tygervalle; 159 Uitenhage; 160 Vasco; 161 Vryburg; 162 Walmer; 163 Walvis Bay; 164 Wellington; 165 Worcester; 166 Wynberg.

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★ Cape Times, Monday, April 13, 1987 9

# No majority rule by blacks, PW tells BBC

PRESIDENT PW Botha gave a firm no to black majority rule in South Africa during a radio interview broadcast yesterday and predicted that a reformist revolt in his National Party would come to nothing.

Questioned on how far he was prepared to go in sharing power with blacks, Mr Botha told the BBC:

"I am not prepared to sacrifice my rights so that the other man can dominate me with his greater numbers."

Mr Botha reasserted his commitment to his own style of apartheid reform.

Asked about the independents' allegations that his reforms had come to a halt, Mr Botha said: "I would reply to that with a smile."

Mr Botha said he had seen independents stand in many elections.

They "come and go like the early-morning mist; they disappear when the sun is high", he said.

## Academic support dismissed

Mr Botha dismissed support by University of Stellenbosch academics for the independents as insignificant.

"Most of the important academic leaders in South Africa are still four-square serving the cause in which the NP believes," he said.

He made it clear that his concept of reform did not mean abolishing the homelands.

"I am not prepared to jeopardize, to undermine their independence," he said.

He described South Africa as a country of minorities, with blacks split into tribes, where each main ethnic group controlled its "own affairs", like education, while the central government co-ordinated "general affairs", like security.

Asked if he could ever see himself talking with Mr Nelson Mandela, the jailed leader of the African National Congress, Mr Botha said he would if Mr Mandela first agreed to renounce violence. —

Sapa-Reuter

(Report by R Pitchford, Glencarm Building, Market St, Johannesburg.)

# British study urges 'strategy of persuasion' towards SA

**SPEAKING** in the House of Commons last year former Foreign Secretary Mr Francis Pym saw the options facing the West on South Africa as tantamount to a "Catch 22" — "Either we apply sanctions and hurt the innocent or else we do nothing". Now the debate in the West has moved to just how severely sanctions should be applied.

But in a paper released this week, the authors argue that not only are sanctions wrong, but that Mr Pym was wrong too when he said the alternative was doing nothing.

Professor Neville Brown and Yu Ying Brown, in a paper published by the University of Birmingham Graduate School of International Studies, propose that the West should offer South Africa large-scale development aid in exchange for a commitment to work towards majority rule.

The authors, who visited South Africa last year, argue that the year 2000 is an appropriate date to complete the transfer of power.

The authors argue that the belief that sanctions alone can induce the dismantlement of apartheid "stems essentially from the gauche and obsolete concept of pleasure-pain psychology".

In a section titled "The Poverty of Current Strategy" the authors say the current debate on SA is bogged down over just how severely sanctions might be applied. Former Australian Prime Minister Mr Malcolm Fraser is quoted as saying: "It is not just a question of turning the screw steadily; it's a question of a hard blow."

However, the authors argue that "there is no single economic blow that might cripple the economy of SA. And even if there were some punitive measure, economic or whatever, that was sharp and decisive in its direct impact, still its indirect effect would ramify unpredictably. Besides which, any blows aimed at

**A NEW study** by the University of Birmingham Graduate School of International Studies argues the poverty of current strategy towards South Africa. Sanctions, it says, reinforces extremism and will lead to chaos defeating the stated aim of bringing about majority rule. The authors argue instead for massive targeted aid linked to a commitment from government to work towards majority rule by a specified date. Mike Robertson reports from London.

Pretoria are liable to do more damage to certain other Frontline states.

"This would apply even if the RSA did not deliberately wage economic warfare against them, if she simply took limited measures to buttress herself.

"Nor should we discount the Republic's ability to combat the outside world economically, through the leverage it exercises on metal markets."

The authors argue that punitive external pressures will result in white South Africans swinging to the right.

This greater determination to resist punitive measures was not just a function of immediate self-interest but a righteous anger at being the subject of vulgar double standards.

A sanction-provoked scenario they envisage includes the condoning of white vigilantism and a negative revaluation of pass law abolition and easing of influx control.

No-one, the authors say, should assume that white South Africa goaded rightwards would become too unstable to continue — especially as the possibility of subverting the armed forces was not feasible.

Nor could any civilised beings profess themselves relaxed about a slide into a revolutionary mess.

"Ten to thirty years of struggle would launch virtually all concerned into an era of utter misery, an era in which true majority rule receded beyond the most dis-

tant horizon."

The most urgent need in SA, the authors argue, is to check the gyration to extremes.

"An approach that ought to commend itself is the introduction into the West's strategy of the principle of persuasion.

"Large-scale aid, targeted on black education, housing and employment opportunities, should be offered to the Republic along with a concurrent suspension of economic sanctions and the provision of military guarantees against overt external attack.

"The quid pro quo would have to be a firm and overt commitment to progress steadily towards genuine majority rule by a specific date.

"Only the continuation by ANC factions or whoever of a general campaign of insurgency would be taken as a valid reason for delaying this consummation."

The authors argue that in South Africa the yearning for the politics of moderation was shared widely enough to give something to build on.

Their proposal, the authors say, will prove an acid test for those in the anti-apartheid movement.

They urge that a distinction be drawn between those who give it their backing because they want to see a non-racial democracy prevail in SA and those who are indifferent to this aim — because they are imbued by the ideology of Marxist revolution.



**N**O SERIOUS person can doubt that the forces which destroyed apartheid as a policy will prevail over the remnants of apartheid. The Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act will go the way of the pass laws.

In a perverse way, the collapse of apartheid dominates the election campaign. It explains why the National Party is turning the campaign into a military circus, with Foreign Minister P. W. Botha cast as chief barker, and the army as performing seal to divert the masses.

It is worth recapitulating the political fundamentals: on the right, the HNP and the CP squabble for possession of Verwoerdian theory, on the left the PFP, the NRP and the independents coalesce awkwardly around the opposite principle that puts the free individual at the centre of the system. Group vs individual, order vs freedom, fascism vs democracy, these are the issues.

The National Party stands astride this great divide, half its members tending towards the right, a few tending towards the left, and the rest undecided.

**T**he result is contradiction in every facet of policy, and in every attempt to articulate that policy. Neither the campaign manifesto nor the indecipherable speeches of Chris Heunis, nor the laborious explanations of F. W. de Klerk can resolve the contradictions.

The party cannot continue to the left without losing large numbers of voters to the CP, but it cannot move right without embracing the failures of its own past.

If Nationalist leaders perceive

# We have an army — SO who needs a policy?

13/4/87

304A

Ellay

KEN OWEN

Does anybody know?

nothing else, they know that they threw everything they had into apartheid, and it wasn't enough; now, weakened by their failure, they have less chance than ever. So they straddle.

They jettison apartheid, but cling to the Group Areas Act. They abandon the atrocities of mass removals, but try to remove people anyway. They accept the imperatives of urbanisation, and abandon the pass laws and the old influx control policies, but try nevertheless to check urbanisation by new kinds of influx control.

The cruel social engineering, demonstrably futile, continues.

If policy is confused, explanations of policy verge on the duplicitous. Blacks will be brought into the system at the highest possible level, but not into Parliament. What is possible? What is the highest level? How? When? Who? There are a thousand questions, no answers.

What in heaven's name is the policy of the National Party?

**T**he evidence points not only to intellectual shallowness and to a loss of political control that demands, increasingly, the use of coercion.

At the centre of the system, of course, stands the coercive assignment of people, on wholly unscientific grounds, to various "groups".

No scientist, not even the madmen of Nazi Germany, has yet been able to define a white person, but we are labelled "white", like it or not. Others, Afrikanerspeaking members of the NGK, are labelled "other coloured", and English-speaking Anglicans descended wholly or partly from Indo-European ancestors are labelled "Indian". It's madness, coercively imposed.

Yet coercion, too, has failed. The inhuman attempts to impose group areas have succeeded in moving blacks 30km from So-

phiatown to Soweto, and Indians from Fordsburg to nearby Hill-brow. District Six lies vacant, an accusing scar. Cato Manor was taken away, and partly given back.

Like invading Huns, the Nationalists demolished tens of thousands of homes and scattered broken families across the landscape, creating only a vast lack of housing.

Now, as the barriers weaken, black people are coming to town, settling into flats in central Johannesburg where they earn their money and pay their rent and do their shopping like anybody else. Nothing can stop them.

Where does the National Party plan to go from here? What, in heaven's name, is its policy?

At every level of society, South Africans are negotiating their future. Some do it by clarifying the options, some by talking, some by acting. Universities and churches simply fling open their doors; businesses make small

revolutions by admitting and training black people; capitalists and union leaders contend cold-eyed across negotiating tables. Everywhere except in politics, South Africa functions as a multi-racial entity.

The Nationalists have little part in this process. They have no intellectual contribution to make, no vision of the future, no bedrock principles. They are held together by inertia, by privilege, by self-interest. They show every classical symptom of a decaying elite, including cynicism.

Therefore, suddenly, the ANC is a mighty force, bearing down on us from the dark heart of Africa, and P. W. Botha barks his warnings while our wonderful army, obedient as a performing seal, parades its fine new weapons for all to see.

**E**ven PFP mothers will surely take comfort from the beautiful, disciplined display of force, though they may wonder why their sons still defend a Maginot Line along the Angolan border when, according to P. W. Botha, the enemy is striking into our very midst.

It's another game of straddle. We are safe in our beds under the Nationalist government, we are unsafe. Be afraid, be unafraid. We have many friends abroad, they all hate us. Our enemies are the Russians, or perhaps the Americans, they are foreign, they are among us. Beware, beware! Only the Nats, thanks to our army of seals, can protect you.

Indeed, beware such claptrap, for nobody puts on a better show than P. W. Botha, and it is intended to conceal a political and intellectual bankruptcy.

Cinnabar Arcade, Shop No. 10

CAPE TIMES 15/4/87  
**'Support the pro-Indaba'** (304A)

THE secretary-general of Inkatha and a member of the KwaZulu cabinet, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, has called on white voters to support pro-Indaba candidates in the election.

Speaking in the homeland's legislative assembly, he also urged the government to arrange a referendum on the Indaba proposals in the KwaZulu-Natal region.

Dr Dhlomo, a key member of the Indaba, said its proposals were in keeping with the policy of the KwaZulu government and of Inkatha to seek to dismantle the homelands policy in favour of a united SA. So was the provision to accord voting rights to all residents of the region who were 18 and over.



CAPE TIMES 13/4/87 (2002) 306A

# Worrall: News blackout causing white blindness

WHITES being called on to make crucial decisions in the election were being denied vital information about the situation in black communities, Dr Denis Worrall said at the weekend.

The independent candidate in Helderberg criticized the restrictions on the South African media during an award for communication and leadership from the South African Toastmasters.

Dr Worrall said whites were "denied the information which could inform them of the reality of the situation in black townships".

"One can therefore imagine how white perceptions differ from that of blacks, whose lives are still disrupted by tension."

He said solutions regarded by whites as far-reaching and drastic were seen by many blacks — even moderate blacks com-

mitted to peaceful change — as being little more than palliatives.

"Where, according to blacks, surgery is required, whites are content to prescribe aspirin — whereafter they insist the disease has been cured," he said.

Referring to the relationship between politics and the media, Dr Worrall said that although he had always thought he had a reasonably good relationship with journalists, he now realized that the relationship between politicians and journalists was an adversarial one.

"There are times when the journalist wants something from the politician which the politician cannot give him; and there certainly will be times when any self-respecting journalist will write something which does not please the politician, however amicable the relationship.

"Nonetheless, one of the tests of the strength of any democratic political culture is whether politicians and journalists

can maintain their integrity and their standards of fairness in the heat of an election.

"At present both politicians and journalists are under tremendous pressure," Dr Worrall said.

He said he thought history would judge the politicians, but questioned whether it was fair to pass judgment on journalists who increasingly found their integrity compromised by higher authorities whose commitment to truth and fairness was eclipsed by blind political loyalties.

"With such a situation occurring in our society today, the victim is unfortunately the ordinary South African, whose future is in the balance," he said.

Dr Worrall, in accepting the Toastmasters' award, paid tribute to his colleagues in the London Embassy and to all South Africa's diplomats serving abroad. — Sapa

(Report by W Blumenfeld, 801 Nedbank Centre, Strand Street, Cape Town)

Cinnabar Arcade, Shop No. 6.

CAPE TIMES 13/4/76  
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3011A

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# ELECTION FOCUS ON LYDENBURG

THERE was a time when the Transvaal's Lydenburg region, with its rich Voortrekker history, was an NP stronghold. But recent political and economic events have turned the tide of thinking.

## Friends fight for a now-marginal constituency

MANPOWER Minister Pietie du Plessis says he has to "turn the tide" of political thinking in the north-eastern Transvaal before he can be sure of victory in his constituency, Lydenburg, on May 6.

He is not exaggerating. There was a time when this region with its rich Voortrekker history was regarded as a prime breeding ground for white Transvaal Nationalists. Now it has become a stronghold of Andries Treurnicht's ultra-right wing CP.

Virtually all the constituencies in this region have become marginal for the ruling NP: Barberton, Emmelo, Nelspruit, Lydenburg. And further to the west Soutpansberg, Pieterburg and Potgietersburg. The MPs for Barberton and Pieterburg — elected as Nationalists — were part of the CP breakthrough after the last general election.

The battle for Lydenburg is an interesting one. It not only encapsulates what is happening in the entire area, but it has an interesting combination of city and platteland: blue- and white-collar workers, farmers, small entrepreneurs and a sprinkling of management and professional people. It is overwhelmingly Afrikaners.

The CP views Lydenburg as a likely victory. And they want it badly: to unseat a senior Cabinet minister would be a nice bonus. The constituency stretches from Lydenburg in the south to the outskirts of Groblersdal in the west, northwards to Phalaborwa and up to the Mozambique border in the east. It includes Ohrigstad, Hoedspruit, Pilgrim's Rest, Klerksburg, Burgersfort and a large chunk of the Kruger National Park.

The number of registered voters has risen from 11 839 in 1981 to 16 387 for this election. The voters are concentrated in and around Phalaborwa (about 8 000), Lydenburg (about 3 000), and Hoedspruit (about 2 500).

The CP's candidate is Du Plessis' former MPC and friend since university days, Dries Bruwer. The HNP candidate is Dirk Beukes, a retired farmer.

Lydenburg, in the 1980s the capital of the Voortrekker republic of Lydenburg, is an area rich in minerals. There are numerous small chromium and asbestos mines scattered over the constituency.

On the CP side, Bruwer says the Afrikaners of the area are direct descendants of the Voortrekkers, "who have fled from the liberals in the Cape." He believes the chaos in nearby Mozambique and Zimbabwe has had a "sobering" influence on the political thinking of people in the region.

But more than half the voters have something to do with mining or industry, and are not from the region. Some 70% of Phalaborwa voters are connected to the mines or factories, while about 1 000 others work for smaller mines or industries in the constituency.

The NP's strongest support is in Phalaborwa — the only area with a sizeable number of English speaking voters — and this could give the party the winning edge.

A local issue used against government by the CP is tobacco farmers' problems in selling their produce because of the lack of tobacco imports from Malawi. But Du Plessis says the whole issue is about to backfire on the CP because the regulations for importing tobacco were laid down by the Tobacco Control Board. Six of the nine members of the board are producers with Nelspruit CP candidate Nello Roux a prominent member.

Bruwer says the CP is concentrating on the government's inability to run a stable economy, but also the undermining of the "own affairs" concept.

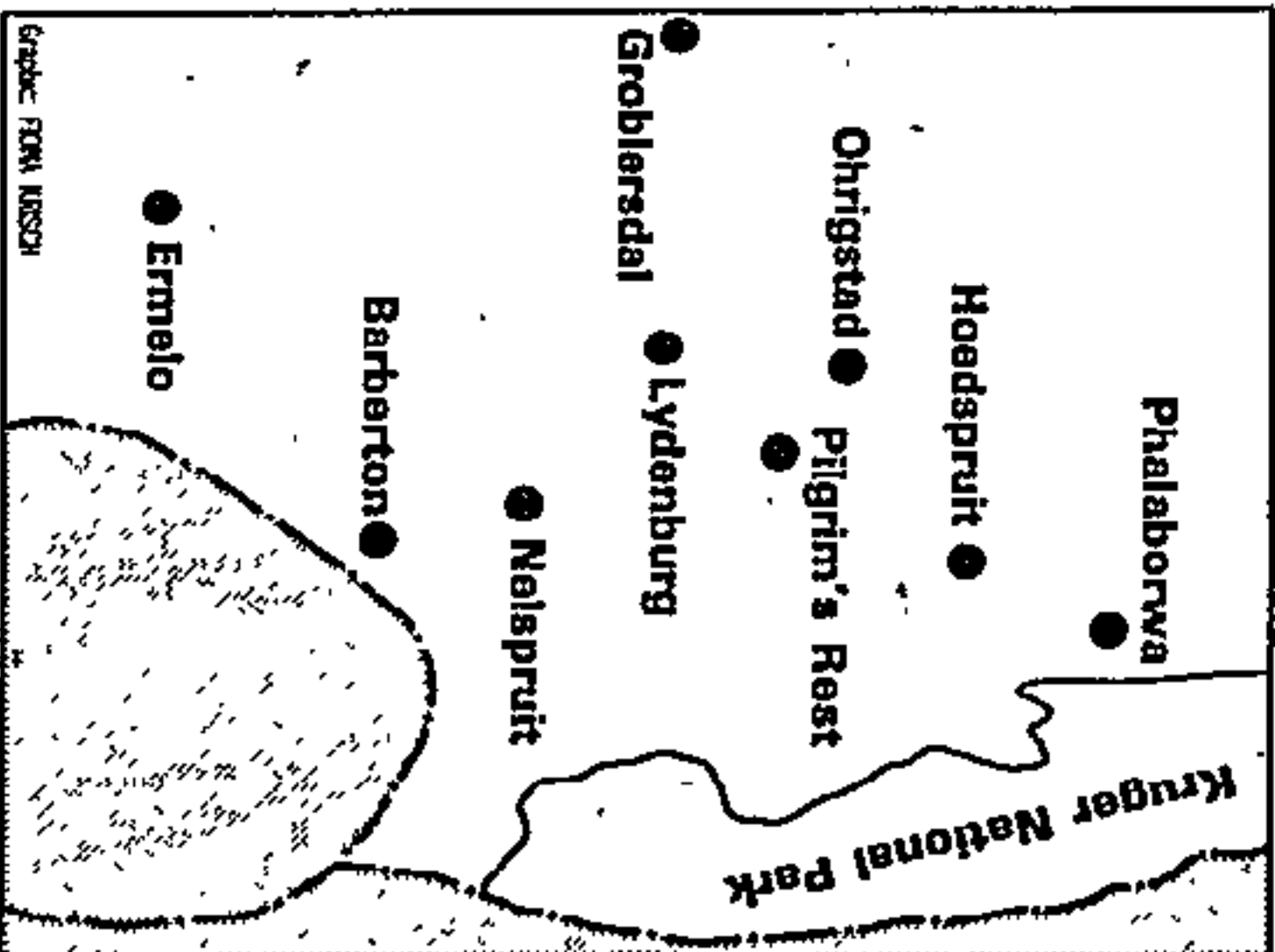
"The blown-up Mendo Park affair does the government far more harm than they realise. It shows the people that the NP cannot even guarantee own affairs for whites," he says.

The HNP is also strong on the economic issue, concentrating on struggling farmers. Its poster on virtually every lamppost in Lydenburg — even on trees next to the national road in the middle of Lebowa — reads: "Volk verarm. Ministers verrek met 60%. Verwerp hulle."

Candidates agree that security problems in parts of the constituency and the recent upheavals, labour problems and cattle thefts on the Steelport River border with Lebowa also play a role in voters' thinking.

The CP and HNP are using the possibility of changes to the Group Areas Act as one of their strongest arguments, but Du Plessis says the voters know his stand on it and not many are bothered about it.

The NP's organisation is by far the slickest of the three — probably in the 1977 general election, the HNP candidate could only muster 480 against Du Plessis's 5 550 votes. But the HNP support went up to 2 384 in 1981 and sliced Du Plessis's majority from 5 070 to 2 524.



Graphic: FROM NCSA

## ESCOM ANNUAL REPORT 1986

Highlights from the Chairman's Review and Financial Statements for the year ended 31 December 1986



"We have set ourselves a huge task in re-moulding Eskom. We still have a long way to go. But I am satisfied that the first lap is completed."

The 12 trade unions representing Eskom employees were closely involved in the implementation of policy and decisions regarding policy issues.

I want to pay tribute to the trade unions for their cooperation and the understanding and openness with which they approached the discussions.

The successful resolution of these difficult negotiations is particularly gratifying in the light of the urgent need to address problems associated with overhauling South Africa's skilled labour shortage.

Performance management programmes are being introduced to encourage and monitor the upgrading of individual performance levels throughout the organisation. A key component is the acceptance of the need to move towards a philosophy of suitably encouraging, recognising and rewarding high performance.

It is essential for the successful implementation of such a programme to involve all levels of management in determining policy and long objectives and priorities. To this end, frequent discussions were held with managers throughout the organisation and there were monthly meetings with the top 40 managers. These meetings were invaluable and much of the rapid progress made in reshaping Eskom can be attributed to wide participation by the management corps.

Communication: Determined efforts were made during the year to ensure that the 1986 was a challenging year for Eskom. But strong financial controls are beginning to reap positive benefits. Cost-consciousness has become a watchword throughout the organisation.

With better planning, improved management information systems, new structures and cost-saving programmes, we were able to announce a single tariff increase of 12% for 1987. Furthermore, we have indicated that increases of only 10% for each of the years 1988 and 1989 may be anticipated, provided the annual inflation rate does not exceed 15%.

With regard to overseas loans, it is expected that the debt standards will continue and access to this source of funds will remain difficult, except in the context of project-related finance.

On the local front, Eskom is aware that it cannot make good the loss of foreign funds by proportionately increasing its reliance on domestic markets. This would have a detrimental effect on interest rates. Thus we have

### ESCOM AT A GLANCE

1986	Change 1985-86	Average yearly increase 1985-86
Revenue	+12.0%	+12.0%
Operating costs	+10.0%	+10.0%
Profit	+2.0%	+2.0%

### POLITICS

## PFP faults NP's negotiation stance

THE NP's election stance that it is prepared to accept negotiation to secure a better deal for all has been criticised by PFP national chairman Pieter Gastrow.

He said last week President P W Botha had found it necessary to negotiate with the late Mozambican President Samora Machel — a self-confessed Marxist hawking ANC cadres — but that in SA he had banned and detained recognised political leaders.

Initial meetings with Machel had involved talks about talks, leading eventually to the Nkomati Accord and a resultant degree of stability.

Gastrow said: "If they could do it with Machel, they can and must do it with all groups in SA, including the ANC. Talks about talks must be aimed at persuading groups inside and outside SA to come to the negotiating table."

As long as the state of emergency lasted, government would continue to negotiate with "jackies" which would bring SA no closer to a solution, he said.

In order to negotiate, you cannot just choose your negotiating partners.

He slammed Deputy Law and Order Minister Roelf Meyer's suggestion that the emergency would last a few more years as containing "a degree of cockiness and pride."

"If he is right, then we must know that in this critical time in SA for the next few years there will not be any negotiations about a new dispensation."

Report by DOMINIQUE GILBERT, 11 Dorsland Street, Johannesburg.



CME Times  
13/4/87

## ANC calls for white poll ~~7B~~ 304A stayaway

Own Correspondent

HARARE — The African National Congress (ANC) at the weekend urged white South Africans not to vote in the general election.

In a statement from Lusaka, the ANC also called the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha's, statement about infiltration of guerillas from the frontline states "insane".

"They are really raving at present," an ANC spokesman said.

In its comment on the election, the ANC said anyone who voted would be participating in a "sinful" act, and "perpetrating an injustice against the oppressed".

In contrast, the United Democratic Front has not directly called on its white supporters to boycott the voting.

The UDF stopped short of advocating a boycott on March 20 this year when the organization's national executive issued a policy statement saying it "cannot approve" participation in the election.

A spokesman for the ANC said the organization would not be making a more detailed statement on the election as, "our position is clear on the issue".



# ELECTION 1987

## Miller has refused post, says Pik

Political Staff

DURBAN — Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Ron Miller had turned down a senior diplomatic post to fight his Durban North seat, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said at the weekend.

Mr Miller, having an uphill fight against school principal Mr Mike Ellis of the Progressive Federal Party, declined to say what the post was.

Government sources said it was Ambassador to Washington. Mr Miller was also tipped to succeed Dr Denis Worrall in London.

At the time Mr Miller was quoted as confirming that he would be available should the post be offered.

He said then, although he was committed to fighting Durban North for the National Party and personally very keen to do so, he would have to reconsider if approached.

"The State President is aware of my commitment to Durban North and wants me to fight it."

(Report by B Cameron, 85 Field Street, Durban.)

# Majority rule? Never, PW tells Britons in radio show

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The State President, Mr Botha, told British radio listeners yesterday South African blacks would never get majority rule and a black would never be head of state.

With the whites-only general election due in three weeks, he stated emphatically that there were limits to power-sharing.

He said in the BBC interview recorded in South Africa: "I believe in a Christian approach but at the same time I have never read in the Bible that to be a good Christian means I must commit suicide to please the other man."

He discussed the idea of political evolution to reflect power in terms of population in South Africa with its 18 percent white population.

"I don't foresee, in the Westminster sense, that there could be a black majority because the Westminster system didn't work in Africa."

Instead, Mr Botha talked of a "unique system"

which would safeguard the rights of minorities and create authorities to deal with common interests.

The British, he added, should understand that: Britain had a Secretary of State for Scotland and a Welsh Office. The implication was that these were merely minorities whose cultures had to be protected.

He said his refusal to negotiate with jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela was perfectly legitimate — the equivalent of Mrs Margaret Thatcher refusing to talk to the IRA.

He said apartheid was a most misunderstood term.

No particular aspect of apartheid was sacrosanct, he said.

Referring to the coming whites-only general election, he dismissed the challenge of independents such as Dr Denis Worrall, who quit as Ambassador in London to campaign against the Government.

STAC  
13/5/87

304A



# Both Nats and PFP hope for major gains on May 6

304A  
SPR  
13/5/87

## Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — There is growing confidence in National Party ranks that the party can, especially in tough general election fights against the right-wing parties in the Transvaal and the Free State, improve its position on May 6.

The Progressive Federal Party, too, is confident that it can gain seats from the NP especially in Natal and the Border area.

In spite of its claims of enthusiasm, there is a growing realisation in Conservative Party ranks that, although the party may draw a considerable number of votes, it will not win so many seats.

In the Herstigte Nasionale Party there is growing despondency about the chances of the right wing after the two parties' failure to come to an election agreement, but the party is hopeful that it can retain Sasolburg, its only seat in the Assembly.

The independents have drawn a lot of publicity and large and enthusiastic audiences, but it appears as if only Mr Wynand Malan in Randburg has a chance against a strong NP election machine.

In the Western Cape the key seat is Simon's Town where, according to Mr Neil Ross, PFP national director, the party is now confident of winning. The death of the sitting member, Mr John Wiley, may have improved the PFP's chances.

The PFP also claims that a breakthrough is possible in Maitland, but Nationalists strongly dispute this.

The PFP is making a strong bid for both East London City and East London North, where the NP claims to be entrenched.

The NP hopes to regain Kuruman and De Aar, seats held by Conservative Party MPs elected as Nationalists.

Cape Nationalist politicians are optimistic about retaining Stellenbosch against the independent and the HNP candidates.

They are confident Mr Chris Heunis will beat Dr Denis Worrall in Helderberg. Canvassing figures show the NP well ahead, but the fight will be about the size of Mr Heunis's majority.

Dr Worrall's supporters remain hopeful. A large number of undecided or doubtful voters are coming across in their canvassing.

## PFP HOPES IN NATAL

The PFP is hopeful of winning Durban North, where the sitting MP is Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Ron Miller, who won the seat for the NRP in 1981 before defecting to the NP.

The PFP hope to win in Umhlanga, Umhlathuzana and Umlazi.

The PFP feels that a freak result, with it winning, is possible in Klip River, but its chances in Port Natal against Natal Nationalist leader Mr Stoffel Botha seem to be receding.

The PFP seems to be in trouble in Bezuidenhout and Hillbrow.

The NP is making a determined bid in Bezuidenhout and in Hillbrow, the Group Areas Act has become a big issue with the CP going all-out to exploit this.

In the Transvaal the PFP, according to Mr Ross, also has high hopes for North Rand and Helderkruijn, where canvassing shows there is a swing to the party, a large number of doubtful voters and a stay-away vote developing among Nationalists.

In both the Transvaal and the Free State the Nationalists are openly relieved at the fact that the HNP and the CP failed to form an election alliance and are causing three-cornered contests in many seats. The NP can only benefit from this although it concedes that its majorities may be slashed in many cases.

One of the big battles is in the 12 seats in and around Pretoria where the NP is confident of winning back at least Rissik and Sunnyside from the CP.

The CP is also likely to lose Germiston District, Jeppe and Langlaagte and, is therefore likely to lose seven of the 17 elected seats it held in the old Assembly.

In the Northern and North-eastern Transvaal the toughest struggle is taking place between the NP and the Rightwingers.

In Lydenburg the Minister of Manpower, Mr Pietie du Plessis, may well lose, but his chances have been improved by the fight between the HNP and the CP.

Other Ministers whose chances have improved are Mr FW de Klerk in Vereeniging, Mr Danie Steyn in Wonderboom and General Magnus Malan in Modderfontein.

In Ermelo, however, Deputy Minister Mr H J Temple, is said to be in serious trouble.

## CALCULATION OF CP CHANCES

Carletonville, a mining constituency where the right-wing leader of the white mineworkers, Mr Arrie Paulus, is standing for the CP, may also be lost to the NP.

Seats the CP is sure of retaining are Waterberg, Dr Andries Treurnicht's seat, Lichtenburg, Pietersburg and Soutpansberg.

An optimistic calculation shows that the Conservatives can win about 14 seats.

Dr Lukas Nel, the Transvaal Nationalist provincial secretary, is confident that the election will show that the right wing has overestimated its strength and that it will have fewer seats than before. While he concedes Nationalist majorities will be reduced in the tough fight, he maintains that his party will do well.

In the Free State the NP is confident of beating the Rightwingers in all 14 seats, according to provincial secretary Mr I Aucamp.

The HNP does not seem to have a hope of retaining Sasol, but its general secretary, Mr Louis van der Schyff, maintains that canvassing figures show its support there is holding fast.

He is pessimistic about the chances of the Rightwingers, believing that, at most, his party can win up to six seats and the CP only about three or four.

Mr Koos van der Merwe, MP for Jeppe who is now standing in Overvaal, and one of the CP's main organisers, said there was tremendous enthusiasm among party workers.

Although he did not want to make a firm prediction he thought the party could win about 30 seats this election but that the real breakthrough of up to 80 seats could come in the following election.

He was confident the party could win a large number of votes — up to 800 000 all over the country.

(Report by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

# The Star



304A

## 'Police State' label now firmly sticks

IF YOU have a bumper sticker that says *indien en suam* you are safe enough. (Sadly, nothing is normal in our society any longer.) If you have a sticker on your old car saying "My other car belongs to my ex-wife", you're allowed your little whimsy.

But if you have a deeper message that reads "Free the Innocent"; or "No prison without trial", you could be in dead trouble. You might be detained for questioning about where you got it or whether you distributed it, or even face a charge with a maximum penalty of R20 000 or 10 years in jail.

Now different interpretations are being made of this terrible and stupid decree. But who knows any more? To be safe one must be able to read the minds of at least three men. If the Government is not sure of what it is doing, it should scrap the police order — and many others.

South Africa has already grown accustomed to suspension of normal rights. But now we have reached the stage where you may not even object to the suspension of the thousand-year-old rule of justice on which our country was founded. You may no longer demand that people in detention be accorded the universal right to defend their innocence in a public court.

Even in the worst totalitarian times of Argentina — when people were disappearing into torture chambers or being murdered — the dictators did not prevent people holding protests against detention. Yet it has happened here.

South Africa's standards of justice and freedom have reverted to where they were in Germany 50 years ago, or to feudal Britain 800 years ago. And the disingenuous explanations of the Minister of Law and Order help not a bit. If anything they make the State

look incompetent as well as increasingly fascist.

It is interesting that the new orders issued by the authorities now give the police the power which The Star disputed they had when they visited this newspaper weeks ago with a confiscation order.

We wrote at the time: "If we publish it (an advertisement calling for the release of detainees) today, we shall be heavily penalised, irrespective of whether we are within our legal rights."

Legal rights have very little to do with the South African way of life at the moment. As we said *before* the latest decrees were made:

"How can any fair-minded person, even in a state of emergency — even in a state of war — support the idea that no one can call for the release of detainees? Shades of Emily Hobhouse! To what depths have some so-called representatives of nationalism sunk.

"... The Star certainly does appeal for a whole review of the detention system, and of all the dangerous as well as restrictive regulations.

"We trust that every candidate in the coming election who believes in fair play and justice will also condemn indefinite detention of thousands of people who have committed no crime.

"We hope that voters, if only for their own long-term safety, will support any such call to return to rule of law. Unless action is taken very soon to change the current official approach, it will have to be acknowledged that South Africa has finally fallen into the category of Police State."

The Minister of Law and Order denies the fact, but if the words of the latest draconian decree mean anything then, alas, we can no longer deny that awful charge ... even in the midst of a general election.



# No to black majority rule - Botha

30th August 1987

THE State President, P. W. Botha, gave a firm no to black majority rule in a radio interview broadcast at the weekend and predicted that a reformist revolt in his National Party would come to nothing.

dominate me with his greater numbers."

Botha, who has worked since 1936 for the NP, said he had seen independents stand in many elections.

Asked about their allegations that his reforms had come to a halt, Botha said: "I would reply to that with a

Rebels, including former ambassador to London Denis Worrall, have broken with the NP to stand as independents in next month's whites-only general election.

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asserting: "Most of the important academic leaders in South Africa are still four-square, serving the cause in which the NP believes."

status recognised by no government except Botha's. "I am not prepared to jeopardise, to undermine their independence," he said.

controlled its "own affairs", like education, and central government co-ordinated "general affairs" like security. Asked if he could ever see himself talking with Nelson Mandela, jailed leader of the African National Congress (ANC), Botha reiterated that he would if Mandela

first agreed to renounce violence. "But I am not, as head of State, going to see him in jail and inquire whether he will talk to me," he said. "He was found guilty and sentenced (for seeking to overthrow rule by force) in a court of law." — Sapa-Reuter.

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SPECIAL OFFER



Cape Times 11/4/87

# Govt to act against foreign funding

302A

KURUMAN. — After the May 6 election, the government was going to take steps against people receiving foreign funds to undermine South Africa, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said yesterday.

"I have already started (taking steps)," he told an audience of 1 300 in the Kuruman City Hall.

"I am rather astounded that the ANC is allowed to travel about Europe and make propaganda while locally, murder is being committed against innocent people. But over there, these people are allowed into decent company.

"They are being fed with money for terrorism and propaganda from foreign sources.

"After May 6, we are going to take steps against people who received funds from abroad in order to undermine South Africa," he said.

Mr Botha also warned terrorist forces preparing to attack South Africa, and neighbouring states allowing preparations for such attacks, not to cry when they had to pay for their "irresponsible deeds".

He told an information meeting which was later converted into a public campaign meeting, that the warning about the imminent terrorist onslaught aimed at disrupting the elections had been issued by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, with his approval and foreknowledge.

The information had been made available by the country's security and information services.

"I am issuing a friendly warning and I hope it will be taken to heart, also across the borders.

"The government can simply not shirk its responsibilities in this area and we are not planning to do so."

Mr Botha said that the government, through various measures such as the state of emergency, had limited the onslaught and aggression against the country.

## Similar situations

"As long as such undermining elements continue to murder people and cause unrest, for so long will the state of emergency be maintained."

He was pleased to note that there was no political party or independent against the state of emergency.

"I welcome this and if they support it now, then it means we were right and we must have your support."

"We have been proved right that it was in everybody's interests — also in the interests of the media who have their role to play.

"But I say to the opposition media, that if the communists take over, you will have nobody to attack any longer and you will simply have to march to their tune."

The National Party stood for reform which meant renewal and life. It also stood for the principle of the recognition of a community life for each of the population groups.

If apartheid meant the removal of people's rights then he was not for it.

"I am not prepared to lead a party or the country which continues to deny people their rights," Mr Botha said.

Mr Botha referred to similar situations in foreign countries where the existence of groups was recognised.

In the British government, there was a secretary of state for Scotland and a Scottish Office which administered a number of Scottish "own affairs" such as health, education, agriculture, housing and economic development.

Similar situations existed for Wales and Northern Ireland.

Mr Botha was given a standing ovation and few questions were asked. — Sapa

(Report by P Claassen, 801 Nedbank Centre, Strand Street, Cape Town.)



*Cape Times 14/4/87 (304A)*  
**Pinks against apartheid**

SIX hundred homosexuals from four organizations recently launched Congress of Pink Democrats against apartheid. The organizations involved are: Lesbians and Gays Against Oppression, Rand Gay Organization, African Gay Organization and Gay and Lesbian Association. Two other groups — Gay Association of South Africa and Impact — were present at the meeting held on April 4 to 6 at a secret venue.

CAR Times 14/4/87 304A

## Business naivety

**A** CHALLENGING speech by Mr Murray Hofmeyr last week has annoyed some business leaders. Mr Hofmeyr, chairman-designate of JCI, believes that the business community has been naive and complacent in its dealings with government.

Mr Hofmeyr pointed to the "deafening silence" from businessmen when confronted with government smear tactics casting doubt on the patriotism of its opponents. The government's purpose, as Mr Hofmeyr sees it, is to isolate people in business who are outspoken politically.

Certainly, this appeared to be President Botha's aim in attacking Mr Chris Ball in Parliament. The message was not lost on other corporate leaders, most of whom have been frightened into silence. Both here and abroad, as Mr Hofmeyr notes, business has been seen to be extremely cautious in giving support to their fellows whom government has placed beyond the pale.

Are Mr Hofmeyr's strictures justified? The record of recent years, not only of recent months, seems to bear out his contention. Almost all businessmen were happy to give public support to President Botha's new constitution in the 1983 referendum — when the most authoritative political observers, such as Dr van Zyl Slabbert, were warning them that exclusion of blacks would lead to upheaval.

When the country was duly plunged into a state of emergency, business leaders were still prepared to be seen on television wreathed in smiles, emerging from high level consultations with President Botha and declaring themselves well satisfied with economic policy.

This hardly commends the free enterprise system to the black masses. Mr Murray Hofmeyr is right. Business leaders, and all other South Africans of influence, would do well to speak out against injustice — and to stand by their fellows who have shown the way.



## Malan to reveal

**'ANC plan'**

**SOON**

*OWN Correspondent*

JOHANNESBURG. — The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, indicated yesterday that he would soon disclose details of the alleged ANC plan to violently disrupt the May 6 white election.

Gen Malan was reacting to criticism that government leaders were not prepared to brief the leaders of the opposition parties in Parliament about the alleged plans, but had briefed 35 foreign envoys.

A spokesman for Gen Malan said the country would be told more of the ANC plans "at the appropriate time".

A spokesman for the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, who made the original allegations at an election rally last week, said yesterday Mr Botha had merely fulfilled his duty as Foreign Minister to inform the public of messages he had sent to neighbouring states, and to ask foreign diplomats to warn these states.

(Report by M du Preez, 11 Diagonal St. JHB)

## Miners down tools after shootings

JOHANNESBURG. — At least 400 workers downed tools yesterday at the Goldfields-owned Zincor processing plant near Springs in protest against the shooting of five members of their union at the weekend.

A spokesman for the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) said about 600 workers went on strike at the plant because they suspected mine security was involved in the shootings.

A statement released by Goldfields said: "Some 410 workers at Zincor failed to report for the Sunday night shift and the main shift this morning."

"The Zincor management is communicating with representatives of the workforce and has requested a return to work."

A Johannesburg newspaper yesterday morning reported that six men armed with a shotgun and a pistol burst into the hostel at Zincor and fired on workers before fleeing the premises.

Four of the injured men had leg wounds and the other was shot in the stomach. East Rand police are searching for the gunmen, the report said.

Zincor has been the scene of fierce clashes between NUM and members of the rival Inkatha-backed United Workers Union of South Africa.

Last month two NUM members were killed in what management described as "faction fighting". The union alleges the clashes were instigated by mine security. — Sapa

## Matie launch for new alliance

*Political Correspondent*

A NEW alliance — the United Stellenbosch Front (USF) — will be launched on the Matie campus this evening.

Keynote speakers at the launch will be Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, head of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, and Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

USF organizer Ms Tanja Hichert said yesterday the front would aim at the co-ordination of "progressive organizations" in Stellenbosch around social and political issues.

The launch will begin at 7pm in the Sanlam Hall of the Student Union.

(Report by A Johnson, 122 St George's St. CT)

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CITY/NATIONAL

# De Klerk spells out Government policy on blacks

Tygerberg Bureau

THE National Party's plan to negotiate the future political role of black people in South Africa was spelt out last night by the Minister of National Education, Mr F W de Klerk.

Speaking at the Goodwood Civic Centre in support of Vasco National Party candidate Mr J H Heyns, Mr de Klerk ran into an hour-long barrage of right and leftwing questions from the audience of about 250.

Matters raised from the floor included increasing attacks on elderly white residents, the policy on abolishing apartheid at the Goodwood swimming pool and use of the civic centre by the Labour Party.

Mr de Klerk said that if given the mandate to negotiate with "the democratically elected black leaders in South Africa", the NP would start by forming local Ministers' councils "much as we, the coloured and Indian people and the inde-

pendent homelands already have autonomy over own communities' affairs".

These councils would be formed from "democratically elected black leaders, not self-appointed ones".

He said that until a new constitution could be negotiated, a statutory council would have to reach consensus on it.

## Consensus

This statutory council could lead to a "power-sharing body at the highest Government level which would represent each group in South Africa and take decisions on a consensus basis", he said.

"Mechanisms will have to be developed if consensus cannot be obtained through this method.

"Other mechanisms would also have to make certain no single group could overpower any other group or remove the rights of minority groups," said Mr de Klerk.

(Report by Ada Stuijt, 205 Belray Arcade, Durban Road, Bellville.)

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**ELECTION  
1987**



# Foreign pressure won't deter us, says De Klerk

Star 14/4/87

## Red peril tactics 'show up failure'

The Government's fears of communism and the black majority were an admission of the failure of its policies, New Republic Party leader Mr Bill Sutton said last night.

Speaking in Benoni, he said that after 39 years in power, a government should be able to stand on its record of prosperity and brotherhood. "Instead, voters are told of communism and the danger of being swamped by a black majority.

"Why must we be afraid of communism and the ANC? If normal black political participation was allowed, the ANC would be organised right out of South Africa." — Sapa.

(Report by K Daniels, 626 Mutual House, Harrison Street, Johannesburg.)

CAPE TOWN — Foreign pressure would not prevent the Government from maintaining stability, the Minister of National Education, Mr F W de Klerk, said in Cape Town yesterday.

At a meeting of about 300 people in support of the National Party MP for Vasco, Mr Keppies Heyns, Mr de Klerk referred to criticism by the US Ambassador, Mr Edward Perkins, of the Gov-

ernment's latest regulations forbidding protest at detentions.

Mr Perkins said in a statement released at a Cape Town protest meeting against the curbs that his government abhorred detention without trial.

"We don't like detention without trial," Mr de Klerk said. "We don't favour it. We would prefer not to have such regulations and laws on our statute books.

"But we abhor terrorism. We abhor execution without trial by necklace.

"If we want to deal with terrorism and other dastardly acts, we need special powers. We can't fight that type of onslaught with legal niceties."

Later, Mr de Klerk said, when asked if the Government had too much power, that it would not make excuses for acting strongly and effectively against those bent on revolution, destabilisation and terror. — Sapa.

(Report by G Smith, 801 Nedbank Centre, Strand Street, Cape Town)

## Scott attacks detention edict

CAPE TOWN — The latest government edict restricting protests and campaigns about detention was "the ultimate in totalitarian censorship", said Mr John Scott, Progressive Federal Party candidate for Simon's Town.

"Now you cannot even complain when one of your loved ones disappears into limbo. We are a Christian society and we may not even ask for the release of people convicted of no crime."

An election meeting of nearly 200 people applauded loudly.

Mr Scott amused his audience with some comic references to what he called Mr P W Botha's Desert Island Disc — the "sound sheet" or disc issued by the National Party in support of "why you should vote NP".

"'English on the flip side,' it says, and by the time you've turned it over you've totally flipped," quipped Mr Scott.

(Report by D Lautenbach, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

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# Challenge to West on ANC tactics

Political Staff

THE international confrontation between the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, and Western diplomats deepened yesterday as he challenged their governments to spell out if they supported ANC tactics, front organizations and necklace murders.

For the second time in less than a week he has taken the unusual step of summoning all heads of foreign missions to the Department of Foreign Affairs for talks on the ANC.

The diplomatic row started last week when he summoned 38 foreign envoys for a briefing after he was criticized for using an election platform to disclose ANC plans to disrupt the May 6 elections. He called on their governments to stop the plan.

American Ambassador Mr Edward Perkins raised eyebrows on Monday when he released a statement criticizing the new regulations on detainees when arriving to attend a protest church service.

He said the US government deplored detention without trial and the detention of children. He said it was sad that a government which portrayed itself as secure and strong should be intimidated by peaceful protest.

Yesterday, Mr Botha said he had asked the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Niel van Heerden, to summon all heads of mission on his behalf to inform them on the ANC's plans and methods.

Several Western governments had expressed their opposition to the recent regulations and Mr Perkins's statement had contained the US view on the matter.

## 'Power through violence'

"The SA government rejects that standpoint. It is the duty of the government to maintain law and order in the country," he said.

"The US government knows very well that the ANC and its fellow travellers want to gain power through violence and death.

"The ANC and its front-organizations in SA, which operate under the guise of priestly hypocrisy, do not care in the least for democracy or for fundamental human rights. In fact they abuse democracy to destroy freedom. It is their official policy to maim and kill people without trial.

"I have asked the director-general of the department to again summon the representatives of the foreign governments on my behalf and to bring the facts about the ANC's objectives and methods to their attention and to insist that their governments indicate clearly whether they approve necklace murders or not.

"It is unacceptable to the government that the ANC should be permitted to get away with murder, while no stone is left unturned to criticize the government every time steps are taken to protect our people against violence.

"It is a matter of great concern to the government that steps of this nature had to be taken. However, the limitations apply to security-related matters and are directed at countering confrontation and violence and to promote peace and stability."

Nobody who differed from the government in a "normal civilized manner" should feel inhibited by the restrictions.

(Report by O Pollok, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban.)



Cont inue



Staff reporter Vuyo Bavuma with Dennis Worrall

# Close encounter with the CP in Helderberg

By VUYO BAVUMA

BEING black and excluded from the all-white May election, which is apparently about the political destiny of blacks, I ventured into the much-publicised Helderberg constituency to find out what the candidates had in store for me.

The Helderberg constituency has become a focal point in the elections because of the entry of former Ambassador, Dr Denis Worrall, pitted against former "bed-fellow", Mr Chris Heunis, and Mr Len de Wet of the Conservative Party.

Mr Heunis has been Helderberg MP for 13 years and won the last election against the Progressive Federal Party, the official opposition, by 2 942 votes.

When my colleague and I arrived at Dr Worrall's campaign office in Somerset West, a picturesque town nestling at the foot of the Hottentots Holland Mountains, his women helpers appeared somewhat surprised.

## Rare visitors

Some, partially obscured by partitions, stood up to get a better view of the "rare visitors".

We were obviously not there to register as voters. The rules of the game prohibited that.

election office, which he did after a brief telephone inquiry. The former Ambassador to the Court of St James shook hands and wished us good luck.

In trepidation we set off to the "lion's den" at 45 Bayview Road, Somerset West, to meet the CP candidate, Mr de Wet. It was at a private house in a plush suburb.

As we arrived a man, fixing CP posters to lampposts, asked in a growl: "Wat soek julle hier?"

Putting on brave faces, we explained our business. Hesitantly, he pointed to a nearby house.

Mr de Wet peeped through the window as we neared the house and met us before we reached the door.

Face to face with a man whose party believes that I have no place in South Africa, let alone in his election office, there was some tension as I explained the purpose of our visit.

There were no handshakes or normal greetings as De Wet scrutinised our Press cards.

He said he could not speak to us as he was "leaving within 10 minutes". However, we ended up talking for more than 30 minutes although we were not invited inside. He also refused to be photographed with us.

Asked if the CP was also planning little Italys or Portugals in South Africa, he said whites could not be divided into national groupings as were blacks.

"You cannot have separate areas for Portuguese, Afrikaners or English as they all originate from a 'common place' in Europe.

"In Europe, you will never find a 'general election'. There is only an election - one for one 'national grouping' at a time.

## Chris Heunis

I left him with what I assumed were all the pieces of the CP's constitutional jigsaw, but doubtful whether I would ever be able to put them together.

Our initial attempts to meet with Chris Heunis were met with what appeared to be a stock response to reporters — "Put your questions in writing".

We decided to take "pot luck" and go to Heunis's campaign office unannounced. We were politely received by his helpers, but were told he was in Mossel Bay.

His press secretary, Peter Pullen, promised to set up an interview. At the time of going to press, I am yet to hear from him.



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explained the purpose of our visit their uneasiness melted away. should should have its own area where it could practice its own culture, norms and values."

Later, a smiling Dr Worrall appeared and politely shook hands with us. After explaining our mission, he agreed to meet us in spite of his busy schedule and beckoned us into his office.

We were served with coffee in his sparsely-furnished office before settling down for the interview.

Asked about his manifesto, he said he could do something "positive" but needed "trust".

"I plan to use Parliament as a vehicle to set the wheels of negotiation in which all political choices are on an open agenda. I also ask blacks to trust me and judge me by my actions," he said.

Dr Worrall said he hoped to convince whites that black political rights had to be addressed.

Told of the cynical attitude of the blacks towards the elections, Dr Worrall said he fully understood this but did not believe the elections were a farce.

As we concluded the interview, he said he was pleased to speak to me and added that he had so far spoken to "five other black reporters."

I asked him to direct us to the CP

"We do not want to rule or be ruled by another national group. In fact, no self-respecting nation wants to be ruled by another nation."

### Not apartheid

He assured us that the CP did not like the word apartheid. It preferred "partition".

"We believe Tswanas should be ruled by Tswanas, Xhosas by Xhosas and Zulus by Zulus," he said.

"Is that not what is being rejected by the majority of the people?" I asked.

"No, Buthelezi says he will be satisfied and be prepared to serve under a Zulu. In fact, a Zulu wants to be governed by another Zulu," he said.

The partitioning system was "working perfectly" in Europe.

"For example, France is for the French, West Germany is for the Germans and Italy is for the Italians. Each of these national groups have a boundary of its own. Why cannot we have that here in South Africa?"



# Cheers, jeers for Boesak at Stellenbosch meeting

## Education Reporter

DR Allan Boesak was greeted by cries of "Viva Boesak", "Viva ANC", "Viva UDF" — and some hecklers — when he spoke at the launching of the United Stellenbosch Front at the University of Stellenbosch.

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, former Leader of the Opposition and now co-director of the Institute for Democratic Alternatives for South Africa, also spoke at last night's meeting.

Dr Boesak said the launch of the front was important because it showed that students' political involvement had become more critical.

## "Hopeful"

"This meeting is a sign that we can hold hands and walk together. When I look at you I am indeed hopeful that 40 years of indoctrination and propaganda has failed."

He warned members that there was no easy road ahead.

"I want to warn you that you are moving into protest politics. This means you will rebel against apartheid and everything it represents and against the dishonesty of some people. It will bring you closer to the heartbeat of South Africa."

## Misled

Whites were being misled into believing that the entry of two or three independent candidates or the gaining of two or three seats would bring about change, he said.

"The reality of the situation is that an election is being held while there is a state of emergency and children are in detention. There is a dangerous illusion that South Africa is a democratic country. How can this be true when the majority of the population do not have the vote," he said.

He said apartheid was the politics of hopelessness and helplessness because it was based on racism, the banning of church services, the silencing of opposition and the incarceration of people who stood up for their rights.

(Report by D Cruywagen, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)



Picture: DION TROMP, The Argus

Dr Allan Boesak, left, and Dr Van Zyl Slabbert at the meeting last night.

## PFP challenge over 'credible' black leaders

### Tygerberg Bureau

A CHALLENGE to State President Mr P W Botha to "supply the names of the credible black leaders with whom the National Party will negotiate the country's future" was made last night by the Progressive Federal Party candidate in Durbanville, Mrs Beverley Roos.

She told a PFP meeting in Bellville that "in the unlikely event that he and these black leaders can be put around a conference table together, I would personally dress up in a bunny girl outfit and serve the drinks".

Mrs Roos said the maintenance of apartheid cost the country R14-billion.

The Government had four ministers of health, five ministers of education, six housing ministers, 18 cabinet ministers, 12 own affairs ministers, 20 deputy ministers and 12 assistant ministers, all with their staff, pensions and perks.

In July eight regional services councils would go into operation which were estimated to cost R1 000-million to make them work initially. Each RSC chairman would be paid R96 000 a year and perks.

She said the Government, and the finance Minister, Mr Barend du Plessis, were responsible for inflation and the financial fiasco called the "Rubicon Rand".

(Report by Ada Stuijt, 205 Belray Arcade, Durban Road, Bellville.)

## WP Council of Churches urges poll stayaway

### Staff Reporter

THE executive of the Western Province Council of Churches (WPCC) has called on whites not to vote in the general election.

The chairman of the council, The Rev Lionel Louw, said yesterday the executive asked Christians to note that all major denominations excluding the Afrikaans reformed churches had condemned apartheid as against God's will.

"The most responsible political act which voters can exercise is to refuse to participate in an electoral system which makes a mockery of democracy."

(Report by H du Plessis, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)



Question

Should the state of emergency remain in force? If so, why? If not, why not?

NP: Yes, for so long as the security of the State and the lives and liberty of individuals are threatened by revolutionary forces, the state of emergency should remain in force.

The National Party believes that the maximum freedom should be accorded to individuals as a cornerstone of democracy but that it is preferable to curtail some individual freedoms on a temporary basis rather than to lose all freedoms permanently by failing to protect it against revolutionary forces.

The instigators of violence and "unpredictability" in black townships do not respect individual rights or the rule of law. Once peace has been restored to the affected areas, and the communities involved have had a chance to reorganise themselves on peaceful and democratic principles and prove to be no longer vulnerable to revolutionary activities, the state of emergency should, of course, be lifted.

PPF: The state of emergency is an admission of failure by the Nationalist Government. They need to be replaced by a new Government which can rule this country by normal constitutional means.

While the state of emergency might produce a facade of stability, it aggravates the real problems of our country by concealing the root causes of political discontent.

The PPF says that stability and normality can only be restored to South Africa when apartheid is abolished, and talks begun which will lead to a new democratic constitution.

CP: The CP does not believe that the state of emergency should ever have been implemented. Had the Government allowed the security forces to act within the full parameters of their authority, any crises would have been averted in the bud.

However, having allowed the situation to deteriorate to the extent that it did, it required the implementation of a state of emergency and the CP supports the retention of the state of emergency until such time as our security forces are satisfied that they have effected a return to law and order.

NP: In the circumstances there was no immediate alternative to the declaration of an emergency. There was no other way to deal with the barbaric necklacing, arson and mob rule not to protect the lives and property of innocent law-abiding black citizens. Although the situation has improved in many areas the stage has unfortunately not been reached when the state of emergency can be lifted. This might be possible in some places but until there are sufficient well-trained and officered municipal police to ensure that the civic authority can function normally and without intimidation or violence it would be unwise to remove the other security forces yet.

Question

What are your views on the South West Africa/Namibia question?

NP: The territory be given independence, and on what terms? Do you foresee the border war continuing for a long time to come?

NP: Independence for the territory is long overdue. Resolution 435 adopted by the Security Council of the United Nations in 1978 provided, inter alia, for free and fair elections in SW/Namibia which the South African Government accepted.

However, the presence in Angola of a Cuban force of 40 000 (or more) provided a major obstacle to implementation of Resolution 435. A free and fair election in SW/Namibia is impossible while Angola gives Swapo sanctuary and support in its campaign of terrorism directed against the inhabitants of the territory.

Security issues have featured prominently in the election campaign. The Star asked all the political parties to reply to the following questions — to a maximum of about 150 words for each answer. Replies were received from the National Party, the Progressive Federal Party, the New Republic Party and the Conservative Party. The Heritage Nationale Party had not replied at the time of going to Press. In the next few weeks, the parties will also be asked to address other political, social and economic issues.

Accordingly, the answer to the question whether the territory should become independent is, unequivocally, yes. However, how independence is achieved is of decisive importance. It is of importance to the whole of Southern Africa if the countries of the region surrender to the strategy of outside forces to impose their ideologies and regimes through the barrel of a gun, conflict in the whole region of Southern Africa will become endemic.

The South African Government does not claim one inch of SWA/Namibian territory. Walvis Bay, however, is rightfully part of Southern Africa.

If the Cuban forces are not withdrawn from Angola in the near future, consideration ought to be given, in consultation with the leaders of the territory as to how the territory could proceed to independence, preferably with international recognition.

PPF: The PPF believes that the overwhelming majority of the people of SWA/Namibia, including those represented in the transitional Government, desire independence as soon as possible, and we believe that this desire ought to be respected.

We believe that the independence process ought to take place along the lines of Resolution 435 (which the Government has already accepted). This provides for a phased ending of the border war, after which elections for a constituent assembly can take place. We believe that this assembly should devise a new constitution for the territory based on consensus.

The border war will, we believe, come to an end once this peace process is set in motion.

CP: Our views of the SWA situation are similar to our views on the current South African situation. We believe that partition can be applied satisfactorily to accommodate all the various nations living in SWA. We are not prepared to allow SWA to capitulate to the UN-backed Swapo against its will.

Under a CP Government, SWA would be assisted to end their border war in the shortest possible time. We do not believe in no-win wars. Our security forces are strong enough to bring the present war to a swift end.

NP: The NRP supports the granting of independence to Namibia as soon as this is possible. The two requisites are that a referendum or election be held to determine the will of the people and that this be done without intimidation, violence or improper pressures from any source. We want to see an independent Namibia which is accepted and recognised by at least the free world.

Unfortunately we do not foresee this situation arising as long as Angola shields Swapo's terrorist forces behind Cuban troops and Russian advisors. Therefore the border incursions are likely to continue for the present. We welcome the fact, however, that the majority of operational troops is being provided by Namibia itself thereby reducing the manpower burden on SA.

Question

Could you briefly spell out your foreign policy?

NP: Safeguarding our sovereign independence is a cornerstone of South African foreign policy. South Africa's position in Africa and in Southern Africa, in particular, is of great importance.

The South African Government accepts the common destiny of the countries in Southern Africa with a sense of responsibility and has consistently striven for sound relations between these countries on the basis of mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and understanding for each other's internal problems without interfering in the internal affairs of one another.

At the moment South Africa's international relations are heavily influenced by the sanctions campaign. This campaign is

Security Standpoints

Question

What are your views on the political process with a peaceful settlement of political disputes as a basic point of departure. This would inevitably imply that there will be no close links with the South African Communist Party.

PPF: The PPF rejects violence and other unconstitutional means as ways of bringing about a new constitution for South Africa. Having said that, we accept — along with Chief Buthe — that a genuine and long-term political solution is impossible without the participation of representatives of the millions of South Africans who support the ANC, just as it is impossible without the participation of the representatives of the millions of South Africans who support Inkhatha.

Accordingly, we believe that the executive banning of the ANC should be lifted and its representatives invited to take part in negotiations aimed at establishing a new constitution. If, in spite of this action, there are individuals who still wish to do violent subversion or violence, we believe that actions should be taken against such individuals in terms of the ordinary law of the land by the ordinary courts of law.

CP: As far as the CP is concerned, the ANC is nothing more than a communist puppet committed to the overthrow of the existing order by violence. We have documentary evidence that, for example, the Freedom Charter is nothing more than an interim measure to be used by the ANC to lead white liberals into believing that the ANC is interested in sharing power. The ANC has stated unequivocally that they are interested in total control of South Africa and they treat talk of minority rights and 'Bills of Rights' with the contempt the talk deserves.

NP: The unconditional unbanning of the ANC, together with the lifting of the emergency, would be perceived as a licence to blackmail those Blacks who reject its objectives of a take-over of power by violent revolution. Blacks seeking agreed solutions by negotiation would be the first victims of this policy.

We dare not be guilty of such an act of treachery against our fellow citizens merely to satisfy the demands of an organisation committed to revolution and the ivory-tower dreamers who naively believe that you only have to negotiate with the ANC and all our problems will disappear.

The only circumstances in which it could be unbanned would be a demonstrable abrogation of violence and the strictest security guarantees against its resumption.

Question

Should Nelson Mandela be released from prison?

NP: The same argument is applicable in this case. It is very difficult to justify his release from prison while it is his declared intention to further the violent political aims of the ANC and while he is in a position to actually do so.

Mr Mandela has been offered the opportunity to be released from prison provided that he renounces violence as a means to achieve political objectives — one of the basic tenets of democracy. In the absence of such a renunciation one cannot but come to the conclusion that he and/or the ANC is responsible for his remaining in prison.

PPF: The PPF accepts the realities of the political problems facing our country. All available information points to the fact that Mr Mandela is regarded by a very significant section of our population as their political leader.

Quite apart from humanitarian considerations dictating his release, we believe that no lasting political solution will be possible in South Africa without the participation of Mr Mandela in constitutional negotiations. In this we are not alone. Even Mr P. W. Botha, addressing the 40th annual meeting of the Afrikaanse Sake-kamer last year, said that even moderate

black leaders who did not support the ANC agreed that the release of Mr Mandela was the prerequisite for negotiations.

For all these reasons, we believe that Mr Mandela ought to be released from prison and invited to become part of the process of reconstructing South Africa.

CP: We see no reason for the release of Nelson Mandela. We believe that he got off very lightly when originally sentenced, considering what he planned for South Africa.

NP: We would like to see Mandela released as we believe it would destroy the illusion that he is the leader of the ANC and would be able to control the situation if he were released. In fact, he is their prisoner more than a prisoner of SA which is prepared to release him immediately he rejects violence. Perhaps the critical thing to do would be to release him anyway as the ANC would have to liquidate him immediately — unless one of the victims of their violence got to him first. Whatever happened SA would be blamed for his death and he would then become a much more effective martyr. No one can really believe that Oliver Tambo is drooling at the mouth to hand over to him and lose his subsidised life of luxury, travel and status which the world accords him.

Question

What are your views on detention without trial, in terms of the emergency powers and with regard to other security legislation?

NP: Detention without trial is, in principle, a procedure to be avoided as far as possible, for reasons that are not necessary to restate. However, the people and organisations who are conducting the revolutionary offensive against South Africa have no respect for, nor commitment to, democratic freedoms and procedures. In fact, they abuse these very freedoms and procedures to overthrow the State by violent means.

Detention without trial, therefore, becomes unavoidable for as long as the revolutionary offensive persists.

To avoid abuses of power against people in detention a comprehensive set of safeguards has been devised and implemented, such as regular visits by judges and district prosecutors.

As no set of safeguards can be absolute, by footpads, investigations into complaints by detainees are conducted regularly, and members of the security forces who are found guilty of contravening the rules, or abusing their powers, or of otherwise acting improperly, are punished.

PPF: The PPF is very strongly opposed to detention without trial and believes that the powers given to the executive in terms of the present emergency regulations and of the security legislation have been grossly abused. Frequently, people are detained — often for very long periods — without charges ever being preferred against them, while the human cost, in terms of family disruptions, loss of jobs, nervous breakdowns and even suicides, have been truly horrific. We believe that no person ought to be deprived of his or her liberty without the due process of law.

This means that the courts, and not the executive, must be the institution which imposes, people, and then only after such people have been tried in accordance with the ordinary laws of the land.

CP: In view of South Africa's unique circumstances, detention without trial is unfortunately necessary because of the inability of witnesses and the ability of subversive collaborators to skip the country whilst the security forces are still trying to compile the evidence necessary for a formal charge.

NP: We have, in principle, always opposed detention without trial by executive action. At the same time we have recognised that in a state of war, whether de-

clared or not, and in a revolutionary situation, a limited form of detention can be necessary provided it is subject to judicial review within a period of 30 days. We accept that such review could be in camera and, that in the situation which exists, witnesses need not be exposed to identification. This is why we fought in the standing committee and the Assembly for the latest amendment to the laws concerning detention to be limited to the procedure laid down in the original Public Safety Act and extended only to allow a total period of 60 days by both police and magistrates to gather. Ever since the original Schabert Commission we have demanded that all detentions should be subjected to review by a judicial tribunal within 30 days.

Question

Do you agree with the cuts on information and the Press in terms of the emergency and other security legislation?

NP: A free Press is essential to the maintenance of democracy. It is the goal of the NP to extend democracy to include all groups and individuals in South Africa. Therefore, cuts and abnormal restrictions of the Press are inherently undesirable.

However, the freedom of the Press is one of the mechanisms of democracy which is classically abused by revolutionaries to further their own ends. And the first casualty of a successful revolution, as was amply demonstrated by events in Africa and elsewhere.

The aim is, therefore, to deny the revolutionaries access to publicity without hampering the democratic process in any fundamental manner. For these reasons the restrictions on the Press only cover unrest-related items, whereas the ability to severely criticise the government of the day is left.

PPF: Very few whites in South Africa seem to be aware of the depth of feeling and damage which the system of apartheid has caused in the disenfranchised communities. In our view, it is essential that the South African public should be fully and fairly informed about what is occurring in our society, so as to enable it to make informed decisions about the future.

We, therefore, reject the Press curbs contained in the emergency regulations and regard them as counter-productive. In the end, blancheting out of the real news serves only to bluff ourselves and makes the eventual adaptation to fundamental change all the more traumatic.

CP: We believe that Press freedom and Press responsibility are contiguous. We certainly believe that there is little Press freedom in South Africa, especially when one considers that 90 percent of the English Press belongs to one group and all the Afrikaans Press is a mouthpiece of the Government. This situation makes a mockery of all of Press freedom.

NP: We believe that the present curbs are both excessive and counter-productive. There is no doubt that certain fringe elements of the media and certain reports in the recognised Press and TV — especially foreign TV — have distorted the truth by both over-emphasis of violence and under-emphasis of the situation. We thus regret that the NPU was not prepared to negotiate exemption from the regulations as offered on the basis of self-discipline. It seemed strange that the "legitimate Press" preferred to be restricted rather than to control its own handling of the security situation with the least damage to SA as a country as opposed to the Government in power. We question whether freedom to destroy a political administration extends to undermining and endangering the country itself.

Question

What is your policy with regard to military conscription?

NP: As long as a discernible threat against the security of the State is perceived, the maintenance of a defence force of adequate size, nature and composition will be necessary.

In present circumstances the threat can escalate substantially over a short period. Therefore, a standing permanent force cannot alone meet the demand there is no way in which such a force can be expanded rapidly to match a sudden escalating threat.

For this reason, a smaller permanent force backed up by a large but adequately trained and permanently ready citizen force is essential.

Only through conscription can this goal be achieved. The surest way to prevent foreign military adventures or internal revolutionary aspirations is by the existence of an adequate deterrent.

In the final analysis the existence of a strong defence force is the only guarantee for continued and expanding democracy and freedom.

Although less sophisticated weapon systems are required for this type of threat, it is much more manpower intensive, requiring greater numbers of soldiers to counter acts of terrorism wherever these may occur.

The PPF believes that we require a strong, well-motivated, well-equipped and well-remunerated defence force to guarantee our territorial integrity and to enable peaceful constitutional change to occur. We, therefore, believe that we need to start immediately with the recruitment of a non-racial, professional defence force, backed up by volunteer reserves. As force levels increase in this way, conscription will be phased out.

We believe that conscription — particularly as it is practised in South Africa — is not the correct way to recruit manpower for our defence force. It forces all white males to participate in war, providing alternative service only to those with well-founded religious objections and it saps the energies of one of the most productive segments of our economically active population.

CP: We believe that while there is a military threat to South Africa, military conscription is necessary. We also believe that every nation is responsible for the defence of this country, on an allied basis and that the burden of defence should not rest solely on the shoulders of the whites.

NP: Compulsory national service is the only fair way in which the country's defence manpower needs can be met at the present time. When all South Africans have full citizenship rights and share fully a common loyalty to it can be reviewed but the NRP supports the present provision. This includes the right to non-combatant service for the normal period for those whose religious convictions preclude the bearing of arms as well as provision for a longer, single period of community service which may be granted on religious grounds to those whose beliefs preclude any form of military service. We do not support community service based on personal or political grounds since these cannot be tested and in practice would enable anyone who wished to avoid the hardships and dangers of military service to do so.

Question

What is the role of the security forces in a future South Africa?

NP: The South African security forces traditionally provide the stability which underpins democracy.

As in all Western nations, the SADF loyally serve the democratically elected Government of the day.

They will continue to do so in future. PPF: The Government appears, in the recent past, to have elevated the security forces to a position where they have a disproportionately large influence in political decision-making, while simultaneously finding the roles which the component elements ought to play. We regard both these developments as dangerous. We believe that the role of the Defence Force is to preserve the country's territorial integrity, while that of the police force is to uphold the law internally. Both are servants, in the first instance, of Parliament, rather than the executive. We believe that these different roles need to be re-emphasised, and that the heads of these services need to report on their activities to specially constituted all-party standing committees of Parliament.

CP: A strong defence force is necessary to ensure the security and safety of any country and the CP will not restrict these forces in the performance of their duties as they are presently being restricted.

NP: The NRP has for many years called for a vastly expanded and fully remunerated police force of all race groups which would be able to maintain law and order and protect life and property. Our present strength is hopelessly inadequate — about half the number of police per hundred thousand population compared with many modern first-world democracies. The unhappy task of enforcing unjust and hated legislation must be eliminated by the repeal of remaining discriminatory laws. The abolition of influx control will make a big difference — although admitting ordinary crime more difficult.

The primary task of the Defence Force is to protect the territorial integrity of SA against aggression from beyond our borders or revolution within them. We would like to see a strong permanent force operational element able to cope with normal threats and supported as now by the Citizen Force and Commandos being refully trained and ready for action and providing a deterrent against any contemplated action against us. The use of the army in the townships is an unhappy necessity of the present emergency as this is primarily a police and not a military task.

Question

Do you foresee negotiations with the ANC at any stage?

NP: See the reply to question 5. The ANC has said that it will only negotiate the transfer of power and equitable sharing of power. As long as that is their stance negotiation will be meaningless.

The ANC claims that it opted for violence only after all personal avenues had been exhausted. Whether that was the case in the past or not, fact is that the NP Government, through extensive changes in policy and in legislation on the state book, has opened up new channels for peaceful negotiations about a shared political future.

An open invitation to participate in a process leading to full power-sharing by all up to the highest level, has repeatedly been issued to all who are ready to negotiate on a peaceful basis.

Negotiations with the ANC are possible — but only if they are prepared to renounce and abandon the use of violence to achieve political ends and if they terminate their intimate relationships with the South African Communist Party.

PPF: All the available market and sociological research indicates that the ANC is a significant and important factor of the political power equation in South Africa. We believe that a new constitution needs to be negotiated with all significant political groupings in our country. Accordingly, we believe that a durable constitution, guaranteeing peace and security for our society will be impossible unless the ANC is given the opportunity to be party to its construction. Negotiations with the ANC, and other significant political organisations such as Inkhatha, are therefore inevitable, and the sooner we create the conditions for the violence to end, and for negotiations to commence, the better for South Africa.

CP: We do not recognise the ANC as anything less than a white-controlled colonial front. We would, therefore, never negotiate with the ANC or any so-called "internal" wing.

NP: No. They have nothing over which they are prepared to negotiate except the transfer of total power to the Marxist dominated leadership of the ANC. They are not interested in democracy or power-sharing and have only one aim — a totalitarian communist.



309A

STAR 15/4/87

# State usurping Parliament's role — Sceales

Pretoria Correspondent

The State has been accused of usurping the role of Parliament with the latest regulations relating to detainees.

Civil rights advocate Mr Bill Sceales, who is the the Progressive Federal Party candidate in Verwoerdburg, has questioned how a Commissioner of Police could introduce laws.

He was referring to the notice in the Government Gazette on Friday by General Johann Coetzee which prohibits public participation in any campaign calling for the release of detainees.

"What kind of society are we living in when a policeman can, by notice, introduce laws which affect the lives of thousands of South Africans, and which deprive law-abiding citizens of their democratic rights?" he asked at a house meeting last night.

Mr Sceales's opponent in the election is Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok.

## Religious gatherings

The new emergency regulations, which state that it is an offence to "attend a gathering held in protest against the detention ... or in honour ... or in support of the release of the said persons or person from such detention", has raised a storm of protest, particularly from people involved in church meetings.

General Coetzee subsequently issued a statement denying that the regulations were intended to prohibit prayers for the release of detainees during a bona fide religious gathering.

"This is another typical example of Government bungling, and of the usurping by the State of the role of Parliament," he said.

"It is another dismal example of the deprivation of human rights by State bureaucrats who do not have the faintest understanding of the rule of law," said Mr Sceales.

(Report by Robyn Green, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

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15/4/87

# PFP goes to lawyers on detention protest ban

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Progressive Federal Party is consulting its legal advisers with a view to clarifying the legality of the tightened-up ban on detainees and to ascertain the party's rights in the light of the new restrictions, Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the PFP, announced today.

The new ban has also led to a further clash between President Botha and Mr Eglin.

This followed a letter Mr Eglin wrote to Mr Botha in which he asked him to intervene with the Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee, to have the ban scrapped.

He said it constituted a serious limitation on the ordinary rights of South Africans to dissent peacefully and it interfered with the electoral process.

Rejecting Mr Eglin's letter Mr Botha challenged Mr Eglin to tell the public whether his party was misleading it by saying the curbs intruded on a free election, or whether the Progressive Federal Party was about to embark on a "road to civil disobedience".

He said that, in view of the President's responsibility to ensure the maintenance of public safety, he was not prepared to intervene with the Commissioner of Police.

Mr Botha said he had "found it disturbing that even before being approached, Mr Eglin had deemed it fit to issue public statements denouncing the notice (Regulation Gazette No 4075) as an interference with the electoral process, which it is not".

Mr Eglin said Mr Botha's statement had taken the matter no further and would not convince anyone.

General Coetzee had issued a statement that seemed to contradict certain of the words of the new regulations. The regulations were vague and uncertain in law.

The right of citizens to protest and to campaign in a peaceful, constitutional way was either being taken away or was subject to the discretion of government officials. This could best be remedied by repealing the regulations altogether.

(Report by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)



CAPE TOWN — The Progressive Federal Party has dismissed government explanations of the latest emergency regulations restricting calls for the release of detainees and said they intended bringing an urgent interdict in the Supreme Court to declare them void.

The PFP said it was consulting lawyers about bringing an urgent interdict because of "totally unsatisfactory" statements on the regulations by President P.W. Botha and the Commissioner of Police, General Joanni Coetzee.

President Botha said in reply to a letter from the PFP leader, Mr Colin Eglin, that he was not prepared to overturn the latest extension to the emergency regulations because of the ongoing attempt to create a revolutionary climate in South Africa.

He also challenged Mr Eglin to say whether his party was about to embark on the road of civil disobedience.

## PFP threatens court action over curbs

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Mr Eglin said in Bloemfontein yesterday that, in spite of Mr Botha's reply, the position remained "unsatisfactory".

"It appears that once again the government has botched up its own regulations," he added. President Botha's reply "will convince no one".

Mr Eglin said the statement by General Coetzee "appears to contradict the words of the regulations themselves".

"General Coetzee explained what was not intended by the regulations and he referred to church services, political parties and applications to court.

"Yet nowhere in the regulations are such exemptions specifically

mentioned.

"This means the right of citizens to protest or campaign in a peaceful and constitutional way, instead of being written into the law, is either being taken away or is subject to the discretion of government officials."

The chairman of the PFP's federal executive, Mr Ken Andrew, confirmed the PFP was definitely considering applying for an urgent interdict "to overturn the latest regulations".

"We consider the statements by President Botha and General Coetzee to be totally unsatisfactory but they may influence the nature of the application we hope to make," he said.

(Report by Barry Streek, 122 St Georges Street, Cape Town.)

**Govt**



**calls for**

CO 15/4/87

**pressure**

**on ANC**

PRETORIA — The South African Government today called on foreign diplomats in Pretoria to request their respective governments to put pressure on the ANC to abandon violence.

This, said diplomatic sources, was the gist of the briefing for envoys by the Deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Carel von Hirschberg.

The sources said Mr Von Hirschberg also explained that Friday's ban on campaigns for the release of state of emergency detainees was aimed at preventing confrontation and to improve the chances for reconciliation.

Diplomats — resentful about being summonsed to the Union Buildings for a briefing on the ANC for the second time in a week — are said to consider their "manipulation" by Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha as an election ploy.

Today's briefing was well-attended, although some missions reportedly dispatched junior representatives as an expression of protest.

(Report by Norman Patterton, 514 Barclays Bank Building, Church Square, Pretoria). — Sapa



# PFP claims lead in NP seats

Cape Times 16/4/82

304A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON and BARRY STREEK

THE PFP yesterday claimed an early lead in the first postal and special-vote tallies in several key Nationalist seats throughout South Africa — and the Worrall campaign said it had a comfortable lead in the crucial Helderberg seat because of special votes.

The PFP's national director, Mr Neil Ross, said yesterday: "In the seats that count, we are generally very pleased with the results."

Among the seats where the PFP claimed a lead in the first postal vote ballots issued are: Port Natal, which is held by the Natal leader of the NP and Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha; Durban North, which is held by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Ron Miller; Helderberg, where the Deputy Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, is the current MP; Johannesburg West, which is held by the Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Roelf Meyer; Waterkloof, where the Deputy Minister of Finance, Dr Org Marais, is the sitting MP, and Simon's Town, where the late Mr John Wiley was MP.

In the pivotal Helderberg seat, campaign workers for independent candidate Dr Denis Worrall were claiming a comfortable lead, thanks to a surge in special votes lodged by voters now outside the constituency.

However, campaign workers for the NP candidate in Helderberg, Mr Chris Heunis, the Minister of

Constitutional Development and Planning, said their man had outscored Dr Worrall by 760 to 74 on the first day for the lodging of postal votes.

They were also claiming about two-thirds of the more than 300 special votes casts with magistrates within the Helderberg constituency.

But workers at Dr Worrall's office claimed that their combined postal/special-vote tally was "more than 1 400", owing to the large number of voters who had cast special votes at magistrate's offices up-country.

The NP received a setback in Simon's Town where the presiding officer, Mr Andre Duraan, yesterday rejected all 320 postal-vote applications on which the name of the late Mr John Wiley appeared.

## Scott is leading

After considering written submission from the legal representatives of both the PFP and the NP, Mr Duraan decided that voters who had their applications rejected could apply for another postal vote, cast a special vote, or turn up at the polls to vote.

The PFP yesterday claimed that their candidate, Mr John Scott, was leading the NP's Mr Harry Dille by 470 to 200 in valid postal votes.

Elsewhere in the Peninsula, the PFP claimed a 408-to-254 lead over the NP in the Pinelands constituency in postal ballots issued, and a 259-to-45 postal vote lead in Sea Point, where the sitting MP is Mr Colin Eglin, the PFP leader.

Mr Ross conceded that the PFP was behind in Gardens and Wynberg, but said it was not concerned

about this.

In Wynberg the PFP candidate, Mr Robin Carlisle, said he expected to remain behind on postal votes but would catch up on special votes.

"All the NP is doing in Wynberg is running a postal-vote campaign. There are no Graaff posters and their only meeting was held last night.

"I am very satisfied. We have already done about 75 percent of our canvass and it is looking good," Mr Carlisle said.

Mr Ross said the NP had done "well" in Maitland, where the Deputy Minister of Finance, Mr Kent Durr, is the MP. The PFP was behind although it had already lodged 200% more postal vote applications than it had done in the 1981 election.

The acting Cape secretary of the National Party, Mr Sakkie Pretorius, could not be contacted last night for the NP's assessment of the postal-vote situation in the Western Cape.

The PFP is claiming a 306-268 lead in Port Natal, a 548-125 lead in Durban North and a 180-160 lead in Umhlatuzana, all of which are now held by the NP, and a 300-25 lead in Umhlanga.

Mr Ross said that in three PFP seats — Bezuidenhout where it had 685-183 lead, Hillbrow where it had an approximate 400-350 lead and Greytown where it had a 175-21 lead — the promised NP onslaught had not taken place.

"In the East London area a very tough fight in the postal-vote field is on the go and the final ballot figures will be interesting," he said.

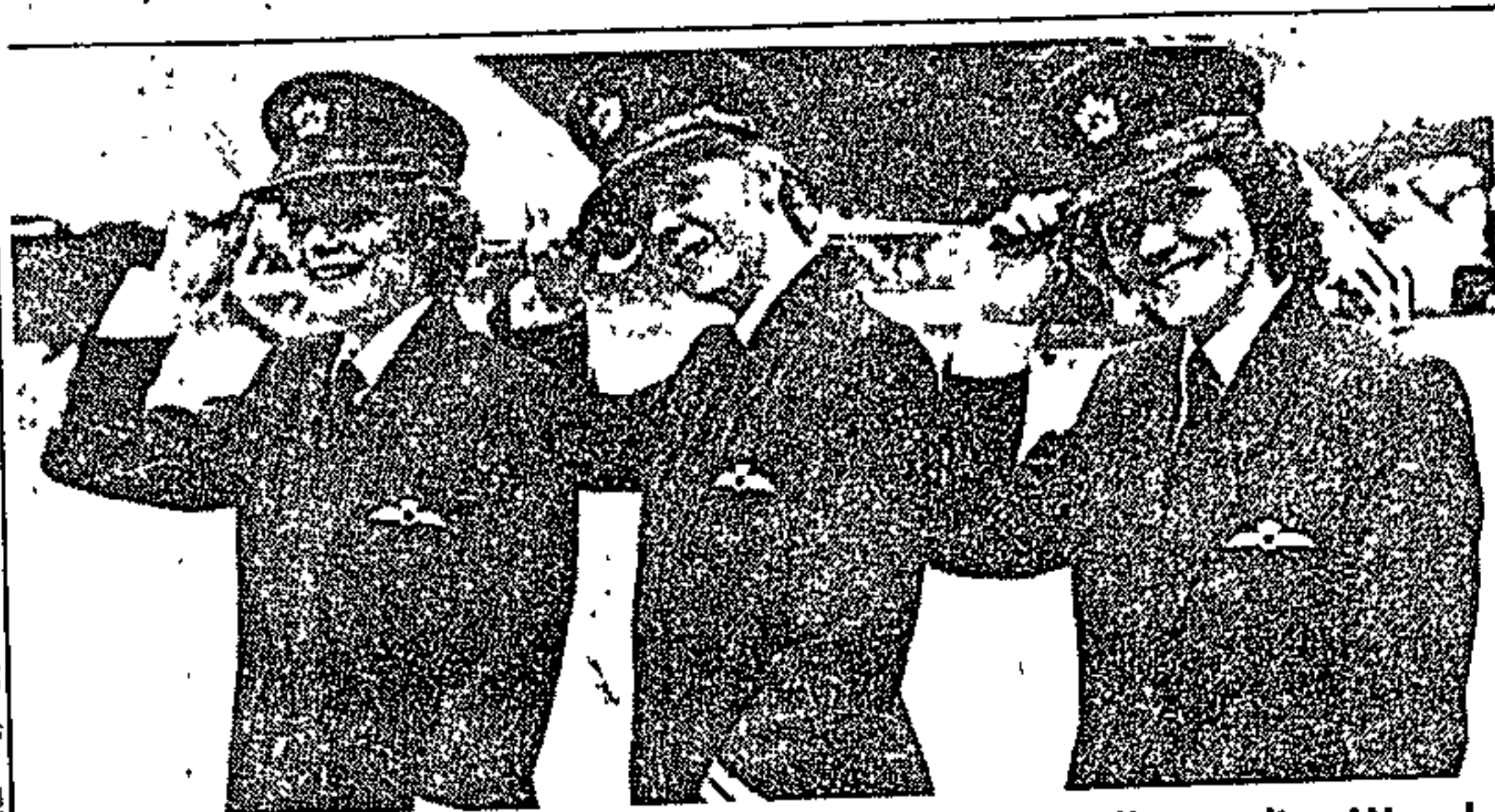
(News by Anthony Johnson and Barry Streek, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

"Crucible",

equipment  
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urse supplied



# Worrall invites Heunis to debate major issues



British Airways' first woman pilots, from left, Jill Develin, Wendy Barnes and Lynn Barton.

## British Airways names first women to fly jumbo jets

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Lynn Barton will be the first woman pilot to fly a jumbo jet, says British Airways.

Lynn, 34, from Lower Beeding near Horsham, Sussex, is joined by Jill Develin and Wendy Barnes as the first women pilots taken on by BA.

### "A GREAT DAY"

Lynn has 3 700 flying hours behind her with Air UK and Dan Air. She took her first flying lesson at 16. "I never thought of being anything else but a pilot," she says.

As First Officer Barton she will earn about R57 000 a year.

Wendy, 27, from Westerham, Kent, said: "It's a great day for us. We were

discouraged at school. I was told to aim to become a nurse."

It cost her about R42 000 to qualify as a pilot. She has flown BAC-111s for British Island Airways, and will fly the same plane for BA from Birmingham.

Jill, 30, from Horley, Surrey, saved every penny as a young girl to finance flying lessons. She was appointed co-pilot with British Air Ferries two years ago. Married to a flying instructor, she is moving to Glasgow to fly the twin-engined HS-748 airliner in the Scottish Highlands.

BA has taken the women on as part of its first pilot recruitment programme in almost 10 years.

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE  
Political Staff

INDEPENDENT candidate for Helderberg Dr Denis Worrall has invited his National Party opponent, Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, to a public debate on the same platform about election issues.

Dr Worrall said his invitation would be in a letter to be delivered to Mr Heunis today.

Meanwhile, a public debate has been arranged for next Tuesday night in Stellenbosch between independent candidate Dr Esther Lategan and her National Party opponent, Mr Piet Marais.

Dr Lategan said today she welcomed this debate, which had been arranged by the Students Representative Council of the University of Stellenbosch.

### Negotiation politics

Dr Worrall announced his plan to invite Mr Heunis at a house meeting in the Helderberg constituency last night.

"I believe this election will have been a complete waste of time unless it addresses itself to negotiation politics, which means the ending of apartheid and the granting of political rights to all South Africans," Dr Worrall said today.

"It is of the utmost importance the voters of Helderberg should be fully informed of the views of all their candidates before they go to the polls on May 6.

"A public debate between myself and Mr Heunis will, I think, demonstrate that in few places in South Africa do the voters have a clearer choice between candidates than in Helderberg."

Dr Worrall said he and Mr Heunis were recently invited by the Cape Town Press Club to share a neutral platform, but Mr Heunis declined the invitation. Dr Worrall addressed the Press Club on his own.

(Report by FS Esterhuyse, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

## WEEKEND Argus

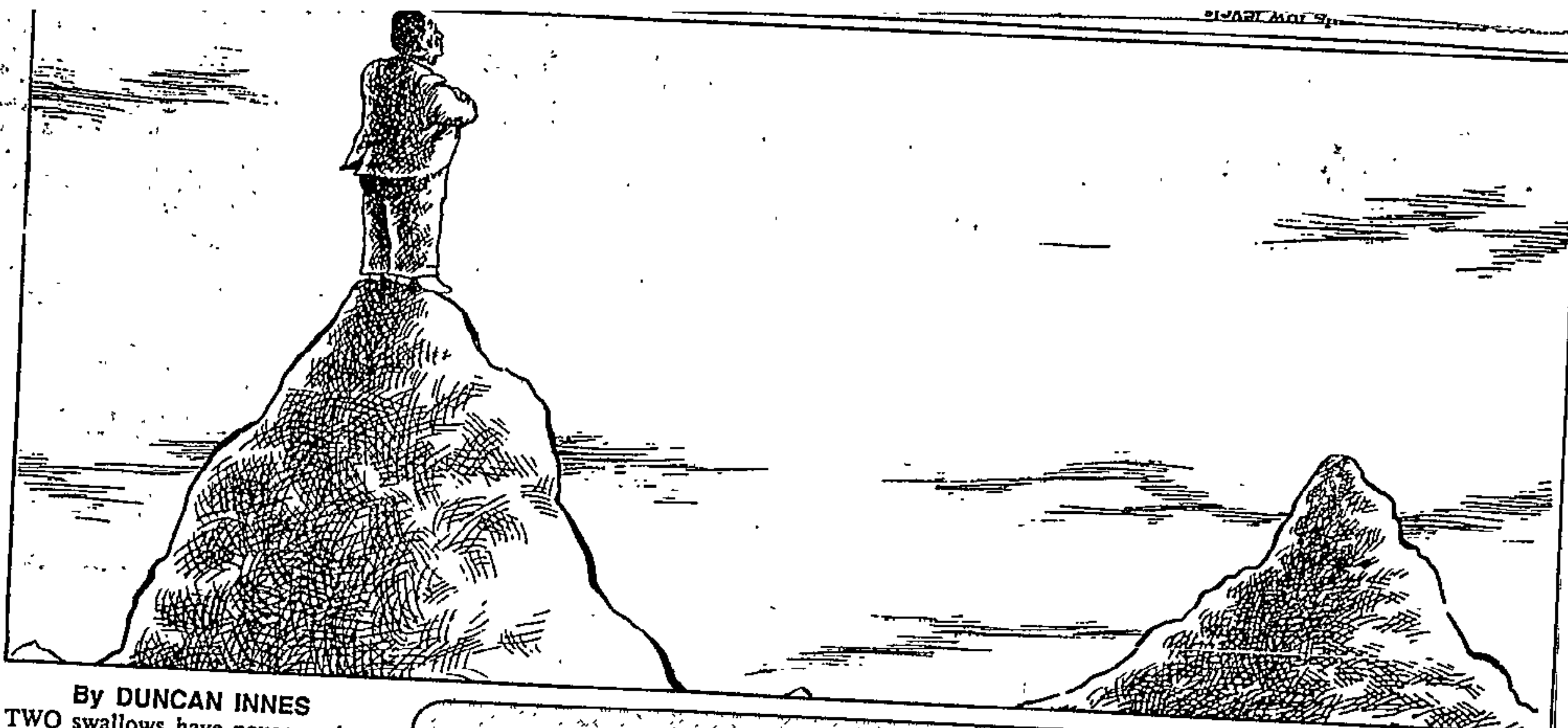
THE full story of the Argus-Shell Ultra Two Oceans Marathon — from start to finish — will be in WEEKEND ARGUS on Saturday.

The first (Saturday Special) edition will have the story and pictures of the start; the second (Late News) edition will have the winners and the top runners; and the last (Sports Final) edition will bring you all the drama — plus the FULL results!

### Argus Jackpot

Also in your weekend paper, a chance to win R25 000 in the Weekend Argus Jackpot! For details about this grand MUST-BE-WON prize





By DUNCAN INNES

TWO swallows have never made a spring but the publication on successive days last week of forthright attacks on the government from two leading lights in the business community certainly made for interesting reading.

The first attack came from Donald Gordon, chairman of Liberty Life: "The Government's continuing pre-occupation with maintaining or modifying the unacceptable system of institutionalised racialism and apartheid has made the ability of the business community to defend our position at home or abroad virtually impossible."

Gordon then went on to demand that all vestiges of discriminatory policies must be summarily and unequivocally dismantled.

This was relatively tame stuff compared with the broadside which was released the next day by Murray Hofmeyr, executive director of Anglo American and the new chairman of Johannesburg Consolidated Investments (JCI).

Hofmeyr began by attacking the State of Emergency which, he said, "gives the state and its agents almost unlimited powers to act against individuals and groups, and makes it virtually impossible for others to establish what is going on". As an example he cited the government's recent attempt to limit campaigns for the release of detainees.

In an obvious reference to the Chris Ball affair, he then went on to attack the government for "deliberate smear campaigns followed by the all too

## Big business: Searching for relevance?

familiar technique of guilt by association". Such campaigns, he said, were obviously intended "to isolate individuals who have been particularly outspoken in their political opinions".

However, Hofmeyr did not let his case rest there. In a move which subsequently drew an indignant response from Pick 'n Pay chairman, Raymond Ackerman, Hofmeyr then turned his guns on the business community.

"It should be a matter for serious reflection", he argued, "how readily businessmen are duped by these manoeuvres, thus displaying a naivete which, on a matter of business judgement, would be quite inconceivable."

"Business leaders are perceived as being prepared to tacitly condone government tactics" and are perceived to be "quick to speak out when things are going badly, but equally quick to lapse into silence when things are going well. This serves to strengthen the very widely held view that business is not going to do too much to rock the boat of apartheid, or indeed the boat of injustice and oppression."

Hofmeyr's outspokenness did not win him any immediate accolades from his business colleagues. One, who preferred to remain anonymous, wanted Hofmeyr to state publicly what he, JCI and Anglo American were actively doing to stand up against the government, propagate change and campaign for justice.

But it was Raymond Ackerman of Pick 'n Pay who was particularly

incensed, feeling that Hofmeyr's attack undermined all the background efforts which he and others were making to persuade government to change.

"Business", said Ackerman, "is a meaningful force for change. We are hard at work behind the scenes trying to work for change. We are not seeking headlines but looking for action, and Hofmeyr's statements have no foundation."

Although Hofmeyr has subsequently said that Ackerman misunderstood him, this is doubtful. The debate seems to be around a very real issue of strategy: that is, should the business community's campaign for change be conducted, as Ackerman argues, behind the scenes; or is it not now time, as Hofmeyr argues, for business leaders "to stand up and be counted"?

There are a number of criticisms which can be raised against Ackerman's position. First, if it is true that the business community is "a meaningful force for change" and that they "are hard at work behind the scenes trying to work for change", then it needs to be said that their efforts do not seem to have been very successful of late.

We have seen one State of Emergency replaced by another far worse than the first. We have seen massive detentions and attacks on anti-apartheid groups. We have seen a hitherto unprecedented attack on the press. The level of individual and social freedoms that we have today in South Africa is probably lower than it has ever been.

In the light of all this, we have to say that either the business community is not the meaningful force for change Ackerman says they are or they are not working as hard behind the scenes as he says they are.

This latter possibility raises the second criticism of the behind the scenes approach: the problem of accountability.

If the business community confines itself to putting pressure on the government behind the scenes, the public is left completely in the dark as to what kinds of issues are being raised, what kind of pressure is being used, what kind of trade-offs are being done, etc.

If the public's perception of the business community is to change, then it is imperative that the business community first revises its strategy. This is not to say that business leaders should not continue to use whatever behind the scenes avenues they have to the corridors of political power, but that they should first establish links with representative organisations among the oppressed and negotiate with them what issues they, the business community, should take up.

In this context, the issue that Hofmeyr seems to be driving at is correct: business leaders should not forego behind the scenes activities, but in addition the situation now warrants that the business community adopts a much more public profile against apartheid in all its forms.

For one thing, corporate social responsibility needs to be taken much more seriously, not just in terms of how much is committed to such programmes, but also in terms of how such programmes are approached.

No programme should ever be commenced unless it has been conceived, negotiated and agreed in collaboration with representatives of the community for whom it is intended and unless such representatives are involved in its implementation.

Secondly, the business community needs to organise itself into more effective pressure groups which are designed to promote political and broad social issues.

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TRANSKEI Prime Minister George Matanzima has put it on record: he hopes South Africa's governing National Party is returned to power next month with a bigger majority.

By publicly expressing that wish he joined his former arch-enemy, Ciskei President Lennox Sebe, in the belief that the National Party holds the key to the solution of South Africa's problems — or, at the least, stands between South Africa and revolutionary chaos.

It was Sebe who broke ranks with most black leaders during the 1983 referendum by urging white voters to support the new tri-racial constitution, even though it specifically excluded blacks.

Long before that, however, George Matanzima's mentor and elder brother, Kaiser Matanzima, had shown the way when he pledged that Transkei would fight to the last drop of blood to help defend South Africa against military attacks.

To complete the quartet there is Willie Kaba, Ciskei's deposed vice president who confessed that he — an ordained minister of religion — had prayed for a National Party victory in the 1981 election.

But their common allegiance to the National Party did not prevent them from indulging in a fierce fratricidal quarrel, which erupted into violence last October and again in February when raids were launched from Transkei on Ciskei.

The October raid resulted in the

# Matanzima holds thumbs for the NP

By PATRICK LAURENCE

Springing from a Ciskei jail of Charles Sebe, the former Ciskei generalissimo (and before that South African security policeman and spy) and the abduction of Lennox Sebe's son, Kwane.

The February raid saw an attack on Sebe's presidential palace. It was repulsed by Ciskei security forces. One attacker was killed and several wounded and captured.

South Africa, however, brought its warring political progeny to the peace table late last week, where all three parties signed a tri-parite non-aggression pact.

It was at the Tuynhuys conference room in Cape Town that Matanzima Jr declared his hope for a bigger National Party majority after the May 6 election.

He was less hopeful about the treaty that he had just signed restoring peace between Transkei and Ciskei, noting that Munich Pact did not bring peace between Hitler and Chamberlain.

The tri-parite non-aggression treaty, however, restored peace temporarily at least. It came less than a week after the gunpoint expulsion of

Transkei's ex-Rhodesian military advisors. The advisors were headed by the founder of Rhodesia's counter-insurgency Selous Scouts, Ron Reid-Daly.

The juxtaposition of events — the signing of the treaty in Cape Town last Friday and the expulsion of the ex-Rhodesians the week before — pointed to South African involvement in the unceremonious booting out of the ex-Selous Scouts.

Only a few weeks before the expulsion three senior African cabinet ministers — Foreign Affairs Minister Pk Botha, Defence Minister Magnus Malan and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok — visited Ciskei to discuss the February raid with Sebe, who openly charged the ex-Rhodesians of complicity in the raids.

Botha disclosed that the trio of South African ministers had been in contact with Transkei as well, providing further circumstantial evidence that they had given Transkei a nod to get rid of the ex-Selous Scouts.

There is little doubt that the ex-Rhodesians upset the balance of power between the two designated Xhosa states. Their military expertise gave

Transkei an advantage. It offered the Matanzima brothers the means to overthrow Sebe and fulfil their long-cherished dream: dissolution of Ciskei as an independent state and the creation of a Greater Xhosaland under their leadership.

Reid-Daly declined to comment on the allegations of ex-Rhodesian involvement in the October and February raids.

But he was on contract to the Transkei government as a military adviser. If his paymasters wanted to disrupt Ciskei politically by military means, he as a contracted military adviser — his foes use the blunter word "mercenary" — would presumably help them achieve their ends, particularly if renewal of his contract might depend on it.

The botched raid on Ciskei in February, however, earned the enmity of South Africa who saw the ex-Rhodesians as a de-stabilising factor.

It also made them vulnerable to their foes in the Transkei Defence Force itself, who, led by Brigadier-Bantu Holomisa, the proud son of a chief, did not take kindly to being ordered around by whites.

The two factors, South African concern at the disruptive influence of the ex-Rhodesians and indigenous Transkei resentment at their dominant role in Transkei, converged and culminated in the hasty departure of Reid-Daly and his men.



letters between 10am and noon only at 208 4122.

*Cape Times 16/4/87*

# Slabbert tells Malan to 'go and suck eggs'

Staff Reporter *3067*

DR Van Zyl Slabbert has told the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, to "go and suck eggs" because of a statement by General Malan in an Afrikaans morning newspaper alleging that he had attended an ANC meeting in France.

"The fact that I went to Paris this year with a friend to attend the 75th anniversary of the ANC has nothing to do with him," Dr Slabbert said on Tuesday. He said his visit had been made public.

General Malan said in Tuesday's morning newspaper that Dr Van Zyl's presence at this meeting, which was attended by leftists, "makes one wonder about Dr Slabbert's new organization Idasa (Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa) and his connections".

Dr Slabbert, who is the head of Idasa, said that if Gen Malan could prove any links "let him do so publicly".

(Report by A Koopman, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

## Election Monitor

*Call Times 16/4/87*  
**'Bunny-girl'**

**offer to PW**

By BARRY STREEK

THE PFP candidate in Durbanville, Mrs Beverley Roos, has made an offer to President P W Botha that he may find difficult to refuse. She says she will dress up in a bunny-girl outfit and serve drinks if he can name and talk to 10 "credible" black leaders.

A Nationalist leaflet had said there were 10 black "ethnic" groups in SA, but she challenged Pres Botha to name one credible leader from each of the 10 groups who would be prepared to negotiate with the NP leadership.

"In the unlikely event that he and these black leaders can be put around a conference table, I will do more than eat my hat — I will dress up in a bunny-girl outfit and serve the drinks.

"Those who know me, know that will be quite a sacrifice," Mrs Roos said.



## Candidate's challenge to PW

# GIVE NAMES

(2084)

**A CHALLENGE to the State President, Mr P W Botha, to "supply the names of the credible black leaders with whom the National Party will negotiate" the country's future was made by the Progressive Federal Party candidate in Durbanville, Mrs Beverley Roos.**

She told a PFP meeting in Bellville this week that "in the unlikely event that he and these black leaders can be put around a conference table together, I would personally dress up in a bunnygirl outfit and serve the drinks."

Mrs Roos said the maintenance of

apartheid cost the country R14-billion to keep the apartheid system going.

The Government had four ministers of health, five ministers of Education, six housing ministers, 18 cabinet ministers, 12 Own Affairs ministers, 20 deputy ministers and 12 assistant ministers, all with their staff, pensions and perks.

In July eight regional services councils would go into operation which were estimated to cost R1000-million to make them work initially.

Each RSC chairman would get R96000 a year and perks.

She said the Government, and the

Finance Minister, Mr Barond du Plessis, were responsible for inflation and the financial fiasco called the "Rubicon Rand".

"The Rubicon Rand now is worth thirty pieces of copper, one-third of its former value at the previous election," she said. And even now, measures were being taken to retain the Group Areas Act and create more such areas.

Guest speaker Professor Abraham Viljoen, the PFP candidate for Waterkloof, said it took the National Party 30 years to find out that apartheid did not work.



**PRESIDENT Botha.... "credible blacks".**

"Fear is good business," a security consultant recently told me. Certainly the boom in the security industry and what might now be described as the emigration business (emigration advisers, furniture transporters, etc) suggests that someone is benefiting from the fear that haunts our society.

Fear makes itself felt in the short term and the long term. While black opponents of the Government fear the immediate retribution of the coercive State apparatus, whites fear the retribution and revenge that the future holds. We are therefore a nation in fear, whose peoples still do not know each other and who fear each other.

The freedom from fear has therefore become an ideal for all South Africans. In the same way that this freedom became an obsession with the peoples of the Nazi-occupied countries of World War 2.

The Nazi regime deliberately embarked upon a policy of terrorism, brutality and intimidation aimed at breaking the will to resist among its subject peoples. Initially fear was for export only. But, as the Allied forces responded and the Soviet armies advanced on Germany, fear filled the German people. For fear is indivisible. Like the plague, its contagion knows no frontiers, whether erected by international treaty or by Group Areas Act. It reaches both oppressor and oppressed; it consumes us all.

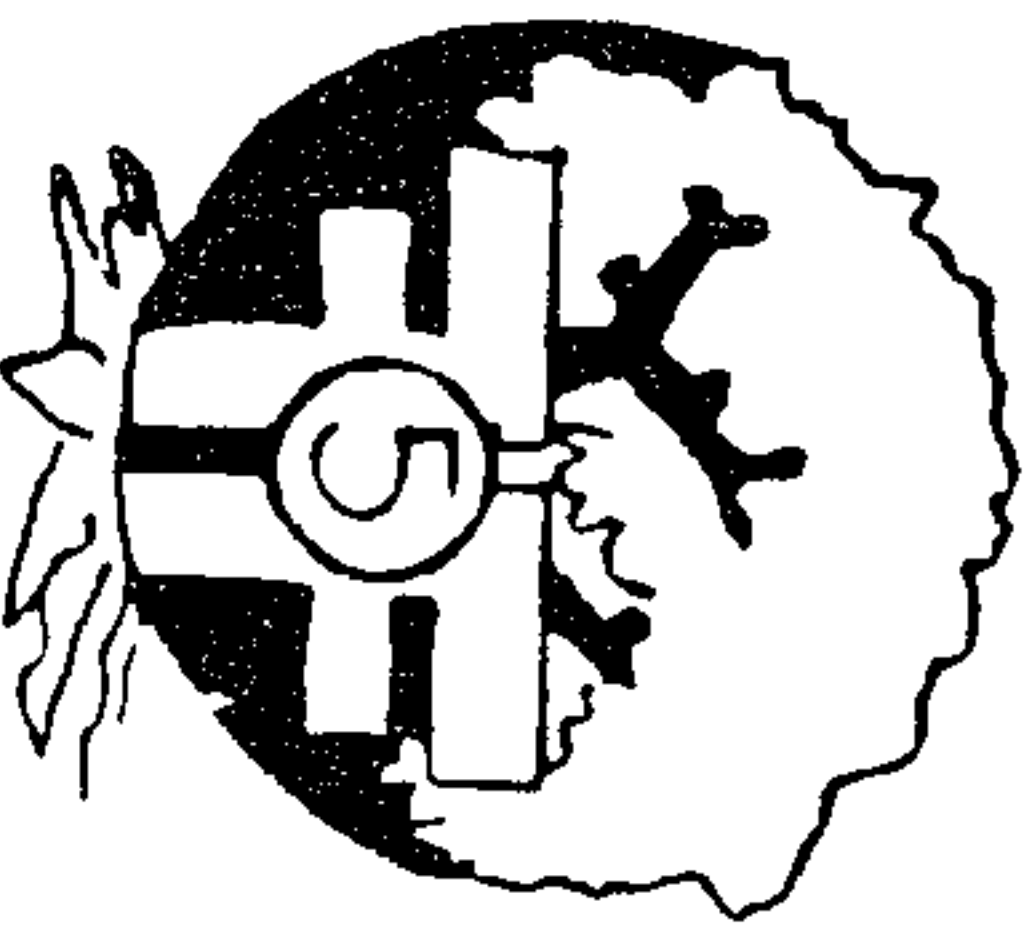
### **Demands suppressed**

So it is with the peoples of South Africa. The National Party Government over the past four decades has pursued a policy of domination and intimidation aimed at suppressing black demands for participation in the political system and for sharing the nation's wealth.

But in the process it has generated fear among those who are supposed to benefit from its policies — the whites. White politics has therefore become the politics of fear. Votes are cast for that party which the voters believe will most effectively deliver them from fear.

Whites opposed to the Government are too polite about its policies and practices. We are too timid to call a spade a bloody shovel. But can we really deny that the principal aim of the security laws and

# Freedom from fear is now everyone's ideal



The Internal Security Act and the emergency regulations issued under the Public Safety Act allow and authorise:

- Indefinite detention without trial for the purpose of police interrogation in solitary confinement.
- Mental torture in detention.
- Long-term detention for the purpose of eliminating political opponents.
- The detention of young children.
- The banning of political meetings, funerals, etc.
- The suppression of news.
- The banning of political organisations.

Moreover, they allow these laws to be enforced by a highly politicised and mobilised police force and army that is, for practical purposes, above the law, and whose reputation strikes fear into the people of the townships.

Other laws engender fear among those too fearful to engage in political activity. The Group Areas Act is a perpetual threat to those thousands of coloureds, Indians and blacks unable to find accommodation

tion in their own areas who have found somewhere to live in the so-called white areas.

Forced population removals into or nearer to the TBVC states still terrorise the lives of thousands of blacks in our country districts, as government promises of a cessation of this practice have proved false.

Some 6 million South Africans remain bereft of nationality in the same way that millions of German Jews were deprived of their nationality by Hitler.

The TBVC states, created in the image of Pretoria's rule, have not offered a haven from fear. Instead they have adopted repressive policies that at times exceed Pretoria's own repression.

Is this all coincidental, a necessary by-product of separate development? Or is it a master strategy designed to terrorise a nation?

While the plan may have succeeded in filling most blacks with fear, it has not suppressed the legitimate demands of the people for a proper share in the life of South Africa. On the contrary, it has given rise to nation-wide unrest, strikes and counter-violence — manifested in isolated bomb attacks and a widespread increase in crime. For let there be no doubt about this. The high rate of housebreaking and robbery in the white suburbs is a direct

The Five Freedoms Forum is an alliance of organisations working for a South Africa which guarantees freedom from want, freedom from fear, freedom of speech and association, freedom of conscience and freedom from discrimination. John Dugard writes the latest in a series of articles highlighting these freedoms.

result of the political policies of the National Party.

Some whites are lulled into a false sense of security by incompressible political promises (mainly from Mr Heunis), by threats of police and army retribution and by the false rationalisation that the violence in our society is a necessary concomitant of industrialisation and urbanisation.

But more intelligent whites know otherwise. They know there is no hope for the National Party Reich; they know the National Party has no vision for the future; they know that revenge may follow the fall of the Reich. And they are afraid. Some barricade themselves into their suburban homes; others emigrate.

This is what nearly 40 years of National Party rule has done to South Africa. Only a repudiation of the present regime can remove the fear that engulfs the nation.

Freedom from fear is not a freedom that appears in legal charters and constitutions. It is a freedom embedded in the minds of all. Until this freedom is realised, no other freedom has any meaning.

● John Dugard is professor of law and director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand.



# Reform is road to suicide — Marais

**PORT ELIZABETH** — The National Party's reform policy had set South Africa on the road to suicide, the leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Mr Jaap Marais, said last night.

If the Government did not realise it was paving the way for revolution, it should be "put against a wall and shot", he said.

Addressing a crowd of about 300 supporters in the Cattle High School hall in Port Elizabeth, Mr Marais said it had been proved throughout history that far from preventing revolution, reform aggravated the situations leading to it.

## INTEGRATION

"They don't have the courage to admit it, but reform can only lead to black majority rule in this country."

"I am convinced that one of the Government's first acts if they win the election will be to scrap the Group Areas Act."

"If that happens, the Separate Amenities Act must automatically follow and after that there will be nothing in the way of total integration."

"What voters should realise is that before the election the National Party talks like the HNP but afterwards they will act like the PFP."

(Report by M Burger, 19 Baiters Street, Port Elizabeth)

# Race is on for postal votes

**POLITICAL STAFF** — The race for postal votes in key constituencies was intensified yesterday when the first postal vote ballots were issued. In Heideberg constituency, the National Party claimed that it had so far lodged more than 900 postal and special vote applications.

A Conservative Party spokesman said no figures of his party's postal and special vote applications were available at this stage.

A spokesman at the NP's Heideberg campaign office said his party had so far submitted 760 postal vote applications, all of which were approved.

In addition, the NP claimed 150 of a total of 250 special votes so far

# Quotes from the election platform

Mr Hen Kruger, NP candidate for Yeoville, at an election meeting in Hillbrow last night, "Mr Harry Schwarz says I am running a *stuurtevoer* campaign. I don't think he understands Afrikaans too well. I am running a *schurtevoer* campaign."

PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin, speaking in the Matland constituency, "It is arrant, transparent nonsense" to say the PFP is soft on communism."

Deputy Minister of Law and Order in Hillbrow last night, "I can only tell you what I have been told about crime in your area. I have not yet had an opportunity to walk around and see conditions for myself." Member of the audience: "You will be mugged if you do."

Mr Eglin: "The dirty tricks division of the NP could well come up with some dramas. There could be raids into Zambia or Angola, the arrest of trade union leaders on May 1 or the discovery of an arms cache."

Mr Lesy Pinshaw, NP member of the President's Council, in Hillbrow: "Johannesburg voters are coming out of the closet. The days are past when people voted PFP and hoped the Nats would come in."

Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, speaking at Malmesbury: "I would like to know what the attitude of the PFP is to the ECC which is just as much an enemy of the SADF as the ANC and Swapo."

Deputy Finance Minister Dr Org Marais, in Stellenbosch: "The Lindaba document is nothing more than a PFP model for majority rule."

Deputy Finance Minister Mr Kent Durr, in Wynberg: "The only difference between the various PFPs is who they want to give South Africa away to quickly."

(Compiled by J H Patten, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

# Intentions spelt out in letter — Pik

**POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT** — Foreign Minister Mr P. W. Botha has asked the seven Western industrial giants to consider establishing another eminent persons-type (EPG) group to find a solution to the problems of South Africa.

Mr Botha told an NP meeting in Amanzimtoti that the details of the proposals were not clear so neither he nor President Botha could react at this stage.

In the meantime he suggested that the group of seven should read the letters that President Botha sent them last year in which he spelt out the Government's basic principles, the intentions to remove discrimination and to implement reforms.

(Report by B Cameron, 85 Field Street, Durban)

# De Beer quizzed on Group Areas

**By David Braun**  
**POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT**

The National Party candidate for Hillbrow, Mr Leon de Beer, told a meeting in the constituency last night that he was standing for election on a South African Airways ticket.

"We can fly the illegals out and I promise you we will serve them KVV on board," he said.

A questioner said Mr de Beer had told him privately a few months ago that it was his belief that the Group Areas Act would be scrapped after the election. He wanted to know, in view of the President's recent remarks, whether Mr de Beer had changed his mind on the subject.

Mr de Beer replied: "I have said it would have to be looked at."

**MADE CLEAR**

He said he was standing on the NP ticket and made it clear the Group Areas Act would remain. The Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Roelf Meyer, told the meeting that Hillbrow's crime and integration problems could not be solved overnight.

Mr Meyer said it was not the Government's fault the Group Areas Act had been broken in the area.

He said the Government would have to look at the situation in Hillbrow practically.

(Report by D M Brown, 215 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)

**cast in the constituency.**

Dr Worrall's campaign manager, Mr Jan-Me Momborg, said his organisation was concentrating on special votes rather than postal votes.

In Stellenbosch, the NP claimed to have submitted about 2,000 postal vote applications so far.

(Report by F S Barmann, 125 St George's Street, Cape Town)

# Malan predicts US will press for sanctions in UN

**MALMESBURY** — The Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan predicted last night that the United States would initiate United Nations moves for total sanctions against South Africa.

Addressing a public meeting attended by about 100 people, he said the sanctions imposed by the US Congress on South Africa were working hand in hand with the revolutionary onslaught and were making South Africans poorer.

However, the Government could not comply with the demands made by the US for the lifting of the sanctions.

He believed that the US would increase pressure on its trading partners as it had done with nations suspected of dealing in arms with South Africa.

"I also want to predict that the US will go to the UN to ask for total sanctions against South Africa" because the

Republic had not met those conditions.

The Government, he said, had issued warnings to neighbouring states and diplomatic representatives about the planned African National Congress disruption of the election rather than being forced into making cross-border raids.

**Disruption of elections**

He said the disruption could take place in many spheres, including labour and schools.

It was for this reason that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr P. W. Botha, had told the public last week of the plans to disrupt the election.

Warnings had been issued to neighbouring states and Mr Botha had organised the conference of diplomatic representatives in South Africa.

"The reason was to prevent enemy action against South Africa which could have forced us to take action against the terrorist onslaught which could even have resulted in us going across the border," General Malan said.

# Five conditions for ending of emergency

**MALMESBURY** — The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, yesterday listed five criteria that would have to be met in the townships before the Government would consider lifting the state of emergency.

These were: assurance of individual and group security; establishment of effective local authorities; improvement of housing; solution of the unemployment problem; and normalisation of schooling.

"If we can deal with these five criteria correctly then we can willingly think about lifting the state of emergency," he told a meeting in support of the Minister of Environmental Affairs, Mr Gert Kotze, who is the NP's candidate for Malmesbury.



Brigadier Swaneepoel... whites will take arms to secure their survival.

# 'Rooi Rus' gives a dire warning

**By Rob Nuttall**

If the Government did not free the hands of the security forces to clean out all terrorists and communists the job would be done by the white population, Brigadier Theuns "Rooi Rus" Swaneepoel said last night.

He was addressing about 180 enthusiastic Conservative Party supporters at a rally in Westdene where he is opposing the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr P. W. Botha.

Brigadier Swaneepoel said whites would take arms to ensure their survival.

He demanded of President P. W. Botha: "Stop hawking our country. This land was paid for by the blood and toil of our forefathers."

"We brought religion and civilisation to its shores."

Brigadier Swaneepoel, a former security police chief, shared the platform with the former head of the Bureau of State Security, General "Lang Hendrik" van den Bergh.

The general regaled his audience with an hour of anecdotes about past security actions which stopped just short of spilling the beans.

He accused the Government of taking South Africa to the brink of financial ruin, and warned that a black-white confrontation was inevitable.

(Report by B Nuttall, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

# PFP will test new curbs in court

**POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT** — The Progressive Federal Party has decided to have the tightened-up regulations on detainees tested in court following President P. W. Botha's refusal to intervene.

Mr Colin Eglin announced this at an election meeting in Milnerston last night, following consultations with the party's legal advisers on the advisability of challenging the legality of the regulations.

Addressing about 120 people in support of Mr Herbert Hirsch, the PFP candidate in Matland, Mr Eglin said his contacts with Mr Botha on the matter had not been very satisfactory and it had therefore been decided to take the matter to court to see if a more satisfactory solution could be found.

He said the Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee, had added to the confusion by his interpretations of the regulations.

Mr Eglin dismissed suggestions that even the signing of a petition in favour of the release of detainees could add to a revolutionary climate in the country.

Basic democratic rights were being taken away from the citizens and left to the discretion of officials.

(Report by T Wentzel, 125 St George's Street, Cape Town)

# Williamson fights back

**POLITICAL REPORTER**

National Party candidate for Bryanston, Mr Craig Williamson, has defended his former career as a spy for the Government.

He hit out at journalist, Allister Sparks, saying Sparks had tied to discredit him for being a "deceiver for 18 years."

Asked to comment, Sparks said: "Mr Williamson says I am trying to insult him. I did not try to insult him, but am suspicious of him as he has a track record of deceit."

(Report by C Ryan, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

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(Report by G Smith, 601 Nedbank Centre, Strand Street, Cape Town)



16/4/87 Star

304A

## Malan gets the go-ahead

The nomination of the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, was not irregular, as had been claimed in certain Press reports on April 4, the chief electoral officer and Director General of Home Affairs, Mr Gerrie van Zyl, said last night.

In a statement in Pretoria he said he had investigated reports that General Malan's nomination for the Modderfontein constituency was not correct because the address given on the nomination documents was his residential address in Waterkloof, Pretoria.

"He correctly gave the address where he is resident as a Minister of the State for the major portion of the year, as his address for purposes of nomination as a candidate."

Mr van Zyl said that in terms of the Electoral Act anyone who was eligible to vote could present himself for nomination as a candidate in any electoral division.

The Identification Act of 1986 specifically provided for the registration of Ministers and other members of a House of Parliament in specific electoral divisions. — Sapa.

(Report by Mark van der Velden, 514 Barclays Bank Bldg, Church Square, Pretoria.)

## 'Lang David', Worrall cheered by crowd

# Dramatic support for independents

CAPE TOWN — South Africans all over the country were responding dramatically to the "independent movement", Mr DP "Lang David" de Villiers, QC, told a wildly cheering crowd at an election meeting in Helderberg constituency.

Mr de Villiers, former managing director of Nasionale Pers, said: "A process has started which cannot and will not stop. Our politics will never be the same again."

A prospect of political re-groupings, away from ethnic and cultural lines, was being opened up, he said.

Mr de Villiers was speaking in support of independent candidate Dr Denis Worrall at one of the biggest public meetings of the present election campaign so far held in that constituency.

More than 1 000 people packed the Somerset West town hall. They cheered, clapped and shouted their support for the speakers and gave prolonged applause after each speech.

Mr de Villiers said the independent movement had brought a vision where none was apparent on the part of the National Party leadership.

It was "a vision for breaking bottlenecks and logjams, for getting away from prejudices, bigotry, fears, petty politics and stereotyped slogans."

South Africans were beginning to see a "realistic possibility" for restoring confidence inside and outside the country's borders, for a recovery of the economy and for halting the "brain drain".

Mr de Villiers also criticised the Government's handling of the continuing state of emergency.

He said there was strong resentment among the most moderate people against the detention of many people whose political conduct was often explicitly peaceful and entirely lawful.

Peace-loving people who were opposed to violence were among those being detained.

"Each round of such actions diminishes the stock of remaining goodwill, and the radicalising effect on moderates is alarming."

Nothing was more counter-productive than certain actions under the state of emergency, such as detaining people who were opposed to violence.

According to information from the Government, between 10 000 and 20 000 people had been detained. Other estimates put the figure higher.

Dr Worrall said in his address there was a movement "waiting to be created". It would draw together people of moderate views from all population groups. He envisaged that after the May 6 elections that movement would become "a powerful political party."

(Report by F S Esterhuyse, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)



# Gay lobby canvasses support in poll run-up

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE Gay lobby has been actively canvassing support for gay rights in the run-up to the election.

The Afrikaans Sunday newspaper Rapport said last weekend that it had been estimated that there were about 300 000 gays in South Africa with votes and said that in certain constituencies the gay vote could be "decisive".

The extent of the gay vote has been underlined in a Human Sciences Research Council survey, which found that 18% of men had indicated that they were either exclusively homosexual or bisexual.

Through the gay journal "Exit", candidates in the election have been questioned about their position on gay rights and speakers have been asked at meetings about their views.

What the gay lobby has been doing is to campaign actively for their cause and to expose those who are anti-gay.

□ □ □ □ □

TWO NP candidates, Mr Leon de Beer in Hillbrow and Mr Hein Kruger in Yeoville, have come out in favour of gay rights, as has the PFP candidate in Westdene, Mrs Margaret Fourie, the PFP candidate in North Rand, Mr Pieter Schoeman, and the PFP MP for Yeoville, Mr Harry Schwarz.

Mr De Beer said: "The rights of the individual must be protected. I stand for the right of the freedom of choice."

Mr Hein Kruger said: "I have never been anti-gay. Legislation should not discriminate against gays and specifically should not isolate gays."

Mr Schwarz said acts between consenting adults should be legal. "I would be prepared to give assistance in legislation in favour of gays."

Mr Schoeman said gays should be allowed to do what they liked as consenting adults.

□ □ □ □ □

OTHER candidates have been less supportive. "Exit" said the PFP MP for Hillbrow, Mr Alf Widman, "waffled and hedged", but after two telephone calls and a request for an interview, he eventually voiced his support "in his private capacity".

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said: "It is not something I can talk about, or give an opinion about."

The CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said being gay was not an acceptable practice and he would most certainly oppose legislation aimed at

the decriminalization of homosexuality.

And the HNP leader, Mr Jaap Marais, said his party would never support gay rights and would definitely vote against legal reform.

□ □ □ □ □

IN Port Elizabeth, the HNP candidate for Algoa, Mr Gert Swiegers, appealed to all gays in his constituency not to vote for him.

Mr Swiegers said he had noticed from reports that the NP was going out of its way to canvass their votes.

"I am pleading with all the gays in my constituency not to vote for me. I do not want their votes, because if I come to power, I will act against them in my constituency," he said.

## KwaZulu cat map

A black-and-white cat with markings remarkably similar to a map of KwaZulu came close to stealing the show at a sparsely-attended Nationalist election meeting in Southfield this week.

The friendly feline, apparently the mouse-catcher at the local primary school, made a grand entry into the hall as the Deputy Minister of Finance, Mr Ken Durr, was holding forth on the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba.

## Worrall challenge

DR Denis Worrall again invited his NP opponent in Helderberg, Mr Chris Heunis, to debate election issues on a joint platform.

Speaking at a house meeting in Somerset West, Dr Worrall said Mr Heunis had recently been invited by the Cape Town Press Club to to debate with him on a neutral platform, but this offer had been turned down by Mr Heunis.

"Since this constituency is a focus of interest in the election, I would like to suggest that Mr Heunis and I have a discussion on the very real differences of opinion separating us."

"Since certain people are trying to make out that there are no differences between Mr Heunis and myself, I believe we can fruitfully discuss our differences on the scrapping of the Group Areas Act and other apartheid laws."

"We have different attitudes towards the Rhenish school issue, Regional Services Councils and Mr Heunis's rejection of the KwaNatal Indaba," Dr Worrall said.

(News by Barry Streek, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

# Eglin — equal rights for gays

Cape Times 17/1/87

30 kA

THE leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin, said yesterday that he supported the removal of discriminatory legislation against gay people in South Africa.

Mr Eglin said in an interview that the PFP as a party had never given specific consideration to the issue of gay rights and he was therefore speaking in his personal capacity.

However, the party's policy was that there should be equal rights and equal dignity for all South Africans.

"In this context, I believe these rights should be applied to gays — and they should not be excluded from these rights merely because they are gay," he said.

The PFP was opposed to any discrimination on grounds of race, colour or sex and he believed this should apply to the rights of gays.

"I believe gays should be afforded equal treatment and dignity in our country.

"I don't believe the activities of adult people in private should be subject to negative legislation.

"I don't think legislation should interfere in the private affairs of adults.

"If everyone is entitled to equal rights and equal dignity, I do not believe this should be denied to people because they are gay," Mr Eglin said.

(Report by Barry Streak, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)



# Can the alliance make a political difference?

APR 17/4/82

304A

**T**HE days of Passover and Easter are a time of liturgical solemnity in the Western religious tradition which many South Africans claim as their own.

This year Holy Week falls in the middle of a clamorous election campaign, providing an interlude of relative peace and calm.

But even in this brief respite it is hardly possible to avoid thinking about the state of the nation.

Two significant statements recently — one by the South African Jewish Board of Deputies and the second by the administrative board of the South African Catholic Bishops Conference — have expressed grave concern about the way things are going.

The Bishops and Deputies will no doubt be accused of dragging religion into politics yet religion concerns eternal truths and moral values. And if religion does not have to do with life and death and everything between and beyond then surely it is reduced to some kind of spiritual insurance association — offering with-profits benefits in the hereafter.

Both the Deputies and the Bishops identify apartheid and racial prejudice as morally wrong and in conflict with their ethical standards.

The Bishops express dismay that an election can still be held in which whites only will vote, perpetuating the "unjust and evil" policy of apartheid.

The epithets "unjust" and "evil" are not lightly bandied about by theologians.

But "reform" has faded from sight and the Bishops' recent discussion in Pretoria left a distressing impression upon them.

**T**HE situation seemed more than ever oppressive, they say, with its crushing burden of security measures and detentions even of children — and the almost total suppression of the truth about what is happening.

We may take it that the situation in the country is grave, rather more so than the public understands.

The Deputies, for their part, expressed great concern about the detention of children, which they described as "abhorrent" and they recorded their conviction that apartheid is "the principal cause of political violence in South Africa".



## Political Survey By GERALD SHAW



Wynand Malan

This is pretty straight talking and it is the official response of Judaism and Catholicism to the South African crisis, formulated on the eve of a general election.

If we accept what they say, what can be done to turn the country around?

As things stand, the Botha government has opted for confrontation. Blacks remain outside Parliament and on the express assurance of the Botha government this is not going to change.

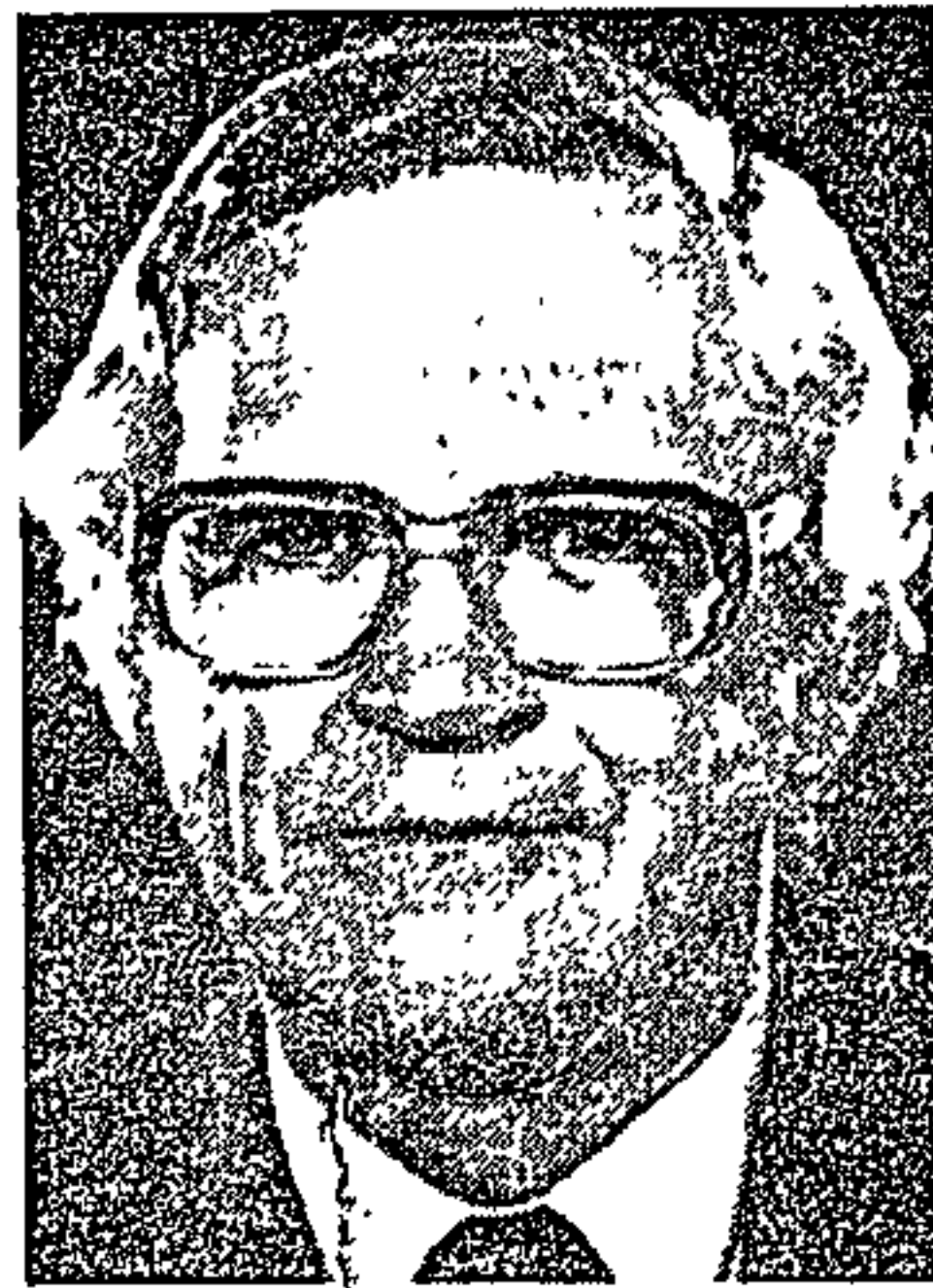
What lies ahead, then, is intensified violence and ultimately civil war, leading to a Lebanon-type stalemate which will drag the country to ruin.

The situation can only be remedied if the National Party loses power within the next few years — having suffered a sharp setback, we may hope, in the May 6 election.

The right wing is not a serious electoral threat, although there are some grounds for fearing that intractable elements of the right could become an extra-parliamentary threat to the peace.

In the worst case, we may conjure up nightmare scenarios of simultaneous white/white, black/black and black/white conflict — destroying the economy and rending the country apart.

Yet it does not have to hap-



David de Villiers

pen. A short-term boom is on the way, providing a breathing space. And white voters have it in their power on May 6 to turn the country away from confrontation.

We may certainly hope that the leadership in recent days given by far-sighted and courageous men like D P De Villiers among Afrikaner Nationalists and Murray Hofmeyr among English business leaders will be followed in their respective communities — and that the election will be the turning-point.

**I**F the country is to be turned round in time the PFP-NRP-Independent alliance of moderates will have to make significant headway at the polls on May 6, moving ahead thereafter to bid for outright power in the next general election which is scheduled to take place in two years time.

There is not yet a great deal of understanding among the public of how such alliances work in practice.

The partners in an alliance like this work together because it is in their mutual interests to do so. Apart from broad agreement on the direction the country should take, each brings to an alliance some indispensable quality or capacity which the other party lacks.

The PFP, perceived on historical grounds by many Afrikaners as an "English" party, is on this account not always an attractive option for Afrikaners who retain strong ethnic loyalties yet have rejected Botha-style Nationalism.

Ethnic distrust, notably in security issues, remains potent in our politics.

The Independents, including leadership figures like Wynand Malan and D P De Villiers, offer a rather more reassuring image to Afrikaners.

Yet the Independents have little more than this to bring to the alliance at this stage. They are standing in three seats and are certain of winning only one of them, barring a miracle in Helderberg — which would give them a second.

They would not even have this much going for them, electorally speaking, had not Mr Colin Eglin, taking the long view in the national interest, decided to stand back in their favour in those constituencies.

The Independents do not have a national election machine of their own — and they know the building of one is not the work of a day.

**A**SSUMING that the alliance concept succeeds in getting across in the election campaign, as seems to be happening, the PFP will get the most out of it, initially, as their credibility in building an alternative government and their broad acceptability will have been considerably enhanced.

After the election the hard bargaining about the future of the Opposition will begin — and the hard work to convince enough dissident Nationalists that it could form an alternative government.

For a time the alliance might well continue to operate in double harness, as it were, with the Independents operating at arm's length from their alliance partners.

Yet everything points to eventual amalgamation in a single party. Coalition leading to fusion is the historic pattern of our politics.

This new enlarged Opposition would need to come pretty quickly within spitting distance of taking over the government — and, having become the government, would then need to move directly to negotiation with black leaders, including the ANC.

Can the alliance idea work? It is certainly worth a try.



# Indaba 'too limited' for SA?

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE KwaNatal Indaba may yet turn out to be too limited to make a national impact — and it must still show it can attract significant black support, according to an editorial in a special edition of Leadership.

However, it goes on to note that "at very least it could become an important partner in a vigorous centrist alliance holding new hope for South Africa's embattled moderates".

The special edition — which contain 19 separate assessments by supporters and critics of the Indaba — is due for release next week.

The editorial said that 37 organizations which agreed to a multi-racial constitution for the area would need "great fortitude" in their bid to sell the Indaba's proposals as a practical compromise in an increasingly polarized society.

"... already, Indaba is providing sustenance for the white right and the black left, enabling them to consolidate support against the politics of compromise.

## 'Beacon'

"The right says Indaba means an end to group protection and the starting point for majority rule. The left says Indaba is simply a more sophisticated way of shoring up white privilege and that, in any case, it has little to do with black liberation because it is nothing more than an attempt to entrench Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha movement, in alliance with Natal's sugar barons."

In his contribution, KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi says he hopes the Indaba "will serve as a beacon of political light and inspiration in our polarized society".

"It has the potential to harness all that is excellent in democratic and non-racial government while we continue with our national endeavour to rid the country of the evils of apartheid."

Author Mr Alan Paton says it would be "disastrous" if the National Party were to reject the Indaba proposals. "It would be the final proof for many South Africans, including an increasing number of Afrikaners, that the National Party has lost its way."

In presenting Cosatu's case against the Indaba, the education secretary of the 706 000-strong union, Mr Alec Erwin, argues that "a clever political sleight-of-hand" was being effected "designed to promote a particular type of negotiated political change, and elevate Inkatha onto a national negotiating platform".

(Report by Anthony Johnson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

POLITICAL comment in this issue by A H Heard, G O Kling, G E Shaw, A Johnson and B Street. Posters, headlines and sub-editing by J Levy. All of 122 St George's Street.



304A  
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## ELECTION -- BEZUIDENHOUT

### A grey area

Trepidation at being savaged by a vicious bulldog is what has worried Nat candidate Sam Bloomberg most during his house rounds in Bezuidenhout over the past few months.

Ubiquitous canines, the hassle of constantly being barred from households by high walls and locked gates, and the shock of being greeted by one voter armed with an iron bar, has convinced Bloomberg that Bezuidenhout residents have been reduced to living in fear.

Not surprising, therefore, is the flash on some of his election posters proclaiming "security is my priority." But whether Bloomberg will succeed in winning the seat away from the PFP is an open question.

The PFP won the seat at the last election with 5 911 votes against the NP's 4 808 — a comfortable margin of 1 103. The sitting MP, Rueben Sive, has resigned and standing in his place is former provincial councillor and PFP Transvaal Chairman Douglas Gibson.

The constituency sprawls away to the east of Johannesburg taking in the delapidated inner-city suburbs of Judith's Paarl, Bertrams and Lorentzville, portions of Berea, Yeoville and Bellevue, as well as the more established areas of Bez Valley, Dewetshof, Bruma, Cyrildene and Kensington (see map).

Cyrildene is regarded as PFP territory. Bez Valley, which has a large immigrant population without the vote, looks safe for the Nats. Judith's Paarl and Bertrams may be less significant since many blacks have moved in.

Both parties agree the seat will be determined by the Kensington voters who form the majority of the constituency (8 000 out of 20 000). And it's an area political observers will be watching to test the theory that while academics, professionals and the business elite may be deserting the NP, there is an accompanying lower middle-class swing

continuu

to the Nats. The suburb is largely English-speaking and middle-class of the NRP variety.

A problem both parties are experiencing is a voters' roll hopelessly out of date. Canvassers from both sides say the young Cyrildene

specific issues but because of "vague anti-government sentiment."

A question that will be answered on May 6, not only in Bezuidenhout but in many other constituencies, is what these disaffected voters will do — register their disapproval by staying away, or by voting for the PFP?

In the case of Kensington, the PFP believes there remains a large group of middle-class, traditional English-speaking people of the sort who once supported the United Party — they have "never voted Nat and never will." Gibson who is a middle-of-the-road candidate on the Right of the PFP may well be able to attract them and keep the seat.

A Nat advantage is that Bloomberg is fairly well known (he runs Suicide Anonymous), and political

pundits say this factor could mean 500 extra votes. He is putting himself forward as "the man who cares for people," because of his work with suicides.

Gibson, a local boy who has been a provincial councillor there for years, maintains that he is well known locally. He has frequently been featured in the well-read "knock-and-drop" newspaper campaigning on local issues, and this is, after all, his third election.

He is known as a foot-slogger and, barred doors aside, Gibson says he has already personally visited several thousand voters. ■

## ELECTION — E CAPE

### Testing the alliance

Three seats in which the strength of the PFP-NRP alliance in the eastern Cape will be tested on May 6 are East London City, East London North, and King William's Town.

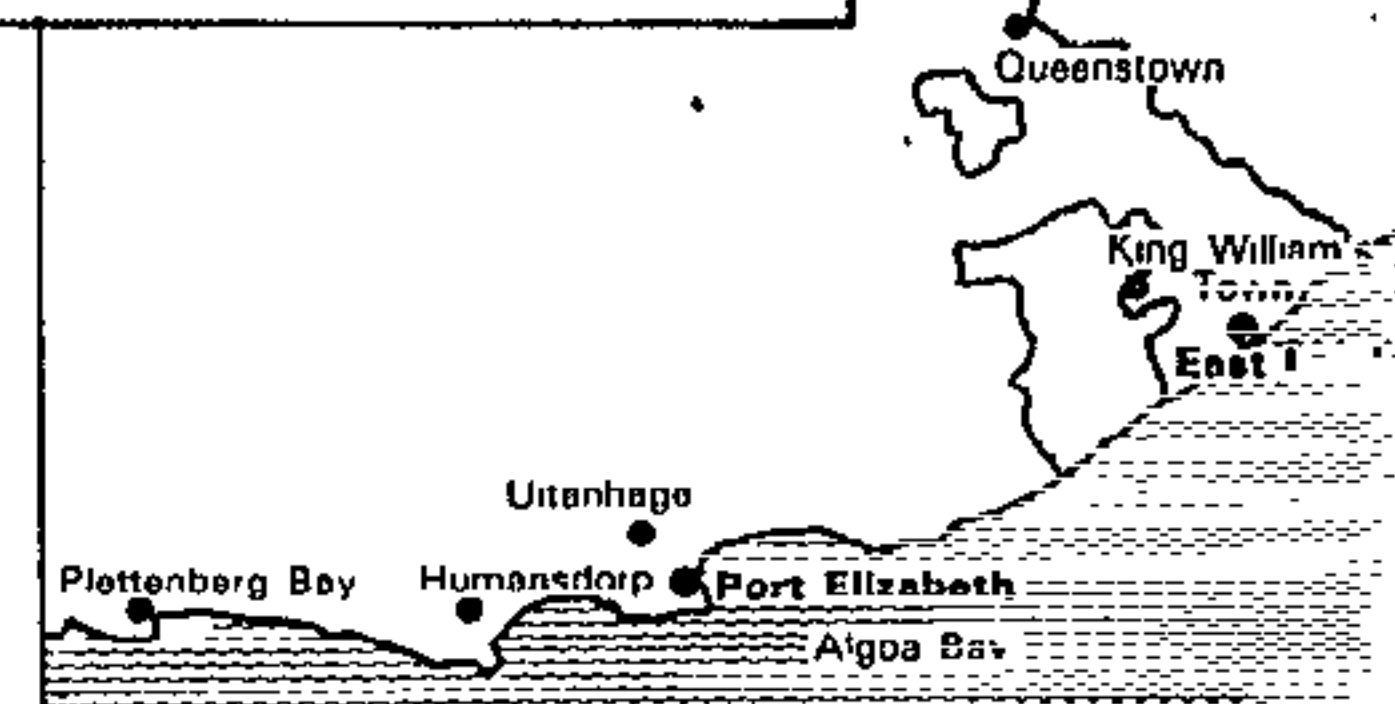
The two East London seats are both held by the National Party (NP). However, both were handed to the NP on a plate as a result of a split PFP-NRP vote in 1981. In both seats, the combined PFP-NRP vote was higher than the winning total of the NP candidate, so the alliance stands a good chance.

PFP candidates have been nominated in both East London seats. The key question is which way the sizeable NRP vote will lean. Both the alliance and the NP feel this support will go their way.

East London City looks the tougher nut to crack from the alliance point of view, as the incumbent Nat MP, *verligte* Peet de Pontes, is well-entrenched and the delimitation favours the NP. The alliance candidate is the PFP's Gwynne Bassingthwaite.

East London North, on the other hand, contains many of the more affluent suburbs such as Nahoon, Vincent Gardens and Bonnie Doone. This seat should go to the PFP's

## Contesting the E Cape



Errol Spring. In the running are independent Basil Niemand, and the NP's Collie Badenhorst.

In King William's Town, the NRP had scant organisation at the start of the campaign. But the alliance has given it new momentum, and the NRP's Pat Rogers has a good chance of being returned.

The other Border seats, Queenstown and Aliwal North, appear to be fairly safe NP seats.

The centrally situated seat of Albany, which was won by the PFP's Errol Moorcroft in 1981 (when the HNP took just enough of the spoils to thwart the NP), is regarded as relatively safe for Moorcroft.

Three relatively open seats in Port Elizabeth are Newton Park, Walmer and Humansdorp — the giant constituency which spreads from the western suburbs of PE to Plettenberg Bay.

The NP had a majority of 1 100 in Newton Park in a by-election in May 1985, but the campaign was then fought in the shadow of the Langa massacre six weeks earlier, and the NP's *swart gevaar* tactics paid dividends.

The PFP recognises that in Newton Park it faces a tough fight against the sitting MP, Sakkie Louw, an arch-*verligte* who voted in favour of open beaches in a local referendum on the matter last year.

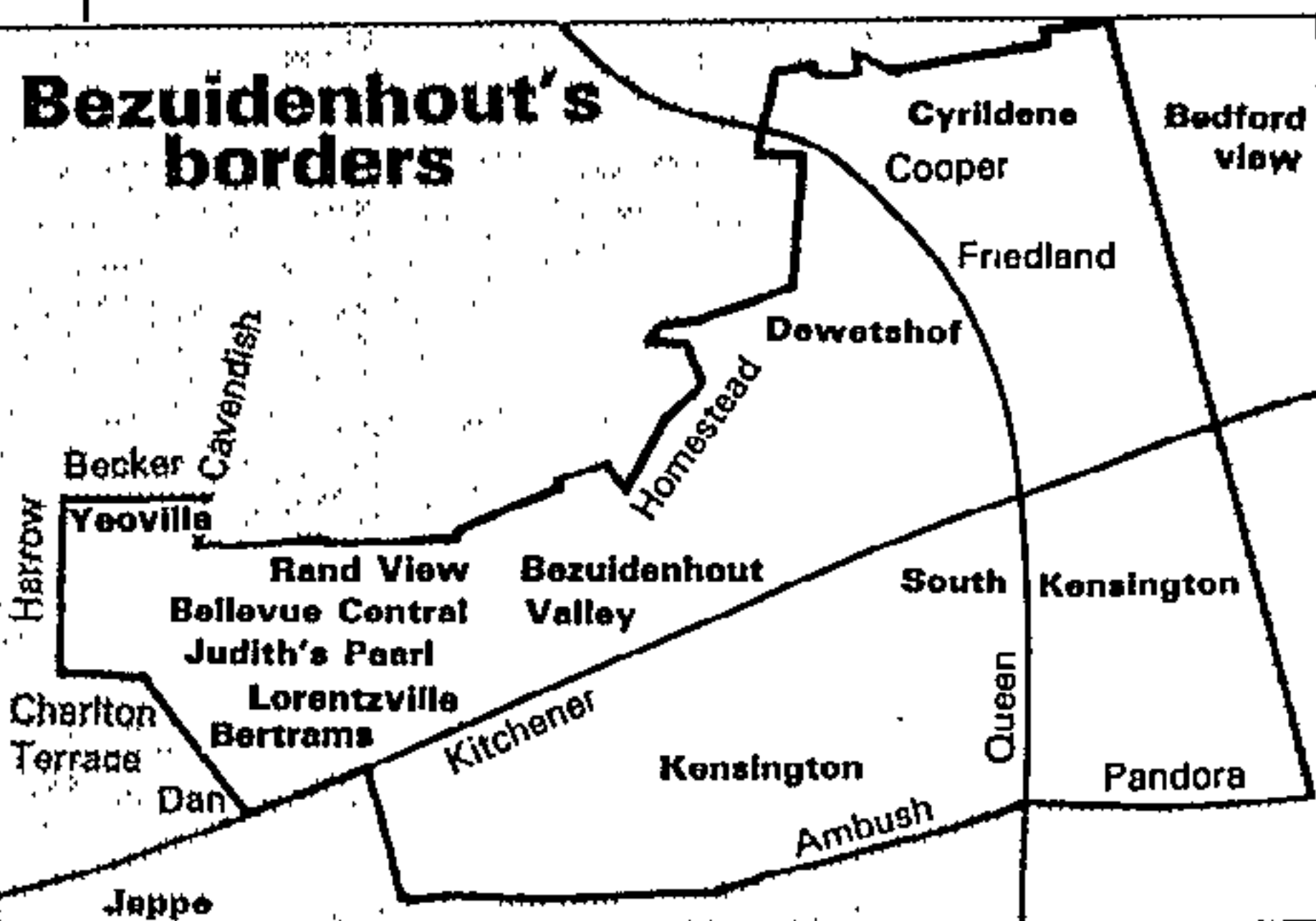
There is also an HNP candidate, "Stompie" Botha, in Newton Park's three-way tussle. He maintains that Louw's *verligte* image has damaged the NP, and feels the HNP can draw enough votes from the Nats to send the PFP's Eddie Trent to parliament.

The PFP is not as optimistic, but have run an exceedingly slick campaign and, according to national director Neil Ross, are further ahead with their canvassing than in any other constituency in SA.

Walmer, which the PFP's Andrew Savage won with a 1 300 majority in 1981, is regarded as safe by the PFP for its candidate Paddy Ball. This is despite the Nats' determined bid to wrest control of the seat, which probably has the highest number of retirement homes and cottages of any constituency in SA. It also has a university, technikon and teachers' training college; and few blue-collar areas.

NP sources indicate they have little chance in Walmer. They stress that the picture would have been different with an English-speaking candidate, rather than the former rector of the University of Port Elizabeth, Fanie Schoeman.

Perhaps the most fascinating battle is the



voters have vanished. Emigration is one reason for this and a move away to more pleasant pastures further north another.

Inner-city areas have always been home to transient dwellers. A PFP worker says in one street he visited 80% of the voters were no longer there.

It's too difficult to try to trace them and in many cases a waste of time. Says a PFP canvasser: "In many instances former tenants have moonlighted to avoid debts so it is not likely they would leave any traces." The poor whites who moved out of these areas have been replaced by black tenants.

Although the constituency is one where the Group Areas Act has broken down both candidates agree that preservation of the Act is not a major concern. The general feeling of the voters, according to canvassers, is that as long as the blacks are of a similar class and standards don't drop, residents would accept them in the area.

What residents do worry about, is the general deterioration of the inner-city areas. This is not necessarily the result of blacks living in the flats, but is being brought about an increasing number of "black and white trash" living and roaming about the streets.

Although this "unsavoury street life" hasn't yet reached Kensington where the streets remain tranquil, residents are concerned that it is a visible phenomenon that is creeping nearer.

Bloomberg says a firm stand must be taken on the Group Areas Act, but he doesn't personally believe you can chuck people out without providing alternative accommodation. The PFP is punting the line that if only certain areas are opened, overcrowding and a concomitant decline in the area are inevitable. It is pushing for the Act's abolition.

Gibson agrees that there is concern about breakdown of law and order but says economic issues are just as important. The PFP feels there are increasing numbers of voters leaning towards them — not because of any



four-way contest taking place in Humansdorp, where Savage is taking on the sitting Nat MP, Dempers Meyer. Also in the running are the HNP's Gerrie Schultz, and the Conservative Party's (CP) Mario van Eeden. Meyer is tipped to win. However, an NP source indicated this week that the party is hoping for a 70% poll — high for Humansdorp — to make it safe.

Both Savage and the CP's Van Eeden are exceptionally well known in the constituency and, if the poll is around 60% (as in 1977), then 3 500 votes could win it — which makes it fairly wide open.

The other opposition seat, Port Elizabeth Central, is regarded as safe for the PFP's John Malcomess, who is facing a challenge from the NP's Anne Nash.

In Uitenhage, Algoa and Port Elizabeth North, the contest is between the NP and the rightwing parties (of the three, the alliance is fielding only one candidate, R McKiever, PFP, in Algoa.) Although the rightwing is expected to make inroads — with P E North perhaps its best bet — the NP does not seem to be in any danger of losing out entirely, since the CP and HNP will split the far-right vote.

The same appears true for the hinterland seats of Cradock, Graaff-Reinet and Sundays River. However, the CP must be in with a fighting chance in Sundays River — a four-way tussle — as some 60% of the electorate is clustered in the strongly blue-collar town of Despatch. ■

2



10 Springboks  
back reform  
alliance' in  
election call

# PWATPROTSBAQT

By NORMAN WEST: Political Reporter  
**PRESIDENT P W Botha, in a last-ditch bid to retain his position among Afrikaner academics, is to release a declaration supporting the National Party signed by a group of professors.**

The document has been secretly circulating among Pretoria-based academics and the plan was for President Botha to disclose it in his Stellenbosch speech on Wednesday night as a counter to the growing support among academics for the Independent candidates.

The "battle of the petitions" is only part of the fierce struggle between the National Party and its disillusioned reformists, focused mainly in the key constituencies of Stellenbosch and Heidelberg.

Other dramatic developments this weekend:  
● Ten Springbok sportsmen nailed their colours to the 'reform alliance' banner — the group represented by the Progressive Federal Party, New Republic Party and Independents.

The sportsmen are Graeme Pollock, Garth le Roux, Tommy Bedford, Daryl Bestall, Peter Kirsten, Adrian Kuiper, Mike Procter, Oscar Chalupsky, Morne du Plessis and Vince van der Bijl.

● Inkatha came out in support of the Independents and the "reform alliance" — in Stellenbosch.

● President Botha is to speak in Stellenbosch on Wednesday.

The meeting was originally scheduled for Cape Town, but was switched when the extent of the rebellion in the Boland became apparent.

It is understood President Botha's "rabit" out of the hat was to be a petition which has been circulating among various Pretoria-based Afrikaner academics endorsing the Government's approach to reform.

The petition was meant to be secret until Wednesday, but the Sunday Times has obtained a copy of the document.

The signatories claim they believe the National Party is irrevocably committed to reform and has a proven record on reform and political accommodation as shown by the introduction of the tricameral Parliament.

## Diversity

"In contrast to this, the right-wing political parties are engaging in confrontation politics with outmoded ideologies which were neither achievable nor acceptable and which would lead directly to conflict."

"The alliance left of the National Party support the kind of reform of a dream Utopia which does not take into consideration the realities of the diversity of South Africa."

The signatories slam the alliance as living in a naive dream world in which individual and group rights could be destroyed in a unitary state.

The Independents had originally done a service by highlighting the growing need for a clearer vision and speeded-up reform, but in opposing the National Party and known reformists like Mr Chris Heunis they were being counter-productive.

In his reaction to the petition, Professor Sampe Terreblanche, an architect of the academic revolt, attacked the document as "unimpressive and convoluted" and nothing but an expression of blind party loyalty.

□ To Page 2

## Prots hit back

□ From Page 1  
supported the National Party.

Meanwhile, the powerful Inkatha movement appears set to throw its weight behind the reform-alliance movement and its already expressed support for the Natal Press.

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has sent his second-in-command, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary-general of Inkatha, to present a speech on behalf of the Chief Minister on the Stellenbosch campus at lunchtime on Tuesday.

## Support

The Independent/Inkatha meeting is being hosted by the Stellenbosch debating society.

It is expected that the Chief Minister will repeat his support for the reform alliance and the Independents.

On Thursday evening Dr Denis Worrall, Independent candidate in Heidelberg, will speak in Stellenbosch, and on Tuesday Dr Esther Lategan, Independent candidate in Stellenbosch, will debate with the National Party incumbent, Mr Plet Marais.

(News by N West, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)



Neck-and neck in Helderberg • 'Too busy' to debate

# Heunis says

with Worrall

# 'no'



Mr Heunis

By DALE LAUTENBACH, Political Staff

MR Chris Heunis has refused to join his Helderberg rival Dr Denis Worrall in a public debate on election issues because he "does not have time".

Dr Worrall said he was "genuinely sorry that Mr Heunis has again dodged the debate".

Mr Heunis said today he could not accept Dr Worrall's invitation to a public debate because he did not have "a single free moment".

Dr Worrall delivered a letter to Mr Heunis on Thursday inviting him to share a public platform to debate election issues.

Mr Heunis said he would tell Dr Worrall tomorrow that he could not accept.

Asked what his reaction was in principle and whether he would accept if he had time, Mr Heunis said: "That makes no difference because I don't have the time."



Dr Worrall

Dr Worrall said: "I would have thought that the opportunity for a discussion of this kind would have been so useful to the voters of Helderberg that he would have made time."

He would not have known where to fit the discussion in his own busy schedule. "But, in the interests of a discussion which would clarify and highlight our differences, I would have been very happy to make some sort of arrangement."

"Mr Heunis does not seem to realise there is great national and international interest in the Helderberg campaign and in few constituencies are the issues which face this country being presented to the voters in such clear-cut terms."

## "Neck-and-neck"

With the election 16 days away, the Nationalist newspaper Rapport has described the Helderberg contest as "neck-and-neck" and yesterday quoted informed sources as saying that whoever won, the majority would be "astoundingly small" — no greater than 300 votes.

"Their calculations square with our own canvassing, but it's the first admission from their side that they are in trouble and that we can win Helderberg," Dr Worrall said. The report was a significant admission, he added.

"I think it's quite extraordinary that the Heunis camp can be relying almost exclusively on the entry into the fray of the State President and the hope that his address at Stellenbosch on Wednesday night will win it for them," Dr Worrall said.

When Mr P W Botha's Western Cape meeting was switched recently from Cape Town to Stellenbosch it was seen in some circles as an indication that the National Party considered the independents to be a threat.

## Tensions

According to Rapport, Nationalists are predicting that Mr Botha will "send the independents on their way" at the meeting.

Dr Worrall said an allegation in the newspaper of tension between him and Progressive Federal Party leaders was a case of "clutching at straws".

"I am unaware of these tensions," he said.

However, the "admission" by a Nationalist mouthpiece that the Helderberg contest was neck-and-neck was a tremendous psychological boost to his workers and to voters.

(Report by D Lautenbach, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

## My boss is clean, says NP candidate

The Argus Correspondent

ARGUS 20/4/87 304A  
JOHANNESBURG. — The National Party candidate in Bryanston, Mrs Craig Williamson, said today there was nothing "shadowy or sinister" about his boss, international businessman Mr Giovanni Mario Ricci.

He had been asked to comment on a report in a Sunday newspaper that Mr Williamson headed the South African arm of an international company run by Mr Ricci.

The report said that Mr Ricci, who was known as the "vice-president" of the Seychelles because of his close relationship with its President, Mr Albert Rene, had been linked to a "shadowy Mafia figure" and had a criminal record.

Mr Williamson said there was "nothing new in the report, except that I am now in business with him".

He said: "The British Press has been running similar stories for the past five years." Mr Ricci, he said, was "a very flamboyant businessman who attracts a lot of attention".

Mr Williamson said: "It has been made clear that his record has been expunged. If the Swiss and Italian governments feel he is clean, there is no reason why I should not."

He said he regarded the report as an election ploy.

The NP chairman in Bryanston, Mrs Anne Rou-tier, said Mr Williamson could not be held responsible for the international business dealings of his boss.

(Report by C Ryan, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)



## Election Monitor

Cape Times  
20/4/87  
304K

# 'With freedom', we can beat the communists

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin, believes the communists in South Africa will be eaten for breakfast provided "we have freedom on our side".

Mr Eglin made this claim at a public meeting in Bloemfontein and it has been repeated in PFP advertisements without reference to its context.

During his speech in Bloemfontein, Mr Eglin said: "As long as we have apartheid, we shall live in the shadow of conflict and isolation."

"Once we get rid of it, we can look forward to the prospect of peace and prosperity in this country. Once we get rid of it, we will beat the communist threat hands down."

He was then asked whether there was a genuine revolutionary onslaught on South Africa that would stop or whether it was a genuine onslaught by the communists.

Mr Eglin replied that he did not think this was the essential problem in South Africa. The problem started because 70% of the people had not had basic political rights since Union.

"If you were one of those people who has some dignity but no rights, you would start to get revolutionary tendencies."

Mr Eglin said: "Once we have freedom on our side, we will be able to eat the communists for breakfast."

## Fears 'admit failure'

THE NRP leader and the party's candidate in Caledon, Mr Bill Sutton, said in Benoni that the government's fears of communism and the black majority were an admission of the failure of its policies.

After 39 years in power, a government should be able to stand on its record of prosperity and brotherhood.

"Instead voters are told of the fear of communism and the danger of being swamped by a black majority. Communism is a failed and inefficient ideology which represents the dark side of human spirit."

The bottom line for any talk of reform should be black participation in Parliament. Any system which excluded blacks from the legislative process "will completely paint whites into a corner", Mr Sutton said.

□ □ □ □

IN Goodwood, the Transvaal leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, said the government did not like detention without trial.

"We don't favour it. We would prefer not have such regulations and laws on our statute books."

"But we abhor terrorism. We abhor execution without trial by necklace."

"If we want to deal with terrorism and other dastardly acts, we need special powers. We can't fight that type of onslaught with legal niceties," Mr De Klerk said.

□ □ □ □

AND in Grahamstown the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, list-

ed five pre-conditions for the lifting of the state of emergency.

Firstly, he said, the security of the individual would have to be ensured.

In this regard, the police force was under-staffed but the problem had been exacerbated by PFP's statements that South Africa was a police state.

The second factor was stability in local government, with blacks having to accept responsibility learning to help themselves. "It is of cardinal importance. We will have to make blacks roadworthy."

When terrorists came knocking at the door of the population, they would find people who were part of the "system".

Thirdly, the problem of housing, particularly ownership, would have to be resolved.

Fourthly, unemployment would have to be resolved.

Finally, schools in black townships would have to be normalized, and political agitation in schools would have to be outlawed, General Malan said.

## 'Tragedy' to be alone

THE former NRP MP for Amanzimtoti, Mr George Bartlett, believes it is a tragedy that the NRP is not fighting the election in partnership with the NP.

Mr Bartlett, who crossed the floor to join the NP after being elected under an NRP banner and was subsequently appointed Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs, said at a meeting in his constituency that the NRP had joined the PFP.

The NRP had stood for the "group concept" but had since changed from this stand and accepted the KwaNatal Indaba proposals which were nothing more than PFP policy, Mr Bartlett said.

□ □ □ □

ANOTHER former NRP MP, Mr Ron Miller, now the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, said in Umlazi that the majority of the NRP caucus had been in favour of joining the NP in 1984.

Mr Miller, who was Natal leader of the NRP, said he would be surprised if more than a handful of NRP supporters voted for PFP/NRP alliance candidates.

The alliance, he claimed, was built on the principles of the KwaNatal Indaba which consisted of a handful of people who got together — not a broad spectrum of political leaders in South Africa.

## Year-old election news?

MR Japie Basson, the NP candidate in Gardens, has circulated an election newspaper in the constituency, called The Gardens Times — a year out of date. On all four pages, the newspaper is dated April 1986.

The PFP's regional director in the Western Cape, Mr Paul Vorwerk, commented: "This is typical of the Nationalists and Mr Basson. They are all about yesterday's politics!"

(Compiled by B Streek, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

## PFP's sports ad 'a hit'

30kA

Political Correspondent

Cape Times 20/8/87

THE PFP's latest advertisement appealing to sports-lovers has been a hit.

The Cape Times received a number of calls from enthusiastic readers in response to the sports ad campaign and the PFP's national director of marketing, Ms Joan Heming, said the response to its sports ad had been "superb".

The ad encourages people to vote for the PFP because: "I want to see the Springboks thump Wales at Cardiff Arms Park; I want to see Johan Fourie win a medal at the Olympics; I want to see Diego Maradona at Ellis Park Stadium."

Ms Heming said it had also targeted ads for a number of special interest groups, including sport-people, women, pensioners, businessmen, religious groups and even those thinking of boycotting the election. "We believe our ad has been effective because it is addressing the real needs and problems of the people," she said.

(Report by A Johnson, 122 St George's St, CT)



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20/4/87  
PFP 304A

# dismiss pro-govt petition

ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE PFP and the independent movement last night dismissed the latest petition in which a group of unnamed academics portray the government as reformist as "nonsense" and containing "errors of fact".

According to a front-page report in the Sunday Times yesterday, President P W Botha planned to disclose the existence of the petition — secretly circulating among unnamed Pretoria-based academics — at an election meeting in Stellenbosch on Wednesday night.

The planned move is characterized in the report as a "last-ditch bid" by Mr Botha — who is chancellor of Stellenbosch University — "to retain his position among Afrikaner academics".

## Revolt

The plan to disclose the existence of the pro-government document is described by the newspaper as a bid to counter "the growing support among academics for the independent candidates".

Stellenbosch has been the focal point of the nation-wide revolt against the NP by academics at Afrikaans-language universities in recent weeks.

The signatories to the latest petition claim that the NP is irrevocably committed to reform and has a proved record on reformal and political accommodation as demonstrated by the introduction of the Tri-cameral Parliament.

## 'Repudiated'

Reacting to the contents of the petition, the chairman of the PFP's federal executive, Mr Ken Andrew, said last night: "The comments made in the petition are primarily of the political swearword variety, without substantiation and often based on errors of fact."

He said the specific claim that the NP is committed to reform was "repudiated" by the National Party itself.

"In a recent by-election pamphlet that party stated: 'The NP is a white party campaigning for white interests, white survival and white rights.'"

## 'Nonsense'

"And Mr Stoffel Botha in June last year said that 'race remains the basis of NP policy and will remain behind lock and key'."

One of the defectors and the independent candidate for Helderberg, Dr Denis Worrall, last night dismissed the claims in the latest petition as "nonsense".

Dr Worrall said: "It is the NP which is living in a dream world."

"It is very clear that people who believe that you can maintain a state of emergency for two or three years and then get discussions going are being dangerously naive," he said.

(Report by Anthony Johnson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

ANC Times 20/4/87 (1/2) 304A

# Elections: 'ANC not interested'



Mrs Winnie Mandela

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress had no intention of disrupting the "white man's election" which was a "circus of no interest" to black South Africans, Mrs Winnie Mandela is reported to have said in early editions of The Sunday Star.

Mrs Mandela, wife of imprisoned ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, was speaking last week at a meeting at St Peters, Hammanskraal, the paper said.

She said the ANC's only interest in the white elections was to note "with amusement how the racial clowns were dividing themselves".

"It (the election) is of interest only to scholars for study purposes to find out white racist trends in an absurdly sick society groping for an answer to save white South Africa," Mrs Mandela said.

## Government ploy

"The ANC has no intention of disrupting anyone's election," she added.

Mrs Mandela warned the South African government not to use the ANC as a "springboard" from which to destabilize Southern Africa.

According to Mrs Mandela, the government's ploy was to use the threat of cross-border raids to lure right-wing whites back into the fold.

"Pretoria should address itself to the root causes of its problems — apartheid," Mrs Mandela told the gathering.

She added apartheid could never be reformed but had to be destroyed.

"To wipe out this crime against humanity requires a determined and sustained campaign on the part of our people and the international community." — Sapa



# PFP laud Boks backing alliance

By ANTHONY  
JOHNSON

Political Correspondent

THE PFP and the Independent movement yesterday welcomed the decision by 10 Springbok sportsmen openly to support the reform alliance.

The Boks backing the reformists — an alliance comprising the PFP, the NRP and the Independents — are: Graeme Pollock, Garth le Roux, Morné du Plessis, Tommy Bedford, Peter Kirsten, Adrian Kuiper, Mike Procter, Darryl Bestall, Vince van der Bijl and Oscar Chaplinsky.

The chairman of the PFP's federal executive, Mr Ken Andrew, said the Bok backing for the alliance was "an indication of the groundswell of support for the need for change and reform".

## Reform 'dead'

"This is particularly the case among younger voters who were previously either National Party supporters or apolitical," he said.

"These people recognize that time is running out and that as far as the present government is concerned, reform is dead — irrespective of attempts to obfuscate the issue," Mr Andrew said.

The Independent candidate in Helderberg, Dr Denis Worrall, said the Springbok support for the reformist alliance was "yet another expression of just how tired people are becoming of the existing order.

"People want fundamental change — they want to be proud to be South Africans again," Dr Worrall said.

(Report by Anthony Johnson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

Leading communication specialists have urged the Government to improve communication to the public, reports BRUCE CAMERON, Political Staff.

NR645 20/4/87

3044

# 'Whites sheltered from reality'

**A** PART from infringing on basic rights there are increasing indications that Government news management, mainly through state of emergency regulations, is becoming counter-productive.

An in-depth look at the position is taken in three articles in the latest publication of the Indicator Project South Africa of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal.

Under the title *The Reality Filter*, from Louis Liedjie to a Soft Shoe Stoffel, former Afrikaans newspaper editor Mr Harald Pakendorf warns that the South African public is being sheltered from reality by news management.

He is however equally critical of the media. In the past, he says, before the inception of the Bureau for Information and the emergency regula-

tions, the media had not fully explained South Africa in its full spectrum to other South Africans.

However it was no longer possible to do so and warned: "White people cannot know what blacks are thinking, how the State acts in certain circumstances or the extent of black anger and resentment.

"We are sheltered from reality."

This, he inferred, also became counter-productive, with the Government subject to far more critical commentary because it is all that can be written.

On the other hand the Communist Party, the ANC, UDF and other political organisations are hardly ever subjected to substantial critical commentary.

He is highly critical of the bureau, describing it as "little

more than a clearing house for information".

It did not have the necessary standing to act strongly.

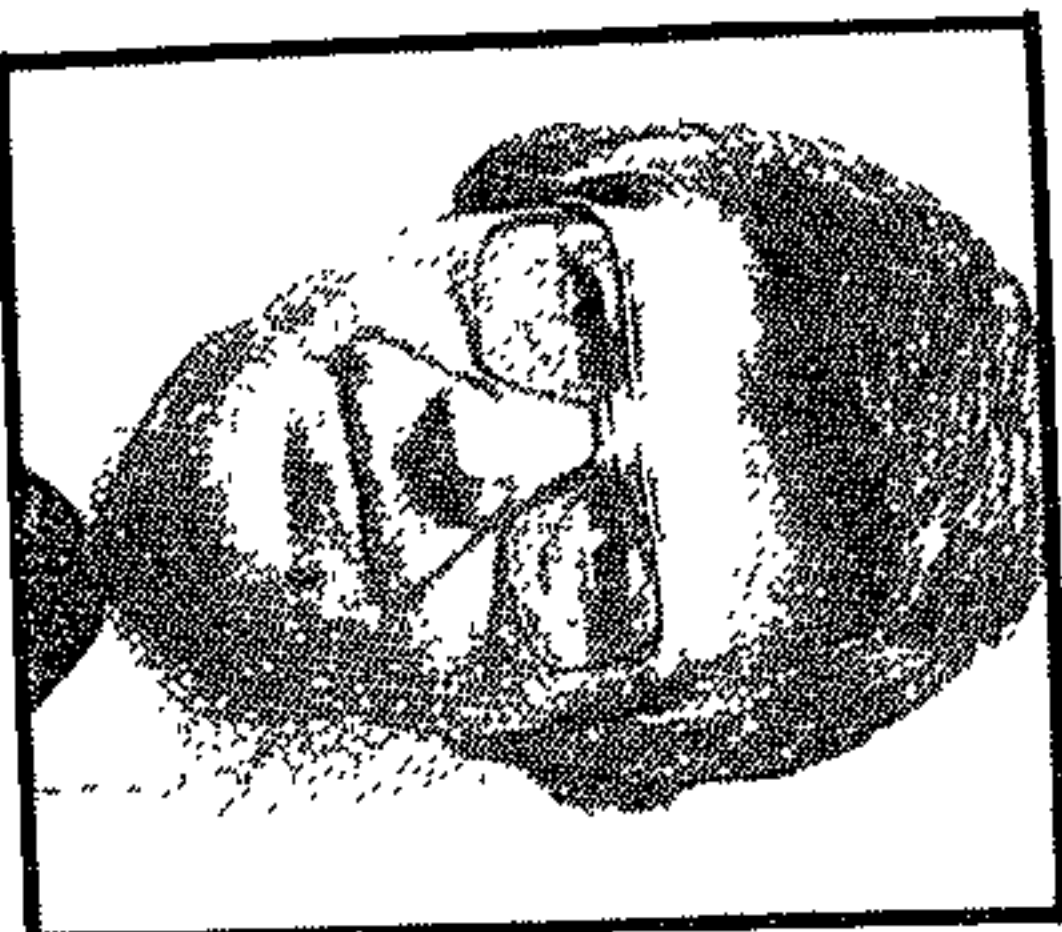
The bureau needed to be headed by a senior minister who could speak with confidence and knowledge on every aspect of Government.

Instead the bureau had become just one more hurdle for journalists had to surmount or circumvent.

Dr Paul Vorster of the Department of Communication Studies at the Rand Afrikaans University says the Government needs to totally rejig the bureau, agreeing with Mr Pakendorf that the bureau tends to be merely the bearer of bad tidings of other departments.

He says that the avoidance of tension in a pluralistic society is never likely to occur.

In times of great stress,



Mr Harald Pakendorf

when dissident expression is frequently viewed as poison rather than a safety valve, suppression is more likely to be the appropriate action.

But Dr Vorster points out that it should never be forgotten that "communication helps keep society on an even keel by managing social tension".

The underlying principles for determining the socially responsible relationship between the Press and government included:

• The protection of freedom of expression as the keystone of political liberty.

• The Government should only intervene when the need is great and vital social interests are at stake, and then cautiously.

• The best safeguard for democracy was a "well-informed, balanced and educated public opinion".

In other words the Government had a duty to support the free flow of information both in principle and practice.

He urged the Government to seek and listen to the advice from communication specialists not only to improve communication to the public but also to facilitate feedback from public to government.

By doing so, among other things, South Africa could be saved the spectacle of President P W Botha's Rubicon speech.

"In short there is an urgent need for the bureau to continually remind the Government that communication is the central nervous system of the body politic. You ignore it at your peril."

"More open and timely communication is not only part and parcel of democracy but also in its best interests in the long term."

In the third article Ruth Tomaselli of the Contemporary Cultural Studies Unit of the University of Natal chronicles the "elaborate institutional merging of the State's news management and media repression functions over the past three years of civil unrest coverage."

(Report by B Cameron, 85 Field Street, Durban.)



## My boss is clean, says NP candidate

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The National Party candidate in Bryanston, Mr Craig Williamson, said today there was nothing "shadowy or sinister" about his boss, international businessman Mr Giovanni Mario Ricci.

He had been asked to comment on a report in a Sunday newspaper that Mr Williamson headed the South African arm of an international company run by Mr Ricci.

The report said that Mr Ricci, who was known as the "vice-president" of the Seychelles because of his close relationship with its President, Mr Albert Rene, had been linked to a "shadowy Mafia figure" and had a criminal record.

Mr Williamson said there was "nothing new in the report, except that I am now in business with him".

He said: "The British Press has been running similar stories for the past five years." Mr Ricci, he said, was "a very flamboyant businessman who attracts a lot of attention".

Mr Williamson said: "It has been made clear that his record has been expunged. If the Swiss and Italian governments feel he is clean, there is no reason why I should not."

He said he regarded the report as an election ploy.

The NP chairman in Bryanston, Mrs Anne Rou-tier, said Mr Williamson could not be held responsible for the international business dealings of his boss.

(Report by C Ryan, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

*Capt Tink 20/4/82*

# 'Alliance' backing booms in OFS — PFP

*30/4*

Political Staff

THE Free State had "somewhat surprisingly" shown the highest growth rate in South Africa in popular support for the PFP Alliance movement, the PFP's secretary-general, Mr Robin Carlisle, said.

An opinion poll had shown a growth rate of 114% in the past six months in the Free State, he said. "Where six months ago the Free State support for the anti-apartheid alliance was less than a third of the national average, it is has moved to up more than half the national average," Mr Carlisle said.

The PFP was contesting five seats in the Free State and Northern Cape compared with the one it contested in the region in 1981.

"The fight in these seats was planned to lay the foundation for an all-out attack on the National Party in 1989," Mr Carlisle said.

(Report by B Streek, 122 St George's St, CT.)



# PW's Stellenbosch petition plan flops

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20/4/87

JOHANNESBURG — It looks as though a plan by State President P W Botha to discredit dissident academics at Stellenbosch University has collapsed.

Some 300 lecturers and researchers at the university — formerly considered a bastion of the NP — signed a petition last month supporting calls for an end to apartheid. The petition embarrassed Mr Botha, who is chancellor of the university.

NP supporters claimed the petition was not representative of academic feeling and planned to circulate their own among

university staff supporting the Government, Sunday newspapers reported yesterday.

Professors at universities in Pretoria and Johannesburg did sign the petition, which said the NP was irrevocably committed to reform. But the Sunday Tribune, Durban, reported yesterday the petition was abandoned when organisers could not obtain any signatures at Stellenbosch.

It said the petition's failure had humiliated Mr Botha.

(Report by Ken Daniels, 626 Mutual House, Harrison Street, Johannesburg.)

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306A

## Business must speak out, says Rosholt

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Mike Rosholt, the chairman Barlow Rand, the largest industrial empire in the country, has added his voice to appeals to business leaders to "stand up and be counted" on reform issues.

Debate on the role of business in breaking the reform impasse has become the centre of lively boardroom discussions since business leaders were warned about the dangers of silence and complacency by Mr Murray Hofmeyr.

Mr Hofmeyr, executive director of the Anglo American Corporation, spoke at a meeting of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce on April 9.

Now Mr Rosholt, in an interview published in the Barlow Rand house journal, argues that businessmen must speak out on issues which may appear to be outside pure business affairs.

He said: "In the South Africa of today, one finds oneself talking on even broader issues because the dividing line between socio-economic and political issues has become blurred and they are now affecting business.

### INHIBITING

"For example, previously one would never have spoken out on the Group Areas Act. That was a purely political issue.

"But over a period it has become a seriously inhibiting factor in the employment and housing of labour."

The reform process had become completely bogged down, with international influence reduced to nil as the Government dug in and refused to bow to sanctions and disinvestment pressures.

"International isolation will be a very stiff price for South Africa to pay for lack of political progress," said Mr Rosholt.

A successful outcome for the Kwanatal Indaba would be very much in line with his own concept of power-sharing, he said.

Whether its proposals were accepted by the Government or not, the Indaba was firm proof that people of different races can sit down together, negotiate, compromise and within six months produce a document on power-sharing, he said.

(Report by Michael Chester, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)



# Rivals Heunis and Worrall both claim victory in sight

Arms 21/4/87 (3024)

## Political Staff

THE last lap of the election struggle in Helderberg constituency began today amid claims and counter-claims of victory by the main rivals, Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Chris Heunis.

## THE BATTLE FOR HELDERBERG

Independent candidate Dr Worrall repeated claims that it was a "neck-and-neck" race, but Mr Heunis's National Party campaigners said their canvass returns indicated a "comfortable" victory for Mr Heunis.

Dr Worrall said his information from public response to his campaign showed that an assessment in the NP-supporting Sunday newspaper, Rapport, was accurate. The

newspaper had quoted "informed sources" as predicting a majority of no more than 300 votes for the winner in Helderberg.

"Our canvassing throughout the constituency has given an overall picture that we are doing well and I'm confident of victory," Dr Worrall said.

About 70 percent of the potential

voters in the constituency had been reached so far.

Attendance at his public meetings had been "extraordinary" and there had also been "exceptional" attendances at virtually all house meetings.

People had been telephoning Dr Worrall's campaign offices from different parts of South Africa to check whether they were registered as voters in the constituency and to arrange for special votes.

Mr Heunis's election agent, Mr Charl de Beer, said today that the NP's canvass figures showed that Mr Heunis would have "a comfortable

able victory". He could increase his majority of 2 942 votes which he obtained against the Progressive Federal Party in 1981.

Mr de Beer said he expected an exceptionally high percentage poll.

"We are now starting the final lap and the pace is increasing," he said. "There is exceptional enthusiasm and voters have been coming to our offices every day to arrange special votes or postal votes."

There was "great enthusiasm" for the NP's major campaign meetings. (Report by F S Esterhuysen, 122 St Georges Street, Cape Town)

● The battle for Maitland — Page 8.

## ELECTION BRIEF

### Now Graaff says 'No' to debate

WYNBERG Progressive Federal Party candidate Mr Robin Carlisle has been told that his NP opponent, Mr David Graaff, cannot accept an invitation to a debate in the constituency.

Like the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, who has declined a debate with his independent opponent, Dr Denis Worrall, Mr Graaff is "too busy".

Mr Carlisle said: "We regret that the NP has not taken this opportunity for two candidates, both new to the area, to be seen by the constituency in debate."

Mr Graaff said he had committed himself to "speaking on behalf of other candidates to the extent that my programme is full".

### Pik's protest

THE response by Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the UN Security Council's call for the withdrawal of the ban on protest against detention without trial, was designed more for local consumption than as a logical answer to the UN, the PFP's spokesman on Foreign Affairs, Mr Ray Swart, said today.

Mr Botha told the United Nations that the African National Congress wanted to gain power through violence and death and was not interested in fundamental human rights.

Mr Swart said: "The restrictions were bound to attract further criticism from abroad and Mr Botha's fulminations must be seen in the context of how *kragdadig* they will sound to a South African white electorate already bombarded with scare tactics which surpass anything the NP has done since 1948."

### 'Horace a Nat'

AN accusation by independent candidate Mr Horace van Rensburg that the PFP "hated the SADF" and had allowed the End Conscription Campaign access to its mailing list for the circulation of ECC "propaganda", showed that he was "a Nat in disguise", the PFP leader in the Transvaal, Mr Douglas Gibson, said today.

Mr Gibson said the PFP's mailing lists were confidential and were not made available to any organisation.

He predicted that Mr van Rensburg, who recently resigned from the PFP, would "run a very poor third" in the Bryanston constituency "before sinking into the obscurity which he so richly deserves".

### Action over 'libel'

THE Conservative Party candidate in Hercules, Pretoria, Mr S P Barnard, has threatened to bring an urgent court interdict against the Herstigte Nasionale Party preventing them from spreading "libellous rumours" about him.

Mr Barnard, formerly CP MP for Langlaagte, and Mr Jaap Marais, HNP leader, are fighting for the rightwing vote.

Mr Barnard, who owns blocks of flats in Johannesburg, claims that the HNP is spreading the word that he is hiring flats to blacks.

He also planned to bring an urgent application in the Pretoria Supreme Court today preventing the HNP from removing CP election posters in Hercules.

And the HNP has alleged that CP canvassers in Hercules are posing as HNP members during house visits.

### Tonight's meetings:

MR Tian van der Merwe, PFP MP for Green Point, and Mr Peter Soal, MP for Johannesburg North, at Sea Point Civic Centre.

Mr André van der Walt, Nationalist MP for Bellville, and Mr A A Venter, Minister of Local Government and Housing, at the Excelsior Primary School in Bellville.

Dr Esther Lategan, independent, and Mr Piet Marais, Nationalist MP for Stellenbosch, in debate at the D F Malan Centre in Stellenbosch.

(Compiled by L. Marshall, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)





ONE of the trains which was set alight last week at the New Canada station.

**I**NDUSTRIAL relations experts fear the Government could plunge the country into a major labour relations crisis if it decides to dismiss striking railway workers.

Industrial relations consultants "pessimistically" predicted that the Government, in a right-wing vote-catching action, would soon resort to detaining union leaders and to dismissing workers.

"It is well known that many of the white employees of South African Transport Services (SATS) are right-wing, and they will be watching the Government to see what it does," said one labour observer.

Private sector labour experts asked not to be named "because of the sensitivity of the election".

"The consequences of firing workers would be too ghastly to contemplate, because then the giant Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) would have to react," said Brian Allen, a labour consultant.

The South African Railway and Harbour Workers' Union (Sarhu), which has 22 000

# Major labour crisis feared

*Southern 2/4/87*

## FOCUS

members on strike in the Transvaal and the Free State, is an affiliate of Cosatu.

SATS management came under fire from private sector consultants for the handling of the strike "which could have been resolved on the first day".

### Policy

"It started out as a dismissal dispute but the

underlying cause now is recognition by SATS of Sarhu," said Mr Allen.

"SATS management behaviour has been very contradictory. They have not taken the traditional hardline approach as in previous disputes, dismissing workers and throwing them out of hostels.

"Although that policy seems to have changed it is to no avail in terms of settling the strike because the basic issue is acceptance of the union. This was a lesson learnt in the private sector a decade ago," said Jon Lewis of the *SA Labour Bulletin*.

The widespread strike is entering its fifth week, which is "a totally unique situation on the railways. The last strike in the



MR ADRIAAN VLOK... Minister.

public sector lasted days, if not hours," said Mr Lewis.

In an increasingly violent spin-off to the labour confrontation, at least one person suspected of torching trains has been injured by security forces and passengers and police have been hurt.

Crowds allegedly carrying ignited petrol bombs have been dispersed with teargas and damage running into millions of rands has been caused to rolling stock by mobs setting them alight.

Last week the Minister of Transport, Mr Eli Louw, warned that the striking workers may soon be dismissed

strikers and "slandorous statements" about the union.

Trade union leaders also denied Government and SATS allegations of intimidation in the strike.

"The parties are so far apart now that a lot of work will have to be done to resolve the dispute," said Mr Mike Miles, director of the SA Institute of Labour Relations.

While emphasising that he wanted to see the process of bargaining continue, Mr Miles said the refusal of SATS management to accept the legitimate demands of the union was frustrating the bargaining process and creating increasing tensions.

"If people cannot get their requests and grievances addressed by legitimate means, they resort to more radical methods," he said.

A meeting with management asked for by the union on Friday, failed to materialise because "while the Minister of Transport and SATS management were trying to finalise details of the meeting, union representatives left SATS City Deep premises," a SATS spokesman said.

Responding to criticism from labour relations consultants, the spokesman said "the management of SATS never wanted the strike to last for five weeks. We have an open-door policy for negotiations with these people."

In a Press conference last week the union denied encouraging violence and intimidation, or that it had an interest in prolonging the strike and said these allegations were a tactic of management to justify refusing to "negotiate with the democratically elected representatives of the workers".

### Radical

From the union side, tension has been increased by Sarhu threatening to take legal action against the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, and Mr Louw because of alleged assaults on

## Subversive

BECAUSE of the Government's amendment to the definition of subversive statements, published in a *Government Gazette* this month, we cannot publish our regular column *Let Us Forget*.

It is now an offence to call for the release of detainees or to perform any act of a symbolic token of solidarity or in honour of detainees.

Political comment in this issue by A Klaaste and J Thlotse. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by S Matlhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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THERE will be no head-count of the number of Afrikaner academics who stand behind State President P W Botha.

Unisa law professor S A S Strauss, who is involved with other academics in drafting a statement pledging support for Botha and his reforms, yesterday described the move as a spontaneous gesture of support.

"For this reason, it is not a petition. There will not be signatures or a head-count."

Strauss said the statement was in no way intended to counter the revolt by the 300 or more Stellenbosch University academics who, led by Professor Sampie Terreblanche, had turned away from the Nationalist government.

"Groups of academics have been informally discussing the impending election. It has been felt President Botha and his reform-minded government deserve support," Strauss said.

# 21/4/87 B1 Day Reticence over academic ~~eyes~~ <sup>304A</sup>

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

He said support had come from Stellenbosch, Unisa, RAU, and the universities of Port Elizabeth, Potchefstroom and Bloemfontein.

Strauss said the statement, which was likely to be released by the end of the week, would reflect the sentiment among some Afrikaans academics that the NP was the most effective vehicle for reform.

"It also deals with the hope and belief among the academics that the process of reform will be accelerated post-election," Strauss said.

He said it was nonsense that the statement was intended to coincide with Botha's public meeting in Stellenbosch tomorrow night.

Report: Dominique Gilbert, 11 Diagonal Street, JHB.



de 208  
21/4/87

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Continued

## AN ORDER PREVENTING NAT WORKER CANVASSING FOR SPECIAL VOTES IN HILBROW

signing special vote applications.

Judge Leveson rejected argument by counsel for Stein and De Beer, A de Wet, that in terms of the provisions of the Electoral Act the application could only be heard by a Provincial Division.

He also rejected argument that

SUSAN RUSSELL

Widman had forfeited the right to ask the court for urgent relief because he had been dilatory in bringing the application.

Referring to references to the courts in the Electoral Act, the judge

said the legislature had wished to devise a process with curtailed proceedings whereby the courts were readily available to aggrieved parties and therefore enjoined that it should be the Provincial Division.

Judge Leveson said in his opinion the relief sought by Widman was not the same as any mentioned in the Act which had to be referred to the Provincial Division.

He said Widman wanted an interdict to stop Stein from either committing the common law offence of fraud or the statutory offence of not completing the application forms properly.

The return date of the application is May 5. The judge ordered Stein to pay the costs incurred because of the arguments advanced on his behalf that the matter was not urgent and could not be heard by a local division of the Supreme Court.

## Proposed township divides Springs

HAMISH MCINDOE

THE Springs seat could be won or lost on a single election issue — the massive township development proposed for the area.

The merging of KwaThema, Duduza and Tsakane into Qwatsaduza would create a township with a bigger area than Soweto.

Once activated, Qwatsaduza will act as a sump for the population overflow from Tembisa and the Benoni township of Watville.

Government's 1984 guide plan for the township merger became a sizeable election issue last month after the Springs town council cut from 1km to 200m the buffer zone separating the town's rich Selcourt suburb from KwaThema.

Political sniping between the NP and CP candidates over Qwatsaduza is now intense.

# Munsieville is election issue

PATRICK BULGER

THE election is being fought in the West Rand constituency of Krugersdorp almost exclusively over the future of the adjoining black township of Munsieville.

"Munsieville is the election issue in Krugersdorp," says Conservative Party hopeful Clive Derby-Lewis. A CP government, he says, would move Munsieville and show "we are not prepared to be intimidated by black radicals."

National Party candidate, leading verligte Leon Wessels, says government's policy of orderly urbanisation is at stake. He would interpret his defeat as a rejection of that policy.

"Forced removals belong to the past. The NP syndrome of the late 1950s and 1960s which the CP embraces is outdated and ridiculous," says Wessels. He is standing on a reform ticket, of which accepting the permanence of black communities is an integral part.

The estimated 10 000 residents of Munsieville were granted a reprieve after government reneged on its promise to whites to remove the township. Since then, right-wing groups



● Tutu... born in the township

standsbewing (AWB) have held this up as an example of NP perfidy and weakness.

"People see the government as having let them down," says Derby-Lewis, whose efforts earlier this year to keep Krugersdorp's cinemas white failed.

He says 9 600 people last year signed a petition demanding government remove Munsieville.

"If the government can for political reasons move Outkase and Lawaalkamp, I can see no reason why they shouldn't move Munsieville."

He estimates the removal will cost about R35m — R13m more than government intends spending on upgrading the township.

"It's peanuts," he says of the extra R13m.

"The government's policy of orderly urbanisation is at stake and it stems from the relaxation of influx control. Government is afraid to act." He says the fact that Archbishop Desmond Tutu was born there would add to the international outcry the NP so fears.

Wessels is acutely aware the constituency has attracted worldwide media attention as the citadel of Afrikaner conservatism. Ironically, he is conducting an aggressively verbal campaign, leaving to the CP the swartgevaar tactics an NP candidate might have used so successfully in the past.

"The NP realises that black people

are in and around our cities to stay. You cannot demolish a house owned by a person. With the tremendous shortage of houses in black communities, it is absolutely ridiculous to demolish houses," he says.

Wessels's public meetings have become favoured venues for AWB and CP heckling, but he insists he will not abandon his reformist stance.

The "vast number of legitimate claims" of blacks are being exploited by radicals to the left and right, he says.

"We have embarked on an ambitious programme to upgrade Munsieville," he says.

He is not unaware that white fears will have to be allayed. The way to do that, he argues, is to give township residents security and to come to terms with legitimate complaints.

In the 1981 election Wessels gained 5 748 votes in a 59.2% poll. The PFP candidate scored 1 164 and the candidate for the since-lapsed New Conservative Party gained 2 498 votes.

This time round the PFP is standing back for Wessels in recognition of his reformist stance.

Report by Patrick Bulger, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg



21/4/87  
3048A

BUSINESS DAY, Tuesday, April 21 1987

## OCUS ON POLITICS

### SUPREME COURT JUDGE ISSUES

**NP WORKER** Leon Stein, who is alleged to have got Hillbrow residents to sign applications for special votes through misrepresentation, has been stopped from canvassing by a Rand Supreme Court judge.

Mr Justice Leveson temporarily interdicted Stein from canvassing

for postal, special or absent votes pending the outcome of an urgent application brought by PFP MP and Hillbrow candidate Alf Widman.

Widman brought the application against Stein and NP Hillbrow candidate Leon de Beer last week, alleging Stein misled Hillbrow voters into

NP candidate Piet Coetzer says Qwatsaduza is inevitable and the plan was accepted unanimously by the council, which includes CP candidate Gert Parsons.

"It's not even a question of good and bad any more, but the acceptance that orderly black urban development must take place in the area," Coetzer says.

He accuses the CP of turning Qwatsaduza into "a big political issue by using emotional scare-tactics". But Parsons believes many NP voters, fearing a sharp erosion of property values and more crime in the area, will defect to the CP or PFP.

Coetzer would not be drawn on whether the Qwatsaduza plan will affect the NP vote-count on May 6. "But the CP tried to make it an issue in the 1985 by-election and it didn't have much effect then."

The NP won Springs with a narrow margin in the last election. Coetzer polled 5 288 votes, the CP 4 539 and the PFP 1 716.

The PFP strongly opposes the township merger, and is unmoved by the narrowing of the buffer zone.

PFP candidate Trevor Harvey says: "Scrap the Group Areas Act and let people build houses in areas they can afford to live in."

The Springs Ratepayers' Association has joined the fray by accusing the council of burying the facts about Qwatsaduza's development.

Association member Jean Goodchild says a council agenda minuted as the "Relaxation of the KwaThema Buffer Zone" was marked confidential. "Frankly, we hadn't a clue what was going on," she says.

On Thursday, the NP, CP and PFP candidates shared a platform at a meeting to explain the situation to ratepayers. It is believed to be the first time in this election that candidates of different parties have shared a platform.

Report by H McIndoe, 11 Diagonal St, Johannesburg

## HNP man in outcry over township plans

NORMAN SHEPHERD

become part of an extended Evaton township.

Says Ballot: "People were moved away from the sewage farm. Stofberg wants to put them in the sewage farm. You cannot wish blacks away. You have to face the realities of SA and plan for the future. It is a long-term process of orderly urban development and, in time, the area will become a display cabinet of how people can live together in peace, harmony and tranquility."

The dispute over the farms bordering Sebokeng and Evaton follows Stofberg's attack on Escom's announcement it is considering putting black employees in about 200 houses on privately owned ground at the Vaal power station (26km from Sasolburg) after moving the whites there elsewhere.

Stofberg objects to the Escom scheme as the area is designated for whites.

CP candidate for Sasolburg Pieter Uys says he needs to know more about the implications before commenting, but so far he has no objections as long as the area does not become mixed.

NP candidate for Sasolburg Jurie Niemand says: "It is a private township and does not fall under the Group Areas Act. Escom is trying to spare its workers the intimidation that takes place in townships."

Report by Norman Shepherd, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg

PLANS for black areas in the Vaal Triangle have become a political issue in the constituencies of Sasolburg and Overvaal.

HNP MP for Sasolburg Louis Stofberg claims a giant "Norweto-type" township is to be set up on what was once white-owned land.

He says the Oranje-Vaal Development Board has since 1984 bought 3 000ha of land east and west of the concrete highway between Sasolburg and Vereeniging.

Stofberg says R5,5m was paid for land on the farms Wildebeesfontein, Rietfontein, Klopperskraal and others.

A board official says the ground was bought before the board was dissolved and became part of the Transvaal Provincial Administration. He adds the board is still buying land for black local authorities and that development is planned for Sebokeng and Evaton.

A Sebokeng official, who does not want to be named in case he becomes embroiled in a political dispute, says Sebokeng and Evaton have to be developed westward and northward to accommodate more homes.

NP MP for Overvaal Chris Ballot says Stofberg does not understand the PWV guide plan and there is no question of another "Norweto-type" township.

Ballot is surprised at Stofberg's interest in his constituency. He explains that squatters were moved from Evaton to part of the farm Wildebeesfontein with the intention that the land would in time



# No bad blood in NP, says 'crown prince' De Klerk

Cape Times 21/4/87  
304A

From MAX DU PREEZ

JOHANNESBURG. — Transvaal NP leader F W de Klerk is fast becoming the party's crown prince — and only an unexpectedly bad NP performance in the Transvaal, or defeat in his constituency of Vereeniging, could take him out of the running for the presidency.

In fact, Mr De Klerk's stature in the party has, according to senior party sources, grown considerably since the election campaign began. He is viewed as the one Cabinet Minister who can effectively explain to his people where the NP is going.

While not exactly on the far left of his party, Mr De Klerk has also shed the image of someone not very enthusiastic about reform — to the point where he said in an interview: "When we say we want reform, we mean we want to stop white domination over others in South Africa and devise a form of government where there would be no domination."

A wide-ranging conversation with Mr De Klerk revealed a politically shrewd, articulate and very confident man. He has no doubt he will beat the concerted CP effort to unseat him, and that the PFP will lose its deposit.

Asked about the allegation by a senior CP leader that the State President had called the election to get rid of Mr De Klerk as a contender for the presidency as the NP would do badly in Transvaal, Mr De Klerk said: "That is utter nonsense. If the NP loses in Transvaal, it would hurt President Botha and the NP as much as me."

## 'Alien phenomenon'

"The perception that there is a lot of infighting in the NP is really not true. There is no bad blood between P W Botha and F W de Klerk and Chris Heunis."

On the apparent class divisions among Afrikaners as manifested in political support Mr De Klerk said: "The Afrikaner finds the typical European division of people into classes an alien phenomenon. That has been our strength over the years. Class has never been a stumbling block in unifying our people."

But, he added, the right-wing parties were trying hard to instill this division



Mr F W de Klerk

among Afrikaners. The CP and HNP were succeeding in getting more support from, for instance, blue collar workers. But that was because white workers and people of a lower income naturally felt more insecure and threatened, and the CP and HNP were cashing in on this. For the same reason most PFP supporters were in the high income bracket, because they felt they could buy their security, Mr De Klerk said.

The NP's approach is to reconcile the diversity of the population on the one hand and the interdependence of the groups on the other by protecting all groups so they feel secure, and by creating joint structures where leaders of the groups form the central government.

Asked why the right-wing did not buy this explanation, Mr De Klerk said they were afraid pressure of numbers would ultimately drown any guarantees for minorities.

They normally refer to what has happened in Zimbabwe, Mr De Klerk said, but the NP's reply is that protection of minorities at Lancaster House had been "mere tokenism".

In contrast, the NP wants separate power bases for each group. The leaders

from these power bases would then get together in the proposed State Council to share power with regard to national affairs such as foreign affairs, law and order, defence and the economy.

## White security

Asked whether this was not easy to proclaim when the whites were dominant, Mr De Klerk said: "That is exactly what we mean by reform. We want to stop dominating others without getting into a situation where we are going to be dominated. That is what we mean by reform and that is what our concept of power-sharing is all about."

On the Group Areas Act, Mr De Klerk said the majority of white voters were sincerely concerned about their security. They distinguish between those issues fundamental to their security and those not.

Fundamental to the white voter's security is where he lives, where his children go to school and where the political power lies.

Mr De Klerk said the NP's strong stance on security and the revolutionary threat during the election was more relevant in the party's fight with the left. He did not think it had any influence on the right wing, as many of them still felt government was too soft on security.

He said the NP was not looking over its right shoulder. If that were the case, the NP would not have gone through with a long list of reforms.

Mr De Klerk said the split in the NP had "gone to the heart of the party", especially in Transvaal where two previous Transvaal leaders (Connie Mulder and Andries Treurnicht) were now fighting it.

"It is a tough challenge, but it freed our hands to move away from the dualism the NP was trapped in. Since the split the party has been in a better position to strive towards the kind of reform that had to be brought about."

De Klerk dismissed rumours that more NP MPs were going to leave the party later this year out of hand. "If I thought there was any possibility that any of these MPs were going to quit after the election, at least in Transvaal, I would have blocked their nominations."

(Report by M du Preez, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb)

CAN Time 21/4/87

304A

# Nat support: No academic 'head-count'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — There will be no "head-count" on the number of academics who favour the new move among Afrikaner academics who support State President P W Botha.

Unisa law professor S A S Strauss, who is involved with other academics to draft a statement in which they will pledge their support of Mr Botha and his "reforms", yesterday described the move as a "spontaneous gesture of support".

"For this reason it is not a petition. There will not be signatures or a head-count," he said, adding it was "not an exercise in testing numbers".

Prof Strauss said the statement would in no way be intended to counter the revolt by the more than 300 Stellenbosch University academics who, led by Professor Sampie Terreblanche, turned their back on the Nationalist government.

"Groups of academics have been informally discussing the impending election. It has been felt President

Botha and his reform-minded government deserve support," Prof Strauss said.

However, he said supporters for the statement had come from Stellenbosch, Unisa, RAU and the universities of Port Elizabeth, Potchefstroom and Bloemfontein.

Prof Strauss said the statement, which was likely to be released by the end of the week, would reflect the sentiment among some Afrikaans academics that the NP is "the most effective vehicle for reform".

"It also deals with the hope and belief among the academics that the process of reform will be accelerated post-election," Prof Strauss said.

He said it was "nonsense" that the statement was intended to coincide with Mr Botha's public meeting in Stellenbosch tomorrow night, and said that the statement was due only later this week.

Prof Strauss was unable to refer this correspondent to the Stellenbosch academics who would be supporting the statement as, he said, he had not spoken to them.

(Report by Dominique Gilbert, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.)



# Key meetings this week

# Matieland

# showdown

Cape Times 21/4/87 3048

By ANTHONY  
JOHNSON  
Political  
Correspondent

WITH the proposed "Great Debate" between Mr Chris Heunis and Dr Denis Worrall now definitely off, the focus of the showdown between the National Party and the independents has shifted to a series of key election meetings in Stellenbosch this week.



Dr Denis Worrall



Mr Chris Heunis

Heunis's decision to turn down an offer of a public debate by his Helderberg opponent.

● In an apparent bid to counter the growing support among academics for the independent candidates, President P W Botha — who was originally slotted to speak in Cape Town on Wednesday night — will deliver his address in the Stellenbosch town hall, where the independents have spoken to packed houses in recent weeks.

A spokesman for the State President's office said yesterday that Mr

Both sides are hoping that with just two weeks left to polling day, a good showing in Matieland in the next three days will give their candidates' campaigns the decisive boost in momentum that will ensure victory on May 6.

● At a lunch-time meeting today, the independents' campaign should receive a shot in the arm when Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is expected to outline why he believes support for the independents is crucial for the political future of South Africa.

Chief Buthelezi's speech will be delivered by Inkatha secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo, who will share a platform on the university campus with Dr Esther Lategan and Dr Worrall.

● And in what could prove a crucial showdown in the Stellenbosch campaign, Dr Lategan will meet the National Party incumbent, Dr Piet Marais, in a head-on debate in the town tonight.

The debate is expected to draw considerable interest, coming as it does just the day after Mr

Botha "does not know anything about" a reported plan to use the meeting to disclose the existence of a petition signed by a number of pro-government academics at Pretoria University.

A report in a Sunday newspaper stated that Mr Botha planned to release a declaration supporting the NP "in a last-ditch attempt to retain his position among Afrikaner academics".

● Dr Worrall, Dr Lategan and Matie academics will stage a rally on the Stellenbosch campus on Thursday night at which they will reply to the expected criticism levelled at the independent movement by Mr Botha or Mr Heunis, who will chair Wednesday's meeting.

The independents' meeting was originally planned for this evening but was switched once it became apparent that Mr Botha would be speaking in Stellenbosch rather than in Cape Town.

Yesterday, Mr Heunis finally ruled out the possibility of a face-to-face clash with Dr Worrall, who had invited the minister to debate publicly the issues facing the electorate.

Mr Heunis said his busy schedule "does not allow" for a debate with Dr Worrall and added that he was in any case "not interested" in what he described as "a Worrall gimmick".

Dr Worrall said last night that for his opponent to "again dodge the debate" on the grounds that he did not have enough time "is really insulting to the voters because Mr Heunis knows they would like nothing more".

Dr Worrall said it was clear Mr Heunis did not want a debate on the issues "because he knows that in a debate the many contradictions on the government's stand on power-sharing and the Group Areas Act are at risk of being exposed".

Dr Worrall said the NP was clearly pinning its hopes on President Botha's "intervention" in Stellenbosch to counter the growing impact of the independents. The move indicated the Nationalists were "in trouble".

## 'Neck-and-neck race'

Dr Worrall described as "pretty accurate" a report in the NP-supporting Sunday newspaper Rapport, which described the Helderberg race as "neck-and-neck" and quoted informed sources as predicting that the seat would be won by an "astoundingly small" majority of no greater than 300 votes.

However, Mr Heunis said "I don't believe there is much truth in that report" and repeated his prediction that he would increase the 2 942 majority he obtained against the PFP in 1981.

And Mr Heunis's election agent, Mr Charl de Beer, said the NP was "confident of a comfortable victory" in Helderberg — "otherwise people have been lying to me" on canvassing rounds.

(Report by Anthony Johnson, 122 St George's Street Cape Town)

## Election Monitor

# Township link to future of NP MP

*CP 10/15  
21/4/87  
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By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE political future of one of the leading verligtes still in the National Party, Mr Leon Wessels, the sitting MP for Krugersdorp, could be determined by the continued existence of the black township of Munsieville in Krugersdorp.

"Munsieville is THE election issue in Krugersdorp," says the CP candidate, Mr Clive Derby-Lewis. A CP government, he says, would move Munsieville and show "we are not prepared to be intimidated by black radicals".

Mr Wessels, on the other hand, says the government's policy of "orderly urbanization" is at stake. He would interpret his defeat as a rejection of that policy.

"Forced removals belong to the past. The NP syndrome of the late '50s and '60s which the CP embraces is outdated and ridiculous," he says. He is standing on a reform ticket, of which accepting the permanence of black communities is an integral part.

The estimated 10,000 residents of Munsieville were granted a reprieve after the government reneged on its promise to whites to remove the township.



## Treurnicht: Govt selling out whites

Pretoria Correspondent

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, last night warned South Africa of a change in white South African politics after the election.

Speaking at a meeting in Pretoria, he said the country was in disarray after the announcement by the State President, Mr P W Botha, that he backed power sharing. This had caused uncertainty among whites.

He said the Government was selling out the white fatherland by scrapping the influx control laws, the Group Areas Act, opening recreation facilities and schools to all races.

He slammed Dr Danie Craven, president of the South Africa Rugby Board and his deputy Professor Fritz Eloff for wanting to impress the outside world by opening sport to all races.

He said the CP would not recognise the ANC as a political organisation that could take part in elections in South Africa because its leaders would use its position in Parliament to destroy the system.

He said the National Party was circulating a pamphlet in the Eastern Cape which warned voters that should the CP come into power and its policy be applied there would be a bloodbath — not only black on black but white on white.

"I ask what does this mean? It means that you as Nationalists will take part in the bloodbath and shoot us and I warn you if you think you can enforce emergency regulations then the CP can do better."

(Report by L Wroughton, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

## PFP set to act on detainees' law

CAPE TOWN — Attorneys for the Progressive Federal Party have completed the papers for an application to the Supreme Court seeking to set aside the ban on campaigning for the release of detainees.

Mr Ken Andrew, chairman of the party's federal executive, said he had signed the papers last Thursday. The application seeks an order setting aside the full notice promulgated on April 10. — Sapa.

(Report by D Lautenbach, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

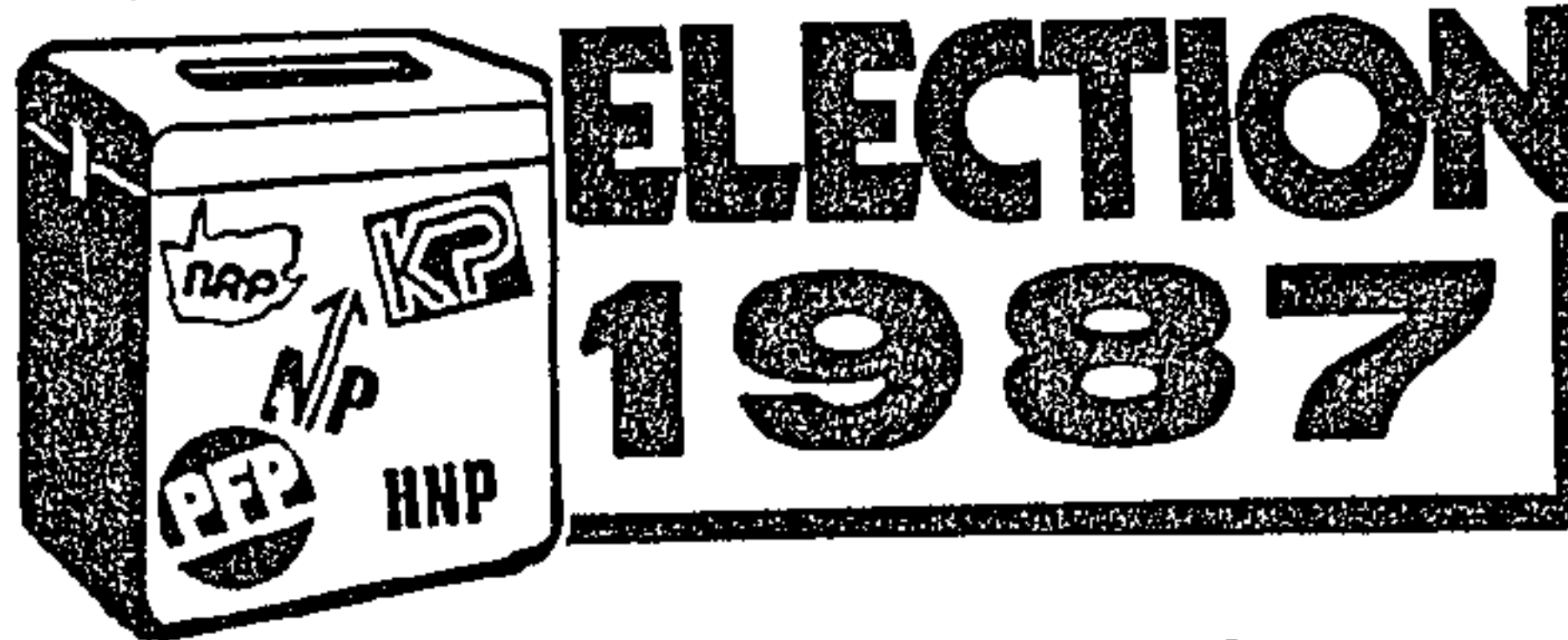
Unless otherwise stated, all political comment in this edition is by H W Tyson and R A Gibson, headlines by D Rink and posters by R G Anderson, all of 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg

# PFP campaign to counter Nat smear

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Progressive Federal Party has started moves to counter a massive National Party propaganda campaign attempting to link it to the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party.

From political platforms around the country, and in its electioneering pamphlets, the NP has been plugging away in a co-ordinated campaign accusing the PFP of being soft on security and being prepared to surrender to the ANC.



## Quotes from campaigners

Dr Andries Treurnicht, Conservative Party leader, at a meeting in Pretoria and speaking about Mr Pik Botha not briefing opposition leaders on alleged ANC plans to disrupt the election: "We know of terrorist forces and know they will try to disrupt the election but do not come and look at conversation with us when you put us on a par with the Worralls and the Eglins."

★ ★ ★

Dr Denis Worrall, independent candidate in Helderberg: "Mr Heunis does not seem to realise there is great national and international interest in the Helderberg campaign and in few constituencies are the issues which face this country being presented to the voters in such clear-cut terms."

★ ★ ★

From a Progressive Federal Party advertisement: "I'm going to vote PFP because I agree with Colin Eglin that with freedom on our side we will be able to eat the communists for breakfast."

(Compiled by D Rink, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

## Heunis refuses to join debate

CAPE TOWN — Mr Chris Heunis has refused to join his Helderberg rival Dr Denis Worrall in a public debate on election issues because he "does not have time".

Dr Worrall said he was "genuinely sorry that Mr Heunis has again dodged the debate".

NO TIME

Mr Heunis said yesterday he could not accept Dr Worrall's invitation to a public debate because he did not have "a single free moment".

Asked what his reaction was in principle and whether he would accept if he had time, Mr Heunis said: "That makes no difference because I don't have the time."

Dr Worrall said: "I would have thought that the opportunity for a discussion of this kind would have been so useful to the voters of Helderberg that he would have made time."

He would not have known where to fit the dis-

The PFP has acknowledged that it has been losing ground as a result, particularly in its effort to attract young voters and those who voted for the New Republic Party in 1981.

The PFP's election advertising campaign has been changed to meet the NP tactics.

However, there is dissatisfaction in the party about the whole manner in which the issue has been handled, with a number of senior members calling for stronger reaction. Meetings are to be held this week to discuss further retaliatory measures.

The first steps were taken in a Sunday newspaper advertising campaign. The advertisement started off saying: "I'm going to vote PFP because, like them, I am totally opposed to communism. I'm going to vote PFP because no thinking person will be fooled by the Nats' desperate electioneering smear about the PFP being soft on communism."

HOPE AND JUSTICE

The advertisement rejects NP claims that the PFP would permit the Communist Party or the ANC to operate in South Africa while retaining a commitment to violence. It accuses the Government of having done more to help communism with its apartheid policy than anything else.

The advertisement concludes: "I'm going to vote PFP because history proves that where there is full employment, opportunity, hope and justice, communism is powerless. I'm going to vote PFP because I agree with Colin Eglin that with freedom on our side, we will be able to eat the communists for breakfast."

(Report by B Cameron, 85 Field Street, Durban.)

cussion in his own busy schedule. "But, in the interests of a discussion which would clarify and highlight our differences, I would have been very happy to make some sort of arrangement."

With the election 16 days away, the Nationalist newspaper *Rapport* has described the Helderberg contest as "neck-and-neck" and yesterday quoted informed sources as saying that whoever won, the majority would be "astoundingly small" — no greater than 300 votes.

"Their calculations square with our own canvassing, but it's the first admission from their side that they are in trouble and that we can win Helderberg," Dr Worrall said.

When Mr P W Botha's Western Cape meeting was switched recently from Cape Town to Stellenbosch it was seen in some circles as an indication that the National Party considered the independents to be a threat. — Sapa.

(Report by D Lautenbach, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)



the individual members. because of mounting political pressure. This will be the first

Border's Tony Swart who will be representing South Africa at underwater hockey overseas in May.

## Eglin, Rogers to spell out the visions of the PFP/NRP alliance

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The leader of the opposition in the House of Assembly, Mr Colin Eglin, will be taking the stage in the City Hall tonight together with the provincial leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Pat Rogers to present to voters "a new, energised vision of what the Alliance stands for".

Last month when Mr Eglin visited East London he spoke to reporters about the "magic the word alliance" had engendered in the political scene and the renewed energy it had given to the opposition.

He said the only strategy for dislodging the National Party was an alliance of anti-apartheid forces based on a credible non-racial approach.

His thoughts were echoed yesterday by the

MP for King William's Town, Mr Rogers, who said the reform alliance was not a question of refusing to give the Nats seats by not opposing one another, it reflected a whole new style of politics in South Africa because it "incorporates the absolute reality that negotiation is critical to the political process".

The Alliance, he added, was the most healthy and significant movement in South African politics for generations.

"We are actually breaking out of this sterile, old style of government," he said.

While everybody has agreed that the Westminster style of government was not right for this country, the same also applied to the Westminster style of party politics.

Mr Rogers said ever-

body had to start moving in step with the reality of alliances between groups and the significant regional forces which could all play a major part in preventing domination, and at the same time cementing bonds between people because they have common goals and a community of spirit which is immense and which had to be harnessed and made to work for the good of South Africa.

He said those involved in the reform alliance and a new style of politics were totally committed to it. Mr Rogers said all the mistrust that the Nats were trying to generate because the PFP and NRP were working together had absolutely no effect.

"It does not matter how many parties there are in the alliance, so long as our common ob-

jective is to remove the National Party and to get South Africa out of the mess. He said the significance of the Alliance was that they were absolutely committed to the changing of style of politics in this country.

Mr Rogers pointed out that the PFP had said openly that if as a result of the Alliance or any other alliances, a new party was born and the PFP disappears, they would welcome the new party.

"Non of us are committed to the parties that presently exist. If the energy that is being generated by this new vision means that people have to reform themselves as well as reform the country constitutionally and economically then we have to keep in step with what people want."

(Report by G Lizamore 33 Caxton St East London).



## Idasa to sue G'town based publication

PORT ELIZABETH — The Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) is to take legal action against the publishers of a pamphlet entitled Insight Publications, published in Grahamstown.

The national co-ordinator of Idasa, Mr Wayne Mitchell said the publication attempted to link Idasa with revolutionary movements in the Eastern Cape.

Mr Mitchell said that

no name appeared on the pamphlet and he wished to challenge the author to state who he was and who he represented and "not hide behind the cloak of anonymity".

He said Idasa had decided to pursue inquiries with regard to the identity of the author with a view to instituting both civil and criminal actions. — DDC

(News by Patrick Cull, 19 Baakens Street, Port Elizabeth).

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Cape Times 22/4/87  
**No formal voting, but**

## **Lategan wins applause**

Political Correspondent

3064

STELLENBOSCH. — The keenly-awaited clash between independent Dr Esther Lategan and the NP's Mr Piet Marais ended inconclusively last night when the chairman of the debate decided not to allow a formal vote.

But Dr Lategan scored something of a token victory as she received the longest applause from the 400-strong audience and her opponent had to contend with the bulk of the questions, most of them aggressive.

Introducing the debate, Dr Lategan said that the path to white security in South Africa was through black freedom.

She argued that revolutionary forces should be curtailed by removing black grievances.

Mr Marais said that President Botha had not said that the Group Areas Act would never be scrapped — he had merely said that it would not be scrapped while he was the leader of the National Party.

The independents were creating the impression that the abolition of this law would be "a panacea for all our problems" but the scrapping of the act might well create more problems than it would solve, he said.

(Report by Anthony Johnson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)



CAPR Tint 22/4/87 (113) 3047

# Buthelezi backs independents

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

Political Correspondent

EVERY vote cast for the independents in the May 6 election is a vote cast for hope in the future of South Africa, according to KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The rejection of the independents would not only be an endorsement of the "snail's pace" President P W Botha had set about introducing what he called "reform", but would also be seen as an "accolade" throughout the world for those arguing for a violent solution to South Africa's problems.

In his speech — read to about 250 people at Stellenbosch campus by Inkatha secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo — Chief Buthelezi was highly critical of Mr Botha, the chancellor of the university, who will be addressing a meeting there tonight.

The largely student audience gave Chief Buthelezi's speech an enthusiastic round of applause. There were no hecklers and no hostile questions afterwards.

Independents Dr



Dr Dhlomo yesterday

Denis Worrall and Dr Esther Lategan shared the platform with Dr Dhlomo at yesterday's lunchtime meeting and both candidates spoke briefly but warmly about Chief Buthelezi's commitment towards negotiation.

Chief Buthelezi said the independent movement was specially important because "the very future of our South Africa will hang on which shoulder (left or right) Mr P W Botha looks over after the election".

Whites needed signals from Afrikaners as much as blacks did. For this reason it was important

for the white electorate, particularly Afrikaners, to send a signal that they are committed to immediate and fundamental changes to save the country from "sliding into catastrophe".

"White voters are given the opportunity through this election to give hope, by voting for the independents, to those of us who are still committed to a negotiated future and to the strategy of non-violence," he said.

"That is why I say that even if the independents could not restructure the government they need to be supported. Every vote cast for the independents is a vote cast for hope."

Chief Buthelezi said that if the independents were voted into Parliament "we would all be inspired to believe that reform could in fact win the day".

"Mr Botha," he said, "must now really be made to look over his left shoulder."

The Inkatha president said no black person would come to the negotiating table under the existing situation which is based on apartheid and oppression.

(Report by Anthony Johnson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

# Man from Ministry on leave to help Heunis

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE 30/4/84  
Political Staff

MR. CHRIS Heunis's large team of voluntary campaign workers in the Helderberg constituency has been strengthened by the addition of a key official from his Ministry of Constitutional Development.

Mr. Peter Pullen, media liaison officer in the Ministry, said in an interview that he was spending his annual leave helping Mr. Heunis's campaign. He was doing general campaign

## THE BATTLE FOR HELDERBERG

work full-time from an office in the National Party's campaign headquarters in Somerset West.

Mr. Pullen said he was a registered voter of Somerset West and had lived there for many years. He still owned a house in the town.

Mr. Pullen, who joined Mr. Heunis's

Ministry about two years ago, was formerly managing director and a shareholder of the local newspaper, District Mail.

He is a former pupil of the Hottentots Holland High School and played first-league rugby for Somerset West for many years.

In terms of civil service rules, Mr. Pullen, as a civil servant, is allowed to take an active part in politics in his spare time.

(Report by F. S. Esterhuysen, 122 St. George's Street, Cape Town.)



# 'Give us hope' — Buthelezi

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE  
Political Staff

CHIEF Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi of Kwazulu has called on white voters to support the former Nationalist independent candidates in the election.

He also warned that the outcome of the white election would have a "profound effect" on black political thinking.

Chief Buthelezi's message to the white electorate was read to about 300 people, mainly students, at a meeting at the University of Stellenbosch yesterday.

Inkatha secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo, who delivered the address on behalf of Chief Buthelezi, was loudly applauded.

With Dr Dhlomo on the platform were independent candidates Dr Denis Worrall (Helderberg) and Dr Esther Lategan (Stellenbosch), both of whom spoke briefly.

Chief Buthelezi said after the election blacks would look for evidence of better prospects for South Africa as a modern Western democracy.

"If there is no such evidence black politics will be even further radicalised and there will be an even greater deepening of black anger.

"I say bluntly that every conservative victory will disillusion black South Africans," Chief Buthelezi said.

Whether whites liked it or not, the "make or break" issue in the election was "the black question".

The election provided white voters with the opportunity "to give hope to those of us who are still committed to a negotiated future and to the strategy of non-violence."

(Report by F S Esterhuyse, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

## Views differ on reasons firms invest in growth

Own Correspondent

LARGE companies are generally seen as investing in community development to boost their image or increase sales.

This is the finding of a poll carried out recently by Markinor among 1 000 white adults in metropolitan areas throughout SA and 100 higher-income black males on the Reef.

Whites and blacks give the following reasons why companies invest money in the community:

- ☐ They wish to protect their future in SA (63% of whites, 83% of blacks);
- ☐ It does their image a lot of good with potential investors (62% of whites, 83% of blacks);
- ☐ It will lead to greater sales for their products (62% of whites, 74% of blacks);

There is a significant difference in response between the groups in regard to companies "feeling guilty about their high profits and therefore giving some of it back to the community". Nearly two-thirds of whites reject this statement, against only one-fifth of blacks.

Markinor MD Nick Green says this indicates companies need to be careful as to how they communicate their involvement in community affairs to different sectors of the public.

Whites and blacks also differ in their perceptions of which organisations play a major role in motivating changes in legislation relating to blacks.

The two most important bodies as seen by the black segment are black pressure groups (88%) and the church (70%).

Whites rate black pressure groups (54%) and big SA companies (54%) as most important.



While not quite an all-out debate on the many hot election issues, the opposing candidates in Stellenbosch, Independent Dr Esther Lategan and the National Party's Mr Piet Marais last night faced a barrage of questions from an audience of 300. FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Political Staff, reports.

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# Face to face on Group Areas





# INDEPENDENT candidate for Stellenbosch Dr Esther Lategan has challenged her National Party opponent, Mr Piet Marais, on the Group Areas Act and other hot election issues.

The two rival candidates faced each other on a public platform in Stellenbosch last night and were subsequently peppered with critical questions from the audience.

The big debate was held under the chairmanship of Professor Henrie Erasmus, dean of the faculty of law at the University of Stellenbosch.

The meeting, attended by about 300 people in the D F Malan Centre, had been arranged by the university's debating society.

A series of questions, highly critical of Government policy and actions, were put to Mr Marais by some members of the audience which included many students.

Dr Lategan also faced some critical questions.

## Group Areas crux of reform

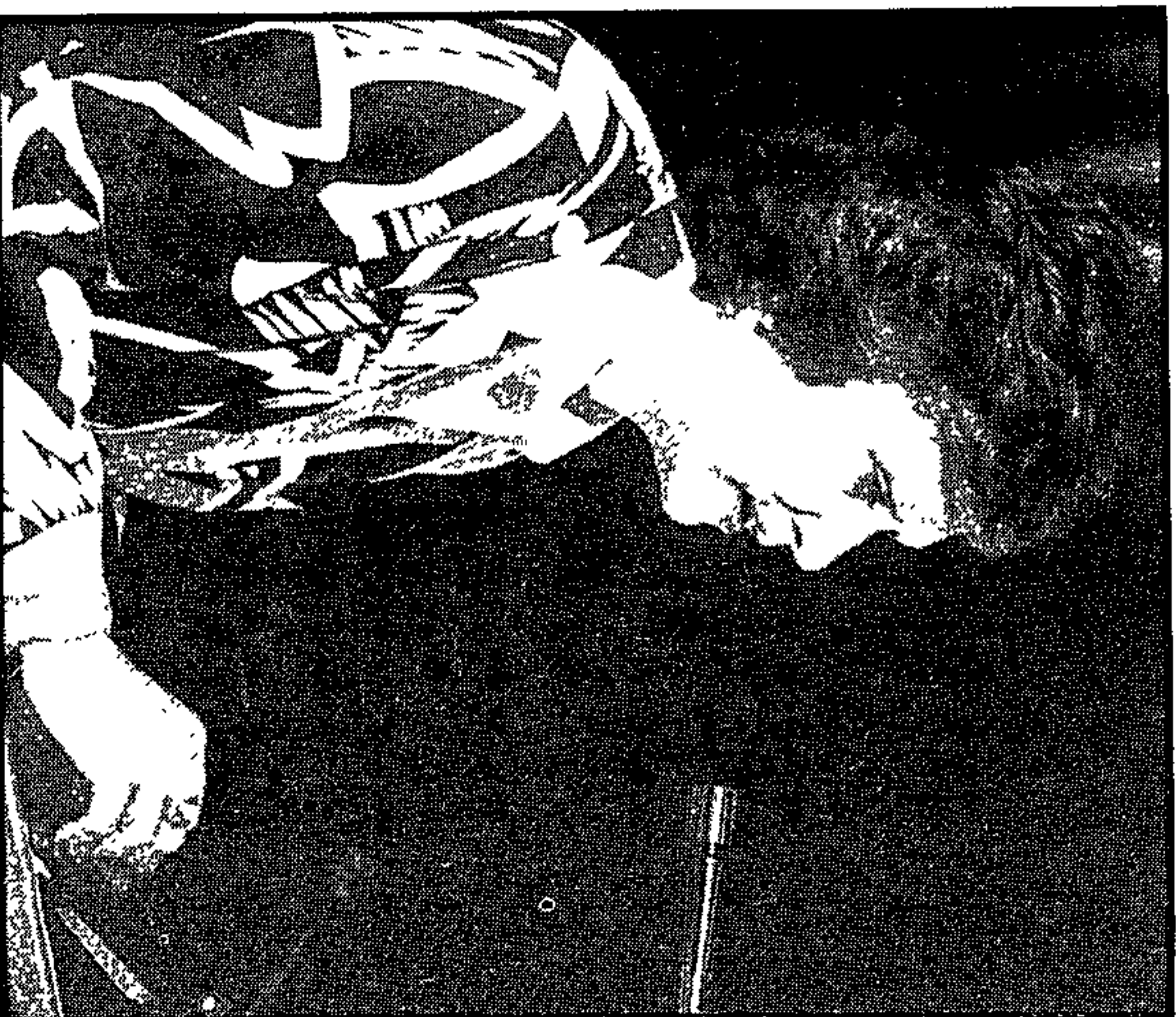
In her address Dr Lategan referred to earlier statements by Mr Marais about the Group Areas Act. She also referred to a National Party pamphlet in which, she said, Mr Marais had indicated clearly that the Act would stay.

She asked whether Mr Marais agreed with his colleague, the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, who had threatened at a public meeting to prosecute homeowners who gave accommodation to people of another race.

Mr Marais, in his address, said the impression was created nowadays that the abolition of the Group Areas Act would be the panacea of everything, and that this would be the crux of the reform process in South Africa.

Abolition of the Act would certainly solve certain problems, but it would also create problems — perhaps more problems than it would solve, Mr Marais said.

Dr Lategan said the "bottom line" of the Govern-



ment's policy for black people was that there would be no black participation in a central parliament.

The Government was speaking of negotiation, but often it appeared to be negotiation on the Government's terms.

## Focused eyes on 1989 election

Mr Marais said in his address that the independent candidates had focused their eyes on the 1989 election. However, their claims were "irresponsible" because none of them could influence the way in which the country was governed.

Dr Lategan, on the other hand, predicted that success for the independents would lead to significant changes in South African politics.

She made a plea for coming to grips with the real

causes of revolutionary action in South Africa. A research report at the University of Stellenbosch had pointed to the apartheid policy as one of the most important causes of revolutionary action, Dr Lategan said.

Mr Marais accused the independent candidates of creating false expectations among people.

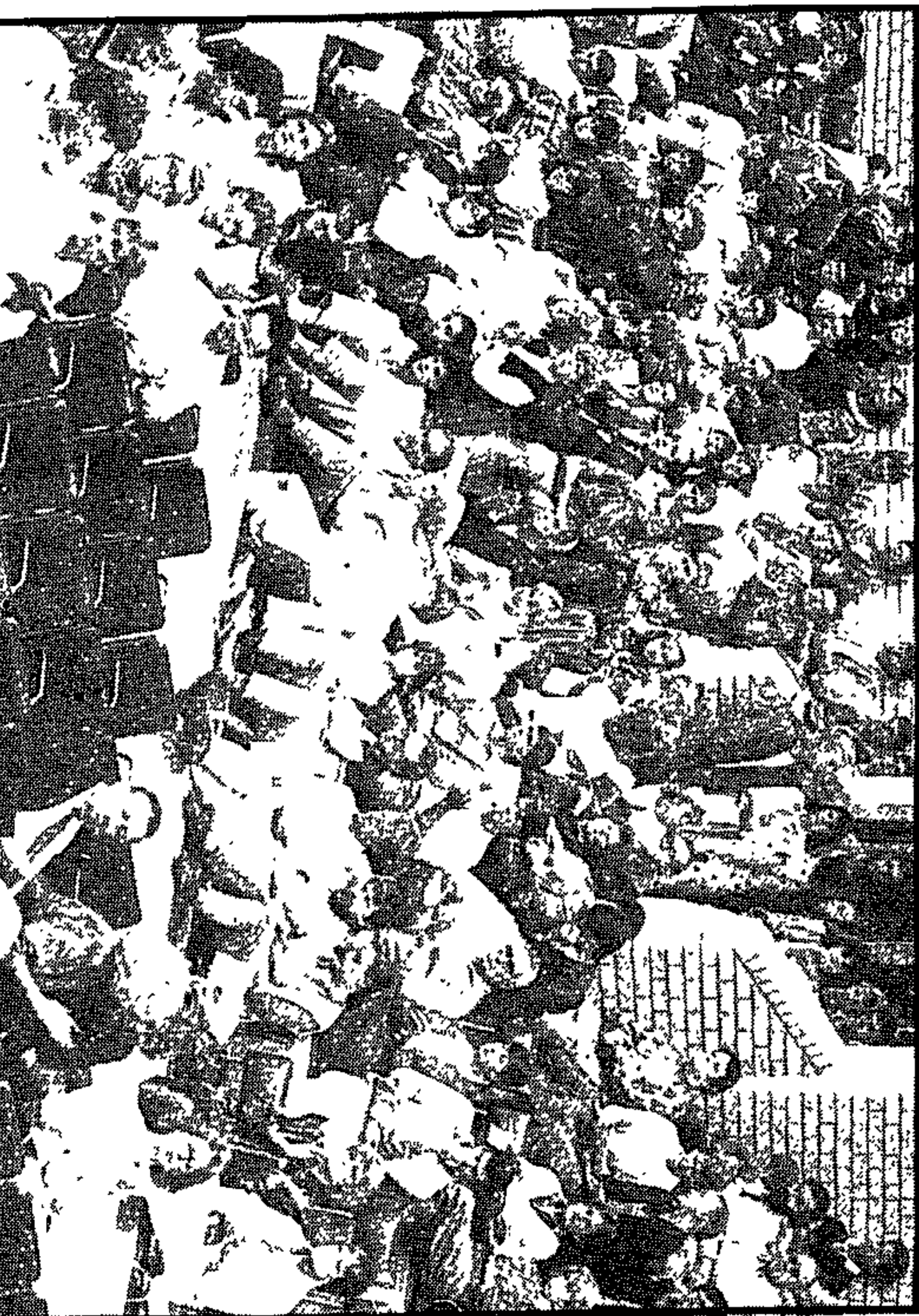
He said the whites, like other groups, were not prepared to subject themselves to domination.

Some of the key questions and answers, in abbreviated form, included:

Question (to Mr Marais): How long must we still wait until something will really happen (in respect of negotiations with black people)?

Mr Marais: We are asking for a mandate from voters to ensure that the negotiations will be completed and that

## THE BIG DEBATE: A crowd of about 300 last night turned out at the D F Malan Centre to listen to Dr Esther Lategan, left, and Mr Piet Marais, below, thrash out election issues.



we can come back to the voters in terms of a new constitution at the next election.

Question (to Dr Lategan): If you are elected to Parliament, together with the other independents, what will you do there? Will you raise moral objections all the time, or what will you do for the country in a functional way?

Dr Lategan: If you were to elect me and the other independents to Parliament, I am convinced that it would be an indication of a shift in white politics. I am convinced a new political dispensation in white politics will come about after May 6. I do not intend sitting in the opposition in Parliament for 30 years.

Question (to Mr Marais): Has the time not come for the National Party to start choosing and stop playing a party-political game? To choose to serve the interests of the majority of South Africans rather than those of the whites only?

Mr Marais: Mr chairman, that friend and all others here who are opponents of the National Party have the same



free democratic right that I have to go anywhere in South Africa to persuade the voters to support their viewpoint. It is wrong for opponents of the Government always to go for the Government when they are frustrated.

Question (to Mr Marais): Do you or do you not agree with State President P W Botha about the Group Areas Act? How do you expect me as a voter to vote for a party

which, according to the State President on one occasion, says the Act will never go, but on another occasion says nothing is a holy cow?

Mr Marais: My leader has never said the Group Areas Act will never be abolished. My leader has said on occasion that he would not preside at the abolition of the Act while he is our leader.

(Report by F S Esterhuysen, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)



ARGUS 22/10/87 300A

# Strong media reaction to Terreblanche attack on NP

## Political Correspondent

A PROMINENT Stellenbosch professor's attack on the National Party for its inability to bring about real reform drew near-hysterical reaction from the Nationalist media today.

In an article in the magazine *Leadership*, Professor Sampie Terreblanche, the Stellenbosch academic who recently broke with the National Party and expressed his support for the independents, said the party was worn-out and had to be removed to save South Africa from disaster.

"The 'mandate' the NP will obtain on May 6 will be a mandate for nothing more than the maintenance of the status quo, cosmetic reform and the co-optation of Uncle Toms," he said.

### Power sharing

Giving prominence to the article today, the Nationalist Press said the real aim of the independents — to wreck the NP — had been disclosed.

Professor Terreblanche said the National Party was unable to dismantle apartheid or to share power effectively with blacks in an orderly way in a central government.

The reasons for this were founded in the very substance of the party as an Afrikaner-orientated party.

This implied that only if the NP disintegrated would the opportunity arise for a democratic takeover by a truly reform-orientated party.

Professor Terreblanche said the NP would get an overwhelming majority in the election but what was important was the quality of that victory.

### "Clumsy structure"

"The main purpose of the independent candidates and the academic revolt is to put the finger on the very sensitive nerve of the National Party — its legitimacy as a truly reformist party.

"If the independents and the academics can succeed in questioning the legitimacy of the NP effectively, the ideological 'cement' that has kept the NP together for so long may start to give way and, hopefully, the clumsy structure will begin to disintegrate."

Professor Terreblanche dis-



Professor Terreblanche

missed a role for all existing political parties.

Referring to talk about an alignment of reform-minded parties — with the PFP central to such a plan — he maintained it would not be viable as the events of the past decade had outgrown the relevancy of all existing parties.

A new beginning was needed which demanded not only the disintegration of the NP but also the abolition of the Progressive Federal Party and the New Republic Party.

(Report by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

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22/11/87 504A

# Nearly twice as many Helderkruin: up in mystery

By Rob Nuttall

The battle for South Africa's fourth largest constituency, Helderkruin, in Roodepoort, is turning into one of the most tension-filled contests of the election.

Not only is there a three-cornered contest for the seat for the first time, but even for the National Party candidate, Deputy Minister of Information Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, who coasted home by 3 226 votes in 1981, Helderkruin is some thing of a mystery constituency.

In 1981 Helderkruin was home to 14 557 voters. Redelimitation has transformed the seat into a sprawling, peri-urban and rural constituency that stretches from Fairland, Weltevreden Park, Constantia Kloof and Honeydew to Lanseria — half-way to Hartbeespoort Dam.

The massive constituency now has 27 500 voters, almost double the number who sent Dr van der Merwe to Parliament as a rookie in '81.

Perhaps it was partly because their task was already a difficult one that the three candidates, Dr van der Merwe, PFP candidate Mr Alwyn Marais and Conservative Party candidate Mr Francois Marais, decided right at the beginning of the campaign to formalise a kind of political "non-aggression treaty".

They got together shortly after their nominations had been finalised and agreed to instruct their workers to refrain from any form of inter-party war — poster mutilation was taboo and the contestants pledged not to wage personal attacks on each other.

With two weeks to go to election day, it appears to have worked out pretty well.

There have been isolated incidents of poster mutilation but none of the contestants blames any of the parties.

The PFP's Mr Alwyn Marais says he has an excellent chance of wresting the seat from the Nationalists.

"In '81 the PFP fought the seat almost as a



flag-waver and walked away with 2 754 votes to the NP's 5 980. That's about 30 percent, and it was done, apparently, without a lot of effort."

This time the PFP means business. Mr Marais and his election agent, Mrs Adele Allen, put together a 20-minute video featuring a speech made in Parliament by President P W Botha and interviews with party generals, Mr Colin Eglin and Mr Harry Schwarz.

"I am very encouraged. If our voters get to the polls we'll win," says Mr Marais. A Roodepoort city councillor, Mr Marais is deeply interested in water affairs and the environment.

While national issues such as reform, security and the economy are as worrying to Helderkruin voters as anywhere else, local issues like transport, the big squatter problem in the area and school facilities for whites and blacks have become a focal point of voter concern.

"These areas of concern have been sorely neglected by the Government," says Mr Marais, who believes the local issues will translate themselves into many votes for the PFP.

Dr van der Merwe, promoted to the periphery of the Cabinet last year, is widely viewed as a Nationalist reformist. However, the "Info" hot-seat he was given has placed him under the harshest of public spotlights, and, in the view of many political opponents, the imperfections of the information-dissemination network devised by the Government to cope with unrest news has inevitably rubbed off on a man who in many ways was a bright and rising star within the NP.

Dr van der Merwe concedes that the battle is tough. While far from pessimistic, he says he expects to be returned with a reduced majority.

"It's a difficult constituency. Many voters are voting here for the first time, and on top of that we have bits and pieces of various local authority areas falling into Helderkruin," he says.

Confounding the politicians is the fact that Helderkruin contains the widest of cross-sections of the South African community. It is home to white-collar and blue-collar workers, to small-holding owners and big farmers, all with their own worries and demands.

The Conservative Party candidate, Mr Francois Marais, declined to speak about the campaign when approached by The Star. He said he was distrustful of being interviewed and said he would submit a written statement so his views could be published in full.

The condition was unacceptable to The Star. Later a CP worker telephoned and asked The Star to telephone the constituency chairman for information and this offer was also declined in view of The Star's effort to personalise the election campaign.

(Report by R F Nuttall, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)



Stoffel van der Merwe



voters after redelimitation

# contest hots constituency

30/11  
SME  
22/11/87



Chris Heunis



Denis Worrall

## Worrall claims last lap shows he is on a par with Heunis

By Frans Esterhuyse,  
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The last lap of the tense election struggle in Helderberg constituency began today amid claims and counter-claims of victory by the main rival candidates, Mr Chris Heunis and Dr Denis Worrall.

The independent candidate, Dr Worrall, repeated claims that it was now a neck-and-neck race, but Mr Heunis's National Party campaigners said their canvass returns indicated a "comfortable" victory for the sitting Member.

Dr Worrall said his information from public response to his campaign showed that an assessment published in the NP-supporting Sunday newspaper *Rapport* was accurate. The newspaper had quoted "informed sources" as predicting a majority of no more than 300 votes for the winner in Helderberg.

"Our canvassing throughout the constituency has given an overall picture that we are doing well and I am confident of victory," Dr Worrall said.

In an intensive canvass by his election workers, about 70 per-

cent of the potential voters in the constituency had been reached so far.

Dr Worrall also based his assessment on public response to his campaign.

He said attendance at his public meetings had been extraordinary and there had been exceptional attendances at virtually all the house meetings he had addressed.

This month, he had so far addressed more than 30 house meetings. At times they were held at the rate of three a night.

In addition, people had been telephoning Dr Worrall's campaign offices from different parts of South Africa to check whether they were registered as voters in the constituency and to arrange for special votes.

"The enthusiasm from voters and from my team of voluntary workers has been tremendous," Dr Worrall said.

Mr Heunis's election agent, Mr Charl de Beer, said today the National Party's canvass figures showed that Mr Heunis would have "a comfortable victory" and that he could increase his majority of 2 942 votes, which he won against the Progressive Federal Party in 1981.

Mr de Beer expected an exceptionally high percentage poll on election day. The poll could even be higher than the 73,1 per cent recorded in the 1981 election.

"We are now starting the final lap and the pace is increasing. There is exceptional enthusiasm and voters have been coming to our offices every day to arrange special votes or postal votes," Mr de Beer said.

The next major task was to gear up arrangements for getting voters to the polls on election day.

Mr de Beer said his party had started on this and its organisation, backed by many voluntary workers, was progressing well.

There was great enthusiasm for the NP's major campaign meetings. These included meeting to be addressed by President Botha in Stellenbosch Town Hall tomorrow night; a meeting to be addressed on Saturday afternoon in Gordon's Bay by Mr Heunis and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok; and a public meeting on May 30 when the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, will be the main speaker in Somerset West Town Hall.

(Report by FS Esterhuyse, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)



# Where HNP Voters taken for a ride — Egin

## ELECTION 1987

# Whites 'could lose SA as they did Rhodesia'

Northern Transvaal Bureau

NYLSTROOM — Differences between the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the Conservative Party were spelt out in a 90 min speech here last night by Mr Jaap Marais, the HNP leader.

Mr Marais said his party did not share the CP ideal of an independent homeland for Indians, and could not agree with the CP's endorsement of Vorster's policies of the 1970s, "when the National Party began on its road towards integration".

He said the only election pact acceptable to Dr Treurnicht, the CP leader, was one which deprived him (Mr Marais) of a seat.

Mr Marais said NP plans for power-sharing amounted to an unacceptable "transfer of power in instalments".

Mr Marais said the Afrikaner Broederbond (AB) had already sent out word that black majority government was inevitable.

This meant the Government had accepted the idea, as all Cabinet Ministers were AB members — "but I am not sure about Mr Hendrickse and Mr Radjanski".

(Report by D Nel, Minnesota Avenue, Market

EAST LONDON — The Nationalist Government had failed the people of South Africa on all fronts, particularly from economic, social and security points of view, leader of the Opposition Mr Colin Egin said here last night.

Speaking in the City Hall to about 400 people, Mr Egin accused the Government of taking the electorate "for a ride" and leaving the public to pay for the wastefulness and incompetence of the government.

### PLEADING

Mr Egin, who shared the platform with Mr Pat Rogers, MP for King William's Town and Cape leader of the NRP, quoted the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, as pleading with voters not to vote on the basis of the present economic situation.

"But it is the man in the street who is paying through his nose," he said. Apartheid had cost the country millions of rands as a result of lost opportunity, lost trade, lost markets and lost manpower.

Added to this were the millions of rands spent on forced removals, homeland consolidation, uneconomic decentralisation schemes, non-viable "independent states" and the duplication, triplication and even quadruplication of services.

Mr Egin said in the 39 years it had been given to set matters right, the Government had only "got things wrong". — Sapa.

(Report by G Llanore, 33 Carlton Street, East

## NP left me, says Connie

PAARL — Dr Connie Mulder had not left the National Party, the party had left him, he told an audience of 400 in Paarl Town Hall last night.

Dr Mulder said CP supporters were walking the road they had taken under Dr Verwoerd.

He criticised the concept of a unitary state which, he said, the State President had accepted in his Rubicon speech.

"The minute you see South Africa as a unitary state, with full citizenship for all and universal suffrage, you are in the situation where whites are only 17 percent of the population." — Sapa.

(Report by P Deaneley, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

# Lategan: a token victory over Marais



Mr Piet Marais had to contend with aggressive questioning.

STELLENBOSCH — The keenly awaited clash between Independent Dr Esther Lategan and the NP's Mr Piet Marais ended inconclusively last night when the chairman of the debate decided not to allow a formal vote.

But Dr Lategan scored something of a token victory as she received the longest applause from the 400-strong audience and her opponent had to contend with many aggressive questions.

Introducing the debate Dr Lategan said the path to white security in South Africa was through black freedom.

"Fear of black majority rule is a false fear," she said.

Whites in South Africa would lose their country in the same way whites in Rhodesia had lost theirs if the revolutionary onslaught was not stopped, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said last night.

Supporting the National Party election candidates for Rosettenville and Turfontein, he told a meeting of about 80 the revolutionary threat was being waged on all levels including

sport, social life, the economy and the security forces.

Whites would have to make the right decisions. Attempts at revolution had taken place all over the world and in most cases had succeeded.

He said Rhodesia had lost its fight against the forces of revolution because it had ignored constitutional changes.

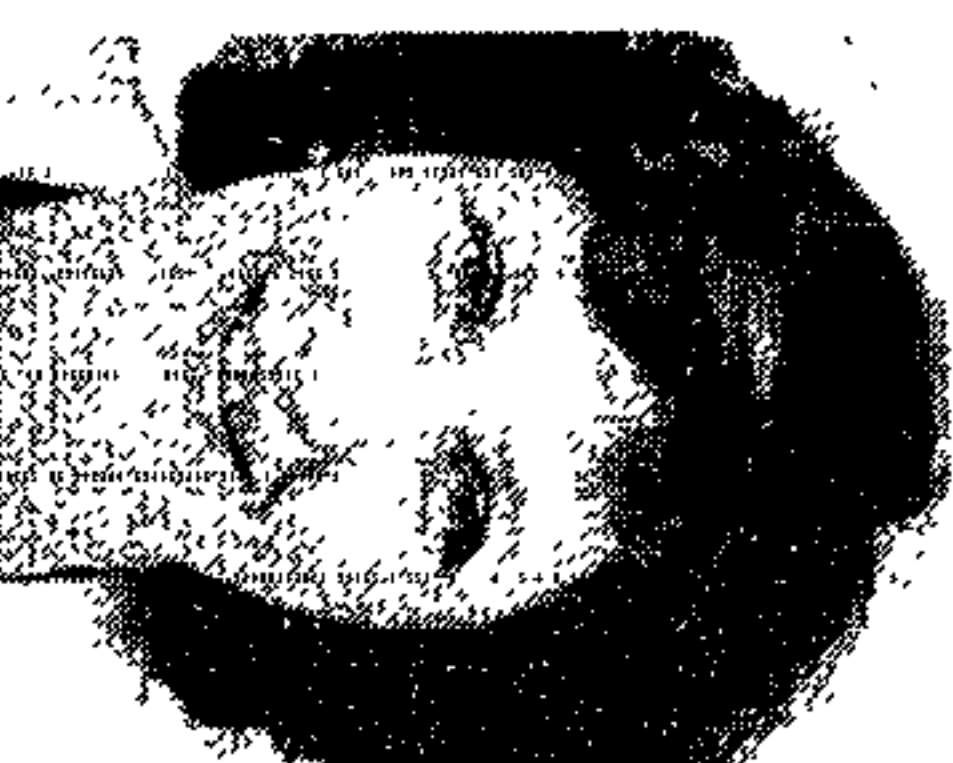
"They were winning with the rifle but lost constitutionally by failing to bring about a solution acceptable to all. They made

Dr Lategan said white security lay in according political rights to their fellow South Africans and not in scaring voters into the laager.

Replying to Dr Lategan, Mr Marais said Mr P W Botha had not said the Group Areas Act would never be scrapped. He had merely said it would not be scrapped while he was the leader of the NP.

The Independents were creating the impression that the abolition of this law would be "a panacea for all our problems" but the scrapping of the Act might well create more problems than it would solve, he said.

(Report by A Johnson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)



Dr Esther Lategan... applause from 400-strong Stellenbosch audience.

only cosmetic changes. We will make sure we do not do that."

He said the Conservative Party appeared to find it acceptable to be called "Nazis".

A CP publication quoted the ANC as saying it feared the CP as "out and out Nazis."

A young woman who said she had been detained for more than three months without being given any reasons, asked Mr Vlok how he could justify this within the law. She said she had been a member of the End Conscription Campaign but had never broken the law.

Mr Vlok replied that, in all cases where reasons were requested, they were furnished.

He said it was acceptable worldwide to detain people who it was believed might commit a crime. There were people in the ECC who were using the organisation to propagate ideas which were harmful to the country.

"If there was a way to get through this difficult time without doing so, I would not detain people. I would bring them to court so they can be sentenced by a judge or a magistrate."

Sapa.

(Report by R Daniels 628 Mutual Building Barn



# SA whites are 'sheltered from reality'

Apart from infringements of basic rights there are increasing indications that Government news management, mainly through state of emergency regulations, is becoming counter-productive.

An in-depth look at the position is taken in three articles in the latest publication of the Indicator Project South Africa of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal.

Under the title "The Reality Filter," from Louis Liedjie to a Soft Shoe Stoffel, former Afrikaans newspaper editor Mr Harald Pakendorf says the public is being sheltered from reality by news management.

He is, however, equally critical of the media. In the past, he says, before the inception of the Bureau for Information and the emergency regulations, the media had not fully explained South Africa in its full spectrum to other South Africans.

But it was no longer possible to do so and he warns: "White people cannot know what blacks are thinking, how the State acts in certain circumstances or the extent of black anger and resentment. We are sheltered from reality."

This, Mr Pakendorf says, becomes

## Bruce Cameron of The Star's political staff reports on an in-depth study of Government news management.

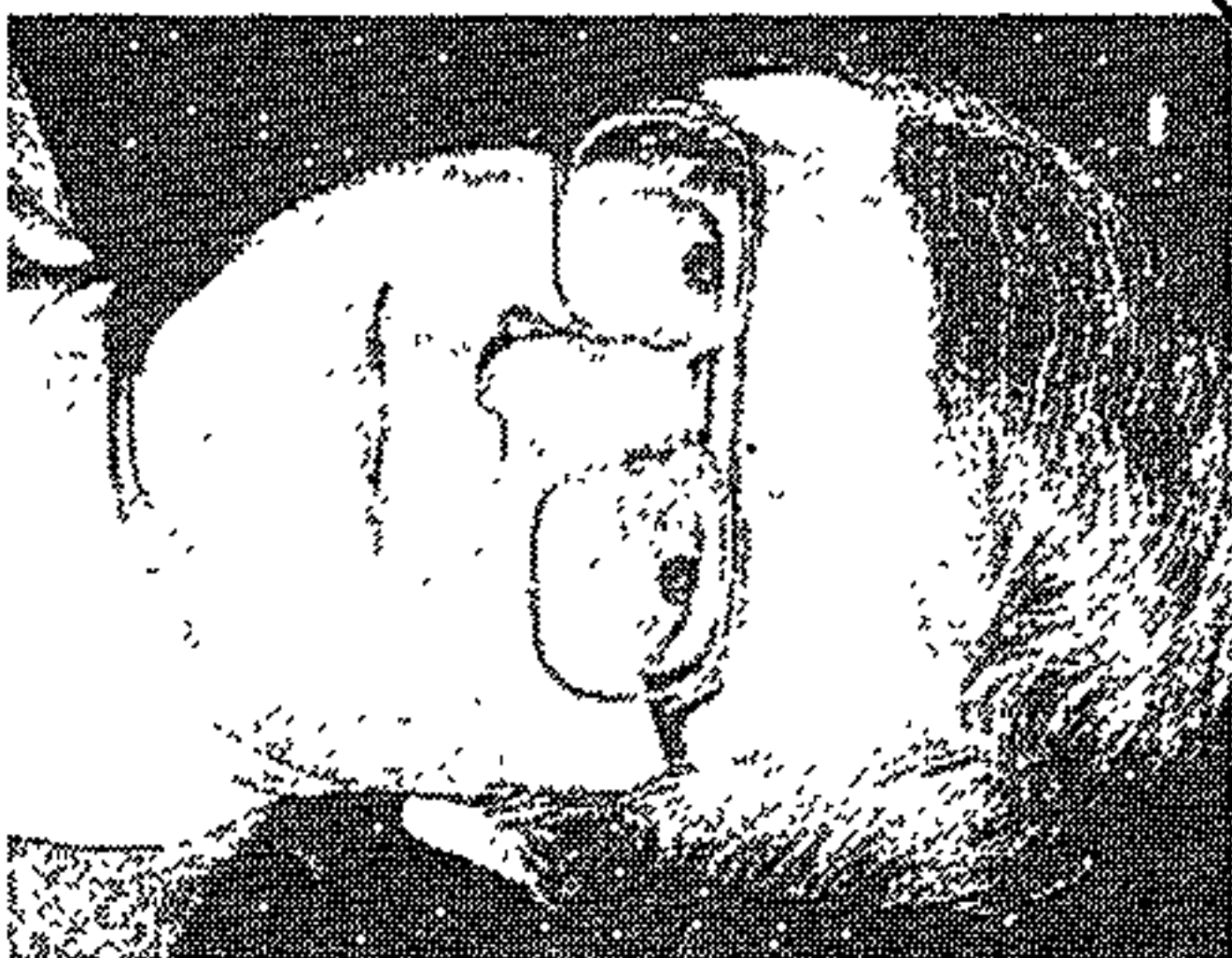
counter-productive as well, with the Government subject to far more critical commentary because it is all that can be written.

On the other hand the Communist Party, the ANC, UDF and other political organisations were hardly ever subject to substantial critical commentary.

Mr Pakendorf is highly critical of the Bureau, describing it as "little more than a clearing house for information". It needed to be headed by a senior Minister who could speak with confidence and knowledge on every aspect of Government.

Instead the Bureau had become just one more hurdle journalists had to surmount or circumvent.

Dr Paul Vorster of the Department of Communication Studies at the Rand Afrikaans University says the Government needs to totally rejig the Bureau, agreeing with Mr Pakendorf.



Pakendorf... critical of the media too.

dorf that the Bureau tends to be merely the bearer of bad tidings of other departments.

He says the avoidance of tension in a pluralistic society is never likely to occur. But it should never be forgotten that "communication helps keep society on an even keel by managing social tension".

The underlying principles for determining the social responsibility re-

lationship between the Press and Government included:

- The protection of freedom of expression as the keystone of political liberty.

- The Government should intervene only when the need was great and vital social interests were at stake, and then cautiously.

- The best safeguard for democracy was "a well-informed, balanced and educated public opinion".

In other words, the Government had a duty to support the free flow of information both in principle and practice.

Dr Vorster urges the Government to seek and listen to the advice from communication specialists, not only to improve communication to the public but also to facilitate feedback from public to the Government.

By doing so, among other things, South Africa could be saved the spectacle of President Botha's Rubicon speech.

"In short, there is an urgent need for the Bureau to continually remind Government that communication is the central nervous system of the body politic. You ignore it at your peril."

Dr Vorster advises the Govern-

ment to establish a communications advisory board to help draw up a communications policy which would facilitate the flow of information, appoint a government spokesman along the lines of the American White House system and to appoint an ombudsman to make the Government more accessible to the public and to facilitate communication.

"More open and timely communication is not only part and parcel of democracy but also in its long-term best interests."

In the third article Ruth Tomaselli of the Contemporary Cultural Studies Unit of the University of Natal chronicles the "elaborate institutional merging of the State's news management and media repression functions over the past three years of civil unrest coverage".

(Report by B Cameron, 85 Field Street, Durban.)

# Academics at UPE are in the dark over PW petition plan

CP 22/4/87  
3047

## Post Reporter

A NUMBER of leading academics at the University of Port Elizabeth yesterday denied they were preparing to sign a political manifesto in support of the Government.

Commenting on reports from Johannesburg that the State President, Mr P-W Botha, would release a document today signed and supported by hundreds of academics at all Afrikaans universities, UPE and the University

of South Africa, Professor J Cilliers said he was "not aware of such a manifesto at the moment".

Prof Cilliers, head of the university's department of political science, denied he would be one of the signatories to such a document, which has been described as a last-ditch bid by the State President to regain support among Afrikaner academics and counter growing support for independent candidates.

Prof W Kruger, head of the department of Nguni and South Sotho, said he "knew absolutely nothing about it" and he said there had been no talk among staff to his knowledge.

Prof J Vermaak, head of the department of physics, also said he had no knowledge of the proposal.

The National Party candidate for Walmer and former rector of the University, Professor S J Schoeman, said he was not aware of plans to issue a manifesto.

(Report by Dawn Barkhuizen, 19 Baakens Street, Port Elizabeth.)



**T**he independents, the wild-card in next month's elections, are gradually coming into sharper focus as polling day approaches.

Once the nucleus of the Verligte Nats when State President P W Botha first launched his reformist drive in 1979, many of them are now rallying to candidates Wynand Malan and Esther Lategan.

Uncertainty about their identity — and therefore about their likely voting behaviour — is captured by the wide variety of labels applied to them: independents, Past Nats, neo-verligtes, oorbeligtes, 22 Percenters.

Most often, of course, they are called "New Nats", but RAU communications professor Nina Overton, having done in-depth research into the phenomenon, says this is not correct: most of them have broken with the National Party and will probably never go back.

She prefers to call them the *twyfelaars* (doubters).

**T**he profile of typical Past Nats that Overton has compiled from many interviews indicates that they are mainly Afrikaners — and proud of it. They are free of the ethnic insecurity that afflicted their forebears.

They are mainly urbanites from greater Johannesburg and Pretoria, but also well represented in greater Cape Town, Stellenbosch and the cities in Natal and the Eastern Cape.

They are mainly between the ages of 25 and 40, although many of their leaders are much older. Stellenbosch Economics professor Sampie Terreblanche, former Nasionale Pers MD David de Villiers and Stellenbosch philosophy professor Willie Esterhuyse are examples.

Most of them are well-educated home-owners from the middle and upper middle classes. They are mostly "self-motivated me" types.

Overton says they are mature, responsible people "who can reconcile non-racialism with patriotism". Their main ideals are a secure future and social harmony in SA. They believe in power-sharing, but view government's concept of power-sharing as camouflaged apartheid.

**T**hey believe the future lies in one Parliament with one government on some form of federal base that still has to be worked out. They are prepared to accept a far-reaching compromise with the black majority because they see real negotiation as the only way to a secure future. They are consciously against totalitarian politics of self-assertion.

But, says Overton, when it

# Past Nats, New Nats: all a lot of twyfelaars

**MAX DU PREEZ**  
Political Correspondent

comes to the concept of groups in politics, the Past Nats still seem to be ambivalent and struggling to find answers. They strongly believe that there should be "white" security and no domination of one group over others, but at the same time they reject the idea of groups being the building blocks of political structures.

As a result they are now beginning to explore the concept of interest groups as a base to work from, she says.

While they are cynical about the NP proposals for a National Council and a State Council, they want a fixed negotiating body similar in character to a national convention. At the same time, however, they have not yet overcome their fear of a PFP-type national convention which, they think, could lead to black domination.

**T**hey express themselves strongly in favour of scrapping every last bit of apartheid and racial discrimination, but at the same time have not lost all fear of whites being swamped.

They are not strongly opposed to the state of emergency or the Press curbs and believe that law and order are prerequisites for progress. At the same time they are concerned about the erosion of democracy and the rule of law.

They are worried, too, about the concentration of power in the hands of a few, about government's authoritarian attitudes, and about the powerful position which the military have come to occupy. But they are aggressively opposed to foreign intervention and are dead against sanctions.

They want the Group Areas Act scrapped, but also want schools to remain racially exclusive for now.

They believe the NP has governed for too long. They think it has become impotent and incapable of saving SA from growing racial polarisation. They are slowly beginning to believe that the NP will have to be unseated before there can be significant progress.

While most of them were enthusiastic P W Botha supporters at the time of the split with the CP, they now doubt his abilities and reject his style to the point where they find him downright offensive.

They are seriously worried about who is going to be Botha's successor, as they are not excited by either Chris Heunis or F W de Klerk. They are also becoming more and more cynical about Pik Botha, who was until recently their favourite, Overton says.

A handful of them are not strictly speaking Past Nats, but New Nats, and a few still sit in Parliament as Nats. Malan believes there are about 20 NP MPs who have made the emotional break from white/black politics and who could drift into the Past Nat camp as they are confront human rights issues in the months ahead.

The Past Nats are not about to join the PFP in large numbers. Many of them still see the PFP as something of a colonial party made up of English Boerehaters and leftist radicals. The party is seen as not being realistic about Africa and as being too soft on security.

**B**ut, says Overton, these people are increasingly discovering that

these criticisms are more appropriate to the PFP's image than to its principles.

Former Rapport editor Willem de Klerk first called them the 22 Percenters because it was calculated that they formed about 22 percent of the NP support. One of the most prominent leaders of this new group, Sampie Terreblanche, calculates their support at 30% and growing.

That would translate into 15% of the electorate, strongly concentrated in urban areas.

According to some polls, the independents' national support grew from virtually nothing to 7% in just a few weeks.

For the moment, however, their importance lies not in numbers, but in who they are and what effect they could have on national politics. They are, according to all evidence, the cream of Afrikaner intelligentsia.

**R**andburg rebel Wynand Malan's resignation from the NP at the beginning of the year and his decision to oppose the NP in the election played a major role in giving this group a new momentum, although it did not, even according to Malan himself, create it.

Malan was the trigger for Denis Worrall and Esther Lategan to stand as independents and for the psychologically important Afrikaner academic revolt against the NP. Although the Past Nats cannot really be seen as a Malan-Lategan-Worrall support group, for the moment they rally around the three independents.

By now their followers have almost become a definable body of people. Malan says he has had calls from at least 50 constituencies wanting to put up independent candidates. He says the movement "has become more than just a movement" and that supportive discussion groups and associations are appearing all over the country.

**P**FP secretary-general Robin Carlisle says his experience tells him this development is not a fashion or a passing phase. "It is a new group that has developed logically and now wants to protect itself and rally support around it. Perhaps they do not know exactly what they want yet, but they are adamant that they will not vote Nat again."

Says Carlisle: "How this group mobilises politically is not important. That they do is absolutely crucial — whether they do it around the Malan group or around the PFP. The fact is they are our natural allies. This is what could finally break the mould of white politics."



ARGUS 23/4/87

## ELECTION BRIEF 304A

### P W says he's staying on

PRESIDENT P W Botha intends staying in office until at least 1989, he told a questioner at his Stellenbosch meeting last night.

He said he intended serving out his five-year term and "if I feel the way I do tonight, you will still have a lot to do with me".

The questioner had asked him whether, considering that cricketer Graeme Pollock had retired when he was at his best, Mr Botha would retire at some stage or whether, like Pollock, he could continue improving.

An angry Mr Botha lambasted the questioner, a Mr Skinner, for "trying to be insulting in a childish way". He would retire in his own good time, he said.

● See Page 11

### 'Transformation'

INDEPENDENT candidate Mr Wynand Malan said he had left the NP because he believed in a new vision for a just South Africa and not merely because he did not agree with the pace of reform.

Speaking in his home constituency of Randburg, he said the message he wanted to convey had nothing to do with the Government's pace of reform.

"It is not about reforming apartheid but about the transformation of the existing system," he said.

### US demands

SOUTH Africa could not meet the demands made by the US Congress when it implemented its sanctions bill last October, with the threat of further punitive measures if these were not met, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said in Verwoerdburg.

No political party, if it came to power, would be able to establish a "non-racial democratic society" by October this year, which was one of the Congressional demands.

### 'Distressing'

THE call for an election boycott was implicit in the opinions of certain critics who claimed people should vote but said the election was a farce, a fraud and a circus, Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP MP for Houghton, told a meeting in her constituency.

"It is distressing that many young people are opting out and not using their vote to show solidarity with the disenfranchised black majority."

### 'Imaginative'

THE Government was being saved from an economic debacle only by factors over which it had no control, such as the weak US dollar and the relatively high gold price, Mr Harry Schwarz, the PFP spokesman on finance, said in Durban last night.

He said South Africa needed an imaginative plan, the foundations of which could be found in the democratic economic policy of the PFP.

### Bible and pulpit

THE Bible and pulpit should be left out of dubious earthly motives, the Conservative Party candidate for Innesdal, the Rev Mossie van den Berg, told an audience of about 80 in the Silverton Town Hall, Pretoria, last night.

It was unforgivable to misuse the Bible and pulpit to achieve political aims.

### Scant crowd

THE Minister of Agriculture, Mr Greyling Wentzel, drew a scant 50 people to an election meeting in Pretoria West last night. In the same constituency, a CP meeting attracted double that number.

(Compiled by H S. Robertson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)



# SA entering vital alliance-politics era

CAPL trip 23/4/87 304A

In an article in the journal *Leadership* (reprinted in extracts on this page yesterday) Professor Sampie Terreblanche of Stellenbosch University has said that the disintegration or defeat of the National Party is an essential prerequisite for genuine reform. He has also expressed the view that Mr Colin Eglin's strategy for building a reform alliance is not viable and he has urged the abolition of the PFP and the NRP.

Mr Eglin, in a *Leadership* interview with PAUL BELL (below) sets out the alliance strategy which aims at the formation of an alternative government and, as he says, has "caught on like wildfire".

COLIN EGLIN, leader of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), twists round in the armchair of his parliamentary office and gazes, cautiously, into the crystal ball of May 6 — and 1989.

"If Worrall wins," he says, "that's not just a seat. It's a scalp. And if he wins, Wynand will walk it."

He continues: "If two or three cabinet ministers lose their seats, if between us and the NRP we pick up another eight seats, if the CP and the HNP do moderately well without necessarily picking up more seats, then the aggregate of votes may well show the Nationalists fast becoming a minority government in terms of white votes."

"If the favourite son (Heunis) has lost his seat, if the boss (P W Botha) is discredited for having forced on his party an election which went wrong, then an early fragmentation of the NP is a prospect before the next election."

For Eglin, the essential significance of the May 6 white election will be the extent to which it shows that an alternative, truly reformist government — based on an alliance between the PFP, the NRP, Denis Worrall and his independents and leftwing Nationalist MPs — could become a reality after the general election of 1989.

Last year, as political pundits tittered behind their hands, the PFP declared a shift in strategy: the old slogan of "effective Opposition" had limited electoral appeal; instead, the party would concentrate its efforts on the formation of an alternative government.

At that stage, a general election was two-and-a-half years off and the PFP intended to use the time also to improve its image. Then the timetable changed.

Image may have to wait but, says Eglin: "The concept of alternative government has caught on like wildfire. It's working far more rapidly than we thought it would."

And on May 7, he will know how much closer the PFP has come to its objective: the promotion of an alliance of reform-minded parties with sufficient weight to give leftwing Nationalist MPs hope, that, by abandoning their party, they can secure places in a reformist government. For these Nationalists, government in alliance with the reformists would be better than ultimate exclusion from government.

Eglin is optimistic. Research shows that, among the electorate, support for the concept of an alternative government is now running neck and neck with that of a Nationalist government. But the PFP is being careful not to prescribe the shape or policy of a possible future alternative government, and is confining its May 6 campaign to a contribution to the building of support in or around what Eglin describes as the "axis for reform".

Those who support the independents have, says Eglin, crossed their "racial Rubicons" but are unable to make the institutional political jump from the NP to the PFP because of their traditional suspicion of the PFP.

Recognizing this, the PFP's strategy has been to stand back for the independents, thus allowing these voters — including the intelligentsia, the "rich top soil" that is now withdrawing its nourishing support for the NP — to avoid making "a party political decision". They are being asked in



Colin Eglin ... "We are entering another era of alliance politics. There has never been a change of government without one".

stead to make "an ideological decision".

The PFP/NRP/independents have found common ground in their appeal to the electorate; the need to negotiate with representative black leaders towards the establishment of a non-racial constitution, a task of which P W Botha and the NP have shown themselves to be incapable.

The strategy relies on blurring party lines and exerting pressure on already-weakened party loyalties: the "reformist alliance" is playing down those issues — like security — which are supported on traditional party lines; and it is emphasizing the reform issue, which no longer coincides with those lines.

"The independents have managed to bring the debate to break-point. Race relations is the key," says Eglin.

The divide on reform, Eglin believes, now runs almost to the centre of the NP. For this reason, government is now scrambling to get back into the reform act, but, whichever way it leans, it must crumble in the centre. That crumbling may well require a "trigger-event" and the election result could prove it.

"Our research profile of the NP is that, either at the level of the public or the public representatives, it has to fragment. It can't stay where it is. If they move too far to the left, the right drops off; too far to the right, and the left drops off. If they stay in the centre, the whole edifice just continues to crumble. If they move they're in trouble. If they don't, they're in trouble."

"The election could intensify that pressure. There is no doubt that a very fundamental process is being generated in the white body politic."

Eglin believes government will be forced to call an election in 1989: firstly, changing the constitution, which presently requires an election in that year, may be proved too difficult to manage because the support of the other two Houses in the tricameral parliament cannot be guaranteed; and secondly, the public will be expecting an election, the reformists will be keeping that prospect alive in the public mind, and government will be hard pressed to ignore or disregard this pressure.

And the strategy for 1989 is one of alliance. "We are entering," says Eglin, "another era of alliance politics. There has never been a change of government without one. It's too difficult, just through the process of osmosis, to transfer sufficient people from one party to another, given the institutionalized divisions."

Chk Time 23/4/81

# Alliance against apartheid

By PETER DENNEHY

THIRTEEN organizations which work largely in white areas launched a "Votes for all in a united South Africa" alliance at UCT yesterday.

Those participating were the Black Sash, Civil Rights League, Nussas, ECC, Women's Movement for Peace, Idasa (Institution for a Democratic Alternative in SA), PAAG (Pupils Awareness and Action Group), Edasa (Education for an Aware South Africa), Namda (National Medical and Dental Association), Mirge (Mowbray Inter-Race Group), OASSA (Organization for Appropriate Social Services in South Africa), United Women's Congress and the Observatory and Claremont Area Committee of the UDF.

Because some of the representatives at the meeting are in hiding, the venue was disclosed only at the last moment.

UCT SRC president Ms Carla Sutherland chaired the meeting and read out a joint statement which included calls to "join the majority" in putting forward demands for the dismantling of apartheid.

Ms Mary Burton, national president of the Black Sash, said similar alliances had been formed in Johannesburg and Durban.

(Report by P Dennehy, 122 St George's St. Cape Town.)



# UDF 'confident' white members won't vote

SOUTH REPORTER

23-28/4/84  
SOUTH (10A) 304A  
THE United Democratic Front is "quite confident" that its white members will not participate in the May 6 elections.

The UDF of Observatory and Claremont has called on its members not to vote.

At the launch of the "Votes For All" campaign, UDF Western Cape executive member Cheryl Carolus said: "The force for change lies outside parliament. Nothing short of votes for all in a free South Africa can bring about peace and justice."

The campaign, which has been backed by an alliance of almost 20 Western Cape extra-parliamentary organisations, was launched at Cape Town University on Wednesday. It will culminate in a rally on April 29 and a vigil from 5 to 6 May.

Thembisile Fulani, a Western Cape executive member of the South African Youth Congress (Sayco), called on whites to join the majority of South Africans in their demand for a non-racial, democratic South Africa.

Mrs Mary Burton, president of the Black Sash, said that from newspapers and TV most whites know only about the competing candidates and parties in the election.

Cape Times 23/4/87

# Applause for Terre'blanche

By CHRIS BATEMAN

ABOUT 1 100 people packed out the Parow Civic Centre last night to hear the leader of the AWB, Mr Eugene Terre'blanche, call for a white homeland which would "carry God's white blinding light".

Speaking in support of the Conservative Party candidate for Bellville and the Cape leader of the AWB, Mr Johan Leibold, Mr Terre'blanche drew biblical analogies saying longstanding principles such as those forged by the early Afrikaner could not be tampered with.

To thunderous applause from a large section of the crowd, Mr Terre'blanche said the Cape Afrikaner was a particularly proud man who had spread Afrikanerdom's boundaries far and wide and who would "do so again".

He accused the government of scrapping acts such as mixed marriages and immorality in spite of promises to the contrary.

"Now the Prohibition on Political Interference Act is also gone. In this election you'll see how the leftist parties have brown, blacks and yellows at their tables. But this too will be changed by the Indian and coloured chambers after the election and any-

body will be able to vote for anybody," he said.

The government, whose new constitution would crumble into a one-man, one-vote system unless they were stopped, was leading whites into poverty by forcing them to pay the majority of tax while blacks paid very little.

## Taxes

Companies such as Pick 'n Pay had paid two percent tax over a five-year period while the man in the street suffered severely.

Mr Fanie Botha, the former Minister of Manpower, had legalized black trade unions, a step which was crippling the country.

Satirizing SADF troops who "drop pamphlets encouraging illiterate people not to vote for Swapo", Mr Terre'blanche "gave notice" that AWB supporters were prepared to "take up the fight" if the government was unprepared.

Khaki-uniformed youths with AWB armbands patrolled the hall entrance while on the podium the Vierkleur flag of the former Transvaal republic and the former Free State republic flag were draped.

(Report by Chris Bateman, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)



CAPE TIMES  
23/4/87 (300A)

## Sporting chances spoiled, says Seeff

Staff Reporter

FORMER Springbok cricketer Lawrence Seeff last night told a PFP audience that a growing number of sportspeople were "fed up with the way the government is spoiling their chances of participating in international sport".

Seeff was speaking in favour of PFP MP for Gardens Mr Ken Andrew at a meeting in Vredenhoek attended by 27 people.

"We as sportspeople would now like to see the government doing something, because only when there is a normal society in South Africa will an official Springbok team be allowed to tour overseas," he said.

Mr Andrew said South Africa faced a crisis of confidence because the economy had been mismanaged and the government's political policies were falling apart.

He said the government spent money "as if it were going out of fashion and now the rand is worth only about a third of what it was against the dollar before the 1970s oil crises".

Since 1977, gold had increased in value more than three times in dollar value and seven times in rand value — "yet our economy is in a mess ... the blame for our economic ills lies squarely with this Nationalist government".

(Report by A. Koopman, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

M&amp;S 23/4/87 3049

# A new Boer state is the only solution, says AWB leader

Tygerberg Bureau

PAROW'S 1 100-seat town hall was packed last night for a meeting of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging addressed by its leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche.

The meeting, advertised as "a cultural rally of conservative Afrikaners in the Tygerberg", was attended by Nationalists, Conservatives and Herstigste Nasionale Party supporters.

"There is only one solution, a

Boer state for the Afrikaner nation," Mr Terre'Blanche said.

Political power-sharing in South Africa "would not be possible, just as the British could not share political power with the Irish or the Scottish".

The Boer state would include those portions of the Free State and the Transvaal which were not black homelands, Northern Natal including Richard's Bay, and those portions of the Cape Province "which

the Afrikaners can fight for".

He said the National Party could not negotiate for a Boer state because the Nationalist Government had turned the Boers into just more colonisers of the African continent, who like other colonists would have "no rights to claim their own land". Mr Terre'Blanche said.

"The Nationalist Government has now started calling the Afrikaner nation 'a minority'. They, with their years of brain-washing, have turned

the Afrikaners into white racists who no longer dare call themselves Boers or Afrikaners.

"Our identification documents are now all the same. We have been tossed into one big pot with black, coloured and yellow races and are now all called South Africans.

"But this is no potjiekos, it's more like a samoosa bredie, and in this new South Africa we will all taste like the same curry," Mr Terre'Blanche said.

He said the AWB had grown into the most important political power in the country "because we want a Boer homeland, because we want to reclaim the Afrikaners' land rights to their own country".

On stage were the Conservative Party candidate for Bellville, Mr Johann Leibold, AWB chairman Mr Willie Olivier and Pretoria town councillor and AWB secretary Mr Piet Rudolph.

(Report by A Stuijt, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)



# Reform has not ended, PW says in Stellenbosch

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## Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha last night hit back at people who said that reform had come to an end and that the National Party was not a thinking party.

Addressing an election meeting in the Stellenbosch Town Hall, he said that since 1915 the "golden thread" of reform, renewal and change in South Africa had run through the National Party.

About 2 000 people listened to Mr Botha in the hall and on television screens in an adjoining banqueting hall. He was given an enthusiastic reception and several standing ovations by the crowd, but a small group who appeared to be supporters of independents heckled him occasionally.

## Thinking party

He did not refer directly to the independents, saying that he had not come to belittle his opposition and that he did not intend to name them because he had a cause to present.

He said the NP was in fact the party of reform and freedom and the thinking party and he urged voters to make "an appointment with the future" by supporting it on May 6.



President P W Botha makes a point at the meeting in Stellenbosch last night.

He called on the thinking and creative elements in the private sector and among academics to help the party in solving the country's problems, but added that they should not think they could just

Those who said that the party had stopped thinking wanted it to be broken but after this had been done and the chaos the communists wanted had been created they had nothing to put in its place.

There were orchestrated onslaughts against South Africa in order to undermine the country's will to exist and to solve problems in a reasonable way, said Mr Botha. A document found on a terrorist showed that those involved in the onslaught against the country wanted limited short-term objectives such as the release of detainees and the lifting of the state of emergency.

## Ensure security

The onslaught on freedom by the ANC under control of the Communist Party was aimed at all communities.

Mr Botha said he had received black deputations who came to plead for help in order to ensure some security in their areas.

It was one thing to shout about reform, but it was another to deal with the realities of the day-to-day administration of the country while at the same time bringing about reform, said Mr Botha.

(Report by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

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# Botha heckled in Boland

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

STELLENBOSCH. — Reform, change and renewal ran like a golden thread through the history of the National Party, President P W Botha said last night. The NP leader was given a rousing reception by most of the almost 2 000 people who crammed into Stellenbosch Town Hall.

However, Mr Botha had to deal with frequent jeers and interjections by a determined minority of hecklers at the back of the crowded hall.

The State President also had to field a number of critical questions on forced removals, his "autocratic" approach to the Group Areas Act and his retirement prospects.

The hall was largely filled with NP supporters when the front door was unlocked to allow the general public in an hour before the meeting. Last night's rally has been widely seen as a test of strength for Mr Botha following the defection of a number of prominent academics from the local university of which he is the chancellor.

Mr Botha said that certain of his critics had charged that the government's reform programme had come to an end — "but this is simply untrue".

People who accused the NP candidate for Helderberg, Mr Chris Heunis, of being an obstacle to reform should be ashamed of themselves, he said.

"Despite the circumstances we are busy with reform in a spirit of renewal and not reform just for the sake of reform."

Mr Botha was greeted with interjections of "what about the blacks" as he began recounting the NP's record on "reform".

Sapa reports that Mr Botha, reacting to an interjection from the floor, said that the issue of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba had not yet been given the approval of the KwaZulu government and Chief



**ELECTION TRAIL ...** The State President, Mr P W Botha, and his wife Elise at last night's meeting in Stellenbosch.

Picture: Obed Zilwa

Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had asked that this issue be kept out of the political electoral arena.

"Only when we receive the KwaZulu government's response at the highest level of government can we express our view. That is my answer on the issue of the Indaba," he said.

Mr Botha appealed to "every positive-thinking South African" to work together "so that we can make a success of the building we are erecting".

Interjector: "As long as it's for whites."

Mr Botha said that the government's critics were claiming that the NP was "worn out" and "does not think any more", to cries of "hoor, hoor".

Mr Botha said some people wanted to destroy the NP "but what have they to put in its place?"

The government was often criticized for not talking to black leaders "but I have hundreds that negotiate with me and Mr Heunis day after day".

Mr Botha said the legislative plans for a Council

## Questioner piques P W Botha

Political Correspondent

STELLENBOSCH. — Mr P W Botha last night accused a questioner of trying to "insult me" when the President was asked whether he, like Graeme Pollock, intended retiring at his peak.

Mr Botha angrily told the questioner that he could "rest assured that I will retire in my own time".

"I was chosen for five years (in 1984) and am determined to serve out my term."

Mr Botha added that if, after five years, "I feel like I do tonight" then the questioner would have to contend with his presidency for even longer.

Mr Botha lectured the questioner — a Mr Fisher whom he referred to as a "jong mannetjie" — at length about his manners and concluded the dressing down by telling him to learn how to behave himself at public meetings.

(Report by A. Johnson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

From page 1

## Botha heckled

of State, as a negotiating forum with black leaders, had not been shelved but had been made available for comment and would be continued with after the election.

"We will continue with the national council and give black leaders an opportunity to come forward and also give communities who do have leaders an opportunity to elect them," he said.

"We are prepared for negotiation but not for capitulation," Mr Botha said to applause.

He said that one of the attainable goals was the government's guarantee that white minority rights would be maintained.

Mr Botha was greeted with a chorus of ironic jeers and howls when in justifying his calling a whites-only election, he claimed: "I am a democrat."

Later, Mr Botha again faced a barrage of jeers when he declared: "The press knows that I stand for freedom of the press... but I stand for a responsible press."

However, he was not prepared to allow the foreign press to create "havoc" in the black townships and besmirch the name of South Africa.

The government stood accused of undermining human rights but this was not borne out by the facts, Mr Botha said.

Justifying the introduction of the state of emergency, Mr Botha said that if the State's freedom was threatened, action had to be taken "to control this so that freedom can be protected in the end".

Delegations of black people, he said, had "pleaded" with him to take action to prevent the disruption of their lives in the townships.

"Some people later thanked me for allowing them to live again — is this an onslaught on human rights?"

Black people in South Africa were better off than anywhere else in Africa, he said.

"We built a Khayelitsha but every winter the liberals scream about Crossroads. They can scream and hate but cannot build," he said.

Mr Botha said the Republic stood in the first line in the struggle against international terrorism.

The government's "total strategy" approach was often belittled but South Africa had to face an onslaught of international propaganda, economic actions and sports boycotts.

"There is an attempt of an orchestrated international onslaught against South Africa to undermine our will to exist."

(Report by A. Johnson, 122 St George's Street and P Claassen, 801 Nedbank Centre, Strand Street, Cape Town)



Buthezi, PFP to share platform

Political Reporter

The Chief Minister of KwaZulu Buthezi, PFP to share platform

The Chief Minister of KwaZulu Buthezi, PFP to share platform

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The Chief Minister of KwaZulu Buthezi, PFP to share platform

The Chief Minister of KwaZulu Buthezi, PFP to share platform

# PV silent on Matie's academic reunion

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

STELLENBOSCH — President Botha last night appealed for the help of the thinking, creative section of the private and academic sectors in solving the country's problems, but not on the basis of interference with the decision-making process.

At the same time he quoted from a captured "terrorist document" to warn that the country's enemies wanted to create a "limited white front" to press for the lifting of the emergency, release of

## Margo requested tax report delay

STELLENBOSCH — The Margo Commission report on the taxation system could not be published because Mr Justice Margo himself had asked that it not be made public until he had discussed it with commerce, industry and the private sector.

President Botha told a National Party public meeting in Stellenbosch last night.

Mr Botha said the Government was not withholding publication of the report until after the election.

## Call for West to stop backing ANC

STELLENBOSCH — Foreign governments must stop helping the African National Congress (ANC) bring about a black dictatorship by means of violence, President P W Botha said last night.

Mr Botha said he wanted to react to a recent suggestion by the Canadian Prime Minister that the West's seven major industrial countries become interested in a solution to South Africa's problems.

He said South Africa still stood by the principles contained in a letter he had written to the seven before their summit in Tokyo last May.



## Sportsmen fed up — Seeff

CAPE TOWN — Springbok cricketer Lawrence Seeff told a PFP audience that he was fed up with the way the Government was handling the sportsmen.

Mr Seeff said he was fed up with the way the Government was handling the sportsmen.

## Might not right in politics, says Goodall

Real security would come only when the country solved its political problems, Edendale's PFP MP Mr Brian Goodall told a Dunvegan election meeting.

Law and order were necessary for political reform, but should be respected by most of the population.

It relied mainly on military might.

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# Election boycott is not good strategy

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert was absolutely right when he noted the other day that the real political conflict in South Africa is between the extra-parliamentary government and the extra-parliamentary opposition.

The new constitution has created an executive President with authoritarian powers which he and his delegates are using in a way that now bypasses Parliament as a matter of course.

Just look at the major political actions taken recently — the declaration of a state of emergency, the most severe restrictions on the Press and on the freedom of speech and assembly in the country's history, the detention of thousands of people without trial and the criminalising of protests against those detentions. It has all been done by decree, by civil servants mostly, with no reference to Parliament and with contempt for the concept of a free electoral process.

At the same time the real challenge to the ruling establishment is coming increasingly from the disfranchised blacks — their political organisations and trade unions which are excluded from the formal political system and yet determine its responses.

## Dominant issue

Just look at how the ANC has become the dominant election issue. It may be banned, silenced, exiled and driven underground, but everybody knows it is the real opposition.

This is why I have never gone along with those (white) opposition commentators who criticised Dr Slabbert for resigning as Leader of the Opposition and leaving Parliament. They accused him of opting out. But he didn't opt out; he merely repositioned himself in another sector of the political ballpark which he regards as more relevant than the one he left.

He is trying to establish himself as a broker between the conflicting extra-parliamentary forces of government and opposition.

Does this mean that Parliament is irrelevant and, as some on the left are suggesting, that the election should be boycotted? I say no.

It is wrong to regard either white or black politics as irrelevant. South Africa is about black nationalism challenging Afrikaner nationalism's monopoly hold on power — which means each is relevant to the other in the most fundamental possible way and the interaction between the two is



what is ultimately going to determine the fate of us all.

While Parliament has certainly lost a lot of relevance now that the focus of white power has shifted so strongly to the executive, the election is still the determinant of that power.

If the Government gains seats it will gain in confidence, assertiveness and thus in strength. If it loses seats its confidence will decline, the processes of confusion, erosion and decline that are already evident in its ranks will increase. It will become a weaker, more uncertain government.

This in turn will increase the confidence and sense of purpose of its opponents. That will mean a stronger opposition. And so the overall result will be a shift in the balance of power across the total black-white political spectrum.

I can well understand the inclination of some to reject the relevance of the parliamentary process and to want no part in the May 6 election. The whole idea of a whites-only election is repulsive. To take part in it may seem to make oneself part of the odious system it epitomises and to help legitimise it.

I can understand, too, the strong desire felt by many empathetic whites to identify with the disfranchised blacks and therefore not to exercise the franchise which is so unfairly theirs alone but to turn their backs on "the system" and join with the blacks

in their extra-parliamentary struggle.

These are commendable sentiments, but I don't think they make the best sense as a political strategy. It's fine to be an idealist but, like John Kennedy, I believe in being a practical idealist, which means finding the most effective way to achieve your idealistic goals.

A boycott can be an effective political instrument in certain instances, but it has no intrinsic merit in itself. It is a weapon, no more, to be used or discarded depending on whether it is the most effective one available in a given situation. Effectiveness should be the only consideration.

I accept that for blacks a boycott is often the most effective way of discrediting some new institution established by the Government as part of its attempt to Maxfactorise the ugly face of apartheid. That is because sentiment in the black community against apartheid institutions is so overwhelming that it is comparatively easy to organise the kind of mass boycott that is needed to discredit the new institution. If there is only a 10 or 15 percent poll, the point gets made.

Not so in the white community. The dissenting element among whites is a small minority and if they boycott an election their dissent is lost in a sea of participation. No point is made if the percentage poll is 62 instead of 68.

Worse still, the white dissenter actually strengthens the pro-apartheid position by withholding his vote against it. He increases the Government's majority and thus its confidence and assertiveness. This makes no sense strategically — nor, for that matter, does it make much moral sense either if the end result is to prolong black oppression.

I think in particular of the depressing possibilities that so excellent an opposition man as Mr Errol Moorcroft may lose his seat in Albany because of the abstention of well-intentioned Rhodes students. It would be a gratuitous boost for the Government in the country's most racially sensitive area by young men and women who ardently desire the very opposite.

In our eagerness to do what is morally right in a land so filled with political turpitude, we sometimes get our priorities a little skewed.

(Comment by A Sparks, 3217 Driefontein Road, Rivonia.)



# Botha firm on Council of State

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CP  
23/4/88

STELLENBOSCH — The Government was determined to pursue its concept of a Council of State and to provide communities with an opportunity of electing their leaders for negotiation, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said last night.

He spoke in a packed Stellenbosch City Hall, where a National Party rally in support of candidates from surrounding constituencies overflowed into adjoining rooms.

He said that the ultimate struggle facing the country was to grant political rights to blacks at the highest level of government.

Reacting to an interjection from the floor, he said that the issue of the Kwazulu-Natal Indaba had not yet been given the approval of the Kwazulu Government and the Chief Minister. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, had asked that this issue be kept out of the political electoral arena.

"Only when we receive the Kwazulu Government's response at the highest level of government can we express our view. That is my answer on the issue of the indaba," he said.

Mr Botha said that the legislative plans for a Council of State, as a negotiating forum with black leaders, had not been shelved but had been made available for comment and would be continued with after the election.

"We will continue with the national council and give black leaders an opportunity to come forward and also give communities who do have leaders an opportunity to elect them," he said.

"This Government stands willing to negotiate, but is not prepared to hand over."

He said one of the attainable goals was the Government's guarantee that white minority rights would be maintained.

Regarding security legislation, he favoured the principle laid down by Mr Justice Rose-Innes that at times the safeguards of liberty might be disregarded in order to protect liberty itself.

"When the State's liberty is compromised, you sometimes have to curb it to ensure that freedom is protected. That is what this Government does."

The State President said he had no intention of retiring before his term of office expired.

He was responding to a questioner who asked whether, like a Springbok cricketer, President Botha would retire while he was still at his peak.

"I will retire in my own good time. I was elected for a five-year term and I intend serving my full term."

"If I feel like I do tonight, you are likely to see a great deal more of me in the future," he said.

(Report by P Claassen and A Braid, both of 801 Nedbank Centre, Strand Street, Cape Town)

cial Union, the country's  
biggest motor insurer.

There were an average

Eagle, has written to

## Nine academics back NP

PRETORIA — Nine top academics from five Afrikaans universities said in a signed declaration today they were convinced the National Party was the only effective instrument for constitutional reform and called on voters not to "turn their back" on a "reform-minded government."

Among them is Professor J V Cilliers of the University of Port Elizabeth's law faculty.

The statement, released in Pretoria by Prof P R Botha, is an apparent response to the action of more than 300 Stellenbosch academics in

distancing themselves from the Government.

Reports of Nationalist moves to obtain a "pro-Government" list of academics appeared on Sunday, and it was later reported that a bid to get "hundreds" of signatures had failed.

Prof S A Strauss of Unisa's law faculty — one of the nine — insisted the move was made independently of the NP.

The others on the list are Prof J V du Plessis, University of OFS law faculty, Prof P C Fourie, Dean of the university's faculty of Economic and Social Sciences, Prof P J

Maree, Dean of the faculty of Education at the Rand Afrikaans University, Prof J P Poolman, vice-rector of RAU, Prof D P J Smith, Dean of students at RAU, and Prof P F Theron, Dean of the faculty of Education at the University of OFS.

The nine associate themselves with "the growing middle stream of reform-minded people".

They say white voters have simply to choose the best instrument for reform. This could only be the NP. — Sapa

(Report by Mark van der Velden, 514 Barclays Bank Building, Church Square, Pretoria)

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23/4/82



304A

# OVER MY DEAD BODY WOULD I VOTE FOR THE ANC. SO WHY VOTE PFP?

BECAUSE THE PFP SAYS:

“Real negotiations will take place when the PFP releases leaders such as Nelson Mandela and unbans organisations like the ANC.”

PFP Constitution Plan for a New South Africa, page 3.

And that, after the same ANC had said in a broadcast on Radio Freedom on 4 May 1986:

“Let us take our weapons, both rudimentary and sophisticated, our necklaces, our grenades, our machine guns, our AK 47's, our limpet mines and everything we can get — Let us fight...”

And again on Radio Freedom on 1 December 1985, Joe Modise of the ANC made the following

appeal: “After arming ourselves in this manner, our people must begin to identify collaborators and enemy agents and kill them.”

And even after Tim Nguwane, spokesman of the ANC said in defence of necklacing at the California State University on 10 October 1985:

“We want to make the death of a collaborator so grotesque that the people will never think of it.”

Dear Mr. Eglin,

For years these people have told us — and shown us — how they operate.

You're going to unban them. Will you really take them to court only after they've been naughty? Or maybe, deep down you know the Nats are right when they legislate and regulate to stop them before

**You're going to unban them. Will you really take them to court only after they've been naughty? Or maybe, deep down you know the Nats are right when they legislate and regulate to stop them before they kill, maim, or burn somebody?**

If you feel so strongly about people who perpetrate violence, where were you when Mrs. Helen Suzman said that a PFP government would unban the SA Communist Party?

Where were you when Mr. Harry Schwarz said to your PFP Congress: "There is a division in this party. I condemn all violence but there are people here who refuse to speak out against all acts of violence and condemn only those coming from the Government."

Where were you when, at your Congress, Mr. Horace van Rensburg "... was hissed and booed at when he introduced an amendment to a motion which called upon the PFP "to dissociate itself from any

**Dear Mr. Eglin,**

**If this is what your PFP says, then you and who else, as you say, are going to "eat the communists for breakfast" during negotiations? Your independent allies?**

**If there's anybody who CAN, it's the National Party.**

**I'm going to vote NP.**

**Vote NP**

*It makes sense!*



CAP- Tinks 24/4/87 304A

# 'Drop meeting for debate' offer

BY ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

STELLENBOSCH. — Dr Denis Worrall last night offered to cancel his final election meeting on May 4 in Helderberg in order to debate publicly with his opponent, Mr Chris Heunis, who also has a meeting there the same night.

In doing so Dr Worrall removed the chief reason Mr Heunis offered earlier this week for his refusal to accept his independent opponent's invitation to debate — lack of time.

On Monday, Mr Heunis ruled out a face-to-face clash with his challenger as his busy schedule "does not allow" for a debate. The minister said he did not have "a single free moment".

In renewing the invitation last night, Dr Worrall cited the "successful and interesting" debate that had taken place between independent Dr Esther Lategan and the NP's Mr Piet Marais in the neighbouring Stellenbosch constituency on Tuesday night.

"Does Mr Heunis regard the debate between Mr Marais and Dr Lategan as a gimmick?"

Dr Worrall also said the government was ideologically bankrupt and had lost its ability to lead or inspire hope.

President P W Botha's failure to provide a message of hope or sense of direction in his Stellenbosch address this week "revealed the bankruptcy of NP leadership", he said.

Speaking to about 700 people — including the Canadian and Italian ambassadors — on campus, Dr Worrall said the country found itself in a situation of "deep crisis".

For this reason the country had awaited a message of hope and some sense of direction from the leader, but Mr Botha's speech merely revealed his lack of imagination or inspiration.

Independent candidate for Stellenbosch Dr Esther Lategan said Mr Botha's speech had revealed "no hope for us South Africans".

She said a minimum requirement for a peaceful SA was the removal of all apartheid legislation.

"The path to white security lies through black liberation," she said.

Earlier yesterday Dr Worrall said in St George's Cathedral Hall that discussions similar to those leading to the formation of Union in 1910 were again needed in SA.

He addressed an Institute for Citizenship audience on the topic "What I stand for".

(Report by A Johnson and P Dennehy, 122 St George's St, CT.)

*Cape Times*  
**'Not possible' to change SA from NP** *24/4/87 304A*

Political Correspondent

TWO former prominent Helderberg Nationalists said in a statement on Wednesday that they had "sincerely believed that we could change South Africa from within the National Party but now we realize that this is not possible".

The statement was issued by Mr Jannie Momberg, former vice-chairman of the NP in the Helderberg constituency, and Mr Graham Banks, the former vice-chairman of the Helderberg South NP district council, who now support the independent candidate for Helderberg, Dr Denis Worrall.

The two NP defectors state that President P W Botha and the NP candidate in Helderberg, Mr Chris Heunis, asked voters to support the NP because "it makes sense". The defectors asked if it "made sense", inter alia, to support:

☐ "A political party which for 40 years in power has become arrogant, run down and ideologically exhausted?"

☐ "A candidate or party who have lost the trust and confidence of the black population, and who can't get talks with black leaders of stature?"

☐ "A government which believes that apartheid can be applied with compassion and a candidate who seeks a mandate for reform but rules out any possibility of dropping the Group Areas Act?"

(Report by Anthony Johnson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)



others," Mr Durr said at a meeting in government would be...  
pe Times

Funfinder Inside

208-4911

FRIDAY, APRIL 24, 1987

50c (45c plus 5c GST)

JOHANNESBURG. — Another anti-NP declaration signed by prominent Afrikaner academics is about to surface — this time at Potchefstroom University.

And from Port Elizabeth it is reported that a number of academics at the University of Port Elizabeth are preparing to sign a declaration of no confidence in the National Party.

According to a source close to UPE, liberal academics will be drawing up a petition expressing a lack of faith in the government, criticizing the role of the State President, Mr P W Botha,

CAPL TIMES 24/4/87  
304A  
Academic 'revolts' at Potchefstroom, UPE

and condemning the state of the country.

In another development, nine academics from five Afrikaans universities issued a statement yesterday saying they were convinced the NP was the only effective instrument for constitutional reform and called on voters not to "turn their back" on a "reform-minded government".

The Potchefstroom

document is titled "Why we are not going to vote on May 6".

One of the academics behind it is Philosophy of Law academic Professor Lourens du Plessis. He is also a prominent member of the Afrikaner Calvinist organization, the Reformational Movement of SA (Rebsa) and past editor of Woord en Daad.

The pro-government

declaration of the nine academics was released in Pretoria by Professor P R Botha, formerly of the Department of Architecture at Pretoria University.

Professor S A Strauss, of Unisa's law faculty, one of the nine on the list, has insisted the move was being made independently of the NP.

(Reports by Max du Preez, 11 Diagonal Street, Jhb, Dawn Barkhuizen, 19 Baakens Street, PE, and Mark van der Velden, 514 Berclays Bank Bldg, Church Square, Pta.)

morning. Occupancy on Soweto

304A 24-29/4/87  
Democratic  
movements  
unite against  
the election

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban  
FOURTEEN extra-parliamentary  
organisations launched their campaign  
in Durban this week under the banner,  
"One people, one country, one person,  
one vote".

The kick-off meeting attended by  
about 1 500 people was a unique  
blend of political styles: echoes of pre-  
Emergency township mass rallies in  
the huge colourful banners on the  
walls and the stamping, chanting,  
dancing youth — most of them at the  
back of the hall and in the galleries; a  
touch of more conventional white  
election campaign meetings nearer the  
front, where the audience clapped  
instead of shouting "Amandla!" and  
looked uncomfortable addressed as  
"Comrades"; and a dash of Greenham  
Common women's peace movement  
style politics with an intricate  
patchwork banner: "You can't kill the  
spirit, she is like a mountain" adorn-  
ing the front of the long top table.

The message was different, too.

United Democratic Front Natal  
publicity secretary Lechesa Tsenoli  
said the whites-only election was a  
sham and the election issues  
"irrelevant". But he called on whites  
not to emigrate; they should stay and  
contribute towards a democratic non-  
racial solution to the country's  
problems.

He urged white voters to accept the  
responsibility of staying and  
"identifying with the aspirations of the  
majority of South Africans".

Tsenoli said when the alliance of  
extra-parliamentary organisations  
described the whites-only election as  
irrelevant, they were not saying  
whites were irrelevant. "They can  
play a vital role in bringing about  
peace and security by working with  
non-racial democratic organisations."

Congress of South African Trade  
Unions regional secretary Thami  
Mhlomi made a similar call, saying  
many whites were workers who  
should therefore find a home in  
Cosatu.

There was no doubt about the style  
in which many of the audience were  
dispersed at the end of the meeting.

With a display of strength outside  
the city hall, police cordoned off the  
street and warned bus passengers they  
would be given "a hiding" if they  
didn't get back into the vehicles and  
stop singing and dancing in the streets.

It was pure Emergency South  
Africa.

In Cape Town, reports Gaye  
Davis, an appeal was issued to white  
South Africans to join the majority of  
the country's people in helping create  
a genuine democracy.

The call was issued by 12  
organisations which say they have  
found themselves "sharing the vision  
of millions of South Africans" by  
working with mass-based extra-  
parliamentary organisations.

Launching their campaign for  
"votes for all in a united South  
Africa", the organisations, who  
include the Black Sash, Nusas,  
Women's Movement for Peace and the  
Civil Rights League, said they  
believed increasing numbers of whites  
"would vote as we would — for a fair  
and lasting peace among all the  
citizens of southern Africa".

But the all-white elections in two  
weeks' time allowed no means of  
exercising this choice, offering only  
notions of accelerated "reform" and  
other schemes which divided the  
nation and could lead to worsening  
conflict, a joint declaration said.

United Democratic Front national  
executive member Cheryl Carolus,  
who emerged from hiding to address  
the press conference on Wednesday,  
said those who criticised the UDF for  
not stating clearly whether or not  
whites should vote on May 6 should  
realise the UDF was not side-stepping  
the issue.

"The UDF is not prescribing to  
people whether or not to vote because  
it considers the white elections to be a  
side-show, detracting from the real  
issues facing this country," she said.



CA Times 24/4/87

# Many mistakes, admits Durr

304A

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE National Party had made "many" mistakes, but if it was destroyed the hope of creating greater democracy in South Africa would also be destroyed, the Deputy Minister of Finance, Mr Kent Durr, said last night.

"For every mistake we have made that you can name, I can name ten others," Mr Durr said at a meeting in Table View in the Malemsbury constituency.

Speaking to about 50 people, Mr Durr said the government had "never" said the Progressive Federal Party was pro-ANC.

"What we have said is that they will allow the ANC to operate."

He also accused the PFP MP for Port Elizabeth, Mr John Malcomess, of regarding the ANC president, Oliver Tambo, as a moderate.

Quoting from Hansard, he said Mr Malcomess said Mr Tambo would be replaced by a radical like Joe Slovo if the government continued with its

current strategies.

"In other words, he regards Tambo as a moderate," he said.

Challenged by a questioner to prove Mr Malcomess or Mr Eglin said Mr Tambo was a moderate, Mr Durr repeated his statement, but he refused to withdraw it when he was told that neither Mr Malcomess nor Mr Eglin had made such a statement.

He also said he had never been happy with the restrictions on the press and, if conditions favoured it, the government would like to lift the state of emergency and introduce "softer security laws".

Asked to name the "Prog newspapers" he had referred to earlier, Mr Durr replied: "I say that the SAAN and Argus newspapers are by and large sympathetic to the PFP and not sympathetic to the government."

Mr Durr said the proposed national statutory council was "a kind of national indaba", a starting point for negotiations, but it would be unwise to pre-empt the debate as negotiations had to be entered "with an open heart and an open agenda".

(Report by B Streek, 122 St George's Street, CT)

# Rugby Boks back independents

By DALE LAUTENBACH  
Political Staff

FOUR Springboks, rugby stars Carel du Plessis, Jan "Boland" Coetzee and Divan Serfontein and cricketer Tim Shaw, have joined the list of top sportsmen who are supporting the reform alliance of the independent election candidates.

Former Western Province captain Du Plessis has moved to the Transvaal but is still registered in Stellenbosch where Dr Esther Lategan is standing as an independent.

Coetzee is a voter in Helderberg where Dr Denis Worrall is opposing the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis.

Du Plessis said today: "I was with the National Party for a long time but now I'm supporting the independents."

## Floating in dark

"All discriminatory legislation has to go.

"The Government has been talking of doing that but it hasn't happened. I don't know whether it makes a difference that sports people stand up and speak out, but I think we've been floating in the dark for too long.

"We've always found doors closed to us because of South Africa's politics and it's time now for us to stand up, speak out and get something going."

Dr Serfontein, who works at Tygerberg Hospital, said his main criticisms of the Government were based on humanitarian grounds — its "probable inability to get on with reform" and its record of economic mismanagement.

"At Tygerberg we work with old broken instruments. They spend R6-million on a song which doesn't mean anything ... while we don't have the equipment to treat patients," he said.

He had never been a member of a political party but, like many people now, he felt driven to take a stand.

Dr Serfontein is registered in the Durbanville constituency.

He has not decided yet whether he will vote for the Progressive Federal Party there or if he will spoil his paper.

Coetzee, who has a wine farm in the Helderberg constituency, said he was supporting Dr Worrall.

"The time has come for all people of goodwill to get together without considering colour. Colour is not important," he said.

Shaw said in Port Elizabeth today that he fully supported the independent alliance reform movement.

## Equal chance

"I know what they stand for and I support them fully and I know fellow Springbok Dave Richardson, who is overseas at the moment, also supports what they say they stand for," he said.

"We do not mind against whom or with whom we play. All should have an equal chance," he said.

Other top sportsmen who support the alliance — the loose affiliation of the independent candidates, the PFP and the New Republic Party as an alternative to the Government — are: Graeme Pollock, Garth le Roux, Tommy Bedford, Daryl Bestall, Peter Kirsten, Lawrence Seeff, Adrian Kuiper, Mike Procter, Morné du Plessis, Oscar Chalupsky and Vince van der Bijl.

(Report by D Lautenbach, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town and P Candido, Home Trust Life Building, Main Street, Port Elizabeth.)

## 'Victory' ahead

MR DP "Lang Dawid" de Villiers, QC, former managing director of Nasionale Pers, said there were clear indications that independents Dr Denis Worrall and Dr Esther Lategan were "on the road to victory".

## Early votes

THE election started quietly and soberly halfway across the world yesterday, when 72 Government officials and their spouses cast ballots at the South African Embassy in Washington — postal votes to be shipped today by special diplomatic mail.



## Great Right hopes

There is little doubt that one of the toughest regional battles in the election campaign is happening in the Free State.

Currently, the NP holds 13 of the 14 seats in the province, and the HNP one. Only eight sitting MPs — seven Nats and the HNP's Louis Stofberg — are standing for re-election. Only two of them, Justice Minister and Free State NP leader Kobie Coetsee (Bloemfontein West), and Deputy Defence Minister Wynand Breytenbach (Kroonstad), are considered certain of retaining their seats.

Only three seats, Bloemfontein North, East and West, are regarded as NP strongholds, although Kroonstad is seen to be "safe" for the party. Observers say NP majorities of 1 000 or more in other constituencies will be regarded as good.

In Sasolburg, Stofberg will be extremely fortunate to win again. He narrowly beat the NP's candidate in a by-election in 1985; but only with the active help of the CP, which stood back for him. This year he faces the CP and a Nat, and his chances of success don't seem good.

The NP's greatest advantage in the province is the failure of the rightwing parties to form a pact. The HNP and CP are fighting each other as well as a Nat candidate in nine constituencies: Bethlehem, Fauresmith,



**OFS Nat leader Coetsee ... facing reduced majorities**

Heilbron, Parys, Sasolburg, Smithfield, Virginia, Welkom and Winburg.

There are straight fights between the NP and CP in Bloemfontein East and West, Kroonstad and Ladybrand. In Bloemfontein North there is a three-cornered contest between the NP, CP and PFP. In Virginia the CP, HNP, and PFP are all opposing white "own affairs" Education Minister Piet Clasc. And in Welkom all four parties are again in the running.

According to observers, the voting pattern of conservative white goldminers is expected to play a key role in the outcome in Virginia and, to a lesser extent, in Welkom.

It is widely accepted that had the rightwing allied, the NP candidates would have been safe in only four seats — the three in Bloemfontein and in Kroonstad.

There is little doubt that the Right is strong in the Free State. In the 1981 general election, the HNP opposed the Nats in 13 of

the 14 seats and drew 25% of the total vote. Outside of the three Bloemfontein seats, the HNP's share of the vote was just over 40%.

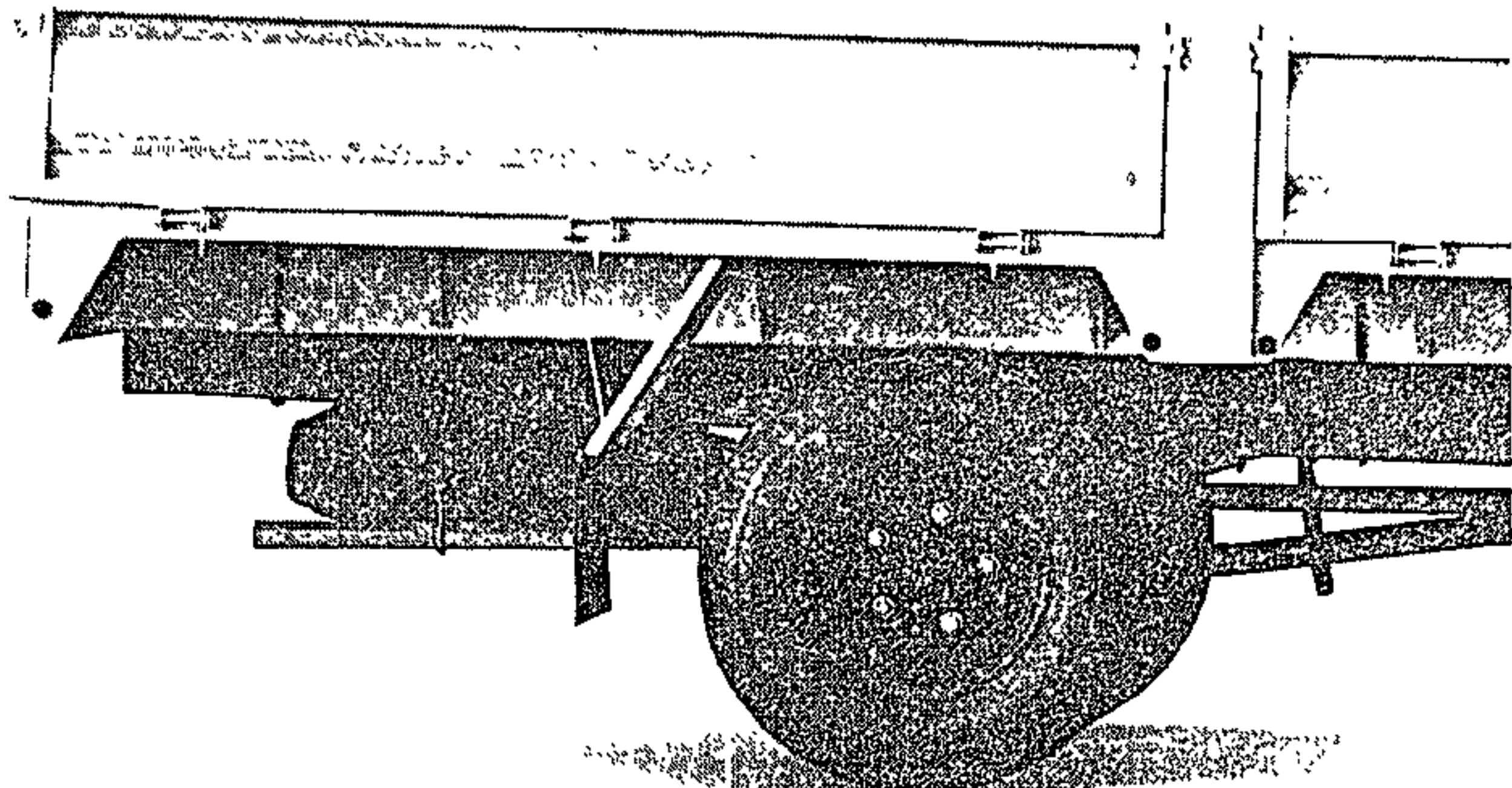
It was accepted that a considerable slice of the HNP's vote came from "anti-Nats," rather than voters who supported the party. That is the base on which the CP has built its support in the province since it broke away from the NP in 1982.

In Free State by-elections since 1982, the CP and NP have run neck-and-neck, and CP spokesmen now claim that in spite of the unresolved feud with the HNP, they can still win at least three seats: Heilbron, Parys and Fauresmith. Smithfield and Ladybrand are outside possibilities. The HNP in turn claims that Virginia, Fauresmith and Sasolburg are winnable.

A realistic assessment, however, gives the HNP little chance of winning a Free State seat (Sasolburg being a remote possibility), and the CP a reasonable chance of winning Heilbron and Parys. In both constituencies the NP is having an extremely tough fight. But even if the NP does retain the seats, there is a good chance that it will do so on minority votes, with the two rightwing parties polling higher combined totals than the NP. This could also happen in Fauresmith and Sasolburg.

In many ways, Sasolburg is the most interesting contest in the province. It is effectively a make-or-break case for the HNP. If Stofberg loses, the psychological effect on the

# Canter's b



party of being deprived of its only MP could be terminal. On the other side of that coin, the effect on the Nats of re-gaining the seat from the Right will be a much-needed boost and could detract from poor showings in other constituencies in the province.

Although CP leaders have officially outlawed rightwing pacts at local level, there are still rumours of behind-the-scenes collaboration between CP and HNP workers in some Free State constituencies. Surprises in this regard before election day cannot be ruled out, particularly in Smithfield and Sasolburg.

There are, however, some CP workers whose attitude is that the time has come to "clear the air" on the Right once and for all. Accordingly, they are campaigning more fiercely against the HNP than against the NP.



# State hints at new system of local rule

By JOHN YELD  
Municipal Reporter

THE Government has hinted that it may be considering a completely-new form of local government for South Africa, and the French system — which includes politically-active mayors — appears a possible model.

President P W Botha last year made a pointed reference to the French system and the latest hint of a change in thinking has come from Dr Andreas van Wyk, one of the Government's top constitutional experts.

Dr van Wyk, head of constitutional development services in the Department of Development Planning and former dean of the law faculty at Stellenbosch University, was addressing the annual meeting of the Institute of Municipal Personnel Practitioners in Cape Town.

He said South Africa had inherited its "weak mayor" system of local government.

## CHANGE TAKING PLACE

Dr van Wyk said: "It is being increasingly asked whether, in our Third World situation, there shouldn't be a thorough review of the structural basis on which our local authorities are constituted." He did not elaborate.

He said there was a process of change taking place in South Africa.

"It is also clear that this change is being introduced over a period of time — not because the tempo is being deliberately kept slow, as is sometimes alleged, but because the implications are so sweeping."

The necessity of maintaining continuity of services had made it necessary for the tempo to be adapted to circumstances, said Dr van Wyk.

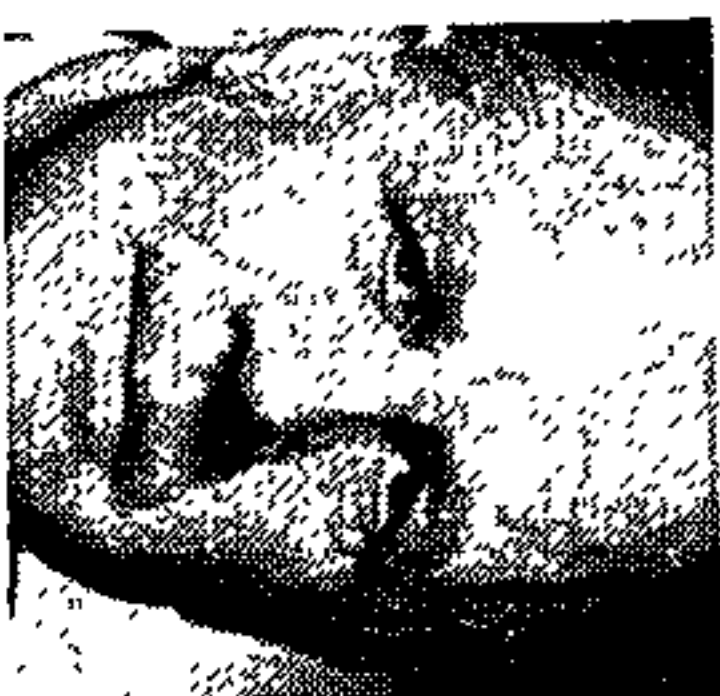
Criticism of the Government's reform policy was "somewhat premature".

Although people tended to focus on reports concerning Parliament and waited for announcements of a new constitution, a new legislature or new Cabinet — the "big-bang" approach to constitutional reform — it was reform at the third tier of government which often provided the impetus for reform at other levels, he said.

(Report by J Yeld, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)



# Nats put SA's security in jeopardy, says Eglin



● EGLIN

PFP leader Colin Eglin yesterday turned around the election debate on security and charged the NP government with jeopardising the country's security through its policies.

He also said the Nats were "dusting off their hoary old red herring" to shift attention away from the issue crucial to the future of SA: getting rid of apartheid.

Eglin told Business Day in an interview: "There can be no doubt that in order to try to shift the attention of voters away from the disastrous failure of its policies, the Nats' election tactic has been to muzzle the Press, control the flow of information and then present the problems of the country as the consequence of a largely externally initiated revolutionary onslaught."

"The election of May 6 will show they have been relatively ineffective. There may be a few gullible voters, but most South Africans who have become angry with Nat mismanagement and wastefulness see these tactics as a Nat ploy which is trotted out at each election with predictable regularity."

He said one could assume people relying primarily on the SABC and other government sources for information would be more affected by this cam-

Government was diverting attention from its disastrous failures by blaming the country's problems on an onslaught from outside, Opposition leader Colin Eglin told Political Correspondent MAX DU PREEZ. Eglin added the problem in SA was not communism, but Nationalists playing into the Kremlin's hands.

paign than others.

Eglin said it was only among people close to government that the PFP had an image of being "soft on security and hard on the police". Anyone looking at the party's actions and policies would realise this was absolutely groundless.

"The fact that the PFP, as part of its responsibility as an opposition, has on occasion criticised the actions of individual policemen and the way in which government has handled security matters in no way detracts from the PFP's recognition that in a society like ours, that is in a process of transition, there has to be effective security management as well as an effective police force."

The PFP believes the banning of individuals or organisations by executive action is counter-productive. "There must be laws to prohibit sedition, subversion, terrorism and the use of violence to overthrow constitutional government. Any party or organisation or person acting in defiance of these laws must be dealt with firmly and effectively-

ly by the courts, who are there to interpret and apply the law."

Eglin said detention without trial had become part of the pattern of Nationalist administration. The PFP opposed it as a matter of principle. "No citizen should have his liberty taken away by arbitrary executive action. His liberty should only be restricted if he is found guilty by a court after a fair trial."

The state of emergency was the most concrete evidence of the fact that government has failed to solve the key socio-economic and political issues facing SA.

"While they may produce a temporary facade of peace and stability, the emergency regulations, with their provisions for the muzzling of the Press, controlling information, banning and detentions, have done nothing to solve the basic problems which have given rise to the polarisation and conflict in our society."

On government's insistence the ANC abandon violence before negotiation can

take place, Eglin said there can clearly be no real negotiation as long as one side was holding a pistol against the head of the other.

"In order to get the widest possible participation — and this is essential — we must take steps to wind down violence and persuade people that there is a better way of dealing with political issues."

"Just as it is essential to get the millions of people represented by Inkatha to the negotiating table, so it is important to get the millions affiliated to the ANC there. There must be a discussion on the ways and means to stop the violence as a preliminary to a new constitution."

Eglin said communists were always ready to exploit socio-economic and political problems all around the world. "Essentially, the problem in SA is not communism per se, but the failure of the NP to get rid of apartheid and address the key problems in SA. By failing over 37 years they have played into the hands of the communists in a way that no strategist in the Kremlin could have dreamed up."

"Once SA gets rid of apartheid and creates a society with genuine equality of opportunity, the ground will be cut from under the feet of the communists and they will be of no importance in SA."

# Disaffection mounts as Potch academics take anti-NP stance

304P 24/8/87 B/Day

THE NP is fast losing the hearts and minds of Afrikaans academics. Another anti-NP declaration signed by prominent Afrikaner academics is about to appear — this time at Potchefstroom University.

This follows the earlier statement by more than 300 Stellenbosch academics distancing themselves from government's slow reform and lack of vision.

In an effort to counter this growing disaffection of academics on Afrikaans campuses, nine academics from five Afrikaans universities issued a statement yesterday saying they were convinced the NP was the only effective instrument for constitutional reform and urged voters not to turn their back on a "reform-minded government".

The Potchefstroom document, meant to be made known only in the Sunday newspapers this weekend, is titled "Why

MAX DU PREEZ  
Political Correspondent

we are not going to vote on May 6".

One of the academics behind it is philosophy of law professor Lourens du Plessis. He is also a prominent member of the Reformational Movement of SA (Rebsa), the Afrikaner Calvinist organisation that has become strongly critical of government.

Rebsa is organising a conference at Stellenbosch tomorrow on "Reform in a Crisis" that will be addressed by former Rapport editor Willem de Klerk, former Nasionale Pers MD David de Villiers and NP Stellenbosch MP Piet Marais.

Potchefstroom's NP MP Louis le Grange said on Wednesday he knew of moves of "a handful of *beswaardes*" (uneasy ones) drawing up a document. "We know they are Prog-minded."

Report by Max du Preez, 11 Diagonal St, Johannesburg



If early election canvassing is anything to go by Mr and Mrs Average Voter are in the political wilderness and appear to be either so confused by politics or so disillusioned with politicians they intend to stay there.

But there are also significant shifts in terms of new party alliances among voters looking for a political home. They are looking for parties that offer them hope of economic and political stability as opposed to support based on traditional language differences.

This emerged from canvassing the opinions of voters in Edenvale and is supported by party canvassers in the constituency and a researcher into voting trends.

In Edenvale, formerly a UP constituency that appears to represent a fair cross-section of urbanised whites, a high percentage of "doubtful" voters is being recorded in the two-way contest between the PFP and the NP.

About a quarter of the 21 000 voters form an X-factor of first-time voters, most aged 18 to 25. Many express confusion over politics or believe the white election and the parliamentary system are irrelevant.

Brian Goodall won Edenvale for the PFP from the NP in a by-election in 1979, shortly after Frenk Van Zyl Slabbert became PFP leader. A hard-working constituency MP, he has turned it into reasonably safe PFP seat.

Goodall aims to increase significantly his share of votes cast from the nearly 58% he scored in the last election when he stood against the NP's Clive Derby-Lewis, now a CP candidate in Krugersdorp.

Of the roughly 33% of voters PFP canvassers put in the "doubtful" category, a significant number, the PFP says, have indicated they have no wish to vote at all.

P canvassers have categorised the majority of Edenvale's voters as "doubtful".

A swingier polling district in the constituency, they say, is an estab-

# Edenvale a fair barometer of SA hopes and fears

13/10/87  
24/4/87  
DOMINIQUE GILBERT

30417

lished "old-style UP area" that includes Hurlyvale and Elma Park.

High security fences, vicious dogs and burglar systems in parts of the Edenvale constituency bear testimony to security fears.

In labyrinthine town-house complexes of predominantly Jewish home-owner communities, voters (nicknamed by canvassers the "rats and mice" element because they are habitually out) are as difficult to contact as the large number of untraceable voters registered in the constituency.

Among the inhabitants at home in the complex, which has a high turnover of occupants, Business Day found many did not even know they were on the voters' roll and when told, voiced ambivalence over whether they would vote.

But from both the *nouveaux riche* and the blue-collar workers (living in economic houses, some with luxury cars parked outside) one message is clear.

Mr and Mrs Average Voter were not necessarily happy with what they saw as "the mess South Africa is in" — particularly in terms of the economy, government bureaucracy, a "bullying" NP leader-

ship and political instability.

But many said they knew too little about the issues in the election to want to commit themselves.

Several voters were reluctant to clarify political issues with party canvassers and from behind half-closed doors made comments like "I watch TV so I get all the information I need" or "I'm high up on the election because I watch TV".

One woman, standing behind a security gate with curlers in her hair and wearing slinky shorts and jewel-studded high-heeled sandals said: "To be quite honest, I know nothing about politics and am not like some people who are going to vote what their friends vote. So I won't vote."

Another, who was transfixed by her TV set during the canvassing session, said she had "thought about voting" and after much persuasion from her immigrant husband (who could not vote) agreed she should vote PFP.

Confirmed NP voters were not even prepared to discuss their difficulties with PFP policy.

speakers who are essentially "middle class, salt-of-the-earth" types, fundamentally stable and with high commitments to their jobs.

These people say they are worried about the NP-claimed softness of the PFP on communists, the ANC and the increasing crime rate. They fear PFP policy may result in one-man-one-vote and political domination by blacks.

They also feel PFP leader Collin Eglin cannot match the charisma of the party's former leader, Van Zyl Slabbert.

One voter said he would vote NP because "it has been in power so long it must know what it's doing. How do we know how any other party will handle the situation?"

PFP researcher Jannie Hofmeyr believes fear and SA's current political chaos are exploited by the NP among this group of English-speakers who "leap into the arms of strong leadership and fly into the laager in times of turmoil".

As a result, the PFP is aiming much of its campaign at dispelling fears by promoting a strong stand as anti-communist, anti-violence and pro-security.

Meanwhile, the "Afrikaner

es, particularly business executives or academics, are beginning to feel more at home with the PFP vision of alliance politics.

Hofmeyr believes this is because they have "outgrown the laager mentality" and prefer to analyse the political scenario before making conclusions.

He also says, and this is backed by some voters' comments, that the re-alignments have occurred as a result of disillusionment with the tricameral Parliament. The 1983 referendum was a watershed for the NP in terms of classical voting patterns, he says.

Brian Goodall, who is particularly strong on pension issues, appears to have considerable support from pensioners who form about 20% of voters in the constituency.

Goodall, the shadow Defence Minister, is aiming his campaign at issues concerning security and defence, the economy, the PFP's constitutional alternatives and pensions.

NP candidate Joan Hunter says she is trying to dispel allegations by voters that NP reform initiatives have been "cosmetic".

Her campaign is aimed at trying to allay fears that government's reform has either been too slow and too little or that it is too much and "government is giving everything away".

Speaking of the right-wingers in the constituency — many of whom, she says, are more likely not to vote than choose either the NP or PFP — Hunter points at the unhappiness expressed by some because a black Methodist Church minister was allowed to move into a less-affluent area of the constituency. "People don't want their property prices to decline," she says.

Her main canvasser Taffie Kilikus believes PFP supporters' patriotism "leaps out of their hearts when their pockets are touched".

Hunter believes many English-speakers will vote NP while Afrikaners who have lost faith with the NP will not vote.

Report by Dominique Gilbert 11 Diagonal St, Johannesburg.



# Election gamble could jackfire

By PATRICK LAURENCE

SOUTH AFRICA'S former Ambassador to Britain, Denis Worrall, and his allies in the Progressive Federal Party, may have miscalculated badly.

The challenge to the ruling National Party in next month's election by the loose alliance between the trio of independents which Worrall heads and the PFP rests on the assumption that there will be another general election in 1989.

But a 1989 poll may not take place, even though the government is constitutionally-bound to hold a general election for all three chambers in the tri-racial parliament then.

The trio of independents contend that there is general discontent in the white electorate over the government's lack of vision for the future. They believe that if they do well next month, they will be poised to exploit the yearning for a "new vision of a shared future" in 1989.

As Worrall and co-independents Wynand Malan and Esther Lategan put it in their election manifesto: "We accept that this spirit is directed at the general election which constitutionally must be held at the end of 1989."

PFP leader Colin Eglin has similar hopes. He sees the independents as catalysts who will precipitate a desertion from the NP by verligtes. He accepts, however, that the process will only come to maturation in 1989.

But the government can avoid the 1989 election merely by amending the constitution. All it needs to do so is to gain the agreement of the majority parties in the coloured and Indian chambers of parliament.

The ruling parties in these chambers, the Labour Party and the National People's Party, may not be

Nat and HNP supporters climbed into each other when Defence Minister Magnus Malan addressed an election meeting in Grahamstown this week

adverse to deferment of the scheduled election. In the 1984 election they were given a torrid time by militants in the coloured and Indian communities, who labelled them "collaborators and sell-outs". Extra-parliamentary forces campaigned for a boycott of the 1984 elections, reducing the polls to less than 30 percent and less than 20 percent of the registered coloured and Indian voters respectively.

Since then the popularity of coloured and Indian MPs has declined still further. They are seen as the "junior partners" of President PW Botha, as men who have allowed themselves to be manipulated by the ruling whites.

A rebellion has broken out in the Labour Party, which won 76 of the 80 elected seats in coloured chamber in the 1984 election. It was sparked by the "abject apology" of the Labour Party leader, Allan Hendrickse, to Botha for defiantly swimming in the sea from a whites-only beach in January.

To them it was final proof that Hendrickse's original anti-apartheid psyche had given away to a new political persona: a "boereboetie", softened by the salary of a cabinet minister.

One of the six Labour Party rebels, Peter Mopp, believes that Hendrickse hardly needs to be persuaded to vote for postponement of the 1989 election. Apart from his reluctance to face another humiliating election, there is a more concrete reason, Mopp says.

To qualify for the generous parliamentary pensions, MPs have to serve for seven years. If the 1989 election is postponed to 1992 — five years after next month's election — coloured and Indian MPs will have qualified for their pensions by the time they have to seek re-election.

Fate, or good judgement, appears to have offered Botha's NP a reasonable chance of returning to power with the same number of elected seats as it held when Mr Botha dissolved parliament; 110 out of 165.

The price of gold has topped the 450 dollars an ounce mark, providing the government with addition revenue. In dollar terms the rand has climbed to 50 US cents, against hardly more than 30 in August-September 1985.

Government negotiators have secured an agreement with international creditors to defer repayment of part of the South Africa's huge foreign debt of US\$23-billion until mid-1990, offering a reprieve against financial pressure.

The ultra-right Conservative and Herstigte Nasionale parties — which the government fears even more than Worrall and his "new vision" allies — is divided against itself and involved in a fratricidal political war.

But by 1989 the situation could have changed, making a general election hazardous for the the government.

There is no guarantee that the faint upswing in the economy is more than a temporary respite. By 1989 the Conservative Party is likely to have

Picture: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Afrapix

devoured the smaller Herstigte Nasionale Party and unified the ultra-rightists under its banner.

Botha, aged 71, is holding his cards close to his chest, content to let South Africa guess when he will retire. But the betting now is that he will bow out towards the end of 1988 — shortly before his term of office expires.

Botha's successor is unlikely to want to face an election so soon after taking office, the more so as between now and then additional seats must be allocated by a new delimitation to the Transvaal, where Andries Treurnicht's CP and its ferocious AWB auxiliaries are strongest.

●Newspapers this week received copies of an ANC letter addressed to "responsible white leaders".

The pamphlet, posted in Johannesburg, outlines ANC history and its reasons for resorting to violence, and questions whether the "constitutional path" is still a reasonable way to bring change.

"The escalation of the conflict in South Africa makes it clear that there is no middle road to peace. One either participates in apartheid's parliament supports it and defends it to the death or one rejects the apartheid system and all its stands for," it argues.

It calls on white opposition leaders to "boycott the racist elections" and join "the path of genuine cooperation and non-racialism".

(Reports by Patrick Laurence and Ann Harber, both of 190 Marshall Street Johannesburg).





# It'll be a blood-spattered election

By MONO BADELA, SEFAKO  
NYAKA AND JO-ANN BEKKER

TWELVE days before the May 6 election, an upsurge in armed attacks, industrial action and a huge rent stayaway in Soweto threaten to engulf the National Party's "reform" platform.

Growing tensions over the six-week railway strike erupted into bloody conflict this week between police and strikers after SA Transport Services announced it planned to sack the 23 000 strikers. By late yesterday, 12 000 had been formally dismissed.

At least six members of the SA Railways and Harbour Workers' Union were killed in clashes at Germiston and Doornfontein and three policemen were seriously injured.

Shortly after the clashes, police launched a seven-hour siege of Cosatu House in Johannesburg, home of the country's most powerful labour federation, the Congress of SA Trade Unions. At the end of the seven hours, two workers had been shot and at least 400 railway workers had been arrested. Hundreds more were detained briefly.

Yesterday, Cosatu warned the government that unrest in the country was bound to escalate if there were further security force attacks on the labour federation or railway workers.

At a press conference following the siege, general secretary Jay Naidoo said the Witwatersrand region was demanding the immediate reinstatement of all dismissed Sats workers and the start of bona fide negotiations — as well as an end to rent evictions.

Yesterday, lawyers for Cosatu said they were preparing an application to restrain police from conducting

"unlawful acts" against Cosatu and affiliates. The application will also demand that police return all documents confiscated when police occupied Cosatu House.

Meanwhile, Sarhwi's urgent application for an undertaking by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok that his men would not interfere in future with meetings organised by striking workers was postponed to Monday. The application was tabled before the Rand Supreme Court.

Yesterday morning, striking members of the 360 000-strong National Union of Mineworkers charged private mine security men had forced them back to work at gunpoint after a two-day stoppage at two Johannesburg Consolidated Investment mines, Western Areas and Randfontein Gold Estates mines. JCI — which resumes talks with the Num next week — denied the charge.

The three-week-old post office strike continued this week, with all Soweto post offices and 32 work stations in Johannesburg shut for the duration. Hopes for an end to the deadlock surfaced yesterday with reports that one of two arrested strikers had been released; the release of both is a precondition to negotiations, according to the Post and Telecommunications Workers Association.

Soweto was calm but tense yesterday as thousands of township residents heeded a call to stay away from work the second day in protest against evictions for non-payment of

payment of rent.

On Wednesday, police used teargas to disperse an estimated 1 000 people who converged on the Soweto Town Council offices to lodge a protest against rent evictions, heeding a local street committee/youth group call for a three-day stayaway.

Blazing tyres and car wrecks barricaded streets throughout the township; reports came in of widespread skirmishing. An 18-year-old youth was shot dead Wednesday afternoon after police opened fire in Naledi. According to the Bureau for Information, the shooting occurred with a group of youths stoned a delivery vehicle.

By late yesterday, meetings to discuss the rent boycott had been cancelled in the township, but meetings to discuss the election were

scheduled for today.

Commercial vehicles had stopped entering the township for deliveries. Although trains ran normally on Wednesday, they ran mainly empty, and a Putco representative said buses had been withdrawn for lack of passengers. Schools were closed yesterday and Wednesday; and major employers in the Johannesburg area reported "significant" numbers of employees staying away.

Meanwhile early yesterday grenades were lobbed into houses in the Cape in three separate attacks. It was the latest in a week of violent actions which included a car bomb explosion at Langlaagte which caused some damage but no injuries, and a grenade attack on a municipal police training college in Soweto on Tuesday morning which killed one recruit and injured 64.

**APARTHEID BAROMETER****COSTS OF APARTHEID**

Apartheid cost South Africans R3,9-billion in 1986, according to Prof. Geoff Everingham, professor of accounting at the University of Cape Town. He said the figure of R3,9-billion was a "medium" estimate, based on research done by Professor Mike Savage, professor of Sociology at UCT. Everingham said this figure referred only to the direct cost of apartheid in terms of the national budget. He said there were also indirect costs in terms of inefficiency created within the economy and the withdrawal of foreign capital from the country.

**PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL SALARIES**

A total of R40,448-million was spent on the salaries, allowances and administration costs of the President's Council, according to figures released in parliament. In 1981, when the President's Council first came into existence, a total of R8,72-million was spent on salaries, allowances and administration costs.

**DEFENCE WASTE**

According to the auditor-general's report to parliament for the 1985/86 tax year a total of R58-million was written off through losses, fruitless expenditure, deficiencies and the cost of repairs, and a further R197 486 was listed as unauthorised expenditure.

The SA Defence Force was singled out by the auditor-general, Joop de Loor, as the main culprit in wasted expenditure. SADF units recorded a total of R30-million in stock surpluses while at the same time recording R20-million in deficiencies.

The auditor-general reported that the SADF had undertaken 2 007 internal reports which had resulted in 61 adverse gradings, 147 unsatisfactory, 951 satisfactory and 848 favourable gradings.

Last year the auditor-general reported that loss, damage and avoidable expense in the SADF cost more than R32-million in the 1984/5 financial year.

**LIQUIDATIONS**

A total of 2 3 companies were placed under compulsory liquidation and 4 959 people were declared bankrupt in 1986, the Minister of Justice, Kobie Coetsee said in parliament.

**APPRENTICE FIGURES**

The total number of indentured apprentices in South Africa fell from 14 500 in 1982 to 9 600 in 1986, according to Lawrence McCrystal, chairman of the SA Board of Trade and Industry.

**INDIAN UNEMPLOYMENT**

Unemployment among Indians increased by 35 percent in the 12 months to November 1986, according to figures released by the Central Statistical Services. In November 1985, 22 835 Indians were unemployed. A year later this figure had increased to 30 824 out of an economically active population of 307 228. Of those Indians unemployed, 35,9 percent were aged 30 or over, compared with a figure of 35,2 percent in November 1985.

**BLACK MANAGERS**

Less than four percent of all managers and administrators in South Africa are black, according to the latest official population analysis. Out of a total of 256 000 managers and administrators, 10 802 are black. More than 60 percent of all economically active South Africans are black. The ratio of black managers to workers is about 1 to 820.

**NAMIBIAN WAR INCIDENTS**

The number of anti-personnel mine blasts in Namibia rose from 20 in 1983 to 561 in 1986, and between January and March this year there have already been 331 such attacks, according to figures released by the South West Africa Territorial Force (SWATF). Figures for anti-mine vehicle mine attacks were 77 in 1984, 147 in 1985, 328 in 1986 and 187 in the first three months of 1987.

According to SWATF figures, Plan, the armed wing of the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo), has lost 10 313 people since 1978. Between January and March this year, 402 Swapo guerrillas were killed, SWATF said.

Between 1977 and 1986 Plan initiated 7 208 incidents, 476 of them last year. The security forces initiated 2 208 armed contacts between 1980 and March 1987, while Plan initiated 584 armed contacts in the same period, according to SWATF. A total of 1 326 civilians were killed in the war between 1978 and 1986, 119 of them last year, according to SWATF.

**STOLEN POLICE AND SADF GUNS**

According to figures released in parliament by the Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, 509 police guns were lost or stolen in the 12 months prior to August 1986. Of the 367 lost guns 235 were pistols, 81 revolvers and 51 rifles. Of the 142 stolen guns 111 were pistols, 24 revolvers and seven rifles. A total of 77 out of the 509 lost or stolen guns were recovered.

The Minister of Defence refused to answer questions on lost or stolen SADF guns. He said it was not in the nation's interest because it was ANC policy to obtain as many weapons as possible from the SADF. However, Bravo magazine, the in-house magazine from Natal Command, said in an article that they lost 1,5 rifles per day.

**PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE**

HLABENG SAM MATLOLE, 63, former Vaal Civic Association (VCA) leader, was detained in February 1985 and is still being held as one of the Delmas Treason Trialists.

Matlole, the oldest of the Delmas trialists, was born in the North Eastern Transvaal and grew up in the Lydenburg district, where he started work after a few years of schooling. In 1945 he moved to Johannesburg and worked as a domestic servant. His first brush with the law came in 1954 when he was arrested for a pass offence. In 1956 he moved to Evaton and in 1969 to Sebokeng.

Matlole played a key role in the formation of the VCA in 1983 and was elected treasurer of the Zone Seven Area Committee. In 1984 he was active in the UDF's Million Signature Campaign. He was detained in 1985 and has now spent nearly 27 months in detention and police custody without having been convicted of any offence.

At the time of his detention he was working in a dry cleaning service to support his wife and five children.

**BANNED BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS AND OBJECTS**

Kwanele — play (Nyanga Theatre Group, directed by Warren Nebe); Passing the Message; Bullies and Hot Chili (all films); Boobie Bell (Poynter Products Inc); Blabber Boobie (Poynter Products Inc); The Leather Mistress Mystery — Adventure One (not stated); International Loving Fashions (not stated); Stud's Wardrobe (Lady of Paris, Birmingham); Love Aids — the new range (Lady of Paris, Birmingham); Wads — True Homosexual Experiences from STH Writers, Vol 6 (Boyd McDonald — ed).

Unbanned: Lenin Vol 2 — All Power to the Soviet (Tony Cliff).

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DAWID VAN WYK

# The show must go on

Professor Dawid van Wyk, as the new "Indaba" director, will be responsible for getting its constitutional message across to the country and, in particular, Natal and Kwa-Zulu.

A constitutional lawyer, seconded to his new position from the University of South Africa, Van Wyk (40) is confident that the majority among his audiences will welcome the Indaba proposals for second-tier government of Natal. His team has now begun explaining the details at meetings in Natal.

However, judging from some early commentaries, it won't be easy to keep the Indaba show on the road. Heavy fire can be expected from critics to the Left and Right. One of the casualties, say Indaba supporters, may be the vanishing of a final hope for achieving inter-racial accord in SA.

How did Van Wyk — a white Afrikaner academic, a graduate of an uncompromisingly Calvinist university campus, and a Transvaaler with a strongly conservative heritage — come to be conducting this campaign? His job, after all, is to persuade Zulus and predominantly English-speaking whites and Indians to support the complex power-sharing formula proposed by the Indaba.

With understatement which proves typical, Van Wyk says he was invited, during a chat in a Unisa corridor in May last year with colleague Marinus Wiechers, to "take minutes" during Indaba think-tank sessions.

In fact this was a prelude to becoming secretary of the Indaba's academically impressive constitutional committee, and simultaneously acting as secretary to the Indaba itself. There followed an extension of

the initial nine-month secondment for a further year, so that Van Wyk could continue, now as director of the Indaba.

The position means he is responsible for managing the Indaba information campaign (now underway) which, the organisers hope, will be followed later this year by a government-sanctioned local referendum on the Indaba proposals. If this is refused, as seems likely, another method must be found to test public opinion. Either way, Indaba organisers believe, they will get incontrovertible evidence that Natalians wish to "do it their way." Whether any such test of opinion will be allowed by government is another matter.

Having matriculated at Windhoek High School, Van Wyk obtained a BA at Potchefstroom University, an LLB from Rand Afrikaans University, and an LLM and LLD from Unisa. He has worked at Unisa as lecturer (1971), senior lecturer (1973), associate professor (1978), and, since 1979, as Professor of Constitutional Law. He is presently head of the Department of Constitutional and Public International Law at Unisa.

So much for the credits, but it was primarily an intense personal interest in constitutional law, evidenced by numerous publications, which explains Van Wyk's involvement in the Indaba. A glance at what he terms his "mundane" interests reveals a shirt-sleeves student with a social conscience.

A member of the verligte Lynnwood Ridge Dutch Reformed Church in Pretoria, Van Wyk played a role in organising reading classes for illiterates. He was also instrumental in running an advice centre — a joint undertaking with the Baptists which offered advice to "indigent people" on such controversial matters as the administration of pass laws.

Van Wyk remains a committee member of Lawyers for Human Rights, was acting chairman of the Unisa Legal Aid Clinic, and is a former secretary and president of the Society of University Teachers of Law, for which he played a central role in organising several key conferences.

His active participation in such organisations he attributes to a social conscience, "and since there's little direct contact with students at Unisa, if you do have a social conscience you should make direct contact with real people in the world off the campus," he explains.

How did all this add up to the position of director of the Indaba? "Sometimes I wonder why it came my way. But it's a unique opportunity truly to get involved, to see things from the heart of the matter, and to

follow them through to their conclusion. It makes one humble.

"Another thing that strikes me. From the beginning, only one man has challenged me to explain what I, an Afrikaner, was doing here — and he was an Afrikaner. This stands to the credit of the people involved, who did not make me feel like a foreigner. It has been an enriching experience."

And has he answered his own question — why he should have arrived in this position? "Oh yes. It's Grace. You may say God-given. It is a claim sometimes made too easily. But I do feel it's a Christian imperative. A duty to be reconciled with God and one's fellow man. It is my opportunity to make a contribution to the future, to a better life in this country." ■



Van Wyk ... driven by a Christian imperative

## ELECTION — DURBAN METRO

### Indaba testing

Few major upsets are anticipated in Durban's metropolitan constituencies on May 6.

At issue among the 26 candidates contesting the 11 greater city seats (56 candidates in all are fighting the 20 seats allocated to the province), are such issues as the KwaNatal Indaba proposals for second-tier provincial government; the Group Areas Act and

racial zoning of the city's beaches; and the PFP-NRP alliance, which faces the first major test of its "marriage of convenience."

Barometer city seats include:

□ Umhlatuzana, secured in the last election on a slender 90-vote majority by the Nats (3 802), in a three-cornered contest against the NRP (3 712) and the HNP (779);

□ Port Natal, where Natal NP leader Stoffel Botha defends his anti-Indaba posture against the PFP's Warwick Webber and CP hopeful Pat Mohr; and

□ Durban North, where Deputy Foreign Minister Ron Miller defends a 787-vote majority in a straight fight against the PFP's Mike Ellis. It is Miller's first general election since defecting to the NP from the NRP in 1984.

"Invisible" players in the election are the KwaZulu government and the Indaba. In an unusual step, KwaZulu Education and Culture Minister and Indaba co-convenor Dr Oscar Dhlomo, has appealed to voters in the whites-only election to support "pro-Indaba" candidates.

Another unusual element in this election is the size of the undecided voting lobby. Party canvassers estimate that 32% of voters at this stage still "don't know" who they will vote for.

With 20 567 registered voters, Umhlatuzana is second only to Greytown in size in Natal. However, since there are only three

polling booths in the constituency, results may be expected early.

NP candidate Johann Steenkamp, who represented the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings at the Indaba, has come out firmly against its constitutional proposals. He defends the vulnerable 90-vote hold obtained by retired NP Senator Nico Pretorius, against former Durban mayor and current chairman of the council's management committee, Sybil Hotz, who is widely tipped to unseat the Nats.

Crucial to this prediction, though, is the decision of NRP supporters, who polled 3 712 votes in the last election. Common wisdom is that province-wide some 60% will favour Nat candidates, and the balance will support the alliance. Strictly applied, the ratio suggests the NP will retain the seat. The unquantifiable factors, however, are the personalities involved and their positions on the Indaba.

In the predominantly working-class constituency of Port Natal, the NRP-PFP alliance faces its sternest test. It is here, given an outside chance, that it may reap its greatest rewards.

At the last election, a five-way split saw a combined 4 152 votes to the PFP-NRP; an independent came within 155 votes of the 4 307 recorded by Stoffel Botha; while the CP's Pat Mohr polled 1 914. On the basis of the 60:40 forecast on NRP voters' allegiance, however, the seat looks safe for the

Nats. This time round they face only the PFP and the CP.

NRP defector Ron Miller appears to be on a hiding to nothing in his Durban North seat; and in Durban Point, where the PFP have withdrawn in favour of old stalwart of Natal politics Frank Martin — standing for the NRP — the alliance looks likely to retain the seat.

The major parties enter the elections for Durban's 11 metropolitan seats, showing the following form: NRP-PFP alliance, nine seats (Amanzimtoti, Durban North, Durban Point, South Coast, Umbilo and Umhlanga held by the NRP; and Berea, Durban Central, and Pinetown held by the PFP); and the Nats two seats (Port Natal and Umhlatuzana).

NRP defector Aubrey Thompson is likely to keep the South Coast seat for the Nats. But against this is the prospect of victory to the alliance in Umhlatuzana, and a remote chance of unseating NP leader Stoffel Botha.



The reason for this, he says, is that research showed PFP supporters have a negative attitude towards his previous employment and employers. The other reason was an article in *The Star* by former *Rand Daily Mail* editor Allister Sparks that referred to him as a professional deceiver. Whether his pamphlet ("I was a spy. I did deceive people. But the people I deceived are trying to kill you"), will do the trick remains to be seen.

What is more likely to give him an edge on polling day in what was a safe PFP seat is the decision by passed-over sitting (PFP) MP, Horace van Rensburg, to stand as an independent. Exactly what Van Rensburg's personal popularity in the constituency is remains unknown. But a question being asked is, will he split the PFP vote, thus giving Williamson a real chance? At the last election Van Rensburg won the seat for the PFP with 7 629 votes against the NP tally of 3 825 — a majority of 3 804.

Working against this theory is Van Rensburg's own claim that he is getting support not only from PFP voters but also from the NP. But there is no clear indication that he will get enough to keep the seat.

Meanwhile, the PFP candidate, Rupert Lorimer, is facing a concerted onslaught from both Williamson and Van Rensburg over the charge that the PFP is soft on Communists and the African National Congress (ANC). In this, the politics of the wealthy northern Johannesburg constituency whose voters are 90% English-speaking, mirror those being acted out on the national stage; government is trying to paint the PFP into a corner by implying it is soft on security.

"This is a national issue that is running strongly in the constituency," says Van Rensburg. "People fear a totalitarian Marxist government as represented by the ANC and the SA Communist Party."

So the shibboleths of *swartgevaar* and *rooigevaar* are dominating the Bryanston election. While nationally the PFP has found it necessary to respond to these accusations, culminating in the advertisements it placed in Sunday newspapers this week distancing themselves from communism, Lorimer is reluctant to be drawn locally.

"They are trying to frighten people with the bogey of a Communist behind every bush," he says. "But it's just a red herring. This isn't the issue. SA is in a mess. That over 20 000 people have been detained without trial means something is seriously wrong."

According to Williamson, his decision to stand is justified because: "We're in a dirty little war;" he is the man who knows both sides; and we need "experts" like him.

But, says Lorimer, it is Nat policies that provide fertile breeding grounds for communism. In spite of banning the organisations they are still here and active decades later. Why? asks Lorimer. What worries voters is the future and whether there can be a peaceful solution to the problems we have, he adds.

Lorimer doubts these scare tactics will work in Bryanston. Fortunately, he says, the majority of people accept there must be accommodation with blacks. He is trying to run his campaign on a more optimistic note and hopes that by presenting positive options people will see the PFP as an alternative to "packing for Perth."

## ELECTION — BRYANSTON

### Split vote spied

When former security policeman Craig Williamson launched into politics as the Bryanston NP candidate, the first hurdle facing him was his credibility over his past as a spy.

## THE LOADED DECK

White SA will go to the polls on May 6 on the basis of a delimitation of parliamentary seats, which is hopelessly out of line with the numbers of voters.

Not only was the number of seats allocated to each province arbitrarily frozen more than 10 years ago, but the "loading" and "unloading" of urban and rural seats within the provinces has created exaggerated differences in the number of voters to be represented by one MP in the next parliament. And the tendency for white population growth in SA's industrial heartland to outstrip growth elsewhere, has left the Transvaal more under-represented than ever before.

A look at the actual numbers shows up some horrifying disparities. Start with the unfair allocation of seats between the provinces. On the basis of the latest voters' rolls, the average number of voters per seat is as follows:

Transvaal, 21 110; Natal, 17 853; OFS 16 536; and the Cape, 14 972. In other words, the Transvaal is under-represented relative to the Cape by about 40%.

Disparities between rural and urban seats are equally glaring. In the Transvaal, North Rand has 33 783 voters, while Schweizer-Reneke has only 14 637. In the Cape, Prieska has only 8 946 voters, while Durbanville has 23 187. In the OFS, Fauresmith has 9 929, while Welkom has 22 511 (the disparities within Natal are not nearly as severe).

When the election results are eventually tabulated and analysed, it will be interesting to see what the parliamentary results would have been, if it had been (notionally) held on the basis of one-white, one-vote — that is to say on the basis of a delimitation which allocated seats even approximately on the basis of voters registered.

The results, of course, are not yet known. But it is a reasonably safe assumption that such an exercise will show that it is the National Party which has benefited most in terms of parliamentary representation relative to votes polled.

The Cape, presumably, remains relatively loyal to P W Botha's National Par-

ty, white blue-collar workers in the northern provinces appear to be swinging to the Right. So, the CP and HNP are likely to do well in some of the most congested urban seats. At the same time, the PFP is likely to continue to command a strong following in the over-loaded middle class-affluent urban seats in the Cape, as well as in the Transvaal and Natal.

The increasingly unrepresentative nature of parliament even within the white community, must tend to derogate further from the already-diminished respect and authority it now commands. In particular, it is a political outrage that the mining and industrial powerhouse of the Transvaal should be so treated.

The issue now cuts completely across old Boer-Brit political lines, as the present arrangements short-change northern Afrikaners at least as much as anyone else. Is it asking too much for government to amend the constitution to unfreeze seat allocations and to appoint a delimitation commission to go into the matter as soon as possible after the election?



## Postal haste

The first round of the psychologically important battle for postal votes ended last week with both the NP and PFP claiming significant breakthroughs in some marginal seats.

And in Helderberg, independent Denis Worrall and constitutional guru Chris Heunis made claim and counter-claim over who was faring best.

Postal votes, cast by people who are unable to be in the constituency where they are registered on polling day, have long been regarded as an important indicator of how an

FINANCIAL MAIL APRIL 24 1987

election is progressing.

After the first batch of postal vote applications was handed to returning officers last week, PFP national director Neil Ross expressed satisfaction at his party's performance. He claimed significant showings against the NP in a number of key seats including Port Natal, Durban North (see page 54), Helderkruin, Waterkloof, Simon's Town, Pinelands, Bezuidenhout, Hillbrow and Greytown.

But NP organisers hit back with claims that they scored more in the first round, particularly in the Cape and Free State (see page 53). The Nats say they are ahead in the marginal PFP seats of Albany, Walmer, Wynberg, Greenpoint and Gardens. The NP also claims leads in the seats being contested by the Worrallite independents — Helderberg, Stellenbosch and Randburg.

But the Worrall camp insists it is ahead in Helderberg when both postal and special votes are considered. Special votes is another category of vote available to people who cannot get to the polls.

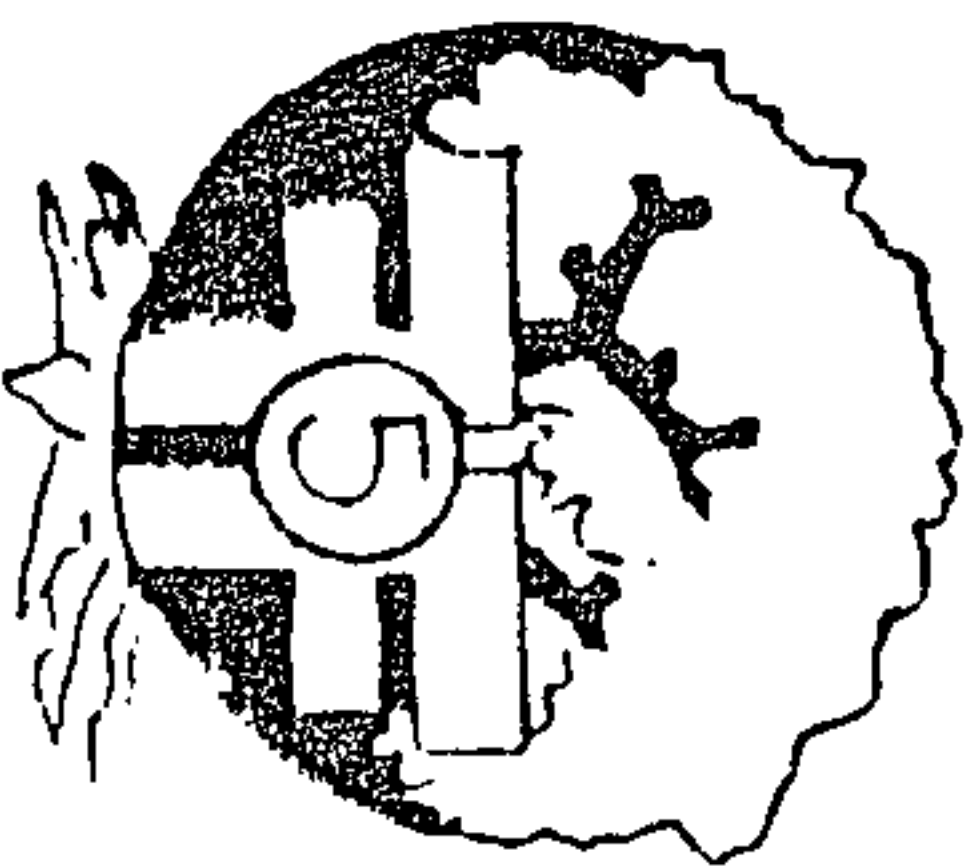
With the election still 11 days away the build-up in many constituencies will now centre on who has the edge in pre-polling day votes. ■

*"Whoever would overthrow the liberty of a nation must begin by subduing the freeness of speech."*

— Benjamin Franklin.

The freedom of expression is probably the most vital ingredient of democratic government. Fifty years ago the eminent American judge, Benjamin Cardozo, observed that freedom of thought and speech "is the matrix, the indispensable condition, of nearly every other form of freedom".

That "indispensable condition" has been systematically eroded from South African life. South Africa has become a society devastated by a pervasive system of censorship. Censorship, in this sense, cuts far deeper than the mere banning of



books and films. It manifests itself in insidious and often unseen ways; in the compilation of school curricula, in the selection of news by the media and in a network of legal and extra-legal constraints which ensure that certain facts and opinions are never published or ventilated.

Broadly viewed, therefore, censorship serves to filter out certain ideas as a means of controlling and suppressing the articulation of opposition to a particular political, social and economic dispensation.

By and large, white South Africans have become complacent about censorship. Perhaps the ignorance induced by censorship has operated to shield the white community from many of the unpleasant

# Censorship manifests itself in insidious ways

ant realities of life in South Africa. It is simply more comfortable to turn a blind eye to the inequalities and injustices inherent in our society and to pretend that they do not exist. Censorship, however, obscures the reality; it does not remove it.

Perhaps the greatest evil of censorship is that it precludes rational decision making on questions of vital importance. An individual who is deliberately kept ignorant of events and opinions and who is forced to rely upon "official" or "authorised" news can never discover the truth and can never exercise an informed judgment.

There is another important value in free expression, particularly in a society divided by conflict. It was expressed by Thomas Emerson of Yale University thus:

"Freedom of expression is a method of achieving a more adaptable and hence a more stable community, of maintaining the precarious balance between healthy cleavage and necessary consensus. This follows because suppression of discussion makes a rational judgment impossible, substituting force for reason; because suppression promotes inflexibility and stultification, preventing society from adjusting to changing circumstances or developing new ideas; and because suppression conceals the real problems confronting a society."

White South Africans are soon to vote in a general election. It will be the first election during emergency rule. Voters will go to the polls in ignorance — ignorant of the conduct and activities of the security forces

The Five Freedoms Forum is an alliance of organisations working for a South Africa which guarantees freedom from want, freedom from fear, freedom of speech and association, freedom of conscience and freedom from discrimination. Gilbert Marcus writes the latest in a series of articles highlighting these freedoms.

in the townships, ignorant of the nature, extent and standpoint of extra-parliamentary opposition and generally ignorant of the root causes of the unrest.

This ignorance is compounded by restrictions on the freedom of association, generally regarded as a crucial adjunct to the freedom of expression. The nature of the divisions in society created by the system of race classification and group areas has forced black and white people to live in worlds apart. What little interaction takes place is usually at the workplace and consequent upon the position of subervience arising out of a master-servant relationship.

Whites therefore tend to be ill-informed about black opinion and black aspirations for a different society. At a political level, the banning of individuals and organisations and the outlawing of "statutory" communism (defined to bear little resemblance to the political ideology of communism) means that vast areas of political thought and activity are out of bounds.

The precious right to peacefully assemble in protest has been emasculated for more than a decade. Since 1976, there has been a nation-

wide prohibition on outdoor gatherings. More recently, under emergency rule, many organisations have been prevented from holding even indoor gatherings.

It may be argued that these restrictions are all imposed in the national interest. That is a claim which must be viewed with scepticism. All too often restrictions imposed in the name of "State security" have been invoked as a justification for the suppression of opposition. In the words of Emerson, "when national security claims are advanced there may well be a confusion of the interests of the administration in power with the interests of the nation".

It is doubtful that draconian restrictions on the freedom of speech and association will ultimately be conducive to lasting peace and good order. The opposite may well be true. As the avenues of peaceful protest, whether by word or deed, are cut off, the danger increases that opposition will find violent expression.

● Gilbert Marcus is senior research officer, Centre for Applied Legal Studies, University of the Witwatersrand.



# Black unrest a major election issue

The upsurge in black political unrest is likely to dominate political debate as the May 6 election moves into its final phase.

With less than two weeks left before white voters go to the polls, the security question has emerged as one of the biggest election issues.

The Denis Worrall/Wynand Malan independent movement — which attracted a great deal of attention at the start of the election campaign — has faded somewhat as the National Party has intensified its "revolutionary onslaught" campaign.

The SABC's daily current affairs commentary, which generally spells out Government thinking, warned in its daily broadcast yesterday about "extra-parliamentary" agitation.

Referring to the "strikes by transport and postal workers, the incidents of arson on railway property, the hand-grenade attack on municipal policeman in Soweto and the latest agitation on the rents issue in black residential areas", the SABC said this had "contributed to the attempt to build up a revolutionary climate in the weeks preceding the election".

Although not stated in so many words, the general message was that to fight this threat, voters should choose the NP. "It is the electorate which, on May 6, must provide the

The National Party has used the security question to good effect against the Progs, writes

The Star's Political Reporter, Colleen Ryan.

ultimate response to the radicals and revolutionaries," it said.

The NP tone was set early on in the election campaign, when former police spy and NP candidate in Bryanston, Mr Craig Williamson, claimed to unveil an ANC plot, dubbed "Project Roses", aimed at disrupting the white election.

Quoting ANC sources in Britain, Mr Williamson said that, apart from a stepping-up of the terrorist onslaught, "Project Roses" involved the formation of a "monitoring group" of ANC supporters in South Africa to ensure all extra-parliamentary organisations formed a united front against the election.

While other NP candidates picked up this theme, the next dramatic announcement came from Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha at an election meeting a month later. Speaking in Uvongo, he said ANC terrorists had been sent from Lusaka to disrupt the white election.

This was followed by a stern warning from the State President at an election meeting in Kuruman that South Africa would not allow



Craig Williamson... tone-setter.

attacks to be launched from neighbouring countries. It sparked speculation of a possible cross-border raid on the ANC before polling day.

The National Party has used the revolutionary threat to try to win back support from the right wing. While the NP might win back some doubtful voters, the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party appear to be enjoying strong backing — particularly in the plateland and blue collar areas of the Transvaal and the Free State.

But the NP has used the security issue to good advantage against the PFP.

Earlier in the campaign, the PFP was trying to make capital out of the independent/Stellenbosch revolt, using it to back up its claim that a reform alliance Government was an alternative to NP rule. But the

Progs have been forced on to the defensive in the last weeks of the election campaign.

The PFP has had to modify its advertising campaign to meet these NP tactics and took the first steps last Sunday with an anti-communism advertisement in national newspapers.

The advertisement said the PFP was "totally opposed to communism" and hoped that voters "would not be fooled by the Nats' desperate electioneering smear about the PFP being soft on communism".

But what of political unrest and black attitudes to the election?

Will a vote for any of the white political parties on May 6 reduce the mounting black turmoil?

Major black political organisation, while they have not called for a boycott of the polls, have scoffed at the holding of a white election at a time of growing demands for black political rights.

The United Democratic has described the election as a farce, saying a minority will elect a parliament to try to determine the future of the majority.

The head of the Soweto Civic Association, Dr Nthato Motlana, has described the election as "obscene". He said: "The question to be addressed is power sharing — black franchise — because the politics of South Africa is about blacks. To think that the question can be resolved in the absence of the black people is ridiculous."

(Report by C Ryan, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

Industrial court to get wider powers

# State plans new laws on strikes

SPAR 24/4/87  
304A

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

The Government is planning to introduce new legislation to deal with labour strikes, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch said last night.

And today he was lambasted for playing politics with labour relations and increasing tensions in an area he knows nothing about.

Speaking at a televised public meeting, Mr Schlebusch, Minister in the State President's Office entrusted with Administration and Broadcasting Services, said the new legislation would be introduced in the coming session of Parliament.

Neither Mr Schlebusch nor Minister of Manpower Mr Pietie du Plessis

could be reached for further details today, but a spokesman for the Department of Manpower, said the legislation referred to had already been published for comment.

Titled the Draft Labour Relations Amendment Bill, the proposed legislation would establish a special labour court, adjust the definition of unfair labour practice, add to the definition of unfair dismissal, and amend and simplify procedures to set up conciliation boards.

Wider powers are to be given to the industrial court.

It could not be established today whether the Cabinet intends submitting other draft legislation to deal with strikes.

The Progressive Federal Party spokesman on manpower, Mr Peter Gastrow, today rebuked Mr Schlebusch for playing politics with labour.

## Hardliners

"If he is trying to create the impression that the Draft Labour Relations Amendment Bill is an instrument to strengthen the hands of hardliners, then he is playing a very dangerous game."

Mr Gastrow said trade unions and several employer organisations had made very strong representations about aspects of the Bill.

"I think it is going to make it very much more difficult to get an acceptable compromise if the Government now puts forward this Bill as a way to deal with strikes and strengthen the hand of hardliners, rather than streamlining the procedures for serious facilitation of the whole bargaining process."

"Mr Schlebusch should not be playing politics with a very sensitive bit of draft legislation which is still being commented on. He must stay right out of labour relations, of which he knows nothing."

(Report by D M Braun, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)

Voor



3 of 14

# Clean sweep of NTVI by NP, says Du Plessis

By Dirk Nel  
Northern Transvaal Bureau



Mr. Piet du Plessis... "I have never known better organisation or greater enthusiasm."

PHALABORWA — The Minister of Manpower, Mr. Piet du Plessis, told voters in his Lydenburg constituency last night he was confident of a National Party clean sweep in the Northern Transvaal constituencies of Southburg, Lydenburg, Pietersburg and Potgietersrus on May 6.

"In all the years I have represented the National Party, I have never known more effective organisation and a greater enthusiasm," he said amid loud applause.

Mr du Plessis announced that large tracts of land in the Tri-Charterdal district were to be handed back to white farmers under a recent Government decision.

## PW's speech gave no hope, says Worrall

STELLENBOSCH — The speech by State President Mr. P. W. Botha in Stellenbosch yesterday "said nothing and gave no hope", independent candidate Dr. Denis Worrall told about 350 people last night.

Speaking at a meeting hosted by a student current affairs society on the university campus, he said Mr. Botha had come to give the address at a time when the nation was in deep crisis.

People had been bused in from "all over the Western Cape". The country had waited in expectation "because in a crisis you can expect your leader to come with some message of hope, a sense of direction," said Dr. Worrall.



## NP election campaign dangerous, says Eglin

The National Party is fighting a desperate and dangerous election campaign which will harden whites, make reform more difficult and drive blacks to extremism, the Progressive Federal Party leader, Mr. Colin Eglin, warned in Pretoria last night.

He told 500 people at a public meeting in support of the PFP and NRP candidates that the Government was choosing red herrings as election issues.

The NP could not save South Africa and ceased that the political tide was turning against it.

"The NP won't define its policies because the party would split down the middle," he said.

Old fashioned apartheid remained the heart of Government policy.

"A new and just South Africa is possible."

He urged voters to vote for the PFP so that South Africans could get a better deal.

Answering a question, he said people had a right to support the End Conscription Campaign, but the PFP had no association with the organisation. — Sapa.

(Report by N. Pretorius, 514 Barclay Bank Building, Church Square, Pretoria)

## De Klerk decries 'lack of integrity'

The Progressive Federal Party, Conservative Party and independent candidates had shown no integrity in the election campaign, Transvaal National Party leader Mr. F. W. de Klerk said last night.

Speaking to about 900 people in the Pretoria City Hall, he explained why the NP was asking for a mandate to negotiate with blacks a new dispensation on the basis of unavoidable realities.

In his criticism of opposition parties — with the exception of

## Suzman: No effort to bring in blacks

East Rand Bureau

South Africa had lurched from crisis to crisis in recent years and no real effort was being made to solve the crucial issue in the country — political participation of blacks, Mrs. Helen Suzman said yesterday.

Mrs. Suzman, Progressive Federal Party MP for Houghton, was addressing a luncheon meeting of about 120 people in Benoni in support of local PFP candidate, Mr. Sam Grolman.

She spoke of the great cost of the state of emergency in human terms, and added:

- Today race relations are at their most tense since Sharpeville
- The economy is at its worst
- Disinvestment and sanctions are no longer just a threat but a reality
- South Africa's international relations have never been worse

"Nothing can get us away from the fact that apartheid is alive and well and living in South Africa," she said.

The Government had said the state of emergency had caused unrest to diminish. She was not sure that this was true. She went into Soweto often and "it wasn't quiet today or yesterday."

(Report by J. Treadwell, 47 Woburn Ave., Benoni)

best illustrated by its contrasting advertisements in English and Afrikaans newspapers.

Referring to the independents, Mr. de Klerk said their image was "just as bad". They had begun propounding key PFP policy standpoints, through refusing to give the PFP credit for this — in the same way that CP leader Dr. Andries Treurnicht had hijacked HNP policy while kicking party leader Mr. Jaap Marais in the teeth.

(Report by M. van der Walt, 514 Barclay Bank Building, Church Square, Pretoria)

## 'Rotten Govt, fine country'

Independent candidate in Stellenbosch, Dr. Esther Latagan, speaking at Stellenbosch University: "The road to white security in South Africa leads through black liberation."

Dr. Latagan: "We have got to come to grips with the fact that if we want to keep all, we will lose all."

PFP candidate in Yeoville Mr. Harry Schwartz, speaking in Kioof: "The Nationalists are the ones who have endangered South Africa, who have put us in the mess we are in and who are not looking after our security."

Mr. Schwartz: "We don't run down the country, we run down the Government. It is a rotten Government but a fine country."

Constitutional Development Minister Mr. Chris Heunis, commenting on the Independent election manifesto: "One certainly cannot simply abolish acts such as the Population Registration Act since it would lead to the collapse of the present constitutional system."

Transvaal Nationalist leader Mr. F. W. de Klerk, speaking in Pretoria: "The CP will be saying to voters: Go forth and be poor."

Deputy Finance Minister Mr. Kent Durr, speaking in Malmesbury: "What faces you on May 6, polling day, is a great profound challenge to change this country for the better. If you miss this one, you are gone."

(Compiled by J. M. Patena, 47 Stuart Street, Johannesburg)

# Minister: Alliance is an election gimmick

Dispatch Reporter

GONUBIE — The PFP/NRP Alliance was an election gimmick and an act of pure political expediency, the Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology, Mr George Bartlett, said here last night.

In a speech devoted mainly to criticism of the NRP and the PFP, Mr Bartlett said the NRP had compromised its principles and its leadership had entered into the alliance to "save one or two seats" in the election.

The leadership of the NRP was so anti-NP that it had destroyed the principles that it and the NP had fought for in the 1983 referendum.

Mr Bartlett, who crossed the floor from the NRP in 1984, was speaking in support of the NP candidate for King William's Town, Mr Ray Radue. Mr Radue also left the NRP in 1984.

Mr Bartlett said the PFP's idea in the alliance was to destroy the NRP.

"Where will any of the NRP candidates be a year's time?" Mr Bartlett asked, adding that he believed that the NRP candidate for King William's Town, Mr Pat Rogers, would join the PFP within one year.

There would not be an alliance of moderates

after the election.

There were three options — the PFP on the left together with the leadership of the NRP who believed in majority rule, the Conservative Party and the HNP on the right who were going backwards in time, and in the centre, the NP and NRP members "who had seen the light" and believed in the principles fought for in the referendum.

"That is the true moderate centre of South African politics. That is the alliance of moderates in South Africa."

Mr Bartlett said it was necessary to keep an open mind to solve the problems of the country. A constitutional dispensation where each group could maintain its own self respect and not discriminate against another and a growing economy which could meet rising expectations was needed.

In reply to a question Mr Radue said he believed that squatters from foreign countries should be repatriated.

"There is no question about it in my mind. If they come from Ciskei or Transkei they must go back."

Referring to black spots in the white corridor, Mr Radue said he believed a new order of administration or local government should be

introduced in the areas as it had been decided that the residents would not be moved to Ciskei.

An efficient, elected body should be allowed to administer the areas. This would improve the security situation for Border farmers.

(Report by Barbara Hart, 33 Caxton Street, East London.)



# Turbocharge tactics: the PFP way to lure votes

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Voters in 21 carefully selected constituencies in this election are guinea pigs for what could be a whole new style of tactics in future electoral contests.

They are the subject of what the Progressive Federal Party has called "Turbocharge".

The PFP strategy is to target pockets of voters in marginal constituencies which could swing the outcome of the election if they are converted to the PFP cause.

The success of the strategy depends on the accuracy of the available data on those pockets of voters and how correctly the PFP has been able to read their concerns and needs.

The Turbocharge strategy was developed by the PFP last year after Mr Colin Eglin assumed the party's leadership.

He and his new management team initiated comprehensive research into the electorate and found that although a large proportion of white voters supported PFP goals and values, many of them had no intention of voting for the party.

Turbocharge was designed to short-circuit the lengthy process of building support from one election to another by pinpointing some 50 "winnable" constituencies for the PFP.

The party hoped the National Party would then break up and that a contingent of reform-minded NP MPs would link with the PFP to form a new government.

Since the strategy was designed President Botha has called an early election, so Turbocharge has had to be speeded up.

The 21 constituencies targeted for Turbocharge include marginals such as Maitland and Simonstown in the Cape Peninsula, Newton Park and Port Elizabeth in the Eastern Cape, several Natal seats and, in the Transvaal, Benoni, Waterkloof, Johannesburg West, North Rand and Helderkrui.

Secretary general of the PFP Mr Robin Carlisle said in an interview this week the party had reason to be encouraged after the initial phases of Turbocharge.



"We knew the TV would be used against us, although we were surprised at the extent that it has been used to do that.

"We had to find a medium that would hit back and this is a lot of the answer.

"Few people realise the tremendous power of direct-mail marketing. It is a way in which one can talk very persuasively to specialised target markets in the privacy of people's homes," Mr Carlisle said.

The PFP developed its Turbocharge direct-mail strategy for the election on the basis of a test in nine marginal constituencies last October.

At the same time, Mr Carlisle said, the party had enjoyed considerable success using the medium for fund-raising.

Key to the entire programme, he said, was the PFP's considerable data base on South African voters.

"For obvious reasons I don't want to have the details published, but we have an excellent model which has superimposed the demographic characteristics on the psychographic traits of the voters.

"We have been able to identify psychographic groups using demographic determinants," he said.

## 'Personally signed' letter

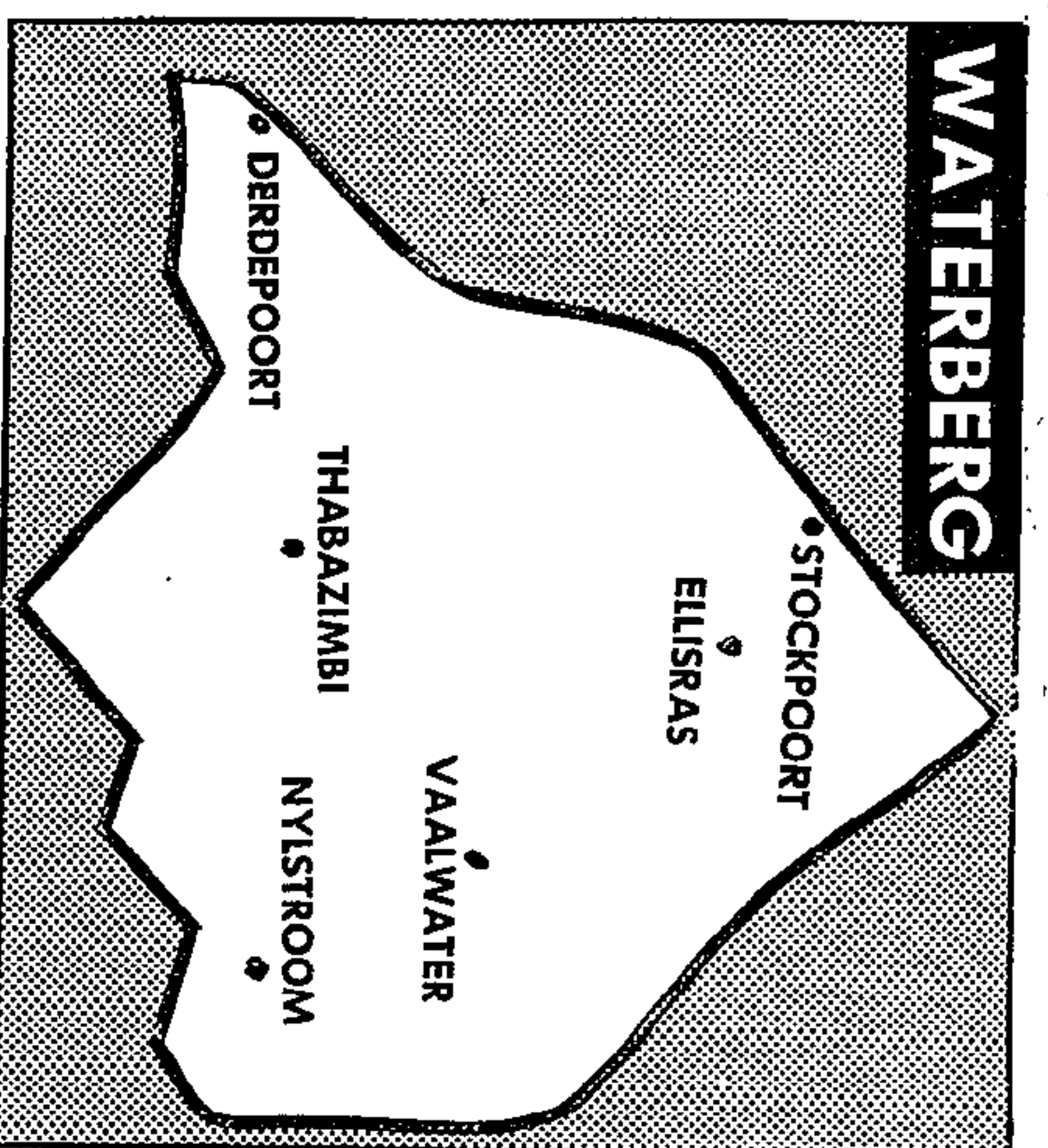
Round one of Turbocharge, a letter "personally signed" by Mr Eglin, went to each of the voters registered in the 21 selected constituencies.

Called the "personal letter" it set out what was happening in South African politics, the growth of alliance politics, and a number of good reasons why people should keep on voting for the PFP.

The letter was "personalised" to the extent that it was addressed to each voter by name, mentioned that person's name several times and referred to the candidate and constituency by name.

Round two, about to be launched, splits each constituency into a number of target groups and each of those gets a personalised letter which emphasises concerns of specific importance to that group.

Mr Carlisle gave as an example young males aged between 18 to 25, a group which had a high incidence of support for the PFP but a low tendency to vote.



## Will Waterberg fall back into the Nationalist fold?

By Dirk Nel,  
Northern Transvaal Bureau

NYLISTROOM — Waterberg, a traditional headquarters of Afrikaner nationalism, became famous as the political home of Mr J G Strijdom, the Lion of the North, who succeeded Dr D F Malan as Prime Minister of South Africa.

Mr Strijdom represented the constituency from 1929 to 1958 and encountered tough opposition from the United Party throughout his career, winning by only 242 votes in 1938.

Nevertheless, Waterberg remained a Nationalist seat for 66 years until Dr Andries Treurnicht, the present MP, left the National Party in 1982 to form the Conservative Party.

Dr Treurnicht, a former minister of the NG Church and later Editor of *Die Kerkbode* and *Hoofstad*, was elected in 1971 as a Nat



# PFP believes in 'good' of 38 Assembly seats

SWK Political Correspondent 24/4/87

**CAPE TOWN** — With two weeks left before polling day, the Progressive Federal Party is confident it will return to Parliament with between 30 and 38 seats, and a substantially larger number of total votes than the 265 000 it polled in the 1981 general election.

According to sources in the party, the PFP is certain about taking Simonstown and Durban North from the National Party on May 6. Umhlanga in Natal, previously held by the New Republic Party, which is now supporting the PFP in this election, is also in this category.

North Rand between Johannesburg and Pretoria is a likely win from the Conservative Party.

The party bosses are reasonably confident of holding the 26 seats won by the PFP in 1981 although there are anxieties over Pietermaritzburg North (where Mr Graham McIntosh won with a majority of 800 over the NP in 1981), Hillbrow (where population shifts and concern over crime and the Group Areas Act are having an unpredictable impact), Bryanston (where Mr Horace

van Rensburg is an unpredictable factor) and Bezenfontein (where the NP has mounted a particularly strong challenge).

Seats where the PFP is looking for surprise victories include Heidekruijn (now held by the Deputy Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe), Matland (held by the Deputy Minister of Finance, Mr Kent Durr), Johannesburg West (held by the Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Roelf Meyer) and Benoni (previously held by Mr Chris Rencken for the NP).

## BETTER THAN EXPECTED

All these are seats which the PFP has selected for its "turbocharge" programme and where it has been getting better-than-expected canvassing results.

The PFP is also hopeful of winning at least one of the East London seats now held by the National Party.

Three rural constituencies which the party says may produce outside surprise results are Cradock, Humansdorp and Umfolozi. (Report by D M Braun, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

## Official boost to Heunis's campaign

Political Staff

Mr Chris Heunis's large team of voluntary campaign workers in Heiderberg has been strengthened by the addition of a key official from his Ministry of Constitutional Development.

Mr Peter Pullen, media liaison officer in the Ministry, said in an interview that he was spending his annual leave helping in Mr Heunis's campaign.

He said he was doing general campaign work on a full-time basis from an office in the National Party's headquarters in Somerset West.

Mr Pullen said he was a registered voter of Somerset West and had lived there for many years. He still owned a house in the town.

He took an interest in the Heiderberg election partly because of his own links with the area.

Mr Pullen, who joined Mr Heunis's Ministry about two years ago, was formerly managing director and a shareholder of the local newspaper, *District Mail*.

He is a former pupil of the Hottentots Holland High School and played first-league rugby for Somerset West for many years.

Mr Pullen studied at the University of Stellenbosch where he obtained a B Econ. Degree.

In terms of civil service rules, Mr Pullen, as a civil servant, is allowed to take an active part in politics in his spare time.

(Report by F S Esterhuysen, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

## Political apathy is plaguing parties contesting election

By Colleen Ryan,  
Political Reporter

Poor attendance at political meetings continues to plague all parties contesting the May 6 election.

While popular speakers like Foreign Minister Mr Pk Botha continue to attract the crowds, the stayaway appears to have affected politicians from all the parties — including many Cabinet Ministers.

### VLOK ATTRACTS 80

At a meeting in Pretoria West last night, the Minister of Agriculture Mr Greyling Wentzel drew only 50 people, while about 100 people attended a Conservative Party (CP) meeting in the same constituency. The Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok drew only 80 people at a meeting in Rosettenville this week.

In Nelspruit, only 50 people turned up for a recent CP meeting — an area which has strong right-wing support. A Progressive Federal Party (PFP) meeting to launch the party's Southern Transvaal campaign earlier this month attracted less than 100 people.

PFP political analyst Dr Jamie Hof-

stressing the importance of... ing.

Other specific target groups might not get a personalised letter, which in certain circumstances may not be all that effective. Instead, they would be sent leaflets dealing with specific issues of concern.

Mr Carlisle said local PFP organisations in the constituencies were further able to develop this concept.

Mr Carlisle said this election technique had been enormously successful, particularly in the US and Canada.

"In South Africa the direct mail business is state of the art. Our experts in this are among the best in the world."

"The PFP is using the local talent plus the political application of the technology."

"So far we believe we are having much success. One can feel and sense the response of the voters in the constituencies where we have the Turbocharge," Mr Carlisle said.

(Report by D M Braun, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)

mevr said an exception to the general apathy was in "marginal" seats, where there was a strong possibility that the seat could change hands.

"Attendance in many predictable constituencies is down, but there is a high level of interest in constituencies like Heiderberg and Stellenbosch where the independents are challenging the Nats."

"People going to these meetings are genuinely interested in what the speakers have to say. They are not just there to support the party or candidate," he said.

Dr Hofmeyr said television coverage had also affected turnout at meetings. "A lot of decision making now occurs while watching TV. It is the political equivalent of what happened to the cinemas when TV was introduced." He said there was a sense of futility among many voters.

"It is not necessarily boredom, but people feel they can do little to change the situation."

A marked exception to this trend is the high number of people still attending Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging meetings. "The level of commitment in that group is much higher than among Nat or PFP supporters," Dr Hofmeyr added.

(Report by C Ryan, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

Parliament by Mr Joos Heystek and Mr Hans Kampher.

Hertigste Nasionale Party leader Mr Jaap Marais opposed Dr Treurnicht unsuccessfully in Waterberg in four general elections and one by-election between 1971 and 1983.

Dr Treurnicht polled 6 132 votes in 1977 to inflict his heaviest defeat on Mr Marais, who managed a mere 1 471 votes, but Mr Marais fared considerably better in 1981 to draw 3 772 votes to Dr Treurnicht's total of well over 5 000.

Since 1971 the percentage poll in Waterberg has fluctuated between 75 and 81 percent, proving voters there take their politics seriously.

For this election the HNP nominated young farmer Mr Carel Viljoen. He has pledged to work for a better deal for farmers if elected.

### RURAL COMMUNITY

The NP candidate is Mr Poem Lamprecht, a big-game hunter and prominent office-bearer in organised agriculture for many years.

The constituency is mainly rural, with Nylostroom, Ellisras and Thabazimbi as its main towns. The various farming communities are close-knit but the breakaway Conservative Party split many homes and friendships when it was formed five years ago.

The HNP has maintained strong support in the mining towns of Ellisras, Thabazimbi and Swartklop.

The NP was forced to launch a complete rebuilding strategy after the defection of Dr Treurnicht and most of the NP divisional council to the CP. NP leaders claim Dr Treurnicht failed to inform voters clearly on Government policies, even before the split.

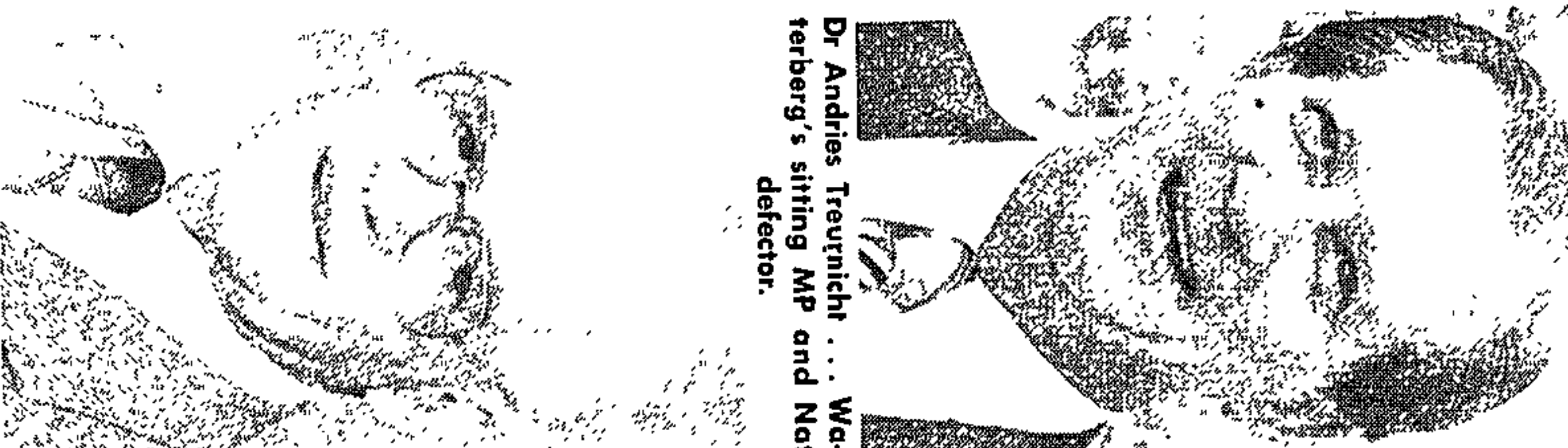
In 1983 a by-election was held after Mr Fanie Botha (Soutpansberg) had challenged Dr Treurnicht to follow his example and test his popularity in his own constituency. The CP leader (5 706) gained a convincing victory over his rivals, the NP's Mr Eben Cuyler (3 812) and the HNP's Mr Jaap Marais (2 639).

A new factor has crept in this year. Many CP supporters are blaming Dr Treurnicht for the failure of the unity talks between Rightwingers and this may give the HNP a lot of votes and improve the chances of the NP.

Dr Treurnicht is so confident that he is offering a trophy to the CP branch which betters his majority in Waterberg.

Mr Viljoen is happy with campaign so far. The NP's Mr Lamprecht is quietly confident, saying "all our hard work must be rewarded".

(Report by D Val, Mimosa Arcade, Market Street, Pietersburg)



Dr Andries Treurnicht ... Waterberg's sitting MP and NP defector.

NP candidate Mr Poem Lamprecht ... big-game hunter and agriculturist.



# Detention curbs case postponed indefinitely

CAPE TOWN — A Supreme Court application by the Progressive Federal Party for an order overturning the recent notice by the Commissioner of Police banning campaigns for the release of detainees was yesterday postponed indefinitely.

Counsel for the PFP, Mr Jeremy Gauntlett, told Mr Acting Justice Hodes that the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, and the Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee, had filed 350 pages of replying affidavits which had not been dealt with.

The judge ordered the matter be postponed "sine die" by consent. The question of costs is to stand over.

In the application, the chairman of the PFP's federal executive, Mr Ken Andrew, argued that both the President and the commissioner had acted beyond

their powers in the recent proclamations.

Replying affidavits and supplementary declarations included statements made to police by youths who described "necklace" killings and pamphlets issued by various organisations calling for the release of detainees.

In his founding affidavit, Mr Andrew said he was bringing the applications in his personal capacity as MP for Gardens.

He said that in the regulations the State President had failed to set out adequate guidelines on the basis on which the commis-

sioner was to exercise his delegated powers.

In any event Parliament, in vesting Mr Botha personally with such "vast" powers to make regulations in terms of the Public Safety Act, could never have countenanced an extension of these powers in the manner for which the stated definition of "subversive statement" provided.

Mr Botha had acted beyond his powers on December 11 last year by defining as a "subversive statement" one which encouraged or incited people to commit an act identified by the commissioner as threatening public safety or order. This amounted to delegating to him the power to make regulations, a power clearly vested only in the State President.

For that reason, Mr Andrew said, the commissioner's notice on April 10, identifying campaigns for the release of detainees as inimical to public safety and order, was also ultra vires.

Even if it were found that the President had not acted beyond his powers, then the commissioner had acted ultra vires because the notice he issued was "grossly unreasonable, arbitrary, vague and influenced by irrelevant considerations".

Mr Andrew contended that none of the acts prohibited by then notice — including wearing clothes protesting against detention and "performing any act as a symbolic token with or in honour of detainees" — could be regarded as threatening public order. — Sapa

304A DD 25/4/87

CAPE TOWN — The State President, Mr P.W. Botha, told the Supreme Court here yesterday he was not prepared to interfere at short notice with the execution by the Commissioner of Police of his powers under the state of emergency.

The commissioner was the ideal person to assist Mr Botha in handling the state of emergency, which might require "quick and sometimes drastic actions," the State President said.

His remarks were contained in a replying affidavit to a PFP application asking that the commissioner's proclamation banning campaigns for the release of detainees be overturned.

In the affidavit, Mr Botha denied that the commissioner's proclamation on April 10 or the definition of a subversive statement in the emergency regulations were invalid and he asked the court to reject the PFP application with costs.

The State President also denied the PFP argument in its founding affidavit that insufficient guidelines had been laid down for the commissioner to exercise his delegated powers in terms of the state of emergency.

In identifying a subversive statement, the commissioner had to judge whether an act or commission could endanger the safety of the public; threaten the maintenance of law and order or delay the ending of the state

## Botha replies to PFP application

of emergency, Mr Botha said.

"Although I retain the powers I delegated to the second respondent (the commissioner), and in the final instance bear responsibility for the handling of the state of emergency, I am not prepared at short notice to interfere with the execution of those powers by the second respondent."

He would only interfere if he was convinced that this was necessary or advisable in the light of circumstances and in keeping with the Public Safety Act.

Mr Botha said it was clear from information at his disposal that the media and "other forms of communication" had been used and were still being used to encourage a revolutionary climate within and outside South Africa. He had therefore considered it necessary to delegate powers to the commissioner to deal with the situation.

"As chairman of the State Security Council, and because of my office and duties, I am kept informed on a regular basis of the security situation in



MR BOTHA  
... not prepared to interfere ...

the country, and I have knowledge of the revolutionary tendencies and the deliberate attempts to promote the circumstances that led to the announcement of the state of emergency."

Mr Botha said he remained convinced that the regulations issued by him on December 11 last year, limiting reporting on subversive statements, were advisable and necessary to comply with the aims of the Public Safety Act. — Sapa



## PFP may act on NP ANC advert

CAPE TOWN — The PFP is considering legal action over a National Party election advert which contains "a blatant factual error" regarding a quote attributed to the PFP Federal Executive chairman, Mr Ken Andrew.

The full-page newspaper advert published yesterday quotes Mr Andrew as saying (in the Sowetan on March 11): "The Progressive Federal Party would form an alliance with groups, including the African National Congress, which wanted an apartheid-free South Africa."

In a press statement the PFP secretary general and President's Council member, Mr Robin Carlisle, said the statement as printed in the Sowetan was denied by Mr Andrew in a press statement published in several newspapers on April 16 and 21.

"Mr Andrew never said this.... he denied categorically that he ever made such a statement. Since the NP must have been aware of this, we see their use of an inaccurate quote as an intentional attempt to substantiate a ridiculous advertisement.

"While the PFP is considering legal action, a court application may not be appropriate as the advertisement has already appeared. We are awaiting an opinion from our legal advisors."

"However, it is quite clear that the NP are in desperate straits and for the first time take the PFP thrust towards alternative government seriously.

"We expect that the NP will be producing at least four more communist/security type smears before the election because they have neither policies nor plans for South Africa.

"The PFP, on the other hand, will continue to market its plans and policies."

(News by Heloise Henning, 626 Mutual Building, Harrison St, Johannesburg)

# PFP: no equality in separate education

Dispatch Correspondent

DURBAN — There could never be separate but equal education, only equal education, the Progressive Federal Party candidate in Durban North, Mr Mike Ellis, told an election meeting here.

Education, or the lack of it among a large section of the population, was at the heart of the unrest in the country at present, he said.

Not all the blame could be laid at the National Party's door but it was Dr Hendrik Verwoerd's policy to give blacks an inferior education which had resulted in a country of millions of illiterates.

The education system had been at the heart of unrest for the past 12 or 13 years and the optimism created by the De Lange report turned to despair when the government published its reaction.

Further rioting and violence erupted.

"Education is very much at the heart of the discontent many feel towards the government," Mr Ellis said.

The government had had a golden opportunity to correct the inequalities in education but turned its back on it, opting for white supremacy and apartheid.

Inequalities continued and in 1984 it cost the state R1 511 a year to educate a white child compared with R985 for an Indian child, R501 for a coloured child and R167 for a black child.

Last year the teacher/pupil ratio was 20 to 1 for whites, 27 to 1 for Indians, 38 to 1 for coloureds and 66 to 1 for blacks.

The PFP believed in one education system for all people. In the proposed federal system each federal unit would have control over its own education.

It also believed that primary and secondary education should be free and compulsory and that pre-primary and tertiary education should be subsidised by the state.

"If we wish to restore peace and security and build a winning nation education has got to be seen as a major priority," Mr Ellis said.

(Report by O Pollok, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban)



# Heunis says no to Worrall debate

CAPE TOWN — The Cape leader of the National Party, Mr Chris Heunis, last night refused to have a public debate with his independent opponent in Helderberg, Dr Denis Worrall, under any circumstances.

Mr Heunis said he refused to share a platform with a man who, while enjoying the trust and confidence of the government, decided to oppose a colleague and actively solicit support for opposition against the government without divulging his switch in political allegiance.

His emphatic statement rules out any prospect of a debate between him and Dr Worrall in the crucial Helderberg contest.

When Dr Worrall first challenged Mr Heunis to a debate, Mr Heunis said he did not have the time in his busy schedule for it.

"However, as my non-acceptance of his invitation is being interpreted as if I am dodging a debate with him, it has become necessary to state my position on this issue," Mr Heunis said last night.

"Furthermore, Dr Worrall's public utterances bear testimony to the fact that he changes his views whenever he regards it as expedient and as often as he likes."

(News by Barry Streek, 122 St Georges St, Cape Town.)

# Campaigns can boost unrest (304A) 002540 Coetzee

CAPE TOWN — There was a real danger that campaigns for the release of detainees could result in renewed, large-scale unrest, the Commissioner of Police, General Johann Coetzee, told the Supreme Court here yesterday.

"Public participation in such emotive campaigns, projects and actions are, I believe, absolutely counter-productive to the speedy ending of the state of emergency," he said.

He was replying, in a 37-page affidavit, to the Progressive Federal Party application.

In his affidavit, Gen Coetzee said he believed the proclamation did not ban criticism of detention provided the public was not incited to take part in a specific "campaign, project or action" aimed at the release of detainees.

He said there had been a drastic decrease in unrest and public violence since the declaration of the state of emergency.

However, it could not be terminated as long as the "present intense psychological onslaught aimed at the mobilising of the masses for a people's uprising continues".

The intensity of radicalism was controlled to a large degree by the exploitation of emotional issues such as detention, especially of children he said.

"It is just not in the interest of peace in this country that this issue be exploited," Gen Coetzee said.

"It is also not in the interest of detainees that they be held even longer as a result of any escalation in the state of emergency."

He said grievances of school organisations and a school boycott planned to take place in the Eastern Cape later this month, together with "emotional" anti-detention campaigns involving the public could be an important stimulus to a renewed series of resistance actions, boycotts and violence at schools.

Public participation in actions against detention could lead to polarisation between the black community and the state, as had happened on National Detainees' Day, he said.

"Campaigns, projects and actions of this nature are initiated, encouraged and supported by the ANC and the SACP as part of their strategy to make the country ungovernable for purposes of implementing 'people's power'," he said.



# Heunis refuses debate offer

Cape Times 25/4/87 304A

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE Cape leader of the National Party, Mr Chris Heunis, last night emphatically refused to participate in a public debate with his independent opponent in Helderberg, Dr Denis Worrall.

Earlier this week, Dr Worrall challenged Mr Heunis to a debate for the second time and offered to cancel his final campaign meeting on May 4, when Mr Heunis, he said, was also scheduled to hold a meeting in Helderberg.

When Dr Worrall first challenged him to a debate, Mr Heunis said he was too busy.

But Mr Heunis said last night: "As so often happens, his statement is incorrect. I shall be in Kuruman on that date.

"However, as my non-acceptance of his invitation is being interpreted as if I am dodging a debate with him, it has become necessary to state my position on this issue.

"No meaningful debate is possible with a man who, by his own admission, regards his constitutional option for South Africa as irrelevant.

"Furthermore, Dr Worrall's public utterances bear testimony to the fact that he changes his views whenever he regards it as expedient and as often as he likes.

"I have nothing to say to a man whose code of conduct does not prevent him, for reasons which he prefers not to disclose, from failing to inform colleagues in government, with whom he had discussions during his home leave, that he was engaged in a secret campaign which eventually resulted in his present opposition to the government.

"I refuse to share a platform with a man, who whilst still enjoying the confidence and trust of the government in his capacity as Ambassador to the Court of St James, decided to oppose a colleague and actively solicited support for opposition against the government, without publicly divulging the switch in his political allegiance," Mr Heunis said.

□ Sapa reports that when asked to comment on Mr Heunis's statement, Dr Worrall said from Somerset West that the Minister's response to his challenge was "quite predictable".

"It is in line with the approach Mr Heunis has consistently adopted to the Helderberg campaign.

"He has throughout engaged in personal insults and avoided discussion of policy.

"I believe that many voters in Helderberg will be disappointed at his refusal to hold a constructive discussion of the issues and our very real differences."

(News by Barry Streek, 122 St George's St, Cape Town and Greg Smith, 801 Nedbank Centre, Strand St, Cape Town.)

## Hall confirms gift of R10 000 to NP

Political Correspondent

ATTEMPTS by the Nationalist press to criticize "foreign" support for the Worrall election campaign were labelled as "hypocritical" and "dishonest" by Dr Robert Hall last night.

In a front-page report, the NP mouthpiece in the Cape, the Burger, yesterday singled out Dr Hall, an American citizen resident in South Africa since 1980, as one of the sources of foreign support for the Helderberg Independent.

Dr Hall said the NP press appeared to be "clutching at straws" since no mention had been made of the fact that both he and his wife were still members of the NP and had recently given "substantial" financial support to the party.

Dr Hall released to the Cape Times correspondence between himself and NP office-bearers late last year confirming his donation of R10 000 to NP funds "to achieve and maintain stability and reform".

A letter dated October 17, 1986, from the Cape leader of the NP, Mr Chris Heunis, to Dr Hall makes reference to a request for a "substantial donation in order to enable the party to meet the growing responsibility that reform requires".

"Funds are also urgently needed to withstand the vicious onslaught, in particular from political extremists," Mr Heunis noted.

From page 1

## Hall

In a letter dated November 11, 1986, the secretary-in-chief of the NP, Mr Frikkie van Deventer, assures Dr Hall that his cheque for R10 000 would be of "great assistance in these difficult times".

"We are fully aware of the important work you are doing behind the scenes to help our country through a very rough period and wish to thank you for your continued support," he says.

Dr Hall stressed last night that he had given money to the NP in the belief that the party was "being honest about its reform programme" but now believed "the wheels have come off".

He said: "I firmly believe that the best investment one can make in South Africa today is to invest in Dr Worrall's campaign."

(Report by Anthony Johnson, 122 St George's Street, CT.)



# UK papers slam SA **'Third World dictatorship'**

*CRIT Times 25/4/87*  
*#304A* *374/170/150*

From MIKE ROBERTSON

LONDON. — South Africa was now being run like a Third World banana republic, the Independent said in a leading article yesterday.

The newspaper's stinging comment followed South Africa's return to the front pages here with the killing of six black strikers.

It was joined by The Times and The Guardian who carried condemnatory leading articles under respective headings of "The Volk are Split Asunder" and "Mr Botha's Empty Promises".

Meanwhile the Scottish Trades Union Congress annual conference sent a telex to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher calling on her to act against the "slaughtering South African regime".

A Downing Street spokesman said the telex had been received, but no response was expected until after the weekend.

Delegates at the STUC conference called on unions to raise funds for detained Cosatu members.

The Independent, a middle-of-the-road paper, said that since the state of

emergency the South African government had put itself in the lowest of all categories, along with such countries as Chile.

"The South African regime has adopted the devices of a Third World dictatorship."

The conservative Times noted that the killings would probably secure the NP a few thousand more votes.

President P W Botha's leadership, it said, "has little now to offer the white electorate except to play on its fears of black insurrection".

The left of centre Guardian said the only substantive addition to black rights in South Africa was the legalizing of African unions.

But the right to strike and organize was not respected by the authorities, especially when the employer was the State itself.

Mr Botha, it said, had proved the fears of the right of a sell-out were decidedly premature.

"Reform has been shelved, and the successive crackdowns under the state of emergency, now in its eleventh month, amount to the most severe and sustained assault on human rights in modern South African history — which is saying a lot."

CMC TWP 28/4/87 (243) 304A

# 'Paranoia' — Dene Smuts

## Chief Reporter

IN a hard-hitting speech yesterday Ms Dene Smuts, who resigned in protest as editor of the magazine Fair Lady three weeks ago, referred to herself as "one more victim of paranoia in high places", and accused the government of "tribalizing the whole white populace".

"They genuinely think, after nearly 40 years in power, that politics is their province alone; that the rest of us have no business commenting on

it," she said before a capacity Cape Town Press Club audience.

Ms Smuts said she was in complete agreement with the Nasionale Pers management that party political journalism was best left out of magazines. "I wish they would leave it out of their papers too, and start writing about the place we live in, not the party!"

She had never practised party political journalism, she added, but for an intelligent women's magazine to skip so-

cio-political issues, to run articles only on infant colic while black children were locked up in their thousands and while children were allegedly tortured, would be obscene.

She had no illusions that Naspers management would enjoy the suppressed interview with Dr Denis Worrall, "and fully expected to be roasted after publication. But I never dreamt they would go tripping over my copy in the printing works, nor would I have guessed in a month of

Sundays that they would go so far as squashing stories.

"I was told my copy was propaganda. Every time I was roasted for running the Tutus and the Molly Blackburns of this world I was told the articles constituted glorification.

"I don't have to tell you I don't glorify. But what kind of mind sees the simple act of running a profile as glorification? It is an assumption and an approach to journalism that is fundamentally undemocratic."



WASH. POST, 11/11/87, p. 1

W/E News 25/4/87 3000

Weekend Ar

# Thousands at US anti-SA demo

WASHINGTON — Thousands of people gathered in Washington for a demonstration near the White House to protest against US policies in Central America and South Africa, but President Ronald Reagan did not plan to be in town to hear them.

The President and Mrs Reagan are spending the weekend at their holiday retreat at Camp David, Maryland.

Said Mr Reagan: "We haven't been there for a long time and we won't be able to go there for several more weeks."

Asked if the start of three days of demonstrations against his Administration's policies played a part in the decision Mr Reagan said with a chuckle: "Oh, I'm going to miss them."

Sponsors of The National Mobilisation for Justice and Peace in Central America and Southern Africa said they expected 1 000 buses to arrive at the Ellipse, the grassy expanse behind the White House, for a morning rally there today and a repeat in the afternoon at the Capitol.

Organisers said they planned

a demonstration on the scale of the civil rights and anti-Vietnam War protests in Washington of the 1960s.

Spokesman Dan Greenberg said that more than 25 000 trade unionists from around the country were expected. Twenty-four labour leaders are on the protest committee, including presidents of many of the nation's biggest unions.

Among groups being brought together are the Rev Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition, the Gay and Lesbian Task Force, the Gray Panthers (a senior citizens group), the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the National Organisation for Women and the Native American Movement.

Mr Greenberg said an article

in the Washington Times claiming that the organisers had received three-million dollars from the communist government in Nicaragua was "laughably incorrect".

"We are going to get most of our money selling T-shirts and buttons," Mr Greenberg said. "We have survived through contributions from our members." — Sapa-AP.

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WASH. POST

# It was lie for the Govt or quit, says Worrall

Weekend Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Dr Denis Worrall says he was faced with the dilemma of lying for the South African Government or quitting his post as ambassador to Britain.

In a by-lined leader-page article in today's Daily Mail — headlined "Why I refused to lie for Botha" — he explains why he resigned to fight as an Independent in the election.

Dr Worrall said his life as an ambassador had "become impossible".

"I could no longer represent my government as genuinely reformist because the reform process to abolish apartheid, as a meaningful exercise, had stopped."

Ambassadorship to a country like

Britain involved high standards of diplomacy and respect.

"One's country and one's representation of it are judged and assessed on long-established norms and traditions, and it cannot be allowed to become a shoddy business."

"I had become trapped in a situation in which I had to hold out the prospect of a commitment to fundamental reform which was not really taking place — and I was certain my inability to represent reform truthfully would become apparent whenever I appeared in public."

"In the end, it came down to a simple decision: Do I suffer the private agony of having to lie for my government, or do I risk my career and go back to South Africa to tell my people about my concerns?"

The dilemma had been growing on him for several months. Three major issues brought it to a head:

President Botha's so-called Rubicon speech, "which ended as less than a damp squib". It dashed the hopes of many reasonable people everywhere;

The attacks on the capitals of three neighbouring Commonwealth countries during the visit of the Eminent Persons' Group; and,

The decision to refer the "very-serious and hopeful" report on segregated residential areas back to the President's Council.

He perceived "there was an upsurge of discontent among white South Africans that was running parallel to the rage of the black

population" and he felt a need to do something about the situation.

Of his decision to stand in Helderberg, he writes: "There were certainly easier constituencies where I would have been more or less certain of victory."

"But to defeat Minister Heunis, a powerful Cabinet Minister widely regarded as a possible successor to President Botha, would be the clearest indication to the Government that they had misread white opinion."

"It would also arouse international interest to the fact that there are white South Africans who are trying to achieve constructive change."



W/C ARGUS 25/4/87

3047

NEWS

# OUT OF THE BLUE ...

THE  
Vote

WORRALL

## Helderberg candidate reaches new heights in campaign

by MARK STANSFIELD  
Weekend Argus Reporter

DR DENIS WORRALL hit new heights in his fight for support in the Helderberg constituency this week — but it took a lot of hot air to get him there.

Some Somerset West residents were surprised when his voice greeted them from the heavens about 7.45am.

Looking up they saw the independent Helderberg candidate drifting above their suburb in a hot-air balloon — the latest in a list of spectacular methods Dr Worrall is using to gain the support of the voters.

Bearing a huge banner, the balloon floated above the houses while Dr Worrall waved, greeted and even talked to surprised housewives.

### In nightclothes

Mrs Flick du Toit, in her dressing-gown, pledged her support and then apologised to the dapper doctor for being outside in her nightclothes.

"I'm pleased to meet you," she shouted as a slight breeze blew Dr Worrall over her roof.

Dr Worrall beamed and waved a cheery farewell.

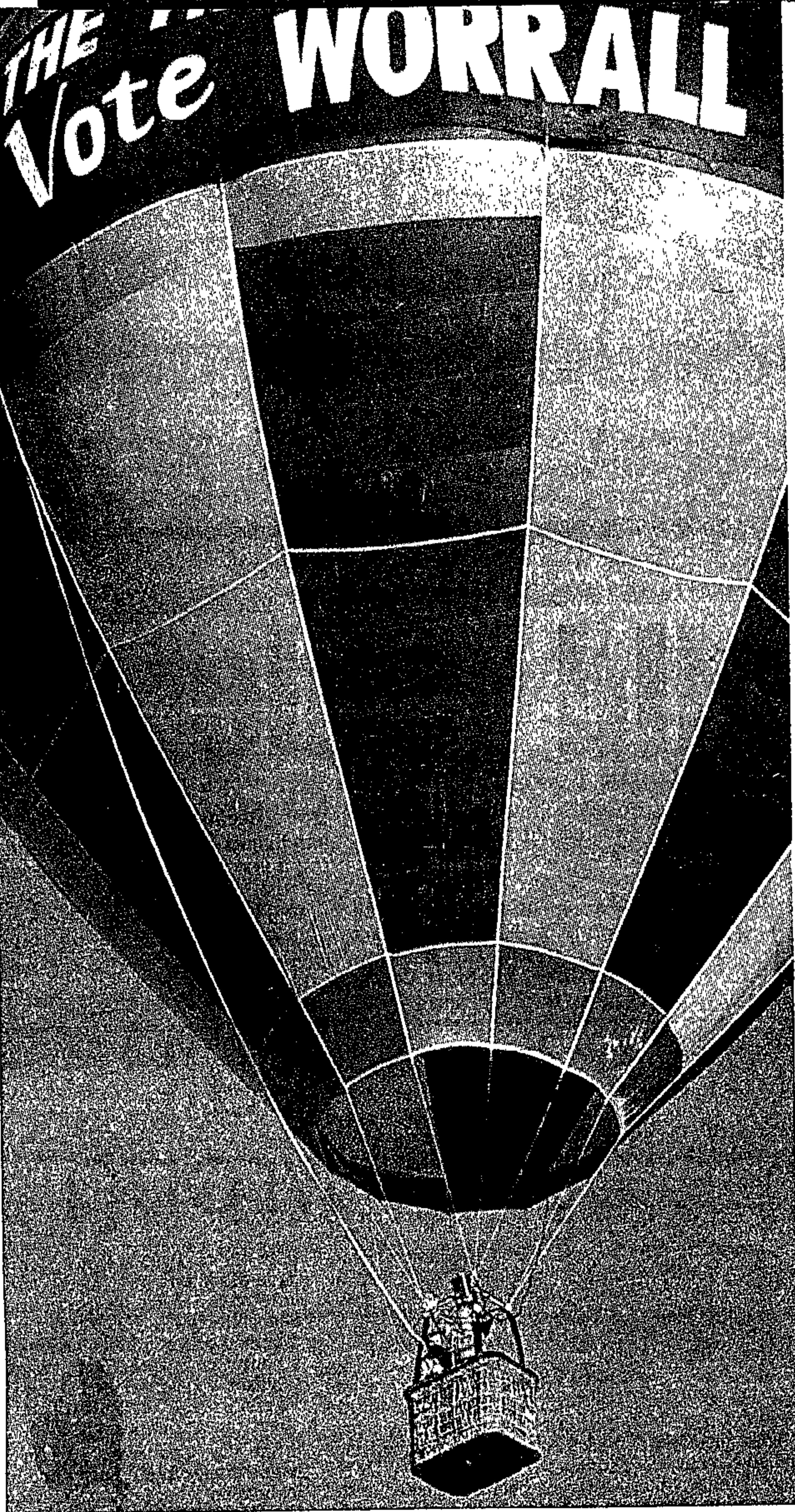
A little farther on five-year-old Anne Kennedy's bright-blue eyes lit up as the balloon came down in her front garden

### Man in garden

"Mom!, a man's coming down here," she shouted excitedly to her mother, Mrs Sophie Kennedy.

Dr Worrall greeted the excited little girl and then exchanged a few words with Mrs Kennedy before departing.

Nationalists in Helderberg may say the stunt was just a lot of hot air — but Dr Worrall's esteem soared.



Picture: DION TROMP, Weekend Argus.

Dr Worrall drifts above Helderberg in a hot-air balloon.



W/C ARGUS 22/4/87

# New party mooted by 'Lang Dawid'

3047

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Political Staff

FORMER Nationalist Press leader Mr D P "Lang Dawid" de Villiers QC said today that unless the National Party underwent a total change the formation of a new party would be needed to get South Africa out of its crisis.

He also recommended that "enemies" such as the African National Congress be included in negotiations for a "totally new" constitutional and social dispensation, and that white domination and racial discrimination be ended.

Mr de Villiers, who has actively backed the former Nationalist independent candidates in the election campaign, made his proposals at a symposium on the campus of the University of Stellenbosch today.

The discussion, on the theme "Reform in a crisis", was held by the Reformatories Beweging van Suid Afrika (Reform Movement of SA).

## Equal, fair

Mr de Villiers said that a new constitutional dispensation should provide for "equal and fair" treatment of all South Africa's inhabitants, fair balances and protection for all, and powers for enforcement, where necessary, by an independent judiciary.

It should come about by way of peaceful negotiation and the greatest possible measure of agreement between all concerned.

The final ending of South Africa's crisis would be possible only when such a dispensation was achieved.

The present division between "white", "brown" and "black" politics would have to be brought to an end by means of free association of people according to their own choice.

Mr de Villiers said the National Party with its present policy, structure and leadership did not meet the requirements of the new dispensation that was needed.

The NP, like other existing political parties, had been born out of the "white politics" of a "white man's country" as envisaged in the past.

The independent movement had already done important preliminary groundwork towards a new deal for South Africa. The spontaneous support received by the independent movement from all over the country was "astonishing".

## Frustrated

The "total transformation" needed in the NP would have to make it possible to accommodate the independents and their supporters again. At present this seemed unlikely, but unless it happened the formation of a new party would be needed.

Such a new party would have a strong attraction for frustrated reformists who were still in the NP, and would be in a position to form alliances with all other like-minded South Africans, regardless of their cultural or political backgrounds.

Another speaker at the meeting was Dr Wimpie de Klerk, former editor of Rapport, and brother of the Minister of National Education, Mr F W de Klerk. He called for a new political agenda for South Africa and a move away from the concept of race as a power base.

This was one of the boundaries to be crossed, as the present power base was unacceptable to blacks.

Also, a new constitution would have to be "rounded off" in one Parliament and would move away from "race as a building block".

Other points in Dr de Klerk's proposed political agenda include:

- The question of the Government's role in future constitutional negotiations and

- The question of political alliances other than the present alliance concept of the Progressive Federal Party.

## Dead end

He said the Government's negotiation process had reached a dead end. This was leading to impatience and despair among blacks.

Mr Piet Marais, National Party candidate for Stellenbosch and information officer of the Cape National Party, said South Africa's political debate was about power.

The Government as such did not have power. Power was in the hands of the whites as the Government exercised it on their behalf. The Government dared not do what the whites did not want it to do.

The Reform Movement of South Africa (REMSA) is a Potchefstroom-based organisation of academics and clergymen.

(Report by F S Esterhuyse, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)



Mr. T. 25/4/77 (3047)

# Nat rule shows strong signs of terminal rot

AT this stage of an election campaign when disinformation and propaganda exceed all bounds it may be useful to stand back and look at what is happening in historical perspective.

Whatever the result on May 6, what is happening in the country is plain enough.

Afrikaner Nationalist rule in South Africa has reached its peak and is beginning to give way to an eventual successor — whose nature and shape is only dimly discernible, if at all. And the time this will take to unfold is likewise uncertain.

Looking back, we see now that National Party rule has meant Afrikaner rule, purely and simply, as Professor Terreblanche confirms in his report to the nation from the heart of the Nationalist establishment.

The NP is essentially Afrikaner and essentially Nationalist, concerned above all to advance and protect the interests of Afrikaners. It is incapable of building a united South African nation out of the remnants of the colonial and imperial past.

Such a judgement, coming from an NP figure of weight and stature, has to be treated with respect.

The maintenance of Afrikaner control is still the National Party's goal. To paraphrase Professor Terreblanche, the Nationalist leopard cannot change its spots. In its very nature it is incapable of change or "reform".

Until it disintegrates, and however long that may take, the National Party is driven inexorably onards, tightening the screw until the scenario becomes indistinguishable from the Nazi or Stalinist terror.

Already, if you are a black man in conflict with the authorities — a militant trade unionist, for example — any distinction between what is happening here and now and what took place in the Third Reich in the late 1930s seems rather academic.

DOES it have to be like this? If Nationalist Afrikanerdom's last stand against the black nationalist rebellion is to be long and drawn out, stretching over the next decade or more, it is difficult not to be thoroughly pessimistic about the country's future. In such circumstances, one racial tyranny could well be replaced by another, with black nationalism taking over the institutions and practices of Afrikaner nationalism and applying them in reverse.

The chances of striking an accord — and a society upholding Western-style values and freedom in personal, economic and political life — depend on the National Party disintegrating sometime in the next few years, leading to political re-alignment and the formation of a broadly-based moderate alliance — which will take over



**Political Survey**  
By GERALD SHAW



Sampie Terreblanche ... Nationalist leopard cannot change its spots.

disillusioned and will vote for the Opposition or the independents.

But will people of power and influence in the English-speaking community — notably the business leadership — have the courage to come out into the open and give a lead? Many of them were ready enough to take a political stand in favour of President Botha in the referendum.

How many, waiting to see which way the cat will jump, and hoping to benefit in the siege economy, will prefer to hold their peace and keep out of sight?

THEY know that Afrikaner Nationalist rule of South Africa is

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Already, if you are a black man in conflict with the authorities — a militant trade unionist, for example — any distinction between what is happening here and now and what took place in the Third Reich in the late 1930s seems rather academic.

**D**OES it have to be like this?

If Nationalist Afrikanerdom's last stand against the black nationalist rebellion is to be long and drawn out, stretching over the next decade or more, it is difficult not to be thoroughly pessimistic about the country's future. In such circumstances, one racial tyranny could well be replaced by another, with black nationalism taking over the institutions and practices of Afrikaner nationalism and applying them in reverse.

The chances of striking an accord — and a society upholding Western-style values and freedom in personal, economic and political life — depend on the National Party disintegrating sometime in the next few years, leading to political re-alignment and the formation of a broadly-based moderate alliance — which will take over the government and negotiate with the black nationalist leadership.

It matters little what this new grouping will be called. It may be that none of the old party names are retained. It is of little importance.

Initially, the component groups may well keep their distinct identity but eventually a merger into a single party seems inevitable.

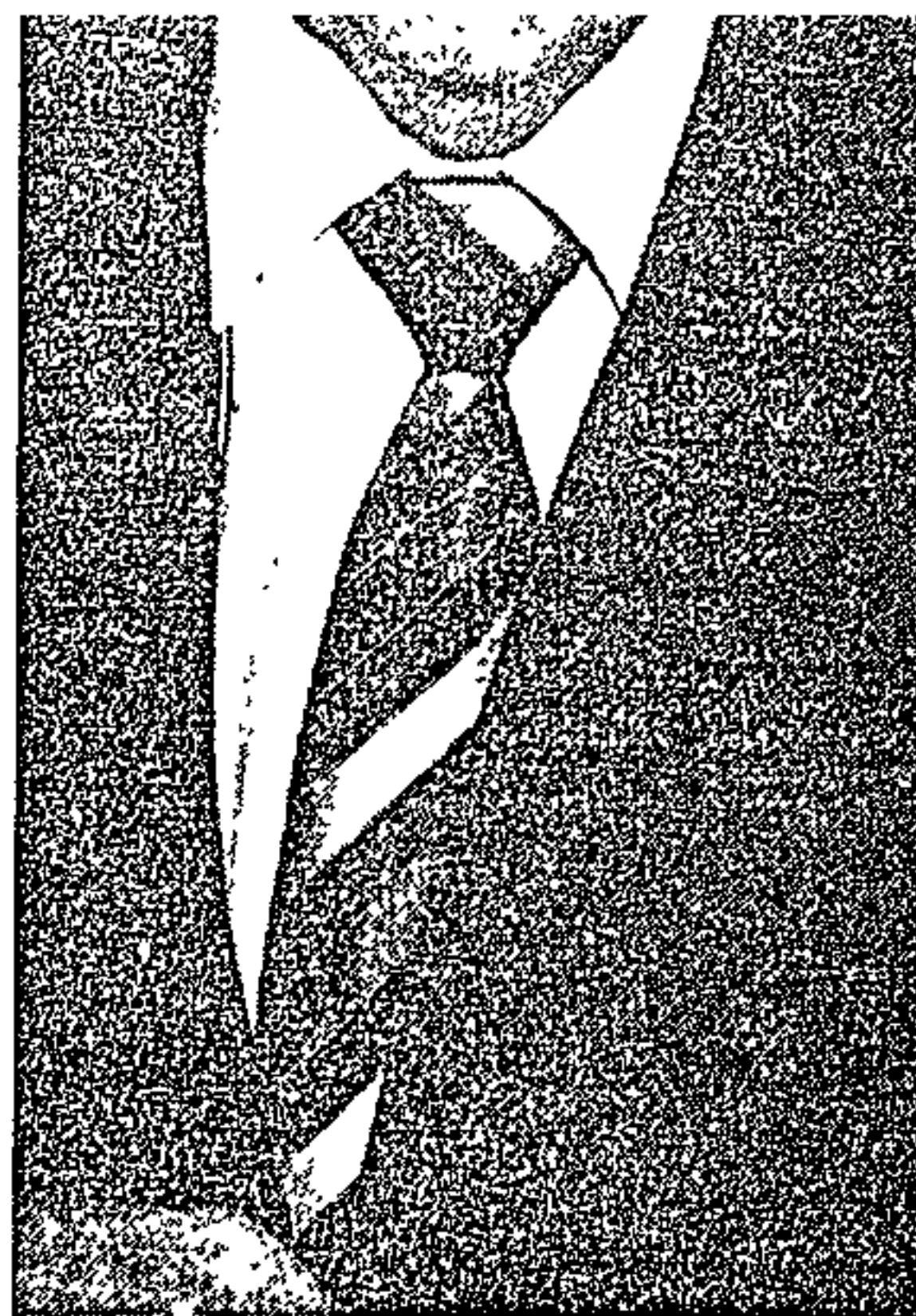
But nothing can happen until the National Party breaks up, with one section going into *hereniging* with the CP and the HNP and the other section — the larger, we may hope — forming an alliance with the PFP Opposition, the NRP, and all other anti-Nationalist groups who believe in freedom.

The best we can hope for in the May 6 election is that the result will trigger the process of disintegration of the NP, however slowly this may take place for a start. It is best not to expect too much too soon.

**T**HE Worrall-Wynand Malan independent movement is significant, certainly, but it has created unrealistic expectations of what can be done in the immediate situation on May 6. They are pretty sure of winning Wynand Malan's seat in Randburg but they should be well satisfied if they do no more at this stage than put up a good showing in Stellenbosch and Helderberg.

And we may hope with some confidence that the PFP will pick up Simon's Town and some other seats elsewhere in the country. We may hope that the joint impact of such successes will start the Nationalist rot.

The signs are that most English-speaking South Africans who supported President Botha in the constitutional referendum are now



Sampie Terreblanche ... Nationalist leopard cannot change its spots.

disillusioned and will vote for the Opposition or the independents.

But will people of power and influence in the English-speaking community — notably the business leadership — have the courage to come out into the open and give a lead? Many of them were ready enough to take a political stand in favour of President Botha in the referendum.

How many, waiting to see which way the cat will jump, and hoping to benefit in the siege economy, will prefer to hold their peace and keep out of sight?

**T**HEY know that Afrikaner Nationalist rule of South Africa is doomed but they fear that it may well be an unconscionable time a'dying. Meanwhile they would rather not get caught in the cross-fire.

Such hesitation could be fatal for the survival of the free enterprise system in South Africa.

The black leadership suspect big business of collusion with President Botha in maintaining his policies of repression. Is the business leadership doing enough to demonstrate the contrary?

Silence in the run-up to May 6 will be taken as acquiescence. There is more at stake on May 6 than many may realize.

As things stand, blacks are more and more tending to associate the free enterprise capitalist system with the racial restrictions and regulations of the Botha era. Now that President Botha says he is determined to keep group areas and race classification this impression is stronger than ever.

In any event, the era of Afrikaner Nationalist domination is drawing to a close, as in previous times the pre-colonial, Dutch and British colonial eras ran their course and faded into history. A period of transition has begun, which could be fatally disruptive if it drags on too long and too much blood is shed.

Who knows what will follow? A non-racial social democracy upholding economic freedom and freedom of the press? Black nationalist or Marxist domination?

It not too late to influence the course of events. A parliamentary alliance of moderates does offer a way out of the mess. If the opportunity is not seized and exploited to the full, ultimately the initiative will pass into the streets.

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## COMMENT

# Let's have some new faces

THIS stupefyingly long election campaign is ending as it started with the National Party simply saying "trust us".

And let us not forget that it is the record of the ruling party, much more than the opposition, that is up for judgment on May 6.

Yet the NP has given us no viable vision of a new future, no hint that anyone holding high office in Pretoria has any serious idea of how to halt the country's slow, degenerative slide into calamity.

With 10 days to polling day, all we have is the NP's short-term promise that it is better than anyone else at bashing the ANC.

A long-term constitutional plan for permanent peace? The NP promises no more than the old dead-end street of "own affairs" government.

In short, we are offered a permanent garrison state by ideologically exhausted men who hope that — somehow — the future will take care of itself.

Nevertheless, the past weeks have also revealed something important: not everyone is given to a despairing vision.

Countless white South Africans who have, these past two years, looked into the abyss of a violent, convulsive future have concluded that there must be a better way.

## Complacent

They also believe in law and order. They also believe that minorities have a fair right to claim protection in a new South Africa; that counter-apartheid would be quite as objectionable as the present kind.

But, unlike our rulers, they believe that a new society cannot be achieved by complacent stand-patters.

An uneasy peace has been bought at devastating cost to civil liberties. But this breathing space must be used. If whites negotiate from their present strength, there is some chance that they will secure an orderly sharing of power with the sort of safeguards that minorities have a right to demand.

The alternative, as one foreign commentator said recently, is for whites to watch their power trickle away until they can no longer negotiate a decent future for themselves.

Hence we have seen the intellectual brain drain from the NP and the emergence of a loose alliance of moderates at what may be described as the "extreme centre" of white politics.

## Spirit

Such people are found in a pragmatic PFP, among the Independents who have played such a big part in mobilising the new spirit, in the rump of the NRP and — no less significantly — within the ranks of the NP itself.

We shall awake on May 7 to find the NP still in power. But it is doubtful whether white politics will be quite the same again.

In 39 years the NP has brought us not one inch closer to lasting peace. Its slogans are tired, shop-soiled and empty. The faces of many of its leaders are too familiar, too much associated with past failures.

Our future — if we are to have any at all — lies in alliance politics, alliances across language and colour lines.

The old book of South African history is forever closed. The only question remaining is this: who do we choose to take charge of the daunting era of transition to the new history that lies ahead?

On Wednesday week, whites can make sure that as many modern men and women as possible are sent to the one place where peaceful change can still be initiated, Parliament.

Tertius Myburgh



# Can this people's revolt capture Afrikanerdom?

Times 26/4/87

30A

**STELLENBOSCH** independent candidate Dr Esther Lategan has a bunch of amateurs helping her in her bid to win the election.

A mathematics professor is handing her special votes; an internationally-known microbiologist is doing voter tracing; two law professors are handling house meetings and information; and an eminent theologian is the office dogbody.

Herein lies the key characteristic to the political struggle for the Afrikaner heartland constituencies of Stellenbosch and adjoining Heideberg.

It's Afrikanerdom's very own peoples revolution.

In this case, however, the people who have come forward in a bid to wrest power from the establishment politicians are the custodians of Afrikanerdom's cultural and intellectual heritage.

In the historic, oak-treed town housing the university that has provided most of Nationalism's prime ministers — and where 60 percent of voters are students — they are pitting their brainpower in protest against a Government they see as ideologically bankrupt.

## Factors

The remarkable rebellion of the intellectuals was unleashed by two factors:

● The break with President P W Botha by Professor Samjee Terreblanche's group of 28 academics and their subsequent backing by 301 more intellectuals

● Former ambassador Dr Denis Worrall's decision to challenge the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, in Heideberg.

The struggle for the mind of Afrikanerdom peaked this week with a rare face-to-face debate between Dr Lategan and the National Party sitting MP Piet Marais, and with President Botha's decision to enter the fray by rescheduling his final Cape rally to Stellenbosch.

President Botha pointedly avoided even mentioning the words "independents" or "academics" but revealed himself touchily sensitive to the accusation (which he did mention) that the Government was "dom".

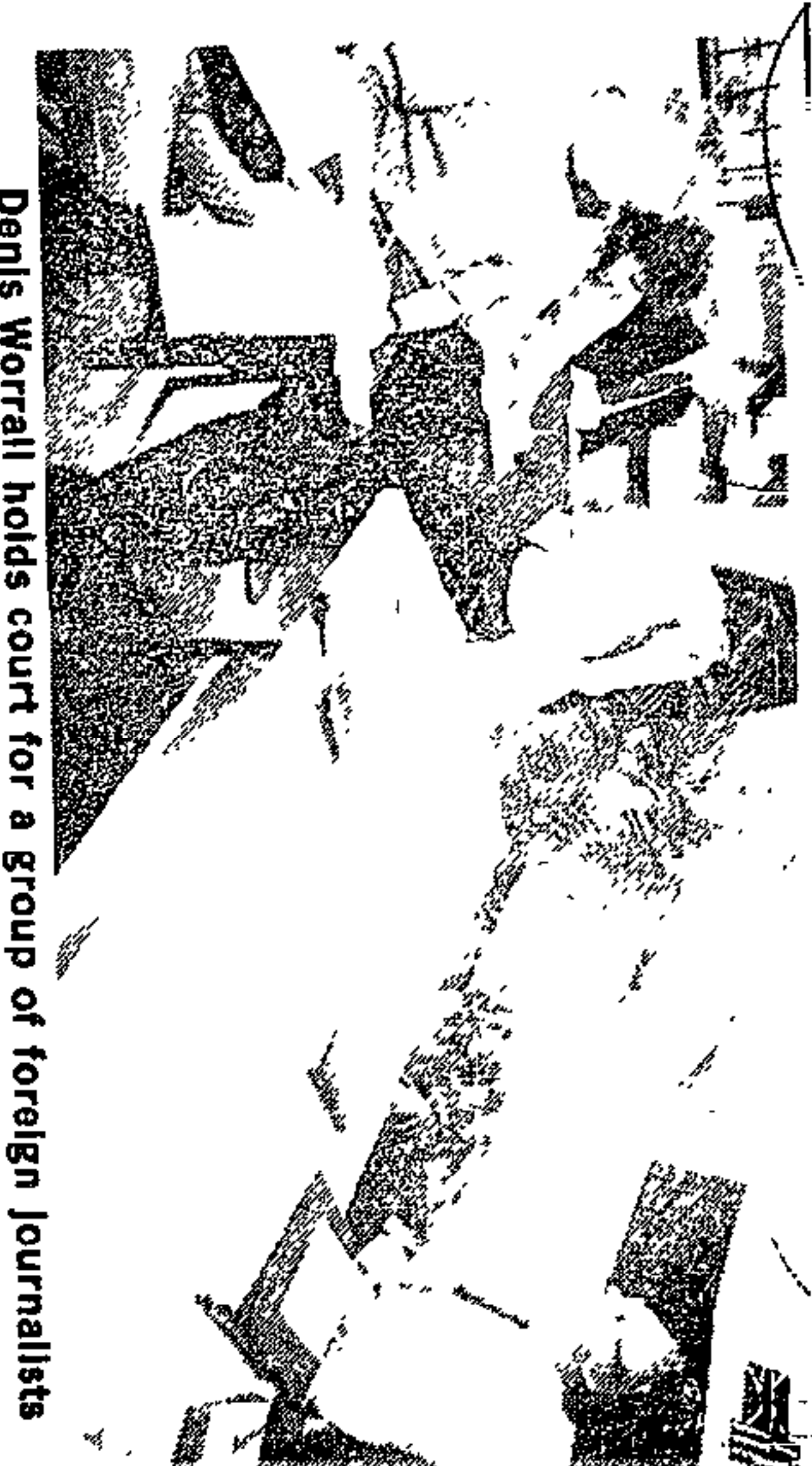
He devoted a major part of his 90-minute speech to recounting cultural and eco-



Chris Heunis and helpers Gerald Smith, Karen Langrock and Maatchen Land



Two youthful Worrall workers, cousins Margaret, left, and Polly Wilson, help keep track of press clippings



Denis Worrall holds court for a group of foreign journalists

## LESTER VENTER'S ELECTION DIARY

nomie achievements of the National Party. Afterwards, Dr Lategan quipped: "If he had gone on any further he would have had us believing the NP had invented the wheel."

Dr Lategan rebuts suggestions that her high-minded and enthusiastic workers and supporters will ultimately prove no match for the established organisational machinery of the NP. "There comes a point

where something can be too highly organised. Our workers may have no experience but they have intelligence and commonsense ... and their enthusiasm cannot be dampened."

The tweed-jacketed folkiness of the Lategan campaign may prove on polling day to have been misleading. Her office claims to have traced nearly 90 percent of the constituency's 4 000 missing voters.

The atmosphere and sheer political slickness is substantially different in Heideberg — a large constituency of nearly 22 000 voters — nestling on the vine-covered slopes of the Heideberg and hugging the shores of False Bay.

Voters there make up more of a microcosm of South Africa — 54 percent women, 49 percent English-speaking, retired people, wealthy wine farmers, and

many young families in the thriving towns of Somerset West and Gordon's Bay.

For their hearts and minds Dr Worrall and Mr Heunis are engaged in a high-stakes struggle, the likes of which have not been seen in South African electoral politics for some decades.

Dr Worrall gave up an ambassadorship to make his point and says: "I didn't come home to lose."

ment's constitutional guru, carries the credibility of NP policy squarely on his shoulders.

As crown prince in the presidential stakes, the country's top job is also part of the stakes.

Both sides have poured staggering resources into the contest.

Both have pulled in top squads of campaign managers and organisers, both are publishing their own newspapers, and Dr Worrall is even available on video.

In a front office on Somerset West's main street, and less visibly in a building

## Labelled

So far, both contestants claim to have canvassed more than 70 percent of those voters. And both claim the results are going their way.

In an interview, Mr Heunis labelled Dr Worrall an opportunist who shifts position as needed and who is misleading voters by holding out the possibility of the formation of a new party after the

election. In the NP, says Mr Heunis, voters have an established party that has been prepared to sacrifice support in the cause of reform.

Dr Worrall says the independent movement has "influenced the rhetoric and direction" of the election.

Banking on broadening perceptions in the electorate, he says: "People realise their priority is political security as opposed to personal security."

The two heartland political highpoints of the week revealed the tense see-saw of political allegiances taking

place. During the debate between Dr Lategan and Mr Marais, the 400-strong audience clearly lined up behind Dr Lategan.

When President Botha took the stage in the Stellenbosch town hall — Mr Marais denied the venue switch had any political significance — the NP leader demonstrated his brand of politicking could still hold the day.

What the voters decide, in the secrecy of the ballot booth on May 6, will set the mould that South African politics could be cast in for the next few years.



# If only PW could cut free of this shackle!

A SEEMINGLY interminable white election campaign has had one encouraging aspect: the Government — so far, at any rate — has avoided succumbing completely to the temptation to dust off the dreary sword of "swart gevaar".

This applies even to Ministers normally regarded in some circles as closet verkrampies, such as Mr F W de Klerk, who has said: "We will have to reform fundamentally before we can sit back in South Africa. This means changing the face of South Africa, not just apartheid in a new form."

More than one Minister has also frankly — if perhaps altogether too blithely, in view of the great harm they have done — admitted the failure of previous policies, such as attempts to stem the flow of blacks to supposedly white towns. Thus Mr Kobie Coetsee: "You cannot reverse the Victoria Falls."

## Dead end

Is "reform" therefore back on track?

It would seem so — except that in the constitutional field the Government is leading the country up another dead end, just as the independent homelands policy, the tricameral Parliament, and apartheid itself have proved to be dead ends.

This is a great pity, not only because the costs of dead-end policies mount in a hyper-inflationary way, but also because of the lull in political violence

By JOHN  
KANE-BERMAN

director of the South  
African Institute  
of Race Relations



meant "yes" to bringing coloured and Indian representatives into Parliament, but it also meant "yes" to keeping Africans out.

So also a mandate for power-sharing in this election means "yes" to bringing blacks into Central Government, but also "yes" to doing so on the basis of "own affairs".

Any mandate that the Government does obtain will be a mandate to lead the country up another political dead end. Firstly, there is no evidence that black leaders with any real political clout will enter negotiations in which the "own affairs" structure is non-negotiable. Secondly, it is insanely wasteful.

"Own affairs" is exposed as the institutionalisation both of white selfishness and of State prodigality — and as a formula that will ensure that competition for slices of the fiscal cake is racial competition.

strategies and the unsustainable costs of whites trying to hang on to their present monopoly of formal political power.

In other words, compromise is now a more compelling demand than ever before.

At the local level this means making the appropriate overtures to legitimate township organisations, not trying to thwart them by imposing socio-economic change from the top without thought for democratic procedures.

## Knee-jerk

The Government may be surprised to find that some of these groups are reassessing their strategies and that they may be willing to negotiate about certain issues.

At regional level it means abandoning its knee-jerk hostility to the KwaZulu/Natal indaba. And at national level, if the National Party believes — as it does — that the traditional liberal formula of a Bill of Rights guaranteeing

civil liberties on an individual basis is inadequate and that some sort of mechanism for the protection of rights on a group basis is needed, this is surely a matter not for dictation but for candid discussion with blacks at a negotiating table.

The question is: does the Government have the imagination to grasp the new opportunities that are opening up?

If the Government were to remove its "own affairs" precondition and declare its willingness at least to discuss dealing with group association on a voluntary rather than a prescriptive basis, it would, I believe, be entitled to expect a similarly conciliatory attitude from blacks.

There is no guarantee that this would occur at once, but at least one of the major obstacles to negotiation would have been cleared away and the path to compromise opened up.

The Government would have a strong case for asking in return for its own open-ended approach that black nationalists and the forces of liberal opinion reconsider their current hostility to even acknowledging the plural nature of our society.

At the moment, wedded to "own affairs", it has no case at all.





# EGLIN

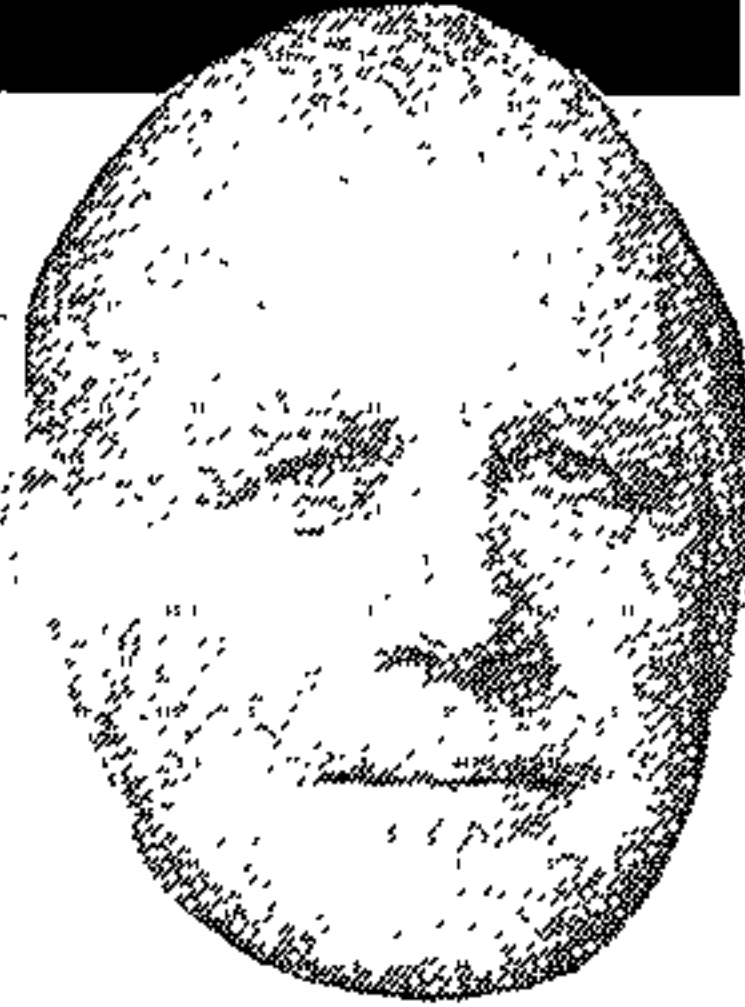
26/4/87

S.T

FOIA

**THE ELECTION** on May 6 promises to be the most interesting and important since the NP, with the assistance of Klasie Havenga's Afrikaner Party, came to power on May 26, 1948.

It looked at one stage like being a futile slugging match between right-wing and ultra-right-wing forces, but has changed dramatically. The issue on May 6 is no longer about the strength of the right wing, but about the willingness of white voters to free South Africa from the grips of apartheid and to take it to a new era of stability, confidence and prosperity.



## We must put freedom in place of compulsion

*By Colin Eglin, Leader of the Progressive Federal Party*

new constitution can succeed. The Indaba has shown the way in the province of Natal.

And flowing from that new constitution — with its decentralisation of power, its proportional representation, its Bill of Rights and its promises of consensus government — will come stability and security and confidence.

We need stability and security, and that only comes from government by consent.

We need the confidence that comes from a government that has a clear vision of the way ahead, that will cause people to invest in South Africa and work in South Africa and stay in South Africa.

We need confidence that will get the wheels of our economy turning and keep them turning. We need the confidence that will provide the jobs, produce the goods, and provide new wealth for the nation.

With confidence, and with a government that cuts back on bureaucracy and red tape and ideological restrictions, South Africa could be among the fastest developing countries in the world.

## Wasted

Instead, we are faced with staggering inflation and frightening unemployment. Millions of ordinary South Africans, especially the aged, struggle day by day to make ends meet.

Let there be no mistake about one point: If the loose alliance consisting of the PFP, the NRP, and the three breakaway National Independents does well on May 6, South African politics is destined for a major shake-up.

After 39 years of Nationalist rule, South Africa will be heading for a new government.

The PFP believes that the issues before the voters are of make-or-break importance. They are about policy; but more than this, they are about the process of politics and negotiation and reconciliation and peace and prosperity in our country.

Put simply, the key issue is the following: We will not be able to solve the problems of our country unless we abandon what is left of apartheid. Put differently, unless we replace compulsory group separation with freedom of association.

And the National Party of Mr P W Botha cannot do this.

Whatever changes have come about during the last few years, the National Party remains committed to the principle of apartheid. Today apartheid masquerades under new names: "Own affairs", "group self-determination", "the maintenance of group identity".

But it manifests itself in old policies, like compulsory race classification and separate group areas and separate schools and hospitals and amenities and local authorities.

## Mandatory

Indeed, in the present tricameral system and the Nationalists' constitutional proposals and structures, the concept of compulsory group membership is mandatory.

Wimpe de Klerk, in his final article as editor of Rapport, wrote: "The National Party is absolutely committed to the principle that racial groups must serve as the essential building block for all levels of government. This is for the National Party non-negotiable, and there is no indication at all that it is considering a compromise."

In these circumstances it's not good enough to try to get the government to change. We have to change the government.

FOIA



This will not be achieved in time by any one political party — but it can be achieved by an alliance of moderates who, sharing a common commitment to dismantling apartheid and negotiating a new representative and democratic constitution, can grow to become an alternative government that can take over from the Nats.

In the first instance, then, every vote for the PFP is a vote for a new government based on the alliance of moderates.

But a vote for the PFP is more than this. It is a message of hope. It is a pointer to the road ahead. It is a statement of confidence in the future.

The PFP believes that negotiation on a

Millions of rands of taxpayers' money are being wasted as the government duplicates, triplicates and quadruplicates facilities and departments — only to find, as Mr F W de Klerk, Transvaal leader of the National Party lamented the other day when speaking about Nationalist policy for blacks: "I can tell you that we tried hard to make it work. But we have now come to the realisation that it cannot work. Our theory is on the rocks."

South Africans deserve better than this.

A vote for the PFP — or the NRP, Wynand Malan, Esther Lategan or Dennis Worrall — could be a critically important step in making this country of ours a better, safer place for all South Africans.

# SUZMAN

THE widespread campaign to present the election on May 6 as irrelevant has been reinforced recently by Mr Murphy Morobe, the acting National Publicity Secretary of the United Democratic Front.

In recent articles he wrote, among other things, that the election is "a sideshow in the face of the real issues".

He claimed further that "the real engine for democratic change is not the racist tricameral Parliament — it is the mass-based extra-parliamentary struggle of millions of South Africans, black and white, organised into hundreds of trade unions, civic, students', youth, women's, religious and other progressive structures and a few more seats this way or that in the white Parliament are not of central importance".

What Mr Morobe fails to tell us, however, is exactly how these extra-parliamentary organisations can unseat the Nationalist Government short of revolution (which Mr Morobe does not advocate and surely cannot believe has a chance of being successful).

Nor does he tell us exactly how these organisations can deal with "the real issues" which he has correctly identified as "mass unemployment, inflation, low wages and gutter education".

Those are matters which in essence the State, and only the State, can address, though the extra-parliamentary groups can certainly make their influence felt through protest action.

## Paradoxical

It is, however, paradoxical that although it is the trade unions through which the most significant pressure can be brought to bear, the most vociferous support for disinvestment and sanctions comes from the UDF and other allied organisations despite the incontrovertible fact that unemployment must result, thus weakening the major weapons of the trade movement — withdrawal of labour and consumer boycotts.

The PFP has maintained its strong criticism of the tricameral Parliament, which it opposed at the referendum. It is to replace the present constitution with a non-racial democratic system.

But for the foreseeable future Parliament remains the only vehicle for fundamental change. Only Parliament can pass laws, and only Parliament can repeal laws like the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the Land Acts.



## Why this election is NOT just a sideshow

Helen Suzman, PFP MP for Houghton, responds to recent articles by UDF spokesman Murphy Morobe on the relevance of the May 6 election

It is through Parliament that valuable information is obtained (and is quoted worldwide by the very people who sneer at the Official Opposition MPs whose questions elicited that information).

A "few more seats" are not the aim — the aim is to form a powerful alliance of like-minded people in Parliament who are determined to get rid of apartheid and thus create a climate for negotiation.

No-one could possibly describe the election on May 6 as democratic, or even — since it will take place under the emergency regulations — as free and fair. Nevertheless, the election is not "a sideshow". The results on May 6 will determine the future course of South Africa.

Either we will face a long drawn-out violent confrontation between the authorities and the mass of the people, or this country of ours will be set on the road to reconciliation and stability.

It would surely be a tragedy for those who do have the vote not to use it to determine which course will be followed.

presents an opportunity for the country to break out of the maze of futile policies. Too much of our history has been one of squandered opportunities.

Despite all the agitprop to the contrary, South Africa in the past two-and-a-half years has been on the brink neither of revolution nor of civil war.

Once more the notion that South Africa is sliding irreversibly into revolution has been shown to be incorrect. Township organisations are having to regroup and rebuild themselves and to re-assess their strategies. The ANC, which has been calling for a big push from ungovernability to people's power, is clearly shown to be in no position to bring about either. Mr Oliver Tambo, feted abroad, may face the problem of peaking too soon.

The return to relative political stability poses its own dangers, the most serious of them a return to complacency, the besetting sin of white South Africans.

Successful counter-revolutionary strategy on the part of the Government would not only curb violence, but also eradicate its underlying causes — the political as well as the socio-economic.

## Dilemma

Instead, the Government pursues shack demolitions, rent-boycotter evictions, forced removals, notions of city states and unwanted Regional Services Councils, all of which risk shattering the sullen and fragile intermission.

The Government says it has called the election to obtain a mandate to negotiate with black people about sharing power with them at Central Government level. Only those opposed in principle to such power-sharing or to negotiation will oppose this.

However, Cabinet Ministers are also saying that the power-sharing they contemplate will be based on the structure of "own affairs" and that this is non-negotiable. In Mr de Klerk's words, "the central pillar of own affairs will not be removed".

The dilemma that this poses for the white voter is exactly the same as he faced in the referendum in 1983 on the new constitution. A "yes" vote then

In addition, it is leading to more and more apartheid.

The "own affairs" component of the power-sharing mandate that the Government is seeking means that this mandate, like the 1983 constitution, will be "fatally flawed", as the saying goes.

The official rationalisation of the "own affairs" structure is that it is the formula for whites to share power with blacks without being themselves "ploughed under" (or "ondergeploeg", to use Mr Pik Botha's phrase).

It is reasonable and legitimate that the National Party should want to prevent the ploughing under of whites. The white demand for security (as opposed to the preservation of unwarranted economic privilege) is as legitimate as it is powerful. It is also the right of Afrikaners (and anyone else) to seek to preserve their language and their religion and other aspects of their culture.

## Imperialism

"Own affairs" goes very much further than this, however. In the first place it is based not on voluntary group association, but on racial classification imposed by law on everybody irrespective of their wishes. Secondly, the "general affairs" structure at the top to deal with matters of "common interest" is itself controlled by whites.

Far from being self-determination for everyone, as the Government claims, the "own affairs" structure in practice means self-determination for one group and imperialism for everyone else.

As long as "own affairs" is structured in this way, it is really apartheid in another guise.

How different it could be if the Government's approach to negotiations about power-sharing with blacks were genuinely open-ended and not handicapped by the leg-iron of "own affairs".

The violence of the past two-and-a-half years, which has now culminated in an apparent victory for the State but in reality in a political stalemate, has demonstrated simultaneously the futility of revolutionary

# 'Own affairs' goes beyond what is fair



# Potch profs call for protest vote

By DAVID JACKSON

26/4/77  
FIFTY leading academics and professionals at Potchefstroom University have joined the growing Afrikaner revolt against President Botha's leadership.

Six prominent professors, from both the Potch and Vaal Triangle campuses, are among those who have signed a declaration which in effect calls for a "stayaway" in the May 6 election.

Potchefstroom University — representing bedrock Calvinist thinking — is the academic heart of the parliamentary seat held by Mr Louis le Grange, Speaker and former Minister of Law and Order.

## Signatories

The signatories to the document — which is certain to give further impetus to the rebel Nat movement — say government reforms are in essence "mere modernisations of apartheid" and that "we do not feel free through mere participation to ally ourselves with an exclusively white election".

The professors who have so far signed are: L du Plessis, professor of Philosophy of Law (Regsfilosofie), who is also the group's spokesman; D Meerkotter, deputy dean of the education faculty at the Vaal Triangle campus; B J van der Walt, director of the Institute for Reform Studies; G M Ferreira and G J Pienaar, both of the law faculty, and A F Combrink, head of the department of English.

The rebels say in their manifesto: "The upcoming, profoundly irrelevant election is a mere popularity poll through which:

- White voters are once again being hoodwinked.
- Those without the vote are further radicalised.
- Constructive attempts at involvement of friendly governments are frustrated.

(News by David Jackson, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)



# New Nats, Past Nats are really *twyfelaars*

By MAX DU PREEZ

THE independents, the wild card in next month's elections, are gradually coming into sharper focus as polling day approaches.

Once the nucleus of the Verligte Nats when State President P W Botha first launched his reformist drive in 1979, many of them are now rallying to candidates Wynand Malan and Esther Lategan.

Uncertainty about their identity — and therefore about their likely voting behaviour — is captured by the wide variety of labels applied to them: Independents, Past Nats, neo-verligtes, oorbeligtes, 22 Percenters. Most often, of course, they are called "New Nats", but RAU communications professor Nina Overton, having done in-depth research into the phenomenon, says this is not correct; most of them have broken with the National Party and will probably never go back.

She prefers to call them the *twyfelaars* (doubters).

## One government

The profile of typical Past Nats that Overton has compiled from many interviews indicates that they are mainly Afrikaners — and proud of it. They are free of the ethnic insecurity that afflicted their forbears.

They are mainly urbanites from greater Johannesburg and Pretoria, but also well represented in Greater Cape Town, Stellenbosch and the cities in Natal and the Eastern Cape.

They are mainly between the ages of 25 and 40, although many of their leaders are much older. Stellenbosch economics professor Sampie Terreblanche, former Nasionale Pers MD David de Villiers and Stellenbosch philosophy professor Willie Esterhuyse are examples.

Most of them are well-educated homeowners from the middle- and upper-middle classes. They are mostly "self-motivated me" types.

Overton says they are mature, responsible people "who can reconcile non-racialism with patriotism". Their main ideals are a secure future and social harmony in SA. They believe in power-sharing, but view government's concept of power-sharing as camouflaged apartheid.

They believe the future lies in one parliament, with one government, on some form of federal base that still has to be worked out. They are prepared to accept a far-reaching compromise with the black majority because they see real negotiation as the only way to a secure future. They are consciously against the totalitarian politics of self-assertion.

But, says Overton, when it comes to the concept of groups in politics, the Past Nats still seem to be ambivalent and struggling to find answers. They strongly believe that there should be "white" security and no domination of one group over others, but at the same time they reject the idea of groups being the building blocks of political structures.

As a result they are now beginning to explore the concept of interest groups as a base to work from, she says.

## The rule of law

While they are cynical about the NP proposals for a National Council

remain racially exclusive, for now. They believe the NP has governed for too long. They think it has become impotent and incapable of saving SA from growing racial polarization. They are slowly beginning to believe that the NP will have to be unseated before there can be significant progress.

While most of them were enthusiastic P W Botha supporters at the time of the split with the CP, they now doubt his abilities and reject his style to the point where they find him downright offensive.

They are seriously worried about who is going to be Botha's successor, as they are not excited by either Chris Heunis or F W de Klerk. They are also becoming more and more cynical about P W Botha, who was till recently their favourite, Overton says.

A handful of them are not, strictly speaking, Past Nats, but New Nats, and a few still sit in Parliament as Nats. Malan believes there are about 20 NP MPs who have made the emotional break from white/black politics and who could drift into the Past Nat camp as they confront human-rights issues in the months ahead.

The Past Nats are not about to join the PFP in large numbers. Many of them still see the PFP as something of a colonial party made up of English 'boerehaters' and leftist radicals. The party is seen as not being realistic about Africa and as being too soft on security.

But, says Overton, these people are increasingly discovering that these criticisms are more appropriate to the PFP's image than to its principles.

## '30% support'

Former Rapport editor Willem de Klerk first called them the 22 Percenters because it was calculated that they formed about 22 percent of the NP support. One of the most prominent leaders of this new group, Sampie Terreblanche, calculates their support at 30% and growing.

That would translate into 15% of the electorate, strongly concentrated in urban areas.

According to some polls, the independents' national support grew from virtually nothing to 7% in just a few weeks.

For the moment, however, their importance lies not in numbers, but in who they are and what effect they could have on national politics. They are, according to all evidence, the cream of Afrikaner intelligentsia.

Randburg rebel Wynand Malan's resignation from the NP at the beginning of the year and his decision to oppose the NP in the election played a major role in giving this group a new momentum, although it did not, even according to Malan himself, create it.

Malan was the trigger for Denis Worrall and Esther Lategan to stand as independents and for the psychologically important Afrikaner academic revolt against the NP. Although the Past Nats cannot really be seen as a Malan-Lategan-Worrall support group, for the moment they



## ELECTION COUNTDOWN

# Force alone won't work — Vlok

**GORDON'S BAY.** — The history of revolutionary struggles ran against a reigning government victory, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, warned yesterday.

He told about 200 people at the Gordon's Bay Boat Angling Club that few governments had managed to win in a revolutionary struggle.

Those that had succeeded had done so because they were prepared to carry out three essential actions — a preparedness to employ the security forces, to bring good government to the people and to find a constitutional dis-

pensation that satisfied the majority.

"If we cannot act against our enemies' attack in these three fields, we'll lose our country," Mr Vlok said.

"We must give all three equal priority. We must be prepared to give this medicine and to take it ourselves, or we will lose the struggle.

"We cannot keep the country by force alone or by simply handing over — we must seek something between these two poles."

The revolutionary threat was directed at South Africa in various fields such as sport, the

church, socially, economically and at the security forces, he said.

The struggle would be lost if a government was not prepared to use security actions, and the voters should not vote for anyone who was not prepared to employ these.

"Secondly a government must bring good government to the man in the street — and that does not mean only for whites," Mr Vlok said.

"The man in the street must feel that government cares for people and we must look at legitimate grievances within the communities. — Sapa

(Report by P Claassen, 801 Nedbank Ctr, Strand Str, CT.)

# Meaningful talks with enemies call

## Van Wyk not to be drawn on election

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

IT WAS of overwhelming importance to the future South Africa that negotiations were held with "enemies" such as the ANC if this could be done meaningfully, the former managing director of Nasionale Pers, Mr David de Villiers, said at the weekend.

People and organizations banned or detained under the emergency regulations should also be put in a position to take part in the negotiating processes, he said at a symposium of the Reformation Movement in Stellenbosch.

He also said it appeared from analysis that "among the leadership of the National Party there is a lack of the policy, the vision and the practical programme to launch the fundamental processes which are necessary for the peaceful ending of the existing crisis".

Mr De Villiers, who resigned as a director of Nasionale Pers early in the election campaign to support the independent candidate in Stellenbosch, Dr Esther Lategan, said that during the creation process a nation should not only be represented by leaders but more generally by people who had gained leadership in areas which qualified them to make a meaningful contribution.

"It is self-evident that a high priority must be to attempt to involve those who want to try to wreck a new dispensation with violence as long as it is not

established with their co-operation.

"It is therefore of overwhelming importance to the future South Africa that negotiations with enemies such as the ANC are held, as long as it is in any way possible to institute on a meaningful basis.

"It means, on the one hand, that such an organization must be willing and that it makes no unacceptable preconditions; but, on the other hand, it also means that no preconditions must be made to it which it definitely cannot accept."

In this regard internal organizations and leaders which had been banned or detained during the emergency should be put in a position to take part in this process, although it was self-evident that the normal course of the law should be followed in cases of violence and other illegal activities.

### Negotiations

Among National Party leaders, there was no indication of the realization of the necessity to involve the nation itself, including non-political leaders, in the negotiation and creation processes of a new constitutional dispensation.

President P W Botha had said he and Mr Chris Heunis, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, had been involved in negotiations with hundreds of black leaders but "no one knows who they actually are, or what the discussions are about; certainly no fruitful results had been announced", Mr De Villiers said.

(Report by Barry Streek, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

Own Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG.** — The top official who is to resign from Constitutional Minister Mr Chris Heunis's office yesterday said he did not want to be drawn into the election campaign.

In a statement issued by Mr Heunis's liaison officer, the official, Dr Andreas van Wyk, who is to leave his post as Director-General of Constitutional Development at the end of this month, pledged his full support to Mr Heunis.

The statement dissociates Dr Van Wyk from reported disillusionment among senior departmental officials in Constitutional Development over the pace and style of government's reform.

"Minister Heunis can be assured of my full support on the road of continued reform," the statement said.

Mr Heunis, SA's constitutional architect, was yesterday unavailable and could not comment on allegations of discontent in his ministry.

(Report by Dominique Gilbert, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.)

P.T.O.



# 'Commie under every bed . . .'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

Political Correspondent

THE National Party, in its desperate search for red herrings in the election campaign, is now trying to find "a commie under every bed, table, wardrobe and kitchen sink", according to the PFP candidate in Simon's Town, Mr John Scott.

Mr Scott described an election pamphlet claiming the PFP sided with terrorists as "an infamous lie".

"If suggesting the ANC should be included in a future negotiating process makes one a commie, does that mean Mr Albert Nothnagel, NP MP for Innesdal, is also a Red under a bed?"

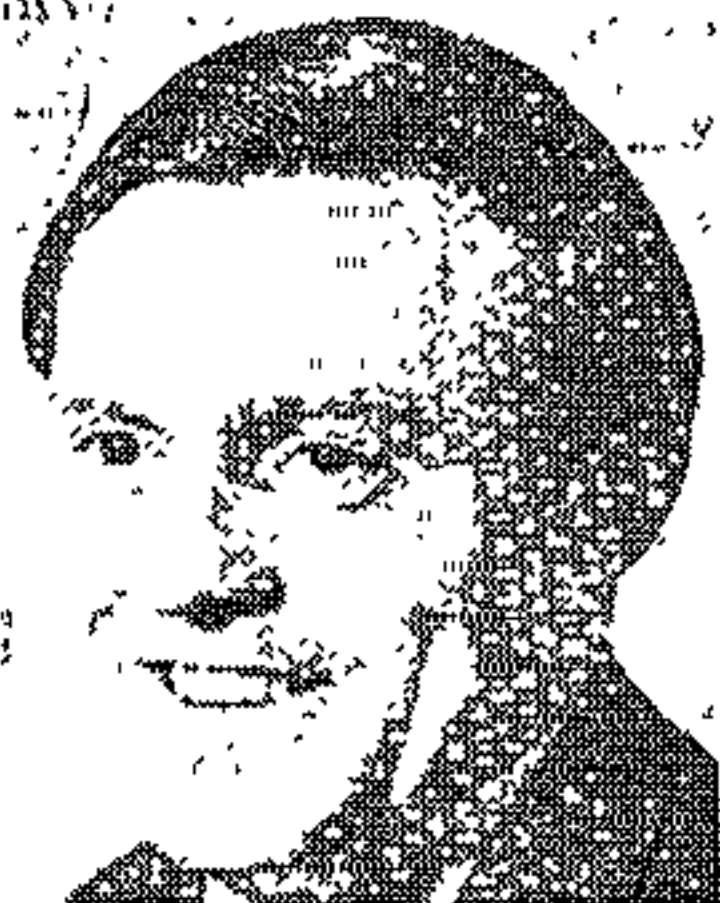
Mr Scott noted that Mr Nothnagel said earlier this year: "We can now, with hindsight perhaps, look at Dr Malan's and Dr

Verwoed's refusal to meet with the ANC as one of the most serious political blunders . . .

"It is a myth inconsistent with a peaceful future that a lasting solution for black political participation can be attained without also having involved the ANC, or without the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners."

Mr Scott also asked: "Do Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee's talks with Mr Nelson Mandela in prison last year make the minister a commie, too? Of course not. So what are the Nat propagandists getting their knickers in a knot for?"

(Report by Anthony Johnson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)



Mr A Nothnagel



Mr K Coetsee

## No discord, says Lategan

THE Afrikaans press was trying to imply dissension in the ranks of the independents, the independent candidate in Stellenbosch, Mrs Esther Lategan, said at the weekend.

In a statement reacting to Afrikaans press treatment of Professor Sampie Terreblanche's published interview in Leadership magazine, she said: "From the Afrikaans press's interpretation of (the) . . . article it is clear that they are trying to imply dissension in the ranks of the independents and their supporters."

"The reporting by the Afrikaans press of the original article was misleading. For example, in the original, Prof Terreblanche mentioned the 'disintegration' of the National Party."

She said their interpretation of "disintegration" was "verwoëting" (destruction).

"They then slanted their report accordingly and attacked Prof Terreblanche . . ." — Sapa

(Report by G A Dekenah, 801 Nedbank Centre, Strand Street, Cape Town)

## Ex-Broeders 'in anti-NP revolt'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Some of the leading academics, professionals and State officials in Potchefstroom and the Vaal Triangle who at the weekend publicly followed the increasing Afrikaner revolt against the NP, include former members of the Broederbond and the NP, according to Professor Dirk Meerkotter of the Vaal Triangle campus.

A substantial number, he said, had backed the government's "yes" vote in the 1983 referendum.

They released a petition at the weekend in which the 51 signatories lodged an intention of a "stayaway vote" on May 6 because they say the election is "illegitimate" and a denial of democracy.

Prof Meerkotter said: "We are fighting for a democratic parliament in a future SA. But we have decided not to vote because we are people of political conscience who are confronted with limited choices."

Their stand pledges solidarity with the black majority who cannot vote but should not be seen as a criticism of the independents or the PFP, petition organizer Prof Lourens du Plessis of Potchefstroom University explained.

He said many of the petitioners were faced with a choice of voting either CP or NP. They did not feel there was a significant difference between the two.

The petitioners will stay away from the polls because they believe the Nationalist government is working outside Parliament by making fundamental inroads into citizens' rights; the power given to security forces is unacceptable; "while our country is burning" peaceful and lawful solutions are being ignored and there was proof the NP lacked negotiating skills, and there was poor management of the NP "initiatives" which a growing number of State officials were becoming reluctant to implement.

(Report by Dominique Gilbert, 11 Diegenal Street, Johannesburg)



## CP claims NP defections

JOHANNESBURG. — Three "long-standing" members of the National Party in Natal had decided to join the Conservative Party, CP Johannesburg regional chairman Mr Clive Derby-Lewis claimed yesterday.

He said in a statement that Mr Gordon McGregor, NP parliamentary candidate in the Mooi River constituency in 1981, had joined the CP.

Dr Peter Williams, of Greytown, a member of the NP for 15 years and NP provincial council candidate for Maritzburg South constituency, had also recently joined the CP, he said. Dr Williams's wife Doreen is the CP candidate for Greytown. The third member was Mr Michael Haines, a "prominent member of the farming community in the Maritzburg North constituency". — Sapa

(Report by R Norton, 626 Old Mutual Bldg, Harrison St, Johannesburg)



At the Mayfair Inter-Continental Hotel in London next month, any businessman can, for a fee of about R1 200, attend a private seminar to help him examine his options in SA — whether to disinvest or stay.

The star attraction: Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC.

There is surely no need to emphasise that when international companies go to the leader of a Marxist-dominated revolutionary organisation for investment advice, then the international standing of the government has been demolished.

Imagine, if you will, American businessmen trooping solemnly to ask Yasser Arafat for advice on investing in Israel. It is unthinkable.

You can, if you wish, blame the diabolical communists for the collapse of the prestige of SA's elected government, but then it is difficult to explain why Israel is not in worse shape.

After all, the PLO is closer to the communists, better trained, better educated, and altogether more formidable than the ANC whose members it has — according to our government — been training. Israel is weaker, poorer, more exposed than this country.

In fact, the only reasonable explanation why the ANC is displacing this country's recognised authorities in the esteem of foreigners is that our foreign relations have been appallingly mishandled.

Everybody knows this to be true. The SA Foundation was launched by the private sector to try to remedy the deficiencies of the foreign service; the Info conspiracies grew

# Look who's talking about security!

KEN OWEN

27/4/83  
3248/15/Day

out of desperation to rescue a failing foreign policy, John Vorster's "outward" venture was an attempt to reach Europe's heart through Africa's stomach.

Even the Nkomati Accord was an attempt to shore up a crumbling international position.

Nationalists tend to blame the Press, local or foreign, for this monumental failure but that excuse no longer holds water. No newspaperman, no television celebrity, has ever had as vast a platform as was given to President P. W. Botha for his finger-wagging Rubicon speech, and he did more harm in half an hour than the entire Press had done in a decade.

SA's greatest opportunity in all its history to win over international public opinion was wasted by a man whose lifetime in public office has given him no wider horizon than his own party and taught him to behave with no more charm than an Albanian.

This failure in foreign affairs

matches other failures. SA has been turned from a low-tax high-growth economic success into a high-tax, stagnant banana republic, unable to pay its debts.

The inflation rate is ruinous, the unemployment rate is more revolutionary than Lenin's theories, the farmers are burdened with more debt than they can ever repay, administrative standards are fraying, the civil service has increased its "take" more than four-fold in 10 years but essential services are understaffed — the list is endless.

But since the National Party has chosen to make security — its handling of the threat posed by the ANC — the central question of this election campaign, let's concentrate on its record on this particular front.

Throughout the country there is a sense that after nearly 40 years of Nationalist rule, SA has come to a moment of truth. The theologians call it "kairos", the critical mo-

ment, others express it differently — as "time running out", as a "need for vision", and so forth.

Nor do the Nationalists dispute this. They have, with an extraordinary and commendable honesty, confessed that their critics were right, and they were wrong, about apartheid. Astonishingly, however, they will not make the same confession about their manifest failure on the security front.

The arguments they use to defend their new policies are exactly the same as those they used to defend apartheid, delivered with the same arrogance, the same contempt for all outside advice, the same sneering disregard for critics.

They cling, with the desperation of the drowning, to the army and the police — their last and only straw.

As a result, while the National Party has reformed its apartheid policies, and may indeed find further reforms unavoidable, it has

not yet confronted the awful truth that its security policies have failed more spectacularly than apartheid itself.

Critics, of course, will see security and apartheid as inextricably linked, and that is partly true; it also carries a danger that the abolition of apartheid, in isolation, will be seen as a cure to the security problem.

Not so. The Nationalists have allowed security threats to take root, to flourish, and to establish themselves both here and abroad; they will not go away.

The search for answers must begin with the confession that bannings have not worked; detentions have not worked; the methods that ended the lives of prisoners like Mduduli and Biko and Aggett have not worked. Press gags and interference with the courts have not worked.

The Nationalists are retreating all the time, on the borders, in the townships, overseas, everywhere.

They fail for the same reason that they cannot accept either criticism or advice: they are too insecure within themselves to compromise, and therefore they cannot politicise conflict or bring it into the arena of negotiation.

Examples of successful negotiation abound — in private sector handling of labour disputes, in the Natal Indaba, in Colin Eglin's sensible pact with the NRP and his search for a moderate alliance, in the coalition of independents.

But the Nationalists, standing fearfully behind their guns, can neither bend nor manoeuvre, and so they are a danger to us all.



**NATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL**

# Indaba urges major changes in education

## Political Staff

DURBAN. — The Natal-Kwazulu indaba has recommended major changes to education in the region, making schools multiracial, putting them under a single education department and restricting entrance on a geographical basis with exceptions on cultural and language grounds.

The indaba has released proposals for equal education in the region and has repudiated National Party claims that standards would be reduced.

Major recommendation of the education report are:

- Six departments which control education in Natal and Kwazulu would be scrapped and a single controlling body formed.

- Race would no longer be considered a criterion for admission.

- Schools would serve specific geographic areas.

- School committees would play a major role in deciding language, medium, curriculum and staff appointments.

- A school system would be instituted to satisfy the language, religious and philosophical needs of all communities.

In a statement accompanying the report indaba director Professor Dawid van Wyk firmly rejects claims by the National Party in the election campaign without mentioning the party by name.

He said: "These documents show quite clearly that it is false to suggest that the indaba proposals require an equalising of education in one year.

"Nor do they involve a lowering of standards or a withdrawal of subsidies from private schools."

Professor van Wyk said discrimination in education is to be removed by the systematic improvement of what is inferior until it reaches acceptable standards.

(Report by B Cameron, 85 Field Street, Durban)

## ELECTION BRIEF

# Time for a change, says Naas

NAAS BOTHA, Springbok rugby captain, is the latest sportsman to support the "reform alliance".

"I think politicians should learn from sport. We are integrated on the sports field and enjoy sport more as a result," he said.

His stand is not "political", he said. "I'm speaking as a sportsman and I believe in playing together."

If the independent candidates, in unofficial conjunction with the pro-reform alliance of the Progressive Federal Party and the New Republic Party, were working towards "playing together" on the greater field of South African life, Botha would back them, he said.

"I'm definitely interested in an alternative to the present regime. And it's about time too. The National Party says it needs time for reform. I don't believe it any more. You can do something if you really want to, or you can play for time."

● The Argus reported late last week that rugby players Karel du Plessis, Boland Coetzee and Divan Serfontein, and cricketer Tim Shawan, were supporting the "reform alliance" in addition to sportsmen who spoke up earlier, like Graeme Pollock, Garth le Roux, Tommy Bedford, Daryl Bestall, Peter Kirsten, Lawrence Seeff, Adrian Kuiper, Mike Proctor, Morné du Plessis, Osea Chalupsky and Vince van der Bijl.

## Hall gave to NP

THE Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, who is the NP candidate for Helderberg, has confirmed the NP received a R10,000 donation from a party member who is actively campaigning now for Mr Heunis's Independent opponent, Dr. Denis Worrall.

Mr Heunis said Dr Robert Hall, an American-born naturalised South African, gave the money last year, before an election was announced.

Dr Hall is now Dr Worrall's financial manager.

According to a Helderberg National Party spokesman, Dr Hall and his wife are both still members of the National Party.

## 'Dirty' roll

POLITICAL parties are attempting to track down thousands of missing voters who could make a vital difference to the outcome of results in marginal constituencies.

All parties complain there is an extremely "dirty" voters roll with up to 20 percent of the voters "missing" in some constituencies.

## Pension problems

MINISTER of Finance Barend du Plessis, in response to letters from pensioners, tells today of some of his problems with trying to improve the lot of retired South Africans. See Letters to the Editor, Page 16.



EP 27/4/87  
3049

# Oranjewerkers ask PW for a white homeland

JOHANNESBURG — The Oranjewerkers — the Afrikaner group which wants a separate homeland — have petitioned State President P W Botha for a strip of land stretching from south-east of Johannesburg to the Port Elizabeth area.

They also requested Government action and support for the establishment of an Afrikaner "own" governing authority in the demarcated Afrikaner territory.

It would be the world's only racially exclusive state — no blacks would be allowed within its borders.

The petition said that because English-speakers were included amongst whites the Government could not claim to represent the interests of Afrikaners.

The organisation has begun to implement its whites only ideal at Morgenzon in the Free State.

# Biased SABC coverage of poll 'probably irrelevant'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The SABC's devotion of the majority of airtime to the National Party is probably irrelevant, as it is unlikely to directly affect voting patterns in the election next month.

This is claimed by Mr Keyan Tomaselli, director of the Contemporary Cultural Studies Unit at the University of Natal.

According to a monitoring group at Rhodes University the percentage of airtime given to the NP has risen from 48% to 64,5% over the past four weeks, while that given to the PFP has decreased from 27,2% to 5,2%.

## Social beliefs

Mr Tomaselli said complaints that the SABC was biased in its TV coverage of the election were probably valid, but also probably irrelevant.

Television, he said, did not create individual behaviour patterns, though it did help to reinforce general social beliefs.

"This is contrary to the government's contention that the foreign me-

dia and English-language press are so powerful that they are to blame for creating attitudes which lead to 'unrest'," he said.

A NP supporter would feel at ease with the SABC's messages, while those in the HNP, CP and PFP would be irritated because they each held different beliefs, he said.

## Communism

Mr Gavin Steward, head of the Department of Journalism and Media Studies at Rhodes University, said biased coverage of the elections towards the NP could influence those members of the public whose attitudes were wavering.

The SABC did not have the power to change attitudes but rather to reinforce them, he said. It was now devoting large chunks of time towards reinforcing the public's attitudes towards the ANC, communism and general security matters, he said.

"Dealing with issues like communism and security is one way for government to catch the support of both the left and the right," Mr Steward said.



DATE TIME 28/4/87

304A

# Buthelezi benefit for PFP platform

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE fact that Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has agreed to share a platform with Progressive Federal Party leader Mr Colin Eglin and the party's Natal leader, Mr Ray Swart, in Durban on May 4 could swing two or three seats in favour of the PFP, the party's national secretary, Mr Robin Carlisle, said yesterday.

"Chief Buthelezi, as a moderate black leader with a constituency of six million Zulus and many other blacks, has tremendous influence over white voters," he said.

"Of particular importance is the fact that the meetings bring together the three major architects of the KwaZulu Indaba, which has the backing of the vast majority of white voters, countrywide."

## 'Ambivalent Mr Botha'

NATAL NP leader Mr Stoffel Botha has been accused of "ambivalence" and "double-speak" by spokesmen of the PFP and the CP following his conciliatory approach to the Indaba.

Mr Botha, who originally rejected the Indaba proposals, told an election meeting in Eshowe that the government wanted further negotiation with Indaba members and that qualified support for, or rejection of, some of the proposals did not mean the government was against the concept.

The PFP's Mr Ray Swart said it was "typical Nationalist ambivalence because they know the Indaba is running against them."

"What Mr Botha is really talking about is old-fashioned apartheid when he says the process is commendable but we must get back to group self-determination," Mr Swart said.

Mr Pat Mohr, the CP's candidate opposing Mr Botha in Port Natal, accused him of "double-speak" and of "trying to be all things to all men."

"He is trying to play all heads against the middle and I think his comments are governed by who he is speaking to," said Mr Mohr.

## False Bay black-out

THE PFP candidate in Simon's Town, Mr John Scott, said yesterday that someone had defaced his posters with black paint from Lakeside to the edge of Fish Hoek.

"Whoever it is, must be very desperate, especially because of the cost of black paint these days. Someone must have lavish funds to spare," Mr Scott said.

"It is very systematic, but naturally I would not suggest my Nationalist opponent was responsible," he added.

## Helderberg Hallmark

THE Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning and NP candidate for Helderberg, Mr Chris Heunis, has confirmed that he received a R10 000 donation from a party member now actively campaigning for Mr Heunis's independent opponent, Dr Denis Worrall.

Mr Heunis said Dr Robert Hall, an American naturalized in SA, made the donation last year during the party's annual fund-raising drive before an election was announced.

Dr Hall is now Dr Worrall's financial manager.

According to a Helderberg NP spokesman, Dr Hall and his wife are both still members of the NP, "but I would say not of good standing".

## Education at issue

THERE could never be separate but equal education, only equal education, Mr Mike Ellis, the PFP candidate in Durban North, has said in Durban.

Education, or the lack of it, among a large section of the population was at the heart of the unrest in the country at present, he said.

Not all the blame could be laid at the NP's door, but it was Dr Hendrik Verwoerd's policy to give the blacks an inferior education which had resulted in a country of millions of illiterates.

The education system had been at the heart of unrest for the past 12 or 13 years and the optimism created by the De Lange report turned to despair when the government published its reaction. Further rioting and violence erupted.

Inequalities continued and in 1984 it cost the State R1 511 a year to educate a white child compared with R985 for an Indian child, R501 for a coloured child and R167 for a black child.

The PFP believed in one education system for all people and in a proposed federal system, each federal unit should have control over its own education, Mr Ellis said.

## TODAY'S MEETINGS

**False Bay:** Mr Piet Marais, the NP MP for Stellenbosch, and Mr Adriaan Jordaan, will speak to a women's meeting in The Strand at the Morkel Hall at 10am.

**Gardens:** The NP candidate in Gardens, Mr Japie Basson, and the NP candidate in Wynberg, Mr David Graaff, will speak at the Vredeshoek Bowling Club at 7.30pm.

**Tygervallei/False Bay:** The Minister of Manpower, Mr Pietie du Plessis, the NP MP for Tygervallei, Mr Alec van Breda, and the NP MP for False Bay, Mr Adriaan Jordaan, will speak at the Windsor Primary School in Kenwyn at 7.45pm.

CRADOCK NEWS 28/4/87

# Cradock bypasses First National Bank

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The First National Bank will not be getting the Cradock municipality's multi-million-rand account — Volkskas will.

But the reason cited by the chairman of the town council's finance committee, Mr Cas Joubert — the bank's alleged possible involvement "with politics and the ANC" — was an unfair taint, Mr Jimmy McKenzie of First National said yesterday.

Speaking from Cradock yesterday, Mr Joubert said the committee's unanimous decision to transfer its account for the next three years to Volkskas Bank rather than the First National Bank (previously Barclays Bank) was due to its possible involvement with the funding of a newspaper advertisement calling for the unbanning of the ANC.

Mr McKenzie said the bank was "very distressed" to lose business as a result of the commission of inquiry, especially as the bank was not yet in a position to tell clients the outcome of the inquiry.

The manager of the First National Bank in Cradock, Mr Louis Linde, said he was informed of the decision on Friday.



# NP presses on with costly ads

By MAX DU PREEZ  
Political Staff

304A

THE NP's advertising campaign against the PFP and CP in daily and Sunday newspapers which is to continue till election day is the most expensive ever launched during an election campaign, advertising sources said yesterday.

The NP has run double-page advertisements in the Sunday papers, and yesterday continued with full-page advertisements in daily papers — those in English-language papers aimed at the PFP, and those in Afrikaans papers aimed at the CP.

But the campaign backfired in part when the NP had to change the wording of one of the ads containing an incorrect "quote" from PFP federal executive chairman Mr Ken Andrew.

Mr Andrew said yesterday that the PFP had scored "a significant victory in its attempts to stop the electorate being lied to" by forcing the change.

The latest ads charge the PFP with wanting to "surrender power to majority rule, dispense with effective protection of minority group rights, unban the ANC and SACP, and by doing this risk killing, maiming and destruction in our country".

The CP, the Afrikaans ads say, wants to create coloured and Indian homelands, forcibly remove millions of blacks out of a white state even though it would cost millions and violence, wants democracy to be suspended for 15 years so CP policy could be enforced, and is in partnership with the AWB which is in favour of a dictatorship.

□ In a smaller and privately-placed advertisement in the Argus yesterday, Dr W M Collard — PFP candidate for False Bay — gives his reasons for not voting for the NP under the headline "Talking about Dead Bodies".

He says: "The country is littered with them and my son could be the next one — that's why I'm not going to vote NP."

"I'm not going to vote NP because I am totally opposed to violence and, in particular, necklace and landmine murders."

"I'm not going to vote NP because I know that Nationalist domination of all the black people, and all the brown people, and all the Indian people and most of the productive white people is the root cause of unrest."

Dr Collard gives his address as "Medical Centre, Wynberg".

(Report by Max du Preez, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.)



Excerpt 28/4/87

## Rally plan is refused

304A

A PRETORIA magistrate has turned down an application for an open air May Day commemoration service which was to be held in Mamelodi on Friday (May 1).

This was announced yesterday by a spokesman of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) at a Press conference in Pretoria. He said no reasons were given for the decision.

He added that his organisation was granted permission to make use of church buildings.

"May Day celebrations will be held throughout the region starting 10am on Friday. Our shop stewards will conduct services in Mamelodi, Atteridgeville, Soshanguve, GaRankuwa, Mabopane, Brits, Phalaborwa and Pietersburg," he said.



# Breakaway academic sticks to his guns

## Political Correspondent

PROFESSOR Sampie Terreblanche, one of the Stellenbosch academics who recently broke away from the National Party, is sticking to his guns in the face of a huge new Nationalist onslaught.

Professor Terreblanche today faced renewed accusations from the Nationalist Press that he wanted to wreck the National Party.

He said in an interview today that the "pathetic" Nationalist propaganda efforts were an indication that Mr Chris Heunis would lose in Helderberg.

These were desperate attempts to draw attention away from the party's problems, he said.

The furore started when Professor Terreblanche said in a magazine article that the National Party could not be an effective vehicle for appropriate reform.

In a letter to the Nationalist Press today, he objected to "disinformation" being spread about the article.

He said he had not suggested that the National Party should be wrecked or that it should disappear.

The Nationalist Press in turn

today accused Professor Terreblanche of backtracking after his statements had embarrassed the independents.

None of this could help save the independents from their image of being a destructive movement.

But Professor Terreblanche today stuck to his argument that the NP was the victim of six "captivities" which had been, or had become, a part of the inner nature of the party to such an extent that attempts to free the party from it would destroy it:

- The NP had become a captive of its old age as a governing party.

- It was still the captive of Verwoerdian ideology.

- The thought processes of the NP were adolescent as a result of isolation. Government spokesmen were inclined to blame almost all South Africa's problems on the actions and attitudes of foreign countries.

- The public sector bureaucracy had become virtually an Afrikaner monopoly since 1948.

- Afrikaner sectionalism.

- The one-party syndrome. This had started as a propaganda gimmick but had later become a belief.

(Report by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

Argus 28/4/81

run simple packages on micro-computers and programs

# 'Petticoat army' for Worrall

By TOS WENTZEL  
Political Correspondent

Agus 28/4/87  
306A

## THE BATTLE FOR HELDERBERG

THE importance of women voters in the hard-fought Helderberg constituency has been underlined at a meeting in support of Dr Denis Worrall, the independent candidate.

At a "women for Worrall" or "women for change" meeting more than 200 women crammed into a restaurant in Somerset West.

Dr Anita Worrall, wife of the candidate, described the turnout as "exceptional".

In the chair was Mrs Gisela Jespersen, who said 54 percent of registered voters in Helderberg were women.

The days when women said they did what their husbands did or abstained from voting were past.

Women could help remove the suspicion, hate, terror and intimidation.

The speakers, town councillor Mrs Di Young, Mrs Shirley Gordon of Somerset

West and Mrs Magda Pretorius, a housewife and author from Stellenbosch, had an enthusiastic reception.

Mrs Young said there was unhappiness about a regional hospital for Somerset West, housing for coloured people and the new regional services councils and new taxes for this purpose.

She did not believe the National Party really wanted change. Its policies were aimed at staying in power.

Mrs Gordon said talking about attempts to solve the country's problems was not enough.

Mrs Pretorius said standards of living were plunging and people were becoming impoverished.

The effect of discrimination on human dignity could no longer be tolerated.

(Report by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)



MAX DU PREEZ  
Political Correspondent

WITH one week of campaigning before next week's white general election, political parties are concentrating their efforts on an unusually high number of marginal seats.

These have arisen because of the intense fluidity in white politics and the fact that there are more three- and four-cornered contests than ever before.

While these factors make it difficult to predict the outcome, certain broad trends are clear — if the research of the individual parties is to be believed.

The PFP/NRP alliance is convinced it can push its number of seats from 30 to between 35 and 40; The NP believes that the growth of the right wing in Transvaal has been totally over-estimated and that government will not lose more than a few seats, and;

The CP is adamant it will return with at least its present number of seats (16).

All parties agree that majorities in most constituencies are going to be much smaller than before, with split votes meaning several seats going to a party without an overall majority.

The floating vote, according to all parties, is substantially bigger than before, which could tip the balance in many constituencies. Here are voters floating between the left and the NP, mostly NRP

types, and others not sure whether they should vote NP or CP.

Black unrest and security action in the next week could influence this substantially, party leaders believe.

After detailed discussions with party organisers, provincial leaders and candidates, the following picture emerged:

#### TRANSVAAL:

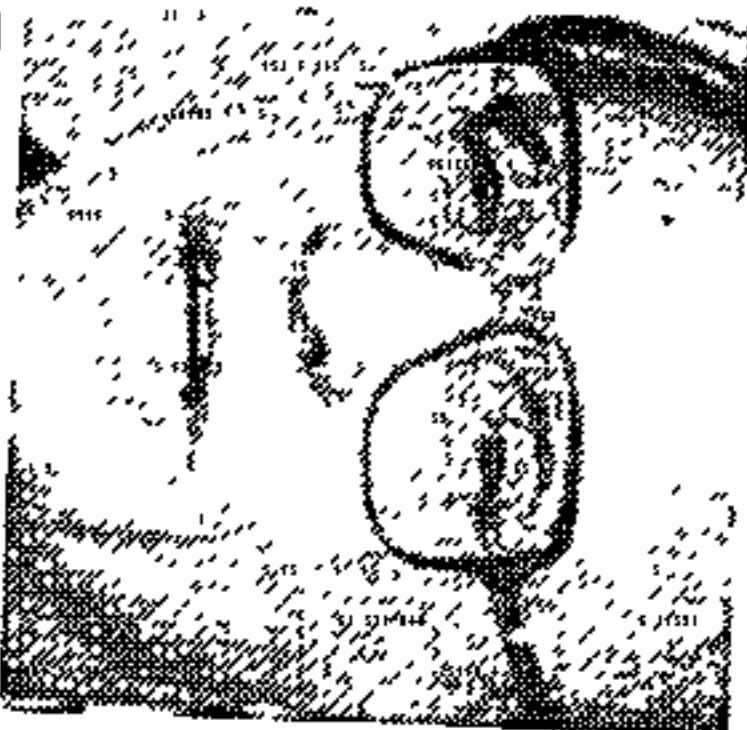
The NP is likely to take back Jeppe, Rissik, Germiston-District, Langlaagte, Sunnyside, Brakpan and Langlaagte from the CP. These were all NP seats in which the MPs crossed the floor to the CP after the 1981 election. The NP could also regain seats in Soutpansberg, Pietersburg, Barberton and Koedoespoort where MPs also defected to the CP.

The PFP is confident that it will take North Rand from the CP. This was also an NP seat where the MP joined the CP.

The CP stands a chance in a number of NP seats, but a good HNP performance in these constituencies could undermine overall right-wing chances and lead to a clean NP sweep.

The CP's best chances are in Ermelo, Brits, Overvaal, Randfontein, Standerton, Carletonville and Middelburg. Other possibilities are Bethal, seat of Agriculture Minister Greyling Wentzel, Delmas, Lydenburg, Potgietersrus, Rusten-

# One week to go and all eyes are on the marginal seats



WORRAL ... possible upset in Helderberg



BOTHA ... fighting for his life in Port Natal



MILLER ... almost certain to lose Durban North



MALAN ... a certainty in Randburg

Schweizer-Reneke, Stilfontein and Ventersdorp.

The PFP stands to gain Benoni, where the PFP's and NRP's combined votes were just 87 more than the NP's votes in 1981. More remote possibilities are Waterkloof and Helderkruin.

In Waterkloof, where in a 1983

by-election the PFP and NRP combined drew 5 278 votes, the NP 6 917 and the CP 2 877, the PFP's Abraham Viljoen has proved to be a very strong candidate.

In Helderkruin, Deputy Information Minister Stoffel van der Merwe had a 3 226 victory over the PFP in 1981. But there has been some spill-over effect from the neighbouring Randburg constituency, the PFP's organisation is far

superior, and this time round the conservative vote will be divided between the NP and the CP.

The PFP is vulnerable in Hillbrow and Bezuidenhout. In both constituencies, there has been a swing of older English speakers to the NP, and the PFP's stand on the Group Areas Act has also driven former supporters to the NP. But the PFP says the scare in these two seats came early and the party

28/4/87

Booth

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has succeeded in regaining the lost ground.

Randburg is certain to go to independent candidate Wynand Malan, who is hoping for a majority of more than 1 000 votes.

#### CAPE:

The PFP is likely to gain East London North, East London City and Simon's Town, with an outside chance in Durbanville and Maitland and unexpectedly good performances in Cradock and Humansdorp.

In East London City, the PFP and NRP combined had 4 722 votes in 1981 compared to the NP's 4 203. In East London North, the PFP/NRP votes totalled 5 355 and the NP got 3 849. The PFP/NRP alliance is working well in the Eastern Cape.

The NP is likely to take back Kuruman and De Aar from the CP.

The major shock of the election could be the defeat of Cape leader Chris Heunis to independent Denis Worrall. But if Worrall and Stellenbosch-independent Esther Lategan do not win, the NP majorities are likely to be very small.

#### NATAL:

An almost certain PFP gain is Deputy Foreign Minister Ron Miller's seat of Durban North. As NRP candidate in 1982, he beat the PFP by only 787 votes. In Port Natal Home Affairs Minister and Natal leader Stoffel

Botha is fighting for his life, but is expected to make it.

The PFP could lose Pietermaritzburg North, where their majority in 1981 was only 801 and its organisation this time round has not been up to scratch.

The NRP believes it is going to take back South Coast from the NP, and the PFP says it has an excellent chance in Umhlatuzana, where in 1981 the NP majority was only 90.

#### FREE STATE:

The only HNP seat in the country, Sasolburg, is likely to go back to the NP.

The HNP majority in the 1985 by-election was only 367, and the NP has worked hard since then.

Four NP seats are vulnerable: Heilbron, Parys, Winburg and Smithfield. But in every one of these the CP is opposed by the HNP, which makes it likely that the Free State will be all NP again.

The end picture, at least in terms of numbers of seats, is thus likely to look fairly similar to the present one, with the NP perhaps losing a few to the left and right. In terms of votes cast, it is likely that more votes than ever before will be cast for anti-apartheid candidates. The PFP's position as Official Opposition does not seem to be in danger.

At present, the NP has 107 seats, the PFP 25, the NRP 5, the CP 16 and the HNP 1.





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## POLITICS

# Goodall spells out PFP defence policy



● GOODALL

THE SA Defence Force should be above controversy and should be accepted by all South Africans as an impartial guardian of stability and order, PFP defence spokesman Brian Goodall said last night.

Goodall, PFP MP for Edenvale, told a meeting in Kensington that to counteract revolutionary warfare successfully, the terrorists' cause needed to be nullified.

Explaining the PFP's policy on defence, Goodall said the volunteer professional army should be enlarged and backed by a volunteer reserve.

"As the expansion of the full-time professional force and the volunteer reserve army progresses, so also progress

MAX DU PREEZ  
Political Correspondent

can be made with the phasing out of conscription as part of our military organisation until it is no longer necessary."

He said there were political, economic and military reasons for the phasing out of conscription.

Conscription should logically be applied to all races, but it would be provocative and dangerous for government to impose non-racial conscription.

"This is so because blacks, coloureds and Asians do not enjoy the same rights and privileges — as South African citizens — as do whites."

Compulsory military conscription had

a profoundly disruptive effect on the manpower situation, as well as on productive capacity. Sound economic sense dictated the consideration of alternatives.

It was widely accepted that a well-trained professional army was more efficient and cost effective, he said.

"There is no doubt that a well-trained, committed professional army is more motivated and effective whereas alienation and low morale is always problematic with a conscripted army."

Goodall said the SADF needed a combination of static and mobile units to hound the enemy and react quickly, and an effective intelligence system.

Report by Max du Preez, 11 Diagonal Street Johannesburg

AR643 28/4/87

# PFP will be used by ANC as a Trojan Horse, says Pik

Political Staff

3000  
THE Progressive Federal Party would be used as a Trojan Horse by the African National Congress if voters backed the PFP policy of negotiation with the ANC, said the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

He spoke to about 750 people in Fish Hoek last night in support of Mr Harry Dilley, National Party candidate for Simon's Town.

The ANC had not only decided to "butcher, murder and necklaced" any black who was willing to negotiate with the Government, but had gone further and ordered the same fate for black businessmen who participated in the economic system and did not espouse Marxist ideology.

"I have a personal black friend who lost three cars in a

year. He lost his business, his house was burnt down, his daughter was raped and his son was necklaced. And he is a man who will not even talk to the Government," said Mr Botha.

He challenged opposition leader Mr Colin Eglin to deny that the South African Communist Party dominated the ANC and that Joe Slovo — "a white man, a KGB colonel, is the brain behind it".

## GOAL POSTS

He said international hostility towards South Africa had existed long before the National Party came to power.

He listed a number of "reforms", citing the Mixed Marriages Act and the desegregation of sport.

"And whenever we kick the ball they (the international community) move the goal posts."

When the President made "dramatic" reform announcements the response was an escalation of violence.

"And why? In cells from here to London and Moscow they said these whiteys might be succeeding in getting moderate blacks to co-operate in the democratic process ... we'd better step it up; we'd better create these necklaces and murders in case blacks decide that what is being offered them is security; we'd better wipe out these collaborators because our ideology is losing ground.

"That is what lies behind the violence," he said.

(Report by D Lautenbach, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)



# PFP 'a Trojan Horse' PFP leader calls for new, non-racial constitution

Political Staff

## Apartheid the main problem, says Egin

By Colleen Ryan  
Political Reporter

CAPE TOWN — The Progressive Federal Party would be used as a Trojan Horse by the African National Congress if voters backed the PFP policy of negotiation with the ANC, said the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. P. Botha, last night.

He was speaking to an audience of about 750 at Fishhook Civic Centre in support of Simonstown's National Party candidate, Mr. Harry Dilley.

Mr. Botha said the ANC broadcast from Lusaka and Addis Ababa each day saying the PFP was ridiculous.

The ANC had not only decided to "butcher, murder and necklaced" any black who was willing to negotiate with the South African Government, but had ordered the same fate for the black businessman in the economic system who did not espouse its Marxist ideology.

The basic problem in South Africa was not the threat of communism or the African National Congress, it was the Government's policy of apartheid, the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr. Colin Egin, said last night.

Mr. Egin told a meeting of about 450 people at the Jeppe High School for Girls in Kensington, Johannesburg, that 39 years of apartheid had provided the communists with political capital "which no guru in the Kremlin could ever have dreamed up".

He attacked the Government for basing its election campaign on the claim that the PFP was "soft on communism".

### Running scared

Mr. Egin addressed two meetings last night. Immediately after his speech in Kensington, he was whisked off to a meeting of about 700 people in Bryanston.

That meeting was also addressed by the party's candidate in Bryanston, Mr. Rupert Lorimer, and its candidate in North Rand, Mr. Pieter Scheeman.

"The Government is running scared and so it has resorted to the old red herring that the PFP is soft on communism," said Mr. Egin.

He said the PFP's policies were directly opposite to communism.

He cited examples of the South African Government negotiating with the Marxist government of Frelimo in Mozambique.

"Does the fact that the Government negotiated with Frelimo make it soft on communism? Does the fact that Swapo, a Marxist party, is not banned in South West Africa make the Administrator-General soft on communism?"

Mr. Egin said it was the Government's "stubborn and stupid" insistence on clinging to apartheid that was the cause of the steady decline in South Africa.

"The Government has hijacked the word reform, and has used it to mislead the people into believing that the Government is not scrapping apartheid but modernising it. There is no difference in substance between the apartheid of Malan and Verwoerd and that of P. W. Botha."

He challenged Mr. Egin to deny that the ANC was against negotiation, and would accept anything short of a transfer of power.

"What's preventing the PFP coming out against the ANC and their necklacing?"

The party still had time before May 6 to admit that negotiation with the ANC would mean total submission to that organisation.

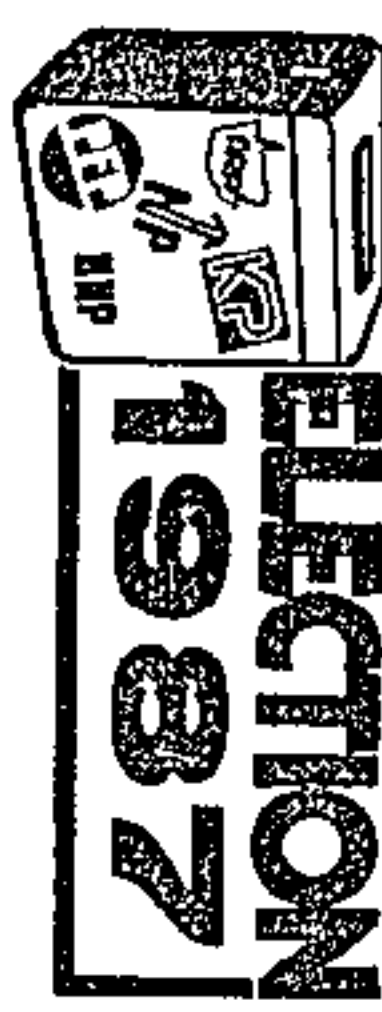
(Report by D. Lantier, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

Mr. Egin said the Government had presented no mandate to the voters.

"Blacks will not negotiate on the basis of the constitution the Nats have dreamed up."

He said the only alternative to the present course was to mobilise all moderate South Africans so that a new, non-racial constitution could be negotiated.

(Report by C. Ryan, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)



## CP may hold key as Helderberg teetering on the knife-edge

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Conservative Party intervention in the key Helderberg seat may be a vital factor on May 6, according to some political observers.

With the outcome apparently on a knife-edge, even the few hundred votes the right-wing party might muster could make a difference, especially to the fortunes of the National Party and current MP, Mr. Chris Heunis.

The CP candidate, Mr. Len de Wet, said yesterday his party was achieving a "first-class" response, which was "above expectations".

According to its canvassing figures, it was drawing support from both rural areas such as



Mr. Colin Egin... "The claim that the PFP is soft on communism is a Government red herring."

## Dreams are over, says Vlok

By David Braun  
Political Correspondent

The National Party had had enough of dreams which could no longer be afforded, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr. Adriaan Vlok, told a meeting of about 150 people in his Verwoerdburg constituency last night.

Mr. Vlok said the realities of South Africa had taught the National Party that people could not be moved on a large scale.

He said that, if the Conservative Party came to power, it would have to move between five and six million blacks to implement its policy of partition.

Mr. Vlok said that, in terms of CP

policy, the Transvaal and the Free State were, for historic reasons, to form part of the envisaged white state.

This meant that Soweto, with almost two million inhabitants, would have to be moved.

"If one accepts the reality that so many people cannot be moved then one must also accept that there is no alternative but to share power," he said.

Mr. Vlok said that the only way a revolutionary onslaught could be resisted was to crush the revolutionaries, provide good government for all the people and work out a constitutional solution that was acceptable to the majority of the people.

(Report by D. M. Braun, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)

## Nats put party first — Sutton

Mr. Sutton also criticised the Government for the "shameless fashion" it used the South African Broadcasting Corporation to build up the ANC.

South Africa was in the grip of a professional political mob with only one interest — staying in power, Mr. Bill Sutton, leader of the New Republic Party, said last night.

Speaking at Avenley on Natal's South Coast, Mr. Sutton said the National Party put party interests "ahead of the interests of South Africa".

He stated the NP for its campaign of "intimidation and fear being waged against voters", which he said was worse than anything mounted by the African National Congress or South African Communist Party.

## PFP claims independent, NP in alliance

Posters advertising tomorrow's debate between independent candidate Mr. Horace van Rensburg and the National Party's Bryanston candidate Mr. Craig Williamson proved the two were really in an alliance, the Progressive Federal Party claimed yesterday.

Mrs. Melanie Stewart, press officer to PFP candidate Mr. Rupert Lorimer, said a close study of the posters advertising the meeting for tomorrow night showed they had been issued by the National Party.

Mrs. Stewart said Mr. van Rensburg had issued the challenge for the debate but the NP had paid for the posters.

She said: "What is the point of having a debate when they are obviously on the same side?"

Mr. van Rensburg dismissed Mrs. Stewart's claim as absolute nonsense and an indication of how totally bankrupt was the PFP's campaign in Bryanston. — Political Correspondent.

## What they say

Minister of Law and Order Mr. Adrian Vlok at a public meeting in his Verwoerdburg constituency last night: "The CP stands for partition of the races yet the CP-controlled town councils of Potgietersrus and Middelburg have decided to open their CBDs for trading of all races."

CP heckler: "Those people have not been officially elected as the CP."

Transvaal Nationalist leader Mr. F. W. de Klerk, speaking in Vereeniging: "Suddenly the PFP are terribly concerned about the issues that are our concern, but they will have to do more than accuse us of a smear campaign."

PFP leader Mr. Colin Egin, speaking in Johannesburg: "The National Party has now resorted to using the old Goebbels technique of the bigger lie and the more often repeated the better."

Finance Minister Mr. Barend du Plessis, speaking at Kriel: "The lesson of Africa to the north is that the African does not give up fighting until he has won his freedom."

PFP candidate in Pinetown Mr. Roger Burrows, speaking in Durban: "One day the CP are going to wake up to find that the whites' income will not pay for the white services they want to provide."

Natal leader of the NRP, Mr. Derrick Watterson, speaking in Durban: "I don't for one moment believe that any thinking person will be misled into accepting that if you are not a Nat you are a traitor. It is a bloody insult and a disgrace."

Douglas Gibson, PFP candidate in Bezuidehoof, while discussing the Group Areas Act in an article he wrote for The Sunday Star: "They do not have the courage to abolish this repugnant bit of racism but they also lack the courage to apply it."

(Compiled by J. M. Paken, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)





# Cost of apartheid '20% of budget'

Town,

## Political Staff

APARTHEID was costing South Africa about R8 billion — some 20% of the total budget — during the current financial year, the Cape leader of the PFP, Mr Roger Hulley, said last night.

If apartheid spending were abolished, the government could go far towards abolishing individual taxation, he said.

Mr Hulley, in prepared notes for the meeting at Maclear in the Aliwal constituency, said: "Taking direct costs of apartheid together with a factor for bureaucratic inefficiency and multiplication together, I arrive at a rough estimate of some R8-bn as the wasteful expenditure for the current year."

Society could not be restructured overnight and a PFP government would naturally have constructive priorities which would cost money.

"But it is clear that if this country were to deliberately move away from the distortions that apartheid has created, we could generate enormous sums of money presently applied to the maintenance of the apartheid system into more productive, developmental and educative directions, and

at the same time could allow our much-burdened taxpayers a tax cut in order to stimulate growth, confidence and investment."

He said the costs of apartheid had been "incalculably high".

"There are the social and political costs of deep and bitter alienation of vast numbers of our fellow citizens from ourselves as whites which will take many decades to expunge.

"There is the cost of growing international isolation which has reduced South Africa from a nation of honour and esteem in the world community.

"There is the awesome cost of lost opportunities and broken bridges in every sphere of life.

"There is the cost of generations of people who are not white whose talents have not been developed to their full potential and there is the outflow and lack of inflow of some of the best brains and talent available.

"Finally, there are the hard economic costs measurable in rands and cents which have been exacted to finance the policy of apartheid," Mr Hulley said.

(Report by Barry Streak, 122 St George's St, Cape Town)

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## NEWS FOCUS



● SUZMAN

# Campus ban draws wrath of Suzman

THE University of the Witwatersrand's decision to ban election speakers from campus showed it was allowing itself to be held "virtually to ransom" by radical students, PFP candidate for Houghton, Helen Suzman, said yesterday.

Suzman, who has twice been nominated as the Chancellor of Wits and has delivered a Wits Academic Freedom Lecture, was recently prohibited from participating in a panel discussion — organised by the Law Society — on the election and constitution.

The discussion was to have taken place last night. The Law Society tried to have it moved to another venue, but finally cancelled it after both Suzman and John Dugard, director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies, pulled out in protest.

Other invited speakers were NP commentator, Otto Krause, and Professor of Constitutional Law at the University of Potchefstroom.

Suzman said yesterday she had also been prevented from addressing a Progressive Students Society meeting at Wits.

She said, however, that Wits had taken no action to put a stop to meetings addressed by speakers who proposed the elections be boycotted.

"It is quite sickening... there is no excuse for the partisanship which has been shown."

She felt it was a paradox that two of SA's greatest liberal universities — Wits and the University of Cape Town — had banned election speakers from their campuses.

"What has happened to the great principles of freedom of speech and *audi alteram partem*, (hearing the other side)?," she asked.

Vice-Chancellor of Wits, Karl Tober, said that in view of the fragile situation

THELMA TUCH

on campus in relation to circumstances prevailing in SA, the purpose of the ban was to prevent conflict.

"If individual politicians feel aggrieved by being denied the opportunity to conduct part of their election campaigns on the Wits campus, then we wish to remind them that there is no shortage of alternative venues for political meetings," he said.

Suzman, however, referred to Wits' action as a total abrogation of the basic principles for which the university was meant to stand.

"The case is that they are scared stiff that black students will break up the meetings," she said.

She said she could understand the university's anxiety that such meetings would lead to student confrontation with the police.

But the university should take steps to warn students that their participation in such disturbances would put them at risk of suspension.

Vice-president of the Law Students Council and co-ordinator of the cancelled panel discussion, Greg Spiro, said he was furious the university had denied Suzman the right to speak on what was considered a liberal campus.

SRC president Etienne Marais voiced concern that the activities of some student bodies — the Law Society and the Progressive Society — had been curtailed.

"We are meeting the university administration to discuss ways of resolving the issue," Marais said.

He said while the university was not an ideal place for an election campaign, the activities of a student society should not be prohibited.

Some electioneering activity — the organisation of postal votes — would be run on campus, he said.

ELECTION COUNTDOWN

# Demand for change 'can oust Botha'

STATE PRESIDENT Mr P W Botha's time was "running out" and he was left with the choice of chaos and destruction or of addressing vital issues with black leaders commanding real support, KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in Paris yesterday.

He said the groundswell of demand for change was so widespread among blacks and whites it would remove Mr Botha from office if needs be.

In a series of meetings with influential French politicians and journalists, he said South Africa faced inevitable "liberation", which would at once make it the world's most powerful black nation and the greatest economic force on the continent.

Chief Buthelezi said Mr Botha was failing in his "desperate attempts" to achieve his political ends through negotiations with blacks. This was because he had not yet tabled an agenda for negotiation acceptable to black leaders commanding mass support.

Mr Botha could "fall back on Africa's most powerful army" and make a last-ditch stand which would lead to scorched-earth policies, or he could address the real issues with black leaders.

The chief's exposure to a wide cross-section of whites and blacks made him aware of a vast groundswell for meaningful change which would remove Mr Botha from office if necessary.

The break-aways by Dr Denis Worral and others represented traditional NP support beginning "to shake its finger under Mr Botha's nose".

He said analytical journalism would show that strategies adopted by those favouring violence as a solution would not bring about the kind of democracy hoped for in SA.

Yet in Europe and elsewhere revolutionaries were painted as romantic freedom fighters "exercising the option of removing tyranny by justifiable violence".

He said violence did not produce positive results. Revolutionaries saw democratic opposition and negotiation as threats.

Analytical journalism would show that apartheid's weak base was best attacked through non-violent democratic means.

He said violence attacked Mr Botha where he was strongest, which made no tactical sense, as he controlled Africa's most powerful army and an efficient internal-security system.

It was Mr Botha's recalcitrance that should be attacked, for it rested on very shaky foundations which now had become as offensive to a very large body of Afrikaner opinion-makers as they were to the West.

"Now is the time for responsible journalism to present the facts which will help the democratic process in SA," Chief Buthelezi said.

(Report issued by Roy Gudan, the Chief Minister's Office, Ulundi.)



304A 2P 2/11/87

## Nats spend R100 000 a day on advertising

DURBAN. — The massive National Party advertising campaign — which has been widely condemned for misrepresentation — is costing an estimated R100 000 a day.

Opposition parties today demanded that the NP disclose how much it was spending and where the money was coming from.

The multi-million rand campaign is being handled by the advertising agency KMP-Compton, which has links with the internationally famous, London-based Saatchi and Saatchi.

Mr Roger Burrows MP, PFP Natal Coastal chairman, said today: "No other party can hope to compete with this sort of spending.

"The NP must disclose its source of funding particularly in view of the way the NP has attempted to smear its opponents with claims of overseas funding.

"The money being spent on advertising is only a part of the budget.

"Another R500 000 was spent on PW's (the State President, Mr P W Botha) record, and millions must be allocated to posters and pamphlets.

"The National Party is attempting to buy votes without providing any policy answers to the problems and violence of South Africa."

(Report by Bruce Cameron, 85 Field Street, Durban)

ARGAS 29/4/87

# 36 more academics reject

304A

## P W Botha

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE  
Political Staff

THE known list of Stellenbosch academics in revolt against the Government and the National Party has grown to 365.

Another 36 names of professors, lecturers, research workers and other academic staff have been added to the previously published list of 301 who supported an original 28.

The latest supporters are mainly from the medical and dental faculty of the University of Stellenbosch.

One of the organisers of the earlier petition, Professor Andries van der Walt, said today the names of 36 academics who had signed the original petition of 301 had not been published because the organisers had not realised a list was circulating in the Tygerberg area.

The names were subsequently submitted too late for publication.

Professor Van der Walt said a number of petitioners had inquired why their names were not published.

"For this reason I now make the list available.

### INDEPENDENT

"I stress that no attempt was made to gather more names after the original list was published," Professor van der Walt said.

The professor of mathematics actively supports independent candidate Dr Esther Lategan's Stellenbosch campaign.

The latest 36 academics to support the revolt of the Stellenbosch academics are:

Professor C W van Wyk, Professor F Grotepass, Dr C Hamman, Dr C Jooste, Dr T Kousseg, Professor L Maresky, Dr L J J Watermeyer, Professor C J Thomas, Dr J Jacobson, Dr M de Kock, Dr J de Waal, Dr P van Straten, Dr F D du Toit, Dr A W van Zyl, Dr A Padayachee, Dr G Wyma, Dr A U Oosterman, Dr P D Malan, Dr P van der Bijl, Professor N P. Louw, Dr A Harris, Dr P E Rousseau, Dr M E G Stampa, Dr J R Brice, Dr I J du Toit, Dr G J de Ridder, Professor F C de Beer, Dr A E Nel, Mr A D Beyers, Mr S H Kuhn, Dr A E Bunn, Professor Attie de Kock, Dr M Sandler, Dr P Klemp, Dr R B Barrie and Dr J E Hartshorne.

(Report by F S Esterhuyse, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)



## THE BATTLE FOR HEIDERBERG



Gary Player's plea to voters.

14645 29/4/81  
Dear voter...

## Gary Player takes a swing at Chris Heunis

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE 3044  
Political Staff

GOLF star Gary Player has signed a letter sent to all Heiderberg voters calling on them to vote for Dr Denis Worrall, the independent candidate, in the May 6 election.

He accuses the National Party candidate, Mr Chris Heunis, of being responsible for the "total collapse" of the promised reform programme.

On Friday Player will conduct a "golf clinic" and a Press confer-

ence at the Somerset West Country Club to demonstrate his support for Dr Worrall.

He said as Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Mr Heunis was responsible for the collapse of the reform programme announced by the President in a full-page newspaper advertisement almost two years ago.

Mr Heunis, although asking for a mandate for reform, "in fact seeks merely to rearrange and entrench the existing system of apartheid".

Player's letter states:

"And the only way that this country can survive its present problems is to scrap apartheid and rebuild the outlook of all South Africans.

"It is tragic to see young professional people leaving in such numbers because they have lost confidence in the future of this country... patriotic South Africans are tired of empty words and broken promises.

"I have known Denis Worrall for years and I believe he is the

sort of man who can break South Africa out of this political logjam. I believe in his integrity, his courage, his international experience and honesty in getting things done.

"To delay reform is to deny reform, and it is time that we, the whites of South Africa, gave the message loud and clear that we are fed up with Government stalling — we want to abolish apartheid, and we want to abolish it now."

(Report by F S Esterhuysen, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

304A SPAN 29/4/87

# Apartheid rules despite promises, says institute

By Colleen Ryan,  
Political Reporter

Discrimination against black South Africans continues unabated despite promises made by the State President last year that the Government was committed to equal justice.

This was one of the findings of *Quarterly Countdown*, the latest report published by the SA Institute of Race Relations on the Government's reform performance.

Events which highlighted the continued application of apartheid included:

- The forced removal of 64 000 blacks last year in spite of promises that there would be no more removals. In 1985, 40 000 people were forcibly removed.

Quoting the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, the report said that future resettlement

would involve at least 21 873 blacks.

"Communities still to be moved are Oukasie (Brits), a town near Duiwelskloof, Tshikito (Louis Trichardt), Wheelers' Farm (Vanderbijlpark) and McNaughton's section of Kabah township near Uitenhage."

- The Mines and Works Act, barring blacks from key jobs on the mines, remained in force, although the Government had promised to repeal it.

- Most citizens of independent homelands continue to be denied South African citizenship.

*Countdown* says the Legal Resources Centre has launched six Supreme Court actions against the Department of Home Affairs to fight for the restoration of South African citizenship to citizens of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

"The Black Sash said that

workers from the Transkei-Bophuthatswana-Venda-Ciskei areas were worse off now than before the repeal of Section 10 of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act which gave TBVC citizens who had worked in white-designated areas for 10 years automatic right of work and residence. They now have to get work permits..."

Quoting newspaper reports, *Countdown* said that many blacks who applied for the new identity documents were being turned away by the Department of Home Affairs "either because they were 'aliens' or because they did not have proof of being South Africans by birth".

The report said that legislation, which appeared to be colour-blind on the surface, was being used to enforce influx control. Nearly 100 000 blacks were arrested for trespass last year.

(Report by C Ryan, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)



# Promises not kept — SAIRR

JOHANNESBURG — Despite the State President's public commitment to equal justice, made in a newspaper advertisement in February last year, apartheid continued to be enforced against blacks in a wide variety of spheres, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR).

Its Quarterly Countdown, published here yesterday, highlighted the following as some of the apartheid policies still enforced:

- Forced removals continue despite promises to the contrary;

- Blacks are still barred from key jobs on the mines;

- Most citizens of independent homelands continue to be denied South African citizenship rights;

- The National Housing

Commission is being split up into separate own affairs housing and development boards;

- The government refused to allow the Cape Town Teachers' College to admit all races;

- The Indian own affairs administration laid down strict requirements before blacks could be admitted to Indian schools;

- A new Child Care Act will be administered according to the own affairs system.

Among the positive developments highlighted in Countdown were the introduction of salary parity for black social workers, the appointment of the first black South African representative to the International Monetary Fund and the desegregation of cinemas in Pretoria, Krugersdorp, Pietersburg and Roodepoort. — Sapa

3048 5M 29/4/87

## NP victim of six 'captivities' — Prof

**Political Correspondent**  
CAPE TOWN — A dissident Stellenbosch professor yesterday stuck to his guns in the face of new Nationalist propaganda.

Professor Sampie Terreblanche yesterday faced renewed accusations from the Nationalist Press that he wanted to wreck the National Party.

The furore started when Professor Terreblanche said in a recent magazine article that the NP was not an effective vehicle for appropriate reform in South Africa.

He said that only if the National Party disintegrated would the opportunity arise for a demo-

cratic take-over of the Government by a truly reform-orientated party.

In a letter to the Nationalist Press yesterday he objected to "disinformation" being spread about the article.

He had not suggested the NP should be wrecked or destroyed or that it should disappear but had suggested that if the party disintegrated the opportunity for a democratic take-over of a reform-minded party could be created.

He added that he had written the article in his personal capacity.

The Nationalist Press in turn yesterday accused Professor Terreblanche

of backtracking after his statements embarrassed the independents.

Professor Terreblanche said yesterday the "pathetic" Nationalist propaganda efforts were an indication that Mr Chris Heunis would lose in Helderberg. These were desperate attempts to draw attention from the party's problems.

Meanwhile he stuck to his argument that the NP was the victim of six different "captivities" which had been, or had become, a part of the inner nature of the party to such an extent that attempts to free the party from it would in fact destroy it.

These captivities were:

- The NP had become a captive of its old age as a governing party.
- It was still the captive of Verwoerdian ideology.
- The thought processes of the NP were adolescent as a result of isolation. Government spokesmen were inclined to blame almost all South Africa's problems on the actions and attitudes of foreign countries.
- The bureaucracy which had come about since 1948.
- Afrikaner sectionalism.
- The one-party syndrome.

(Report by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)



## 26 June, 1956, Kliptown, Johannesburg:

2 884 delegates meet at the Congress of the People to express their vision of a future South Africa, in the Freedom Charter.

- The People Shall Govern!
- All National Groups Shall Have Equal Rights!
- The People Shall Share In The Country's Wealth.
- The Land Shall Be Shared Amongst Those Who Work It!
- All Shall Be Equal Before The Law!
- All Shall Enjoy Human Rights!
- There Shall Be Work And Security!
- The Doors Of Learning And Culture Shall Be Opened!
- There Shall Be Houses, Security And Comfort!
- There Shall Be Peace And Friendship!

6 May, 1987:

These demands have all been ignored, instead White voters are being called to the polls again in an election which will perpetuate 39 years of Apartheid.

These are the roots of the present crisis, a crisis which parliament cannot solve.

JODAC (Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee) calls on all concerned South Africans to:

- Work for one person, one vote in a unitary South Africa.
- Follow the lead of the UDF and COSATU on May 6.

**JOHANNESBURG DEMOCRATIC  
ACTION COMMITTEE**

Issued by: R. Johnson, P.O. Box 93118, Yeoville, 2143.



# Cosatu accuses Govt of a 'massive smear campaign' in wake of killings

JOHANNESBURG — Cosatu today accused the Government of conducting a "massive smear campaign" against the federation, and said it condemned all kinds of violence.

In a statement in reaction to the "necklace" killing of four former Sats workers two days ago, Cosatu general secretary, Mr Jay Naidoo, blamed the Government and Sats management for "the spiral of violence" which followed the rail strike.

The bodies of four men

were discovered at Kazerne, Johannesburg. The men had been assaulted with knives and pangas and their bodies set alight with tyres and petrol.

Mr Naidoo said the raid on the federation's Johannesburg offices yesterday — the second within a week — was an attempt by the authorities "to justify their attacks on the labour movement, and Cosatu in particular".

Eleven people — aged from 12 to 49-years — were arrested in the po-

lice raid.

Earlier police said in a statement that Cosatu House was being used by "individuals to perpetrate violence".

They said they had reliable evidence that the murdered Sats workers were violently assaulted in Cosatu House and then taken to Kazerne where "they were butchered in the most barbaric fashion".

Today the general manager of Sats ex-

pressed his revulsion at the gruesome necklace killing of workers.

He also conveyed his sincere sympathy and condolences to the next of kin of the deceased.

"Although the destruction and burning of railway property is a matter of grave concern, I want to stress that the senseless and barbaric killing of innocent people, has gone beyond the comprehension of civilized man", Dr Bart Grove said.

ANNOUNCEMENT

28/1/87  
20/1/87

13/2/87  
20/1/87



# **-X-Nat academic to vote for PFP**

3048 (circled) 30/4/87

By MICHEL DESMIDT  
**DISILLUSIONMENT**  
with the Nationalist Government has swayed a University of Port Elizabeth academic and former National Party election agent in Walmer, Dr Johan Odendaal, to vote for the Progressive Federal Party in Wednesday's general election.

Dr Odendaal said in an interview today that although he would be voting for the PFP, he would not be joining the party. He resigned from the NP about four years ago.

Dr Odendaal was the election agent in the 1981 general election for the NP candidate for Walmer, Mr Theo Aronson, who lost the seat to the present incumbent, Mr Andrew Savage.

The PFP's Walmer candidate, Mr Paddy Ball, said he was "obviously thrilled" about Dr Odendaal's open decision to join other academics "who have encouraged me during the campaign".

Mr Ball said an indication of support for the PFP among UPE academics was that about 30 lecturers had attended a recent house meeting.

Explaining his political about-turn after being aligned with the NP for most of his life, Dr Odendaal said he was a democrat "who believes you can't sit on the fence".

The NP had no policy as far as blacks were concerned and the tri-cameral parliamentary system was flawed because it did not have the support of coloureds and Indians.

Dr Odendaal, a senior lecturer in semitic languages, said what was needed was a single Parliament in which all groups were represented, since "if you do not give a man the vote, you give him nothing".

This would not necessarily lead to one-man, one-vote, he said, adding that a black parliamentary majority was inevitable. "It's going to come

and you can't dream it away.

"We must start building trust among each other. I've worked among blacks as a Dutch Reformed Church missionary and lectured at Fort Hare and I'm not scared of working with them."

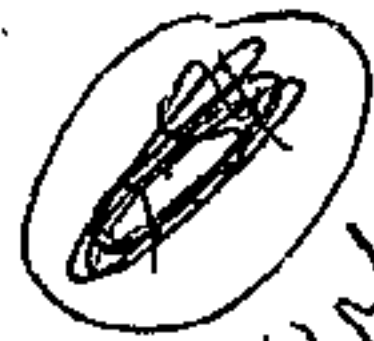
Dr Odendaal said the longer the Government waited to negotiate with moderate black leaders, the greater the risk of

them losing credibility among their own people.

Referring to calls by the independent candidates for a moderate alliance, Dr Odendaal said he believed the "independents" would not play a direct role after the election but had the potential in the long term to create a concrete new party.

(Report by M Desmidt, 19 Baakens Street, Port Elizabeth.)

**THE  
PROBLEM  
WITH THIS  
GENERAL  
ELECTION  
IS THAT  
WE DON'T  
KNOW  
WHICH  
GENERAL  
WE'RE  
ELECTING.**



W/M 11  
30/4/87-7/5/87

3047



*End Conscription Campaign*

Issued by Adele Kirsten. Khotso House, de Villiers Street, Johannesburg



SEATED in her study-cum-campaign office, South Africa's longest serving MP, Helen Suzman, said: "It is the most disturbing aspect of the election."

A seasoned politician who has been an opposition MP half her life, Suzman, 69, was talking about a new factor in white elections: resistance to voting among young whites in Johannesburg's affluent northern suburbs.

A sitting MP for the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), she was one of four candidates interviewed as the campaign for next week's whites-only general election drew to a close.

Suzman has had to adjust to another manifestation of the same mood. She, like all MPs, has been banned from speaking at the University of the Witwatersrand, on the grounds that "electioneering" could provoke conflict.

## The lack of white resistance

By PATRICK LAURENCE

While the ban has been interpreted as a sign of opposition to parliamentary politics, Suzman offered a different explanation: intolerance from "campus radicals" and pusillanimity from the university authorities.

She attributed the reluctance of young whites to vote in the whites-only election to the influence of the extra-parliamentary United Democratic Front (UDF) which has challenged the morality and relevance of "apartheid elections".

"When you call an election a circus, you don't expect people to vote for the clowns," Suzman remarked of the UDF's view on the pending poll.

Half-an-hour's drive away Wynand Malan, the MP who resigned from

ruling National Party in protest against its slow pace of reform, sat upright in a throne-like chair.

A lawyer by profession, he is one of a trio of disillusioned former NP members seeking election as independents. He predicted that he would win his seat, Randburg, by about 2 000 votes and that his co-independents — Denis Worrall and Esther Lategan — had a good chance of beating their NP opponents.

The PFP has stood back for the independents, urging its supporters to vote for them and giving the independents an opportunity to garner all the anti-government votes in three constituencies.

The PFP hoped the independents would do well against the juggernaut-like NP and precipitate a large scale desertion from the ruling party.

The beneficiaries, the PFP anticipated, would be an emerging centrist alliance, composed of itself and the independents. But Malan was neither grateful to the PFP for standing back for him nor happy at the prospect of an alliance with it.

"It is a strategy from their part, to which I object," Malan said. It enabled the NP to project him as "just another Prog," he added.

Malan contended that the PFP's backing complicated his task of attracting traditional Afrikaner voters from the NP, of convincing them that — as he put it — "there is life beyond

the NP". His calculations showed he was getting seven in 10 PFP votes, against four in 10 traditional NP votes, he said.

Malan then tried to explain what he and his co-independents hoped to achieve. They were advocates of a "second order inclusive approach", he said, as against the "first order majoritarian approach". Their "point of departure was one South Africa for all and they hoped to include a wide range of forces, from the UDF to the ultra-rightist Conservative Party, in their search for that future.

After Malan's "second order inclusive political approach" came a relatively simple exposition of NP policy from the man standing against him in Randburg — Olaus Van Zyl.

A member of the President's Council and a friend of Malan's, Van Zyl denied that the NP had abandoned reform or lost whatever vision it had for a future society.

"There has been more reform in the last three years than there has been in the past 100 years," he said. "We are asking for a mandate to share power with blacks. That is the biggest reform."

In the 1977 general election, the NP had asked for a mandate to share power with coloureds and Indians, later submitting its concrete proposals for doing so to the white electorate for approval in the 1983 referendum, he said.

Since then the tri-racial constitution had been implemented and President PW Botha was seeking a mandate to share power with blacks, he said, adding: "There can't be a military or violent solution, either from the government or the terrorist side."

The absence of a clear plan for power-sharing was not evidence of the NP's lack of vision but of its recognition that the details of power-sharing had to work out in negotiations with black leaders, he said.

Brigadier Theunis "Rooi Rus" Swanepoel, candidate for the ultra-right Conservative Party in Johannesburg West, had a clear vision: apartheid was part of the natural order and should be defended with force.

The former security policeman said: "Apartheid is practiced all over the world." One of three retired policemen standing for the CP, Swanepoel cited the Soviet Union to prove his point.

"I've interrogated a couple of hundred terrorists trained at Odessa," he said. The Russians told them: "If ever you are found talking to white Russians girls, you will be shot." Quite a number were shot."

He was dismissive of clamour for reform and negotiations. "They (reformists) are living in a dream world... It is easy to say negotiate. I only negotiate from a position of strength, when I have the upper hand... With communists, I never negotiate... I say the UDF should be banned."

What was needed to check the revolt in the townships was more force, Swanepoel said, confessing to an admiration for the ruthless way Smuts crushed the 1922 strike.

Swanepoel also recalled his own way of ending a spate of stone-throwing in Soweto by shooting "a couple" of school pupils in 1977.

"You can only stop violence by using greater violence," Swanepoel declared, dismissing the view that the security forces were involved in a war of attrition against guerrillas which they could not win.

"If I had 500 men I would clean out every terrorist camp within 1 000 km of our country. It wouldn't be difficult. One South African is worth 10 terrorists."



On the wings of a prayer: Elize and PW Botha at an election meeting in Stellenbosch this week.

Picture: GUY TILLUM, Afrapix

## On the eve: A wave of war cries

By PATRICK LAURENCE

THREE events converged on the eve of next week's whites-only election to the benefit of the National Party: NP newspaper advertisements, the raid into Zambia and the release of the findings of the Munnik Commission.

The African National Congress was a common element in the three events, outlining its importance as an actor on the South African political stage.

Whether by accident or design, the confluence of separate developments boosted NP projections of itself as the tough guardian of the country's future and the PFP as the effete party of the rich which is soft on terrorism and communism.

The first was the full-page newspaper advertisement propaganda campaign by the NP equating the PFP with the ANC by innuendo and juxtaposition of words. The full page advertisement was headed: "Over my dead body would I vote for the ANC. So why vote PFP?"

The PFP commitment to release Nelson Mandela and unban the ANC — as stipulated in a booklet outlining its constitution plan for a new South Africa — was contrasted with selected quotations by ANC leaders designed to present the ANC as uncompromisingly dedicated to violence.

Thus the ANC's Freedom Radio was quoted as saying: "Let us take our weapons, both rudimentary and sophisticated, our necklaces, our grenades, our machine guns, our AK-47s and everything we can get — Let us fight."

The PFP tried to fight back by putting up a few hundred well-designed placards, proclaiming: "Apartheid promotes communism." But it seemed unlikely to counter-

balance the full weight of the favourable conjunction of events for the NP.

Shortly after the Nat advertisements first appeared in newspapers last week came news of last weekend's raid into Zambia by a South African army unit.

Five ANC "terrorists" were killed in two separate shoot-outs between SA soldiers and guerrillas and a "terrorist transit facility" destroyed, the SADF said.

The timing of the raid was opportune for the NP, as it underlined its projected image as a party determined to safeguard the security of all against terrorism.

The raid came after election speeches by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, warning that the ANC had plans to infiltrate South Africa and disrupt the May 6 poll. The disclosure was associated with the usual Botha melodrama: neighbouring states were counselled not to allow their territories to be used for ANC expeditions into South Africa and diplomats were summoned to the Department of Foreign Affairs to be briefed on the ANC, urged to use their leverage to stop the ANC and admonished over their alleged silence over the ANC-inspired or, at the least, ANC-approved necklace executions.

Kragdige oratory on security, as Botha knows, is a sure way of winning applause from nervous whites and of winning votes, whether on the platteland or in the cities.

In the present pre-election atmosphere it serves a double purpose: it is at once a cudgel to beat the PFP with and a stick with which to fend off accusations from the ultra-

right that the NP itself has been corrupted of its will to resist by liberalism.

The SADF's version of what happened was, of course, challenged by Zambia and the ANC.

Four people and not five were killed in the raid, Zambian Information Minister, Milimo Punabantu, said, adding that they were "innocent Zambian nationals" and not South African guerrillas.

Two of the dead men were said to be watchmen, armed only with sticks and whistles. The remaining victims, two brothers, died when South African commandos attacked the "transit facility" with guns and grenades.

The fifth victim of the raid was wounded and not killed, Zambian authorities said. They identified her as a 21-year-old woman who was shot in the face, right arm and leg during the attack on the "transit facility" or, as it is known in Zambia, Mango House.

The ANC repeated earlier denials that it planned to infiltrate guerrillas into South Africa to disrupt the election (described by Winnie Mandela as a white tribal circus)

But amid the claims and counter-claims, one image tends to stick in the minds of white voters who are not inclined to believe either a black government or the ANC: that of the NP government holding the line firmly against terrorists.

The third factor was the Munnik inquiry into the role of Chris Ball, MD of Barclays Bank, in the advertisement calling for the unbanning of the ANC in January.

Munnik found that the probabilities were "overwhelming" that Ball knew when he authorised a R100 000 overdraft to businessman Yusuf Surtee it would be used to finance an advertisement calling for the unbanning of the ANC.

The release of Munnik's conclusions in a 1 121-page report came barely a week before polling day.

Rightly or wrongly, it will almost certainly reinforce white populist suspicions that rich whites — or, more accurately, those perceived to lean towards the PFP and even the UDF — are soft on the ANC.

From a propaganda point of view it was a good week for the NP.



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FROM THE PEOPLE OF SOWETO TO OUR FELLOW  
WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS

**ON MAY 6 YOU VOTE**

**YOU VOTE WHILE WE AS BLACKS CANNOT**

**BY WHAT RIGHT?**

*By what right do you vote to determine our lives?*

*By what right do you vote for a government which passes  
oppressive laws against us?*

*.....Which sets its army against us?*

*.....Which jails our leaders and our children?*

*.....Which bans our meetings and our organisations?*

**MAY 6 IS NO SOLUTION**

No solution to our country's problems will be found without the black majority. No freedom, peace or security can be enjoyed without full and equal rights for black people in an undivided South Africa.



**ABANDON APARTHEID!  
ABANDON NAT RULE!**



Let all South Africans - Black and White - jointly decide on a new constitution and government for a new South Africa. A united, non-racial and democratic South Africa, where all shall live as equals in peace and friendship.

**DON'T BE FOOLED BY NAT LIES!  
WHITES HAVE NOTHING TO FEAR!**



24A

## APARTHEID BAROMETER

### DETENTIONS

A TOTAL of 19 209 people were detained under the Emergency regulations between June 12, 1986 and April 15, 1987, according to figures released by Major-General Francois Steenkamp in an affidavit submitted to the Cape Town Supreme Court.

He said that on April 5, 1987, 4 244 detainees were being held under the Emergency regulations, and that by April 15, 14 965 detainees had been released. He said that 1 424 of those still being held were children aged between 12 and 18. All of these children were black, 1 225 of them boys and 199 girls.

The month with the largest number of Emergency detainees was July 1986, when 8 569 people were being held.

In their analysis of 10 597 people detained since June 12, 1986 under the Emergency regulations, the Detainees Parents' Support Committee found that 1 485 were scholars/students/teachers, 976 trade unionists or teachers, 1 913 community or political workers, 142 clergy or church workers, 21 journalists, 50 who fall into other categories and 6 011 whose professions are unknown.

According to the DPSC, 3 120 of these Emergency detainees came from the PWV area, 1 136 from the Transvaal country, 3 355 from the Eastern Cape, 226 from the Northern Cape, 1 121 from the Western Cape, 1 057 from Natal and 582 from the Orange Free State.

According to the DPSC a total of 429 people were known to be in detention under South Africa's security laws at the end of last month, in addition to the 4 244 held under the Emergency regulations.

### NATAL UNREST

According to a report released last month by Dr Michael Sutcliffe, a senior lecturer at the University of Natal (Durban), Inkatha was responsible for 24 percent of the 358 unrest incidents recorded in Natal in 1986. UDF affiliates were responsible for four percent, the youth for 11 percent, vigilantes for seven percent, the security forces for 11 percent and unknown people for 36 percent, Sutcliffe said. The main targets of the unrest were the UDF, Cosatu and youth organisations. He said his information was drawn primarily from Bureau for Information reports and press reports.

### SADF DEATHS

Swapo guerrillas have killed a total of 333 South African troops, including a colonel, so far this year, Swapo said in a statement earlier this week. Swapo said that more than 300 members of the South African security forces had also been injured since January 1 and that they had attacked 37 military bases, destroyed over 80 vehicles and carried out nearly 70 acts of sabotage.

The SADF said in a statement that Swapo's claims were "exaggerations". The South West Africa Territorial Force says it killed 402 Swapo guerrillas in the first three months of 1987.

### PENSIONERS

According to figures released in parliament by the Minister of National Health and Population Development, Dr Willie van Niekerk, a total of R418-million will be spent on 417 000 black pensioners while R502-million will be spent on 214 000 white pensioners in 1987. This means that R1 002 will be spent on each black pensioner this year while R2 345 will be spent on each white pensioner.

### EXAM BOYCOTT

A total of 8 943 black matric students registered at Department of Education schools did not report for their end-of-year exams last year, while 18 626 students wrote their exams, although 2 087 did not write all their papers, the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said in parliament.

### PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

HARRY GWALA, 66, former African National Congress and South African Communist Party leader, was detained in 1975 and subsequently sentenced to life imprisonment.

Gwala was born in 1920 in New Hanover, Natal. In 1934, working as a domestic servant in Pietermaritzburg, he became involved in the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU).

In 1942, he became a teacher and joined the Communist Party; two years later he joined the ANC. In 1944 he became a trade union organiser in the textile industry. He helped lead the 1950 national stayaway and was listed. He was banned the following year.

He was arrested in 1963 and spent the next nine years on Robben Island. Three years after his release he was detained and in 1977 he was convicted for recruiting cadres for military training.

Gwala, who is completing a BA degree at Unisa, is being treated for a terminal moto-neuron condition which has resulted in semi-paralysis of his right arm. His wife, Elda Kaipi, died of asthma three years ago. He has four children and four grandchildren.

### BANNED BOOKS

No books were banned this week.

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# Joint rally for ASB rebels and Inkatha

By JO-ANN BEKKER

YOUTH for South Africa — a multi-racial moderate body formed after the *Afrikaner Studentebond* split last year — staged a convention with the Inkatha Youth Brigade last weekend.

National organiser Suzette Labuschagne said 50 members from each group met at the Rand Afrikaans University to thrash out common ideals on a future South Africa.

These included, according to publicity secretary Cedric de Koning:

- A constitutional model which would include one legislative body based on universal franchise but with adequate provision for the "devolution of power". While all citizens would have the vote, provision would be made for "effective power sharing". There would be adequate representation for all different interest groups and a bill of rights to safeguard individual rights.

- The scrapping of all discriminatory practices in the marketplace.

- Equal education under one education department. Schools would be based on mother-tongue rather than race, although pupils would be free to attend any school of their choice.

If the constitutional guidelines adopted by the convention seemed to endorse the KwaNatal Indaba proposals, a subsequent motion seemed to bear this out — the Indaba was acclaimed as "unique", "exemplary" and an example of effectively barring race and colour from political processes. The motion concluded that for these proposals "South Africa will be eternally grateful".

Labuschagne said Youth for South Africa — which aimed to improve race relations — celebrated its first birthday last weekend. It was funded by Anglo American, the Gencor Development Fund, Federale Volksbeleging, Nedbank and several smaller companies and employed two full-time and three half-day workers. She said it was impossible to be specific about the size of the organisation's membership, although it had branches on all Afrikaans university campuses and schools and among working people of all races throughout the country.



# NUSAS — SANSCO

## WHITE ELECTIONS MESSAGE

NUSAS and SANSCO, white and black national student organisations respectively, have joined hands in a display of non-racialism in the face of the racist election. We are jointly canvassing students and staff in the universities in a non-racial poll for support for 'One Person, One Vote in a Unitary South Africa'. This principle, we believe, is a precondition for taking South Africa out of a state of conflict and turmoil to reaching a just solution whereby we can harness the resources of our land.

WE say bravely tackle the future, work for a vision for South Africa where:

- Economic growth will replace an economy wrecked by apartheid
- All South Africans will decide on the future constitution and government
- Apartheid is a crime and a thing of the past
- Peace will replace civil war
- A non-racial and democratic South Africa will take its place amongst leading nations of the world.

We believe the following demands will have to be met before all people in this country can determine this future. We therefore, reaffirm the call for:

- The release of political prisoners
- The removal of armed forces from the communities, campuses and schools
- The scrapping of apartheid education
- The lifting of press restrictions
- The removal of apartheid laws, including the state of emergency
- The unbanning of banned organisations
- A living wage for all.

The Nationalist government is clearly the greatest obstacle to this future. It has opted for brutal repression to suppress legitimate opposition to its policies. P W Botha has stated his case clearly. If he has anything to do with it, there will 'never' be majority rule in South Africa.

Two weeks ago we appealed to the broad community to make their voice heard in support of our campaign. Our call for 'One Person, One Vote in a Unitary South Africa' has been endorsed by:

### • ACADEMICS

#### Stellenbosch

Prof Gerhard Lubbe (Law)  
Dr Hugh Corder (Law)  
Mr Victor Honey (Arts)  
Dr Arnold Blumer (German)  
Mr Jannie Gagiano (Pol Science)  
Mr Andries Gouws (Pol. Philosophy)

#### UCT

Dr Caroline White (Anthropology)  
Prof Colin Bundy (History)  
Prof C Villa Vicencio (Religious Studies)  
Prof De Gruchy (Religious Studies)  
Prof M Savage (Sociology Dept)

#### WITS

Dr Dave Webster (Socio Anthro.)  
Prof Tobias (Anatomy Dept)

#### RAU

Louis Grundling (Acting Head, History Dept)-  
Suzanne Booyens (Pol Science)

#### DURBAN

Prof G Coovadia (Med School and NIC)  
Prof Ballantine (Music)  
Prof Crowhurst Bond (Dean Arts)  
Prof Tomaselli (Head Cultural Studies)  
Prof Chapman (English)

### • ORGANISATIONS

Black Sash  
Young Christian Students (YCS)  
South African Union of Jewish Students (SAUJS)  
Jews for Social Justice (JSJ)  
United Democratic Front (UDF)  
Release Mandela Campaign  
National Education Crisis Committee (NECC)  
Federation Transvaal Women (FEDTRAW)  
Catholic Students Association (CASA)  
Joint Academic Staff Association (JASA)

### • PERSONALITIES

Mary Burton, President Black Sash  
Van Zyl Slabbert, ex leader PFP  
Dr A Boraine  
Beyers Naude, SACC  
Helen Joseph  
Murphy Morobe, UDF  
Dr M Coleman, DPSA  
Bruce Fordyce  
Sheena Duncan, Chair Five Freedoms Forum  
Nadine Gordimer  
Adv J Unterhalter  
Archbishop Denis Hurley  
Prof M Shear, Deputy Vice-Chancellor Wits  
Paddy Kearney, Director Diakonia

The list is growing. We call on all to show their support for our campaign. Attend our and other public meetings in your area. Support our poll. Speak out!

## ELECTION BRIEF

### MR G. S. 30/4/87 Ovation 30/4/87 for Worrall

DR Denis Worrall, independent candidate in Helderberg, was given a standing ovation by about 1 000 people when he wound up his campaign in Somerset West last night.

He said the Government's approach to negotiation was wrong. "You don't start negotiating by stating your non-negotiables. We say all options must go on the table, from the Boerestaat idea to one-man, one-vote in a unitary state."

If negotiations were to be taken seriously, there had to be a commitment by the Government to remove apartheid.

Dr Esther Lategan, independent candidate for Stellenbosch, was also warmly applauded.

(Full report Page 4.)

### Meeting disrupted

BLACK students shouting "Viva ANC" disrupted a PFP meeting at the University of Natal in Durban.

Before the meeting was abandoned yesterday, party leader Mr Colin Eglon urged students to vote. He said it was ironic that blacks were "fighting desperately" for a vote, while many whites were considering squandering theirs.

"Parliament is inadequate, non-representative, and with the tricameral system, misshapen, but it is certainly not irrelevant — whether it is correctly used or abused.

"The state of emergency laws were made in Parliament, and they must be repealed there.

"It will be tragic if white South Africa does not use May 6 as the most massive peaceful demonstration against apartheid in the history of the country."

### TV criticised

SOUTH AFRICA needs a new government which will limit the influx of blacks into white areas, will ensure that company tax is properly paid, will respect spiritual values and will allow police a freer hand to maintain law and order, the Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said in Pietersburg.

He deplored the fact that the Rand Show and similar events were open on Sundays. He also objected to TV programmes "which are a threat to the integrity and identity of the Afrikaner volk".

### 'It was P W's idea'

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, initiated the idea of talks with the ANC when he asked them to foreswear violence, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, deputy leader of the Conservative Party, told a Germiston meeting.

But now, as an election tactic, all parties opposed to the NP were being lumped together with the ANC by Mr Botha to scare voters into voting NP.

### Power 'handover'

NEGOTIATING with the African National Congress would mean handing over power, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, told an East London meeting last night.

He added: "We are not prepared to hand over power to necklace murderers."

### Bigger cake needed

THERE is no cheap solution to South Africa's constitutional problems and alternatives would be costly, Mr F W de Klerk, Minister of National Education, said in Brakpan.

He said the solution to funding constitutional development lay in economic growth. "We have to bake the cake bigger and bigger."



# Isolated cases of customers quitting bank

ARGUS 30/1/87 30/1/87  
The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — First National Bank (Barclays) is monitoring client reaction following the release of the Munik report into the funding of the ANC advertisements.

So far, however, there had been only isolated cases of accounts being closed, said senior general manager Mr Jimmy McKenzie today.

He said the bank's branches and head office received a number of calls from customers yesterday after the findings of the report were published in newspapers.

The commission concluded that the managing director, Mr Chris Ball, knew the R100 000 overdraft he authorised was to pay for the advertisements.

Mr McKenzie said some accounts had been closed, but these were exceptional cases.

The bank obtained a copy of the report only yesterday afternoon.

It was being studied and there might be further reaction today.

The bank's board and general managers met yesterday to discuss the findings of the inquiry.



# 'Fib phenomenon' surfaces in Helderberg



By ANTHONY JOHNSON

A YOUNG woman described to me how last week a "a nice oomie" from the National Party office drove her from her widowed mother's middle-class home in Somerset West to the magistrate's court where she duly cast her special vote — for Dr Denis Worrall.

A few days earlier, the mother — an Afrikaner from staunch Nationalist stock — had assured an NP canvasser he could count on her vote on polling day. This, after she had confessed to the Worrall camp that she would be voting independent this time around, but begged them not to let anybody know "in case my neighbours find out".

The eventual winner in the battle of Helderberg on May 6 will depend to a significant degree on how widespread this "fib phenomenon" is within the constituency.

The Worrall camp believes a huge "lie factor" will count against the incumbent and that this, coupled with the high percentage of doubtful voters in the constituency, could see their man pipping Mr Heunis at the post.

National Party strategists believe the lie factor will cut both ways and that even without the support of the large number of doubtfuls Mr Heunis is still assured of a comfortable victory by an increased majority.

Dr Worrall's campaign manager, Mr Jannie Momberg, as former vice-chairman of the NP in Helderberg and NP member of 30 years standing, believes he knows the constituency "vibe" intimately. Mr Momberg argues there is much more pressure on voters to lie to the canvassers of a powerful government cabinet minister than to those of an independent candidate.

"Heunis has got a massive lie factor to take into account — I think there is a huge shock waiting for him."

THEN, referring to the conflicting claims made by the two sides, he adds more cautiously: "Either the independents are being taken for a ride or they (the NP) are."

Mr Momberg is also confident that the lion's share of the large undecided block of voters will go either to Dr Worrall or the Conservative Party's Mr Len de Wet.

The sitting MP's campaign manager, Mr Charl de Beer, proclaims himself confident of a "comfortable" win for his man, but appends the significant rider: "Otherwise people have been lying to me" (on canvassing rounds).

The NP's postal vote specialist in the constituency, Mr Wouter Kritzing, wades in bravely that the "lieg stem"



The Helderberg candidates meeting shortly after their nominations were announced at the start of April ... their election showdown on May 6 could be a cliffhanger.

had not been something that had given the NP a problem in the constituency in the past "and I see no reason to believe that this will change in the future".

Mr Kritzing, who like the independents claims to have canvassed over 80% of voters, concedes that there are an inordinately high number of doubtfuls this time around.

But the NP was not counting on a single undecided voter to carry it over the victory margin — "those that vote Heunis will be a bonus".

Becoming more bold, he ventures: "It is possible that Heunis will increase his majority even if all the doubtfuls vote for Worrall."

The response of one worker in the Worrall camp to this suggestion was blunt: "Bull...."

The candidates, predictably, also have strong views on their prospects on May 6.

Mr Heunis, as Cape leader of the NP and presidential aspirant, has a huge amount at stake in the election. It will not be good enough for him merely to win — he has to win hand-somely.

IN an implicit recognition of this he has stuck out his neck and set himself the

target of increasing the 2 942 majority he gained over the PFP in 1981.

Having publicly flaunted this prediction, his stature in the party is likely to suffer if he doesn't, as they say, "make good".

Dr Worrall is adamant that canvassing statistics show that "we can win".

The independent's strategists have set targets in the different areas in the constituency and "we have reached these targets".

Dr Worrall makes it clear that he does not regard May 6 as just a trial run: "I am not thinking of 1989 — I came to fight Helderberg to win."

"Whatever happens, it will be very close," he concludes.

Just how close it will be is difficult to assess objectively, given the banning of public opinion surveys in terms of the Electoral Act in the weeks leading up to an election.

However, both camps agree that the postal/special vote situation before May 6 and what happens on polling day in the Somerset West section of the constituency (where about half of the 21 649 of the Helderberg voters live) will be pivotal.

Worrall campaign workers believe they will be able to restrict Mr Heunis's lead on the postal/special vote stakes to between 600 and 700 votes by election day.

But the Heunis machine is confident that it will have racked up a 1 500 lead by May 6. "Even if we can establish a lead of only 1 000, it will take a helluva lot to catch up," Mr Kritzing notes.

Both camps also agree that if Mr Heunis can achieve a 50-50 split in Somerset West he will be assured of a comfortable 2 000-plus majority.

The independents claim their canvassing shows they can get the needed 57% to 60% support for Worrall, but the NP maintains it can hold the town at evens-stevens.

THERE is major disagreement between the contesting camps over the roughly 4 000 voters in Stellenbosch, which has been racked by a series of defections from the NP by prominent academics in recent weeks.

The independent strategists argue that there is no way Mr Heunis can count on the traditional 85% support he gets from the part of the university town that falls within the Helderberg constituency. Dr Worrall, they say, will garner at least 35% of the vote.

The NP maintains that the series of packed meetings Dr Worrall has drawn in Stellenbosch notwithstanding, Mr Heunis's support level in the area is "holding steady".

The two sides also agree that the higher the percent poll — the average for Helderberg has been around 73% in recent years — the greater Mr Heunis's chances. "That is why we are going to do our utmost to see that every voter in Somerset West gets to the town hall on election day," Mr De Beer observes.

While the Conservative Party is unlikely to retain its deposit in the election, it could still play an important role in siphoning votes away from the NP.

The NP's Mr de Beer predicts that the CP may get between 700 and 800 votes. The independent's Mr Momberg believes that "anything above 750 votes for the CP and Heunis is in trouble".

In essence, when the torrent of claims, predictions and wishful thinking is distilled, the following emerges: The Worrall camp says it can win, while the Heunis camp says it will win.

Hold on to your seat, it could be a cliffhanger.

(Report by Anthony Johnson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).



# Botha policy 'polarized' SA — study

30/4/87

From MIKE ROBERTSON

LONDON. — There are grave doubts whether President PW Botha's strategy to crush protest to convince South Africans and foreign investors the government is in control will succeed, a new study published here yesterday says.

The study is the Strategic Survey 1986-87 by the International Institute for Strategic Studies, widely respected for its annual reviews of major strategic developments and trends.

The survey says that both government and its opponents agree that the security crackdown has already dampened black dissidence in the townships. But the presence of troops in "ghetto streets" had not brought rent boycotts or disturbances in black schools to an end in the year under review.

"Two years of protest and repression, with widespread violence by both dissidents and police, appear to have further polarized the country's blacks and whites."

While opinion polls suggested that most blacks remained opposed to violence, "the protest and repression

## IISS slams Reagan

LONDON. — An authoritative think-tank yesterday criticized President Reagan for letting his administration fall into such disarray that it had "badly compromised" his ability to deal with the dynamic new style of Soviet leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev.

The International Institute of Strategic Studies drew a stark comparison between Mr Reagan's "disregard for details and his refusal to give more than general policy guidance" and Mr Gorbachev's "subtle and sophisticated" brand of politics that had captured world imagination.

The result, said the institute, means "the outlook for the West in the near future remains unpromising". — UPI and Sapa-AP

have led to a rise in the number of black political activists and a wider acceptance of violence as a tool for bringing about change.

"Inevitably, new black protest leaders will emerge to take the place of those in jail or exile. In early 1987 the most likely prospect appeared to be that unrest will be further dam-

pened by the exercise of overwhelming force, but that it will continue to simmer just beneath the surface, ready to burst out again at any time."

Mr Botha, it said, sought a substantial vote of confidence from whites in the coming election for his policy of repression and modest race reform from above.

"That, together with a drop in overt black unrest, would encourage him to try again to tempt moderate black leaders into serving on government-created bodies that have been carefully designed to avoid giving blacks any real political power.

"So far even moderate blacks have rejected these institutions. It is highly doubtful that any mix of race reform measures can be found that would simultaneously satisfy most blacks' demands for real power-sharing and most whites' insistence that the reins of power be kept in white hands."

The survey also points to the serious consequences of the "little wars" in Southern Africa, which for the first time last year affected all 10 regional states. It says the economic and social disruption caused by these wars was likely to outlast the conflicts themselves.

# Nat campaign daily costs: R100 000

30/4/87

CMT Times 30/4/87

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE massive National Party advertising campaign — which has been widely condemned for alleged dishonesty — is costing an estimated R100 000 a day.

According to Sapa, the opposition parties yesterday demanded the NP disclose how much it was spending and where the money was coming from.

The multi-million rand campaign is being handled by the advertising agency KMP-Compton, which has links with the internationally famous, London-based Saatchi and Saatchi.

Mr Roger Burrows MP, Progressive Federal Party Natal Coastal chairman, said today: "No other party can hope to compete with this sort of spending."

"The NP must disclose its source of funding particularly in view of the way the NP has attempted to smear its opponents with claims of overseas funding."

"The money being spent on advertising is only a part of the budget. Another R500 000 was spent on PW's (the State President, Mr P W Botha) record, and millions must be allocated to posters and pamphlets."

Mr Con Botha MP, director of the NP information office, which is in charge of the campaign, said he could not say how much the campaign was costing or give the source of the funds.

He said this had been handled by former NP Cape provincial secretary, Mr Frik van Deventer, but he was not available for comment.

## Postal vote fraud?

THE PFP's national director, Mr Neil Ross, said yesterday that an unprecedented number of postal vote ballots had been rejected by the returning officer in Kimberley North this week.

Mr Ross said the returning officer had rejected seven returned ballots on Monday, nine on Tuesday and eleven yesterday.

"We believe this is a case of electoral fraud."

Mr Ross said that in the past, there had been isolated cases of returned ballots being rejected "but never before in this number".

## Afrikaner 'wants land'

ALL Mr P W Botha's government could offer Afrikaners after the May 6 election was white residential areas and white swimming pools, the leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche told a capacity crowd in Johannesburg.

"Residential and swimming pools are too small for the spirit of the Afrikaner (die boer). We want our own country. We are not interested in buying land or stealing land from others or negotiating for it, we already have it and we want it for ourselves," he told the crowd to tumultuous applause.

He said President Botha, and the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, were indulging in "fraud politics" when they talked about negotiating with blacks to bring about powersharing.

"Let them bring one black leader who does not demand one man one vote. The only leaders they deal with are ones like the Rev (Allan) Hendrickse, who as a Cabinet Minister, cannot even share the sea with Mr Botha."

## Blacks 'not doing the talking'

THE Chief Minister of KaNgwane, Mr Enos Mabuza, said yesterday that one of the tragedies of next week's election was that blacks were being talked about and not doing the talking.

## No Pelser/Hulley debate

THE NP candidate in Constantia, Mr Piet Pelser, has turned down an invitation to a public debate with his PFP opponent, Mr Roger Hulley.

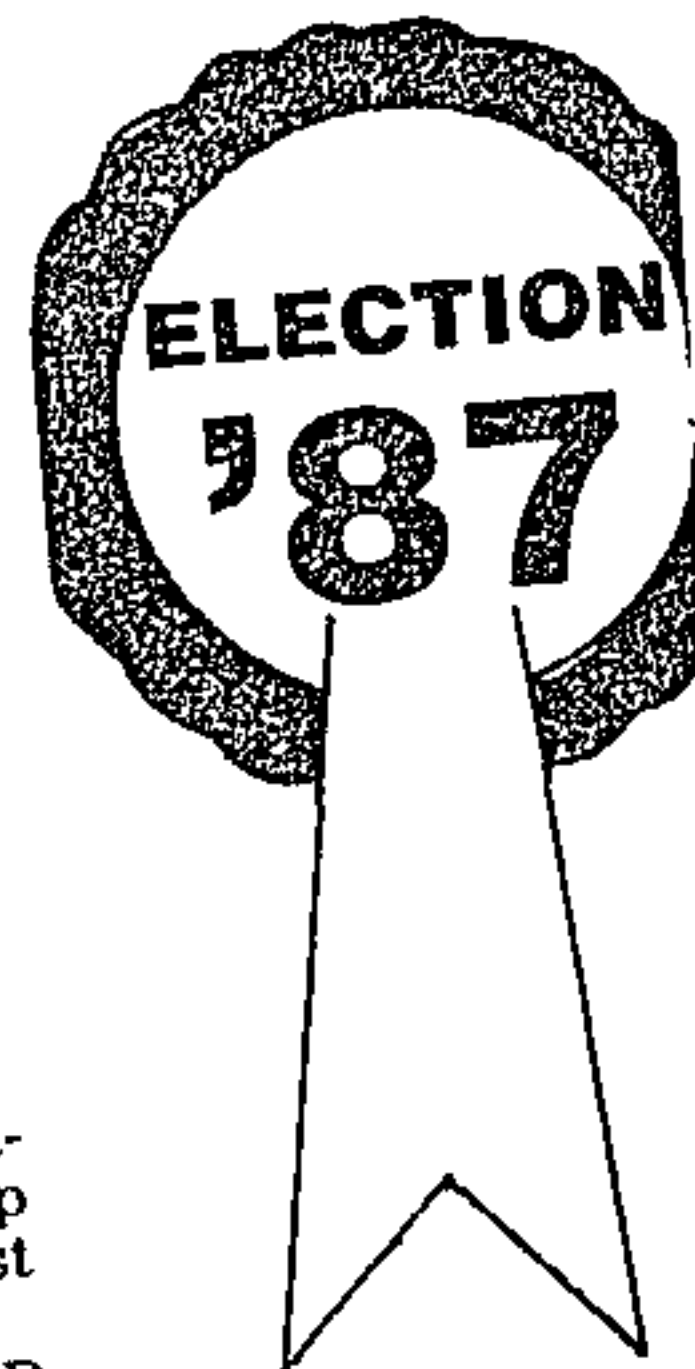
Mr Hulley said yesterday he and Mr Pelser were invited to debate with each other by the SRC at the Cape Town Training College, but Mr Pelser declined the invitation.

Mr Hulley commented that his opponent was "rather a silent opponent. He has not had a single public meeting in Constantia and has only appeared on a public platform in Claremont with Mr Chris Heunis. He does not give the voters a chance to size him up."



ELECTION COUNTDOWN

# Govt 'fighting misusers of trade unions'



PORT ELIZABETH. — The government was not fighting trade unions but ringleaders who wanted to misuse them, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said here last night.

Addressing a crowd of about 1 000 in the Feathermarket Hall, Mr Botha repeated his warning that the government would investigate and possibly legislate further on the issue of foreign funding of extra-Parliamentary activities.

At the start of the meeting, he said he wanted to make a brief statement commenting on the findings of the Munnik Commission of Inquiry into the funding of advertisements calling for the unbanning of the ANC.

He said that although the findings related to particular advertisements they should not be viewed in isolation because they underscored the disquieting issue of funds acquired overseas being applied to effect extra-Parliamentary goals.

He said that after the election the government would have to consider the adequacy of legislation and the possibility of further measures.

Mr Botha said the so-called revolutionary struggle was not aimed at redressing violated black human rights, but was aimed at bringing South

Africa under communist control. "The main struggle is the one directed from abroad under the leadership of the Kremlin, the SA Communist Party and its ANC cohorts.

"If they succeed, not only the NP will be destroyed but also the opposition parties.

"These leftists and pinkos will not be put into power. Other trained leaders are ready to take over."

Mr Botha said it was more than just a military struggle. It concerned the economy, social conditions and political development. "We must ward off these onslaughts against SA ...

"We are told we are going too slow and reform must be hurried up.

"But it took America more than 100 years to find its present constitution. Switzerland took centuries and the European parliament has been struggling since World War II.

"It takes years, generations, centuries, to create constitutions that work. Why is SA expected to do it overnight?

In reply to a question, Mr Botha said that he had no time for the End Conscription Campaign and was sure he spoke for every soldier who had served South Africa. But, he added, "nothing will happen to them as long as they remain within the law."

(Report by Pierre Claassen, 801 Nedbank Centre, Strand St, CT)



## Govt accused of Three crucial years

# SA politics, economics 'inseparable'

CME Notes 30/4/83 3044

By JANE ARBOUS  
Financial Staff

SOUTH African politics and economics are now so entwined that it is "virtually impossible" for a prominent businessman to express views on economic policy without saying something about political or constitutional development at the same time, says Reserve Bank governor Dr Gerhard de Kock.

Dr De Kock said in an interview with Leadership magazine's editor Mr Hugh Murray he believed in the right of businessmen to dissent politically and publicly. He said "businessmen have a duty

to inform the government about how they feel".

The lengthy interview in the latest edition also contained statements on the need for political reform to spur on economic growth. He said SA had to convince the outside world it was not on a suicidal course and it would find an evolutionary means of change.

"Some people say we don't have political problems, we just have to get the economy going and everything will fall into place. "I disagree. There will not be sustained economic growth unless accompanied by further political re-

form.

"For the past few years we've always found ourselves waiting for something. We waited for the referendum. Then we waited for the Eminent Persons' Group. Then it was Sir Geoffrey Howe's visit. After that it was US sanctions. Now we're all waiting for the elections.

"At some stage we must stop waiting and get on with developing the economy."

The country had been given "a breathing space" as far as international investor perceptions are concerned, though these perceptions are still "very bad".

"Whether they like what we do or not, they now understand better that we are in control and working at solutions.

"However, the danger is if we won't use this breathing space. We must not make the mistake of thinking we have now solved our problems. No. This may be the last chance to demonstrate to ourselves as well as overseas investors that we will find a modus vivendi."

Dr De Kock said though confidence was improving, it was at "a critical stage".

"If we trip up again with a new blow through political or economic

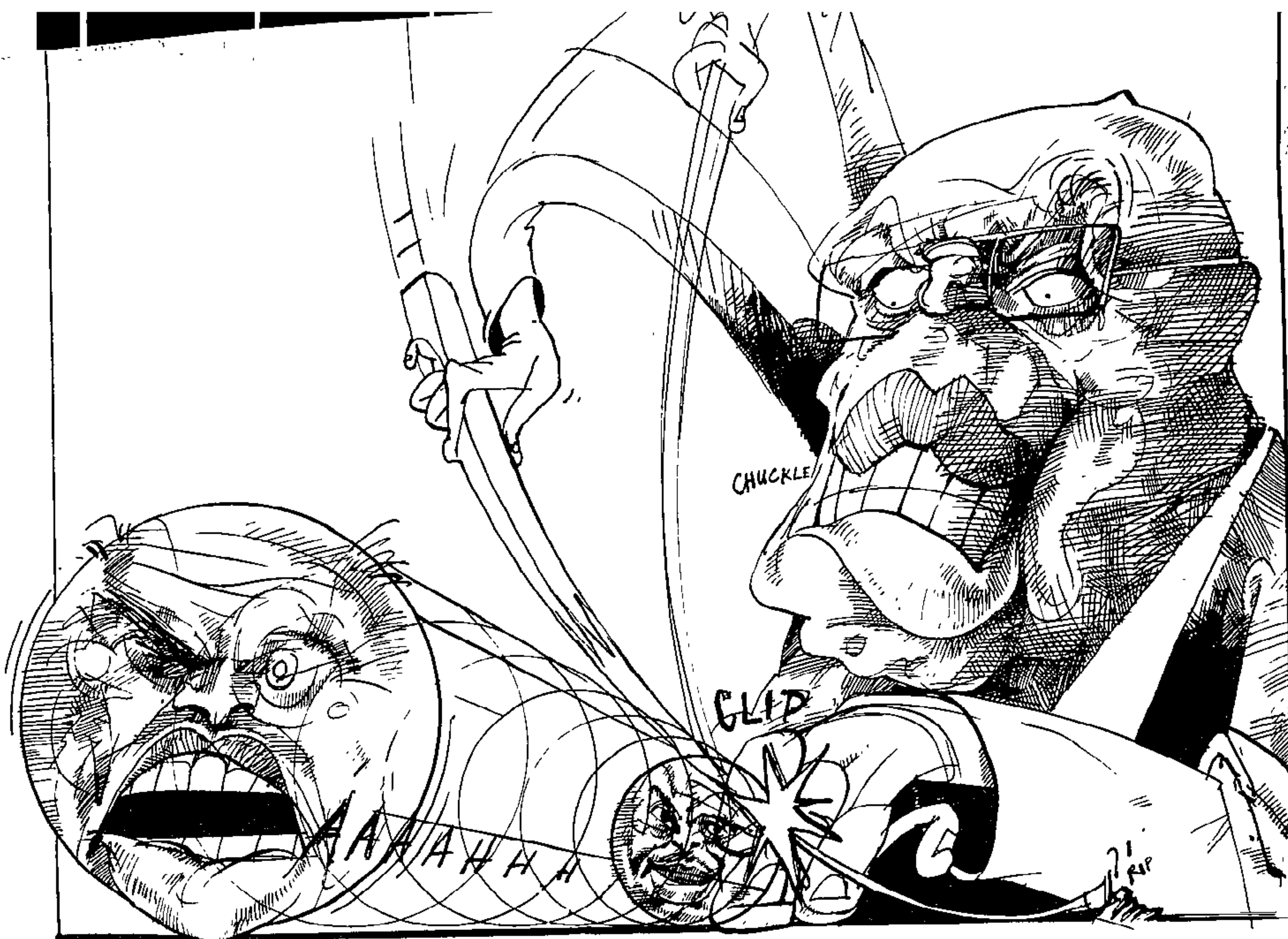
action, it could slow down developments."

Dr De Kock said SA businessmen had to be persuaded to invest by giving them "a vision of what they can expect in the future".

"Many businessmen are going from one board meeting to the next, postponing decisions on new investment."

He said business leaders in responsible positions with a high profile "must be careful what they say or do. They must take into account that personal opinions should be balanced against the interests of the economy as a whole."





Botha plays Ball.

# Why P W Botha was wreathed in smiles

PAGES 30/4/87

3048

**W**HAT President Botha was smiling about when the Judge President of the Cape, Mr Justice Munnik, handed him the report on the Chris Ball affair, only he knows. But it was hardly an occasion for smiles

Here you had a senior judge performing the denouement in what was essentially a party political exercise which he had been called upon to perform at the behest of the State President. Surely that was cause, instead, for a stiff upper lip of forbearance?

To explore the full outrage of this affair, one needs to return to the source. It began in Parliament when Mr Botha claimed it was being said in radical circles that Chris Ball advanced the money used by the UDF and other organisations to pay for newspaper advertisements calling for the unbanning of the ANC.

Chris Ball denied the claim and said that the first he had known about the advertisements was when he had seen them on the day they were published. He invited our intrepid head of state to repeat his claims outside Parliament, a challenge which, needless to say, was fudged. Instead, our hero appointed the Munnik Commission.

This was a move which immediately raised suspicion, since there was no need for a commission to have been appointed at all. Chris Ball had committed no offence, directly or indirectly, and even if he had advanced the money there was absolutely nothing wrong in doing so. Neither was there anything wrong in placing advertisements calling for the ANC's unbanning.

What, then, was the true purpose of conducting a judicial inquiry into Mr Botha's entirely political statement? To verify Mr Botha's assertion in the face of Mr Ball's denial? Hardly, since the onus manifestly rested on Mr Botha to substantiate his claim, not on the judiciary.

We would have a vastly crazier country than we do if every politician could instruct a judge or commission to establish the verity, or otherwise, of his political statements.

Mr Botha, as head of the National Security Council, must have had an idea of the evidence which later was put before the commission, when he made his claim in Parliament. Thus he must have been in a position to supply this supporting evidence, such as it was, without appointing a commission.



## ISSUES

By Hugh Robertson

But he did not do so. He used his power to instruct a judge to do it for him. Why?

Thus for all practical purposes we had Mr Ball (and other bank executives) in the dock and facing cross-examination, even though they had done nothing wrong. And we had the bank's private business, and that of some of its clients, all of it entirely lawful, dragged through damaging political controversy and with all the lurid embellishment of security police evidence.

Why would Mr Botha want to do this? Why would he want a judge to undertake an inquiry which revolved entirely around the differences over the ANC between the NP and its political opponents?

Apparently for one reason only — he disapproved, most angrily, of Mr Ball's politics

and the best way of doing him an injury was to drag him and his employers through the rigours of a public controversy.

But what was so offensive about Mr Ball's politics? Here the plot thickens.

Chris Ball had met top leaders of the ANC, and had done so openly, at a time when Mr Botha was beset himself with rage at the flow of eminent South Africans to Lusaka and other capitals to meet the ANC.

And he had held meetings with, among others, Dr AB Boesak, Mrs Albertina Sisulu and Mrs Winnie Mandela, as part of a strategy to encourage communication between the private sector and radical groups which are not especially well disposed to the private sector.

Chris Ball, thus, was a political thorn in Mr Botha's flesh. He represented that element of big business which Mr Botha feared with an autocrat's childlike fear of others who wield influence in the same playpen. Mr Ball was communicating with, and giving credibility to blacks. Botha did not want anyone to communicate with.

(Comment by H S Robertson, 122 George's Street, Cape Town).

# Govt and NP have their say on advert

THE Department of Home Affairs and the NP say the use of the slogan "Have your say on the 6th of May" in both their advertising campaigns is coincidental.

The department requested the SABC not to air any of its English advertisements using the slogan after it learned of the similarity yesterday.

Home Affairs general secretary Gerrie van Zyl said last night the department had deliberately chosen an adver-

DIANNA GAMES

tising agency not involved with any political campaign to devise its advertisement.

"It is purely coincidental that it turned out to be the same slogan. Various firms participated and a selection panel approved a particular firm's inputs."

He said as the department endeavoured to act impartially during elections,

the SABC was requested to immediately suspend all television and radio transmission of the English version of the slogan until an appropriate alternative could be supplied.

A spokesman for the NP said if there was a similarity blame could not be placed at the party's door as it had arranged all its advertising months ago.

The department's advertisements first appeared in the media a week ago.



**EGLIN:** I think the election has been a stimulus to a process that has been developing below the surface of South African politics and, as a result of the election, is now visible on the surface.

This is a growing disaffection with a government that has been in office for too long. It has been the blurring to an extent of party lines, and it has been the emergence among upwardly mobile city Afrikaners of a new spirit demanding new deals and moving away from the old shibboleths of Nationalist apartheid.

I think the election has given an important impetus to the break-up of old fashioned party politics and the start of new political realignments. There have been two things going on in the election. One has been that the partners in the loose alliance — the PFP, NRP and the three independents — have in a very determined way tried to focus on the key issues in SA politics: the final removal of apartheid and the negotiation of a new deal.

## Counter-attack

To an extent they have succeeded in doing that, although their efforts have been countered by a very vicious NP counter-attack, which has sought to do exactly the opposite and deflect voters' attention from the real issues and focus on issues that for purely party political purposes would favour the NP.

On balance, I believe the alliance has won — on points rather than with a knock-out blow.

**EGLIN** on the NP's tactic of making security a prime issue in the election: **THE ELECTION** campaign has really lasted since January, and for the first two-and-a-half-months everything went in the direction of the alliance group and away from government. It was to be expected that there would be a counter-attack. It was only marginally successful, in the sense that it stunted some of the growth of the alliance.

Secondly, among older people it

# A new spirit demands deals and an end to

Progressive Federal Party leader COLIN EGLIN — pictured on the right — sees May 6 as a critical starting point of a new moderate alliance that would eventually get rid of the NP government and would develop into a non-racial alliance. In this interview, Eglin looks at the meaning of next week's white election and its possible effects on future politics in SA



## MAX DU PREEZ/Political Correspondent

raised the level of concern and fear. This has been the unconstructive part of the election.

There is no doubt that the NP, aided and abetted by the SABC, has done a fairly effective job on the perception that people have of the PFP. So there is a superficial rejection of the PFP — until one can get hold of those people and discuss it.

**EGLIN** on the question of group or freedom of association as the essence of the divide between the two sides: I THINK where the definition of the group became the most significant factor was in the upwardly mobile city Afrikaner. The Afrikaner has been more concerned with the concept of group and group rights than the non-Afrikaner.

The mere fact that they moved away from apartheid forced a definition of what was meant by apartheid and what was the alternative.

I still believe the powerhouse of SA politics is the urban Afrikaner. That is where the debate on group became very intense and where I think the election campaign was very constructive.

## The powerhouse

**EGLIN** on the concept of alliance politics:

**WE CAME** to the fundamental decision that the Botha government cannot save SA. It was no longer justified to say how do we put pressure on government to change. The concept of getting a change of government has become critical as to whether SA was going to survive as an orderly society or not.

That was a very emotional kick-start to a new procedure. Until then one had had blinkers on and was trying to be a perfect, tunnel-vision-type of opposition.

As soon as you said "Now, how does one restructure a government?" the blinkers were taken off and you then had a whole wide world of exploration to do in which you could come up with various scenarios, and in which you were not the only actors.

In that exploration one realised that the PFP, while it was going to grow — in significance and seats — was not going to grow fast enough to save the country. Secondly, that there was a vast potential for growth outside of the PFP. So the question was how do you marry the steady and ongoing growth of the PFP with the potential outside the PFP?

It was our view that you had to find other routes, other mechanisms, for bringing in people out of their association with government, where they had an institutional association but not

304A

# ending new to apartheid'

actually an ideological association. How do you make their ideological association dominate over their traditional institutional association?

The answer is to loosen up politics, to be generous to people who did not want to join the PFP but who shared the same ideological commitment. So the concept was the alliance of like-minded people, even if it were not in one party.

I think the forces of SA history will push people inexorably towards the axis along which one is moving — that is, to get rid of discrimination and negotiate a new constitution.

Now if they all coincide at some time in the future — the PFP, NRP independents and others still to come — we will have an amalgam of them all. If they reach that axis at different points along the way, you will probably end up with alliances.

## Complimentary

I am really not concerned so much with the exact form. It may still be preferable for some time to have more than one political grouping in order to make it easier for people to become mobile in politics.

Equally, I think it would be disastrous if you developed a new intra-institutional rivalry between the new people who should be in an alliance. The worst thing now would be a proliferation of new, non-apartheid parties all competing with one another.

So for some time to come I think we should have understanding between

groupings; we should have an acceptance of the concept of complimentary strategies, rather than just the concept of unity within a single institution.

**EGLIN on getting disenchanted Nationalists to join the PFP:**

**FOR PEOPLE** who have been in the NP, especially Afrikaans speakers, the question of political power and who can make things happen is very relevant in deciding who you will vote for. And because the PFP had never argued that it was seeking power, the attraction was not present.

This is the one thing we got right — the question of power. Because we are now talking of alternative government. It is not good enough to say I am doing this because my conscience dictates; you've got to ask: is this practical in terms of power politics?

One of the interesting things that has happened in a short period is that the concept of an alternative government has caught on to such an extent that, for the first time in an election, PFP policies have been examined by the voters in terms of how would it behave if it were in power.

**EGLIN on the period after the election:**

A LOT depends on the election results. If the alliance concept is not shown to catch on, we're back to a status quo situation.

On the other hand, if it is shown to catch on — both in terms of seats and votes and if, oddly enough, simultaneously the right-wingers get a significant number of votes but without

seats — I think this will undermine the cohesion of the NP fairly soon. I think the NP is fragile and brittle in any case.

This is especially true, as it is known that Botha will not be there for too long. He keeps the party together by his almost authoritarian approach to party politics. Take that away and no other person can maintain the unity of the party in a natural way.

I think May 6 is critical as far as the NP's survival as an on-going political institution in SA is concerned.

I would expect a sharper definition of the undeclared alliance between the people who participated in the election.

There would be a sharper definition; a series of meetings and discussions. You will get a strong desire for more cohesion than there was in the election.

## Uncomfortable Nats

You will also start getting talks — informal at first, and then formal — with members of the NP. I have no doubt there is a sizeable number of Nats who are very uncomfortable where they are and would prefer not to be standing as NP candidates. But they're there both because they were locked in and because they're in positions of power.

It would be my wish — and I sense this is a much broader one — that the alliance concept cannot be confined to white politics. I think the concept of a broader, non-racial alliance will gain ground very rapidly.

That will put those who participated in this election in an undeclared alliance in some more formal profile. There will be discussions with individual members of the NP inside and outside Parliament, and very rapidly there will be a move to expand the alliance concept into the broader, non-racial field.

I think that process could happen extraordinarily rapidly. But there is a danger in putting a time-table to processes.

□ REPORT by Max du Preez, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.



## Businessmen 'can't avoid politics'

JANE ARBOUS

SOUTH AFRICAN politics and economics are now so entwined that it is "virtually impossible" for prominent businessmen to express views on economic policy without saying something about political or constitutional development at the same time, Reserve Bank Governor Dr Gerhard de Kock says in the latest edition of Leadership.

Following hard on the heels of the Chris Ball row, De Kock says in the lengthy magazine interview that he believes in the right of businessmen to dissent politically and publicly.

However, he adds a qualification that business leaders in responsible positions with a high profile "must of course be careful in what they say or do — simply because they are what they are."

"... But businessmen have a duty to inform government about how they feel."

The country has been given "a breathing space" as far as international investor perceptions are concerned.

"The danger is, however, that we won't use this breathing space," De Kock said.

## Extent of pay hikes a secret

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — Government is keeping the extent of public sector pay hikes a close secret until after May 6 — and with good reason, political observers say.

The increase is unlikely to be more than 12% — it could be less — and it is unlikely to be backdated to April 1.

If this were announced before the elections, the NP could lose significant support to the right.

There are more than 400 000 whites working for central government, Sats and the Post Office. Add their families, and the total amounts to a vital voting block of more than a million voters.

Post Office staff associations were informed earlier this week that the salary issue was being considered and that the "necessary announcement will be made in the various budgets".

Meanwhile, Artisan Staff Association secretary Willie van der Merwe says the Federal Council of Sats Trade Unions is still waiting for an interview with Transport Minister Eli Louw.

"We seem to have reached a stage where our 15% wage claim is being negotiated through the post. This is unacceptable. We want a face-to-face meeting with the Minister before the official pay announcement is made," he says.

## Anglo Dutch in R9m deal

MICK COLLINS

ANGLO DUTCH has been awarded the largest office furniture contract ever awarded in SA. The contract, worth about R9m, is for desking and storage at Standard Bank's new administration building in Johannesburg.

Manufacturing for the contract is due to start in May, with delivery beginning in August.

Anglo Dutch has landed many major contracts recently, including Mobil, Wooltru, Soekor, BMW, Saambou, Norwich Union, the NBS computer centre, Liberty Life and Sage Insurance.

It says it redeveloped its already successful Terminal 7000 desking system to

complement Standard's space-planning concept, and also designed a new storage system, solving intricate filing requirements with fewer components.

MD Ivan Weltman is confident his massive Tulisa Park manufacturing plant can produce the combined requirements of these clients and still run below total capacity.

With the recent addition of new production lines, automated machinery and factory construction, Anglo Dutch is capable of producing R90m of furniture in one working year, he says.

# Pamphlet on PFP 'untrue and incorrect'

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

IF the NP continued to distribute a pamphlet headed "The Face of a PFP Alliance" it would be doing so knowing the facts were untrue and incorrect, the PFP has told the NP candidate for Yeoville, Hein Kruger.

PFP MP for Yeoville Harry Schwarz said in a letter to Kruger this week that the party had never said it would form an alliance with the ANC.

Nor had the PFP's Ken Andrew ever said so, Schwarz added, referring to statements attributed to Andrew in the pamphlet. Andrew has also denied making the statement.

The statement attributed to the PFP's Helen Suzman was "clearly out of context" as Suzman had repeatedly said a political party which had violence as its objective, like the SA Communist Party, would in fact not be able to function, Schwarz wrote.

Suzman has stated that the decision on whether a party had violent objectives would be made by a court of law and not by an official or a politician.

To talk of "PFP contempt for group rights" as was being illustrated by a photograph in the pamphlet, which had a picture of the PFP's Pierre Cronje and blacks showing clenched fist salutes, was again incorrect and had no relationship to group rights, Schwarz wrote.

It was not the PFP's policy to give clenched fist salutes, he wrote, however if anybody gave it, it was done in a personal capacity and not as a PFP member.

Schwarz said: "In any case it is incorrect to say that the salute in question is a black power salute, as it is also a salute by persons who do not believe in black power, but believe in African unity."

He referred Kruger to the PFP constitutional proposals which, he said, the NP candidate should have seen as he was formerly a political reporter for one of the NP newspapers.

Report by Dominique Gilbert, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.



FOCUS ON POLITICS

SOME voters in Carletonville are talking of a right-wing-inspired civil war should the NP retain what has traditionally been its seat.

In this bleak mining town, one hour's drive west of Johannesburg, most of the 22 000 voters are miners, many of whom believe their livelihood is being threatened by blacks, a communist take-over and the NP selling them out.

For many of the mining industry's nomads in and around the town, and those who have settled in unimaginative, often unintended, mining houses at very low rentals, the transience of their lives and jobs is not to be matched with their political attitudes.

Although some have reservations about the militant-AWB, particularly, they say, because the AWB wants all women to stay home and not work, they believe there are plans afoot to ball them out should the NP continue to govern.

There was discontent even in the remotest corners of this constituency, where a group of boozing, hard-core right-wingers were quoting PFP leader Colin Eglin's opposition to government when Business Day visited there this week.

"Or Colin Eglin says it's time for change. He's right. I know it's wrong to talk bad of my State President, but *wraggig*, he's gone too far. I've got no time for him or that blerry Pk Botha

# Where right wing talks of war

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

no more," commented one off-duty, veteran miner, a hard look in his eyes.

He would not vote PFP, even if the party was standing in Carletonville where there is a three-way contest between the NP, CP and HNP, because "there's something wrong with them. I'm not sure what. But there's something wrong."

But, there are indications the NP may retain the seat because of the split between the right-wing parties.

For obvious reasons, the three parties contesting the seat are pitching their election campaigns at issues important to the mining community.

The possibility of blasting licences for blacks is a particularly touchy subject. The NP is pushing for blacks to get these licences, the right wing believe they should be exclusively for whites.

NP canvassers point out many black miners are doing the job of blasting under the *baasskap* of whites anyway.

CP candidate Artie Paulus, the Mineworkers' Union (MWU) general secretary, says if black migrant miners, many from "communist-orientated countries" are allowed to use

dynamite, they will "take it from the mines and kill people".

He believes black miners' unions are being used by communists to infiltrate the mining industry and the country while whites are being discriminated against.

He is also against the "overtraining" of blacks which, in terms of the supply and demand rule, will put whites out of jobs.

While he estimates 40% of the constituency's voters are MWU members, estimates from the NP and HNP on this varies from 60% to 15% respectively.

But an NP canvasser, a former miner who claims to be closely connected with the mine union affairs, says the miners are not likely to forget the 1979 strike when, he claims, Paulus "betrayed 20 000 miners who went out on strike and then lost their jobs".

The story has it that Paulus called for a strike. Throughout the area miners parked their cars outside the mines in the early morning, "braated and *dopped*", thinking they were on a legal strike, but were fired.

Paulus is said to have told TV interviewers he knew nothing about the strike.

Perhaps the NP will try to ensure miners do not forget the incident, but some right-wing voters told Business Day "he is our kind of man, man. Whatever he did in the past does not mean he is not fighting for our rights now."

Paulus denies he betrayed anyone and said this week nobody was forced to go on strike during the '79 incident.

"If they weren't satisfied with my actions, they could have got rid of me long ago, but that hasn't happened," he said.

The HNP presented an appealing alternative to about 37% of those who voted in Carletonville during the 1981 election, before the CP existed.

The HNP candidate, engineer Joseph Chiole, a heavyweight in the party, Nederlandsch Hervormde Kerk (NHK) elder and Pretoria city councillor, is being sold to his constituency as "a man of honour and integrity".

In his public addresses he has been backed by another MWU president Corde Jager.

But he candidly concedes the NP may well win back the seat because of a split right-wing vote, although the town has a strong right-wing sentiment.

He says many voters have decided

not to vote because of it and because they are bitter at the inability of the right wing to unite. But many in the town predict a switch to the CP by traditional HNP voters because they no longer perceive the HNP as being potent enough to fight their cause.

Chiole maintains the CP, also realising the possibility of losing because of a split vote, have asked him to stand down. He refuses to do so on the grounds that the HNP still enjoys considerable support and that the CP failed to accept HNP proposals during the unity talks.

"There has definitely been a dampener on rightist enthusiasm," Chiole says. But he adds that while the HNP may not fare too well in this election, it aims to come out strongly in the 1989 election.

While he maintains the constituency consists predominantly of poor whites, Paulus and NP candidate Ben van der Berg disagree on the grounds that miners can earn good money and their rentals are low.

Although a large majority of Carletonville's voters are miners, there are shrewd and money-making businessmen in the growing town, which has almost as many bottle stores and pawn shops as there are mines in the

vicinity. While they appear to be Nat-inclined, the businessmen are reluctant to express their political opinions because they "take money from the HNP, the CP and the Nats".

Conceding there are some poor whites, "pensioners and the disabled", town secretary G P du Preez believes Carletonville could have one of the highest incomes per capita in the country and quotes OK Bazaars officials who say they have their biggest turnover per capita in the town.

A senior prosecutor says there is a high rate of reckless and drunken driving cases in the town. There are many assault cases but most are later dropped or settled out of court. Shopping cases among whites on items like meat or nail polish, or renegeing on HP agreements, are also high.

Not uncommon are cases of wife-bashing or cases involving children who "shoplift repeatedly", probably to get attention at the home.

While most of the country's townships have been exposed to political violence, Du Preez describes Carletonville's Khutson as being "reasonably silent" and therefore not a significant threat to Carletonville whites.

Group Areas is a strong issue in theory only because blacks have not settled in the right-wing town and, according to Du Preez, the few coloureds and Indians in the town who have no prescribed area to live in "disappear into the night" after their day's work.

But voters are, however, extremely perturbed at the opening of local pubs to blacks and see this as "the first step to a take-over".

The mining town's folk are suspicious of politicians and voice discerning comment on election candidates.

Some say they are suspicious of the NP candidate, former messenger-of-the-court — "he used to do all the repossessions" — and businessman Van der Berg.

Van der Berg, also a Rapportier with legal qualifications, long-standing Nat, NGK elder and member of the town's technical college council believes he will win the seat.

"The upper-class are complaining about taxes and many think we're giving everything away to the blacks and see a threat of blacks taking over their jobs," Van der Berg said.

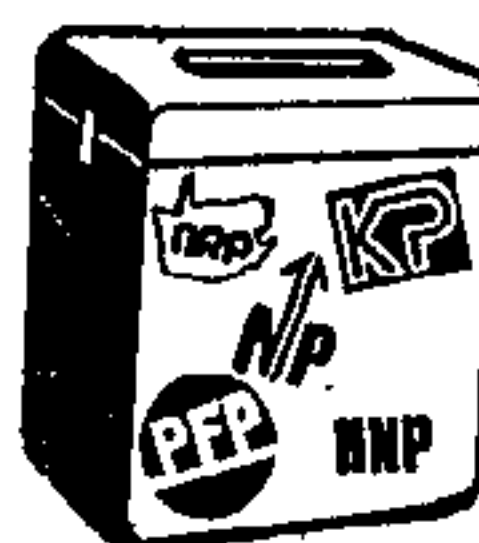
But despite his canvassing feed back, Van der Berg says he is pushing the NP line of reform as a major election issue.

Paulus is unwilling to commit him self on the outcome of the election and says only his canvassing result thus far leave him "satisfied".

Report by Dominique Gilbert, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.

Star  
Thursday April 30 1987

30/4/87



**ELECTION  
1987**

## Govt is challenged on 'open' Hillbrow

The PFP MP for Hillbrow, Mr Alf Widman, challenged the Government last night to admit or deny that it intended to declare Hillbrow an open area.

Addressing his third and last meeting in what he called "a dirty election campaign", Mr Widman said he suspected this would be one of the recommendations of the President's Council report on the Group Areas Act.

He vowed to fight against Hillbrow becoming the "guinea pig of South Africa" while the Group Areas Act remained in force elsewhere.

It would be better if the Group Areas Act were scrapped and people allowed to live where they liked, he said.

Mr Widman told his audience of 35 at a residential hotel the Government's failure to provide sufficient housing for non-whites had led to the situation in Hillbrow.

"This is why the Government has ignored the Group Areas Act as an election issue."

(Report by Z Vendeiro, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)



Argus 31/3/82

304A

## Dowling 'political football since Info song'

Staff Reporter

A COMBINATION of her band's withdrawal, her personal beliefs and fear of intimidation influenced pop star Leslie Rae Dowling to cancel her performance at the Cape Festival.

A spokesman for Miss Dowling said her band had withdrawn. They were to have appeared last night.

"After their pull-out she was left without a band and would not have been able to play in the festival on her own.

### "ERODED"

"Her personal feeling is that she has become a political football since the Info song.

"She feels her independence is being eroded for various reasons," the spokesman said.

Miss Dowling had collected "a lot of flak" after the Info song, he said. It was clear that she would have landed in more trouble had she honoured her commitment to the festival.

### "INTIMIDATION"

"She is not trying to be a heroine. If she had a choice, she would have gone on. But her band's withdrawal, her personal beliefs and her fear of further intimidation by certain sections of the media made up her mind for her," he said.

He said Miss Dowling respected her band's reasons for not taking part in the festival. "We regret any inconvenience caused by the withdrawal and look forward to a day when performers will have the right to choose the terms under which they can perform," he said.

SOUTH AFRICAN GOVT. & POLITICS

1987

MAY MONTH 



Pieter-Dirk Uys, Marius Weyers

w/lt Argus 2/5/77 (30)

# ACTORS' ANTI-



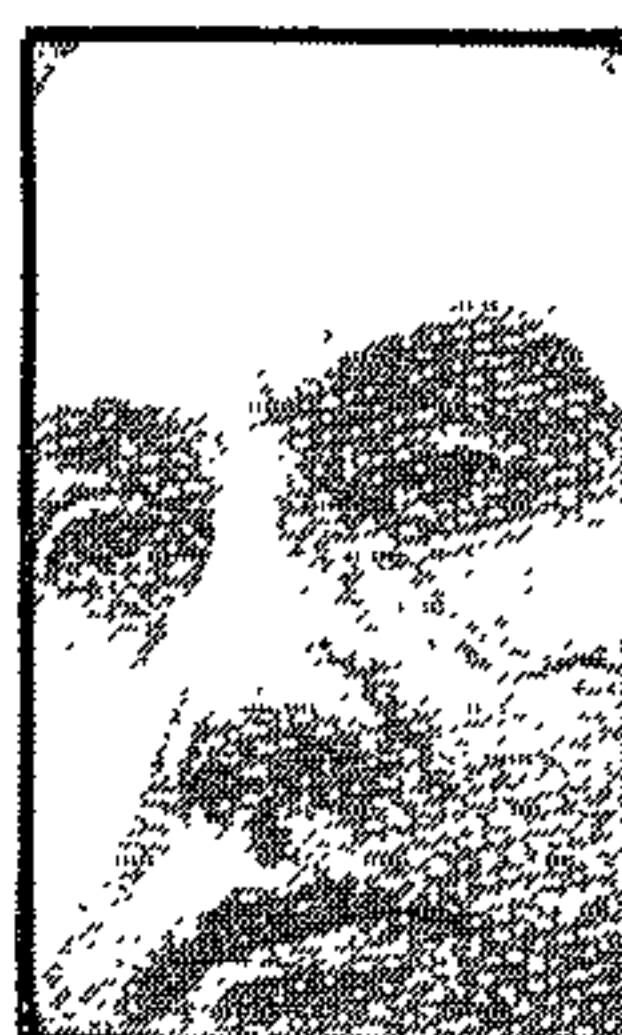
Rands



Uys



Prinsloo



Haines

Weekend Argus  
Correspondent

DURBAN.— In a tough public statement this week, 22 of the country's top actors and actresses have added their voices to the growing anti-Nat protest echoing around the country from academics, businessmen and sportsmen.

They said they felt an urgent need to make their views known.

This has been done in response to a similar declaration by 12 top sportsmen who declared their support for the reform alliance and called for negotiation, individual rights and justice.

Said actor Jonathan Rands who, with Richard Haines spearheaded the move: "This came about as a result of the stand taken by the sportsmen — it was a lead we felt we should have taken.

"We canvassed round and found the mood pretty strong in that direction."

The film and theatre personalities emphasised in their statement that their protest was not linked to any party political banner.

"We of the film and theatre profession wish to add our views to those expressed by the sportsmen of this country," the statement reads.

"We identify the following as destructive and un-South African and call for their immediate abolition: 1. Detention without trial and the victimisation of children; 2. The Group Areas Act; 3. Censorship in all its forms; 4. The State of Emergency.

"In short, all that is being used to maintain the crumbling facade of apartheid; all that denies the right to peaceful protest and other basic human rights. Theatre is about relationships.

"People in our profession have for some years been working in close co-operation regardless of race and have produced works that have earned the applause of the world."

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Failure to read off  
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# PROTEST

South Africa's few remain-  
ing viable exports. Of this we  
are proud.

"But we dearly wish also to  
feel proud of our country.  
These views are not new. We  
have always felt this way but  
we feel an urgent need to make  
our views public.

• The list of 22 are: Marius  
Weyers, Sandra Prinsloo, Tottie  
Cronje, Pieter-Dirk Uys, Manie  
van Rensburg, Marnie Maning,  
Gordon Mulholland, Pieter  
Toerien, Vanessa Cooke, Elize  
Cawood, Wilson Dunster, Dan-  
ny Keogh, Jonathan Rands, Bill  
Flynn, Richard Haines, Arnold  
Vosloo, Grethe Fox, Paul Sla-  
bolesky, Rex Garner, Regardt  
van den Berg and Des and  
Dawn Lindberg.



# ANC-Nat talks offer by NGK

W/K NAGUS 2/5/87 (44) (3047)

## Political Staff

PRETORIA. — The Ned Geref Kerk could act as a mediator between President P W Botha and African National Congress leader Mr Oliver Tambo, according to NGK moderator Professor Johan Heyns.

Professor Heyns was responding last night to a call by the Progressive Federal Party candidate in Waterkloof, Mr Abraham Viljoen, who said the NGK "had a crucial duty" to initiate the reconciliation process by offering to act as a go-between.

## "Amazing statement"

"I certainly believe that the church is an agent for reconciliation," said Professor Heyns.

Professor Heyns's comment is likely to cause a storm in both church and political circles on the eve of Wednesday's election, especially with the heavy emphasis laid on the security situation by the National Party hierarchy.

Professor Willie Lubbe of the NGK's rightwing Continuation Committee of Dissatisfied Members (CCDM) said: "This is one of the most amazing statements I have ever heard. I have never envisaged the church in this particular role."

The CCDM is pressing for a special synod of the NGK to "reconsider" its controversial October 1986 decision to open the church's doors to all races.

At the final PFP election meeting in Constantia Park, Pretoria on Thursday Mr Viljoen referred to "a recent conversation" he had had with Professor Heyns.

Mr Viljoen said Professor Heyns expressed concern about divisions in the ranks of the church brought about by recent political developments.

## Necklacing

Mr Viljoen said he wanted to call Professor Heyns's attention to the rapidly-deteriorating political situation. It appeared, he said, as though the Government did not want to stop violence.

"The Government is like a child walking around making muscles. It looks as if it doesn't want to solve the situation — it

gives the people something to fear."

Mr Viljoen said: "But one must remember that these murders are taking place while the NP is governing the country. Necklace murders are the result of the total collapse of security under the NP Government."

The Government's "continued concentration" on the ANC and the PFP was an attempt to draw attention away from its own failures.

"It is trying to create a *toko-loshe* (bogymen) — you don't know what it looks like or even what it is. All you know is that you are *vrekbang*" (scared to death), Mr Viljoen said to loud applause.

(Report by J van der Merwe and R Green, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)



Call Time 2/5/87.  
**'Pik must apologize'**

# Govt 'abuse of Worrall' slated

THE campaign manager to independent Dr Denis Worrall, Mr Jannie Momberg, yesterday said he had had enough of the abuse from the government directed at his candidate.

Mr Momberg added that if "anybody owes anybody an apology", it was the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

In a statement released to Sapa, Mr Momberg reacted to certain remarks made by Mr Botha in the Somerset West Town Hall on Thursday night when he spoke in favour of Mr Chris Heunis, the Minister of Constitutional Development and the National Party candidate opposing Dr Worrall in the Helderberg constituency.

Mr Momberg said Mr Botha had accused Dr Worrall of not having properly resigned from his ambassadorship in London and of not having fully informed the government of certain discussions which he had had.

Mr Botha had also suggested Dr Worrall owed the country an apology for certain statements he had made, Mr Momberg said.

"All these allegations are denied by Dr Worrall and will be thoroughly dealt with in a less heated atmosphere after the election and with documentary evidence if necessary to back up his denials. He does not think important matters of State should become part of the election rhetoric on political platforms," Mr Momberg said.

"However, as his campaign manager I have had enough of the government's vituperation directed at my candidate. In fact I find it incomprehensible that the same people who said Worrall was one of South Africa's best ambassadors should now turn on him in such a petty and spiteful manner. This very reaction is to me a clear indication of how seriously embattled Mr Heunis really is.

"Mr Pik Botha has got it all wrong. If anybody owes anybody an apology it is Mr Pik Botha. He owes his serving diplomats and South Africans an apology for the expectations raised in August 1985 and the subsequent Rubicon speech ...

"He owes South Africa an apology for supinely lying down and letting the State President walk all over him when he expressed a perfectly plausible view that South Africa could have a black president — and did we hear a peep from Mr Pik Botha when the State President savaged one of his cabinet colleagues, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, in public?

"Mr Pik Botha owes South Africa an apology for his part in the decision to take the Group Areas Act and other apartheid laws off the election agenda. Mr Pik Botha owes the country and his serving diplomats an apology for his part in the decision to dismiss the KwaNatal Indaba — so embarrassing Chief Minister Buthelezi and upsetting our well-wishers and friends throughout the world."

(Report by F Krige, 801 Nedbank Centre, Strand St, CT.)

from Burger

## Wie vra verskoning?

DIE Munnik-kommissie se bevindinge oor mnr. Chris Ball se betrokkenheid by UDF-advertensies vir die ANC se wettiging, het pres. P.W. Botha se kritici onkant betrap. Daar is nou 'n ylingse vlug om weg te kom van die krasse beskuldigings wat teen hom gemaak is en van die eis dat hy "aan die publiek en die Parlement moet bewys dat die aantygung teen mnr. Ball geregverdig is".

In linkse kringe is immers verwag, en te kenne gegee, dat die kommissie mnr. Ball van alle blaam sou onthef. Dit sou die Staatspresident se posisie in die gedrang bring, want sy geloofwaardigheid sou onder skoot kom. Die Staatspresident sou geen ander keuse hê as om te bedank wanneer mnr. Ball se naam in ere herstel is nie, is gesê.

Daarom is die bevindinge "gretig" afgewag en is die aanstelling van die kommissie verwelkom "mits die Regering se bedoeling is dat die verslag voor die verkiesing bekend gemaak word". Die Staatspresident was ook "ontrial".

Nou is die verslag voor stembag bekend gemaak, maar die bevindinge is allesbehalwe dit waarvoor die kritici by voorbaat hul lippe afgelek het. Pres. Botha was "letterlik korrek" toe hy gesê het in links-radikale kringe word gesê mnr. Ball het die geld vir die advertensies voorgeskiet, aldus regter Munnik.

Dit is 'n bitter pil vir diegene wat pres. Botha se kop wou eis. Die gevolg is allerlei komiese afleidingsaksies om die bevindinge as van mindere belang af te maak. Soos dat onderhandeling met die ANC die eintlike kwessie is, of dat die wyse waarop parlementêre privilegie gebruik word, bespreek moet word.

Maar wat was die opdragte aan die kommissie? Hy moes vasstel deur wie of namens wie die advertensies geplaas is; hoe, hoeveel en deur wie of names wie die betrokke koerante daarvoor betaal is; wat die oorsprong van die geld is en of mnr. Ball hoegenaamd betrokke was by finansiële reëlings oor die betaling vir die advertensies. Voorts moes die kommissie enige ander verwante aangeleentheid ondersoek.

Teen die opdragte het die kommissie gehandeld.

nie. Die kommissie moes net sy litte roer. Noudat die opdragte uitgevoer is, is dit skielik nie "relevant" of mnr. Ball iets met die voorskietery van geld te doen gehad het nie! Hy het maar net as 'n bankier opgetree.

Die antwoord op dié kernvraag in die ondersoek pas die Progge, die Proggers en sekere sakemanne nie. Daarom swyg party van hulle nou en skuil ander agter yl rookskermpies.

Indertyd was hulle so seker van hul saak dat mnr. Colin Eglin die Staatspresident van McCarthyisme beskuldig het, en is aangedring daarop dat pres. Botha mnr. Ball vir "karaktermoord" en "skandalige laster" om verskoning moes vra.

Wie van die kritici vra pres. Botha nou om verskoning? Of is dit ook nie "relevant" nie? Moet net ander mense aan politieke moraliteit voldoen?

CAPE TIMES 2/5/87 (304A)

# Orders against NP candidates granted

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

TWO Supreme Court orders have been granted, and another threatened, against National Party candidates.

## Election Monitor

In Port Elizabeth, the Eastern Province Herald and its political correspondent, Mr Patrick Cull, have demanded a retraction and an apology and are considering an action for damages against the National Party over a political pamphlet that was issued earlier this week.

The pamphlet which was circulated to residents of Port Elizabeth Central contained reports which were lifted from the Eastern Province Herald.

One was bylined as having been written by Patrick Cull and was published under a grossly misleading headline: "Anne Nash backs effective reform".

The Herald are reserving their rights in regard to the copyright aspects in that material was used in the publication without the permission of the newspaper while Mr Cull is reserving his rights regarding defamation.

□□□□□

IN Grahamstown, an urgent application was granted in the East Cape Supreme court at midnight on Thursday restraining the NP MP for East London City, Mr Peet de Pontes, from distributing a pamphlet alleging that the PFP wishes to enter into an alliance with the banned ANC.

The urgent application, which was brought by the PFP/NRP alliance candidate for East London City, Mr Gwyn Bassingthwaite, arose out of the pamphlet which was distributed throughout the constituency on Wednesday afternoon.

□□□□□

THE NP candidate in Boksburg, Mr J P I Blanche, has been ordered by a Supreme Court judge to take down his election posters that exceeded the official number allowed as well as those

that did not have the Town Engineer's stamp on them.

The order was made against Mr Blanche, the Boksburg Town Council and the local NP branch after an urgent application by the PFP candidate there, Mr Anthony Dutton.

The application was not opposed.

□□□□□

"TODAY I meet people who want to cut off their hands for having voted yes in the referendum," the CP's deputy leader, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, said in Germiston.

He said the purpose of the NP election tactic of introducing into white politics the views of a banned organization that should not be quoted was to scare voters into voting NP.

Yet, in the 1983 referendum the electorate had been scared into voting "yes" because the government proclaimed the ANC in Lusaka supported a "no" vote.

□□□□□

ONE of the most unusual battles in next week's election is in Walvis Bay, which with 4 592 voters is the smallest constituency — and relations with Namibia is the dominant issue.

The sitting NP MP, Mr Boet Botma, says the voters' main concerns were the depressed fishing industry and the fate of Walvis Bay if Namibia, now controlled by South Africa, became independent under a "hostile" government.

Mr Hennie van der Walt, the CP candidate, said his party would keep Walvis Bay as part of South Africa whatever happened in Namibia.

A CP government would hold a referendum in Namibia to ask whites if they wanted to become a fifth province of South Africa, he said.

(Report by Barry Streek, 122 St George's Street, CT.)





**MEETING THE PRESS . . .** Archbishop Desmond Tutu talks to members of the foreign and local press at Bishops Court about Wednesday's whites-only election.

Picture: RICHARD BELL

# If you vote, vote for peace, sanity — Tutu

By PETER DENNEHY

ARCHBISHOP TUTU said at a press conference yesterday that he would probably not vote in a whites-only election if he had such an opportunity.

The Most Rev Desmond Tutu, Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, said the choice facing whites was a difficult one. He added that he "ought to leave the ball very firmly in the white Christians' court".

Two options, not voting in solidarity with the disenfranchised or voting against the National Party and thus "for sanity, justice, peace and reconciliation", were both meaningful, he said.

"Remember the saint who said 'let us sow confusion amongst the unGodly'. If your act can do that, then good luck to you. Whatever you do, take your action prayer-

fully and responsibly."

White voters must ask themselves whether their action would help to bring about the downfall of apartheid and its perpetrators.

Negotiations would one day have to be entered into with the ANC, he said, as a small white minority could not go on ruling the country forever.

"Why not work for the transition from an unjust, unChristian, immoral and evil system such as prevails in this country, to a truly non-racial, democratic and more equitable system while there is still time, while there is still goodwill?"

The present election was "racist and totally undemocratic", he said, as it excluded 73% of the population. Blacks regarded it as another example of insensitivity, where whites spoke and decided about blacks, but not with them.

He expressed "disappointment" with some of the political parties which he had thought gave some kind of hope.

"I am amazed at the alliance between the PFP and the NRP. It seems an incredible thing. Many people are beginning to accept that Parliament is an irrelevance."

The labour situation developing all over the country was "a far more serious thing than maybe even the election". Unions were the cutting edge of the liberation struggle, he said.

He condemned the recent actions of the police against Cosatu, "and all that has happened at Cosatu House".

He hoped soldiers in the townships would "undergo a conversion", and said: "We care enormously for white people."

(Report by P Dennehy, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)



Parties foresee 'total chaos' on election day

# Thousands may find they have no vote



MR GASTROW:  
"It was chaos."

2/19/87  
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POLITICAL STAFF

**Warnings of "total chaos" — with thousands finding themselves voteless on Wednesday — were made by political parties yesterday.**

The already confused state of the voters roll was compounded on Thursday with voters being issued by the Department of Home Affairs with cards with new identity numbers.

Political parties were inundated with inquiries as voters found that their identity numbers had been changed — apart from other mistakes, such as misspelt names.

Progressive Federal Party national chairman Mr Peter Gastrow said yesterday: "It was chaos. The least the Department of Home Affairs could have done was issue a warning that all identity numbers have been changed to make them non-racial.

"Voters will not, as many fear, be disqualified from voting because of the change. All identity numbers have been changed in terms of the new identity system, which does not identify race. It is also quite clear from the card issue that the roll is in chaos. Many people have not received cards, while others have had cards for people they have never heard of."

## Enormous pressure

Mr Harry Schwarz (PFP, Yeoville) said he was considering taking the department to court to have voters reinstated on the voters roll.

Politicians round the country confirmed yesterday that there was total chaos on the roll.

The director-general of the department, Mr Gerrie van Zyl, said it was working under enormous pressure to correct mistakes. "Almost a third of the roll — with about 3 million names — had to be changed after the registration drive last year."

He appealed to voters to check either with the department or with political parties to see they are registered correctly.

But Mr Schwarz rejected the appeal, saying: "This will make the chaos even worse. No one could handle every voter checking at this stage."

Politicians are fearing the worst on election day, when the full extent of any problems could be revealed.

Mr Peter Soal (PFP, Johannesburg North) said voters who had not changed their addresses for 50 years were finding themselves placed in constituencies not only kilometres away, but in different provinces. "We will not know how many are affected until Wednesday, when they

● To Page 2

P.T.O.



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# Violent explosion is near — Brink

PARIS — Professor Andre Brink warned in an interview published in Paris yesterday that an explosion in South Africa is coming nearer and nearer.

Interviewed at his Grahamstown home, Professor Brink told Michel Bole-Richard, correspondent of the liberal evening newspaper, *Le Monde*, that while he continued to look for a "glimmer of hope", he considered that a "total and violent explosion was inevitable".

He continued: "The anger and resentment of blacks is increasing so rapidly, especially among the young people, that an explosion is coming nearer and nearer."

"The attitude of the Government, its use of violent methods, its stupidity, stubbornness and foolishness are leading to an imminent violent explosion."

*Le Monde* described Professor Brink (52) as South Africa's most famous committed author, pessimistic witness and racked observer.

He was highly critical of President P W Botha who, he said, did not realise the gravity of the situation. Nevertheless, Mr Botha would win the

## JAMES TOMLINS

forthcoming elections because "Afrikaners do not act rationally. They vote with their guts and in line with traditional support of the Afrikaner establishment".

Professor Brink predicted a "slide towards totalitarianism", and he believed there were only slim chances the white regime would not become a "de facto dictatorship".

He noted, however, "despite everything that has happened, there still exists a remarkable reservoir of goodwill among blacks towards whites. The majority of blacks are still willing to sit down and work towards a joint future with whites".

He bitterly criticised Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, at present on a week's visit in Paris.

Correspondent Bole-Richard has not been wasting his time in South Africa. His reporting of the country on the eve of the elections is published over three pages, an almost unprecedented amount of coverage for a foreign election.

His interviews with "Afrikaner" farmers in the Messina region are rather startling.

Extreme right-winger Mr Rassie Erasmus told him: "If there were an even more right-wing party than exists at present, I would join it."

"I don't want to be governed by blacks in my own country. But if that evil happened I would kill my wife, my three children and then myself."

"The blacks demand more and more, and the Government goes on giving. What is left for us whites?"

Farmer Mr Johan de Villiers appeared unworried about the future and said, if he had to return to the Europe of his ancestors, he would prefer to settle in Britain rather than France, mainly owing to the language. He described himself as a moderate Nationalist who looked on the President as "having understood the situation a little bit better than other leaders".

He said: "We whites were not born to survive in Africa. How many of us will be here in 50 years time? It is impossible to maintain Western values (in Africa)."

Another farmer said: "Africa will become completely black."



PROFESSOR BRINK: "Afrikaners do not act rationally."

11/9/87



# Worrall has got it wrong about lying, claims Pik

CAPE TOWN — Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha has accused Dr Denis Worrall of trying to discredit South Africa's ambassadors abroad by implying they lied for the Government.

Addressing more than 1 000 people in Somerset West town hall, Mr Botha called on Dr Worrall to withdraw certain allegations before election day, May 6, and to apologise.

## ATTACK

Mr Botha, who spoke in support of Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and National Party candidate for Helderberg, devoted a large part of his address to an attack on Dr Worrall, independent candidate and former ambassador in London.

It was the final public meeting of Mr Heunis's election campaign.

Mr Botha based his main attack on articles which, he said, Dr Worrall had written for news-

papers in Britain and the United States.

He quoted Dr Worrall as saying the decision that faced him before his resignation was whether to "suffer the agony of having to lie for my government" or risking his career and going back to South Africa.

Mr Botha said he appealed to Dr Worrall to withdraw those words before May 6 or he would be "defeated thoroughly" in the election.

Mr Botha said he had never required South Africa's ambassadors to support the National Party.

He was "not impressed" with people who wanted to "jump off the ship".

"They must watch out: There are sharks in the



## ELECTION 1987

sea. And the captain of the ship has experience and knows how to handle his ship."

Rejecting Dr Worrall's arguments about negotiation, Mr Botha said: "Does he really believe you can negotiate with people and organisations who perpetrate violence and necklace murders?"

## VIOLENCE

Mr Heunis said he was not prepared to negotiate with people who committed violence.

People who wanted to negotiate with those standing for violence were playing into their hands.

The Government was committed to reform through negotiation.

(Report by FS Esterhuyse, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

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# Govt exploiting deaths Cosatu

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) has condemned the violence resulting in the deaths of railway workers and has angrily accused the Government and the SABC for exploiting the killings in a propaganda war against Cosatu.

The bodies of four men, said to be Sats workers, were found stabbed and burnt near Kaserne on Tuesday night and a fifth body was discovered in Tembisa on the East Rand.

The victims have not yet been identified. Police say they have a witness to the earlier killings, and 11 people were arrested in relation to them during a raid on Cosatu House on Wednesday.

"Cosatu makes it clear we have never condoned violence as a means of resolving disputes," the 700 000-member labour federation said yesterday.

"We are holding a meeting with the South African Railways and Harbour Workers' Union (Sarhwu) to determine the true facts of what happened. If those workers died at the hands of other railway workers we say it should not have happened.

"Sarhwu has emphatically distanced itself from the events of Tuesday and condemned these deaths."

Cosatu added: "The Government is now using the tragic deaths of the Sats workers to intensify the campaign against Cosatu, Sarhwu and all our affiliates. The SABC, which is being used extensively in the campaign, was brought on to the scene of the siege of Cosatu House on Wednesday.

A police spokesman said the SABC had been allowed through the barriers because they had asked permission to film and had given an undertaking not to photograph security force actions.

Cosatu continues to blame Sats management for the build-up of violence in the seven-week dispute. "We have faced a management who have shunned open and fair negotiations. We believe the spiral of violence is directly linked to their intransigence and their refusal to deal in good faith with the elected representatives of the dismissed workers."

Cosatu says it warned early in the strike that matters could become violent. It held talks with the Federated Chamber of Industries and Associated Chambers of Commerce in an attempt to get them to intervene and break the deadlock at Sats.

● See Page 6.

PM 11/8/87 (3 DKA)  
HELDERBERG-STELLENBOSCH

## Reform swingers

In many ways, Helderberg and, to a lesser extent, neighbouring Stellenbosch have been what next week's election is really all about.

Denis Worrall's seemingly impossible task of unseating Chris Heunis in Helderberg, and the brave fight by his co-independent

Esther Lategan against leading NP verligte Piet Marais in Stellenbosch, have captured more media attention, both local and international, than any other contest.

They epitomise verligte Nat rejection of the party's basic racialistic philosophy and a loss of patience with the NP's pace of change.

Lategan seems unlikely to win in Stellenbosch, although a late charge has the Nats worried and organisers are being drafted in from less important constituencies to swell NP campaigner ranks.

Helderberg is virtually impossible to call. Both Heunis and Worrall are claiming certain victory. Heunis has even boasted that he will increase his majority and, as the incumbent, probably has the edge. If choices must be made, he seems the more likely winner. But whichever way it goes, the outcome will be close. The NP-supporting Sunday newspaper *Rapport* suggested that a majority of 300 either way seems likely.

The Stellenbosch-based Nat rebellion has centred on the two seats — both traditional NP strongholds — and has damaged the soul of the NP more than any event since the CP split in 1982.

The contest centres on reform in both cases. Worrall and Lategan maintain the Nats are incapable of the fundamental changes necessary to resolve SA's crises. Heunis and Marais are defending the success of government's reform initiative and stress its potential for further change.

The two seats (and Randburg where the third independent, Wynand Malan, is standing) will be a key test of the extent of the anti-Nat revolt.

In the 1981 general election Heunis won 6 287 votes to the PFP's 3 345. Worrall is confident of retaining all the PFP support and winning over enough Nats to take the seat, thereby proving that most whites are way ahead of government in their acceptance of fundamental change.

The CP candidate, Len de Wet, has been the forgotten man of the campaign and is unlikely to poll more than 800 votes in Helderberg.

The constituency is a mixture of middle to upper-middle class business and professional people, retirees in Somerset West, farmers and a smattering of Stellenbosch students and academics. It includes a part of Brackenfell to the north of Cape Town where most CP supporters appear to be concentrated.

Heunis has fought a defensive campaign, preferring to lie low in contrast to Worrall's grandstanding. Heunis has a tough task. Worrall's good credentials, natural diplomatic style and the ability to make vagueness sound convincing, are in a different league to Heunis's unimpressive public performance which confuses more often than it enlightens. Heunis's greatest asset is his entrenched position and the army of workers who are dedicated to saving his seat.

Stellenbosch, where more than half the voters are students, was won by Marais in a 1982 by-election. He received 7 002 votes



Stellenbosch's Lategan ... face of the post-Nat future?

compared to the PFP's 1 380, the CP's 599, and the NRP's 554. There is no doubt that if he manages to retain the seat, the NP's 5 622 majority will be slashed.

Marais is one of the "nice guys" of the NP. Lategan says his only problem is that he belongs to the wrong party. He is a true verligte and under the surface appears uncomfortable with the fundamentals of Nat policy.

Lategan, an initially reluctant candidate, is one of the new breed of Afrikaners, fed up with apartheid and now looking outside the NP for SA's salvation. She believes she can beat Marais because, like her, the Stellenbosch community realises racialism cannot achieve peace.

"Bread and butter issues" have not really featured in either constituency. Both are little more than rallying platforms for "Past Nats" and as such are key pointers to the party's future.



**Political forecasting** is risky business. However, herewith a checklist of what could happen on May 6.

It goes without saying that the Nats will win. The irony is that at a time when the party is weaker than at any point since winning power in 1948, and is in fact crumbling at its very core, it is likely to be returned to parliament with more seats than it now has.

But this will not indicate a growth in the NP's popularity — far from it. The party is likely to receive a significantly reduced percentage of the total vote and will shed support to both Left and Right.

At stake are 166 directly elected seats, of which the National Party (NP) currently has 109, the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) 26, the Conservative Party (CP) 16, the New Republic Party (NRP) five, and the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) one. There are two independent and eight vacant seats of which seven were held by the NP and one by the CP. Just over 3m whites over 18 will be entitled to vote.

The election is taking place under a countrywide State of Emergency imposed on June 12 last year in an effort to curb months of civil unrest in black residential areas sparked by militant black opposition to apartheid. The emergency has placed severe restrictions on the freedom of speech and the press and has given wide powers to the security forces.

The NP will win more seats because the rightwing appears headed for a hiding due to its unresolved feud and will be lucky to come back with half the 18 seats it now nominally holds. All but one of the Right's likely losses — Northrand, which seems safe for the PFP — could well go to the Nats.

On the other hand, the PFP-NRP alliance has not shaped as well as initially expected and is unlikely to increase its 31 seats in parliament by more than five or six at the most. Only one of the three Worrallite independents, Wynand Malan in Randburg, seems assured of victory, although tight finishes are likely in both Helderberg and Stellenbosch.

This leaves the NP with around 118 seats compared to the 116 it now nominally holds.

The Nat tally could increase by up to 10 if both the Left and Right fare even more badly than expected.

On the Right the election will serve as an exercise to restore the political equilibrium which slipped out of kilter when the CP split away from the NP in 1982. Only two of the CP's seats, Waterberg and Soutpansberg, were subsequently fought and won on party tickets. Most of the others are in fact reasonably safe bets for the NP and one, Northrand, a fairly safe bet for the PFP. Conversely, there are a number of Nat seats where CP candidates seem assured of victory.

Instead of a "best case" scenario about 22 seats predicted by rightwing strategists earlier this year, it now seems that the rightwing total will be even lower than the "worst case" tally of 15 forecast in February (*Leaders* March 20).

## Worst case

Of the seats the CP now holds, it seems unlikely in a "worst case" scenario to retain De Aar and Kuruman in the northern Cape; and Barberton, Brakpan, Germiston District, Jeppe, Langlaagte, Meyerton, North Rand, Rissik, Soutpansberg and Sunnyside in the Transvaal.

The HNP seems unlikely to retain its only seat in Sasolburg.

The CP can expect to retain Koedoespoort, Lichtenburg, Nigel, Pietersburg and Waterberg. It could win Brits, Carletonville, Ermelo, Potgietersrus, Randfontein and Ventersdorp — with Krugersdorp, Losberg, Overvaal and Rustenburg as outsiders in a "best case" scenario.

The Free State looks certain to become totally Nat once again. The CP's only real hopes are in Fauresmith, Heilbron and Parys — but again the split rightwing vote is likely to spoil their chances (*Current affairs* April 24).

In all the seats in both the Transvaal and OFS where the CP stands a chance of winning, the split vote factor will be crucial, and in many cases the NP is expected to sneak in on a lower tally than the combined CP-HNP total.

The shake-up on the Left is likely to be less severe than on the Right — except possibly in Natal. There will be some close calls both ways, but fewer seats are

likely to change hands between the NP and PFP-NRP than between the NP and CP-HNP. The PFP-NRP alliance appears shaky in Albany, Maritzburg North and Umhlanga although party organisers claim they will retain all three seats. They say earlier perceptions of problems in Bezuidenhout and Hillbrow have proven unfounded.

The PFP is favoured to win Simon's Town, Durban North and North Rand. According to party organisers, "best case" scenario gains include East London North, East London City, Maitland, Umhlatazana, Umlazi, Port Natal and Benoni.

"Outsider" gains, which will depend both on how the significant slice of "doubtful" voters cast their ballots and the strength of the Right in those areas, include Waterkloof, Sunnyside, Johannesburg West and Helderkruijn.

PFP "surprise" gains could come in Humansdorp and Cradock.

The NP is under pressure across a wide spectrum and dozens of previously "safe" seats are now marginal. Majorities are expected to be counted in hundreds instead of thousands as in years past.

For the first time since 1948, Nat Cabinet ministers and deputies risk losing their seats, although the risk to most of them has decreased considerably due to the CP-HNP feud. But those who face considerably reduced majorities — if they retain their seats — include Chris Heunis (Helderberg), FW de Klerk (Vereeniging), Gerrit Viljoen (Vanderbijlpark), Piet du Plessis (Lydenburg), Greyling Wentzel (Bethal), Danie Steyn (Wonderboom), Ben Wilkens (Ventersdorp), Sam de Beer (Geduld), Ron Miller (Durban North), Hendrik Tempel (Ermelo), Kent Durr (Maitland), Roelf Meyer (Johannesburg West), Martin Veldsman (Rustenburg), George Bartlett (Amanzimtoti), Org Marais (Waterkloof) and Stoffel van der Merwe (Helderkruijn).

Key MPs under threat of defeat by rightwing candidates include arch-verligte, Leon Wessels (Krugersdorp) and Boy Geldenhuys (Randfontein) who is expected to be beaten by former Transvaal Nat leader Connie Mulder.

**CP/NP knife-edge**

An Afrikaans saying has it that when two dogs fight over a bone, a third usually walks away with it. This seems to be the position in Hercules, the predominantly Afrikaans lower-middle class constituency north of Pretoria where the NP, HNP and CP are fighting it out.

The struggle reflects the one being waged nationally between, on the one hand, the NP and the far-Right, and on the other, the parties of the Right. And within the Right in Hercules, choosing between the CP's Salmon Barnard and HNP candidate and party leader Jaap Marais seems to be an emotional rather than an intellectual issue.

FINANCIAL MAIL MAY 1 1987

page

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Marais' supporters seem to be disappointed with him for failing to reach an agreement with the CP. Nevertheless, a hard core seems likely to back him — if only out of loyalty and pity and because he is the party leader. Yet, some HNP supporters have apparently already crossed over to the CP. HNP opponents argue that Marais over-estimated his support in Hercules.

Marais, of course, failed to take up CP leader Andries Treurnicht's challenge to fight him in the Right's citadel, Waterberg. Following the abortive CP-HNP pact, Marais opted instead to stand in Hercules, which he avers is "more compact" than Waterberg and "practically easier to run an election campaign in."

But Marais hardly sounds confident when he says: "Many voters cannot distinguish between the two right-wing parties, and will choose to abstain rather than to vote for the NP." He adds that the merger attempt meant that he neglected his own campaign, and has increased the mud-slinging. He claims somebody once accused him of being paid by the NP to divide the Right.

But voters also seem to have their doubts about Barnard, the former MP for Lang-

laagte. Although they seem to like him personally (he's a charismatic man who calls himself "Super Performance Barnard" after his initials), he is not a local and they're wary of strangers in Hercules.

"But he's not one of us!" said one HNP supporter who last week drifted into the local CP office, apparently to inquire where the HNP offices were. "Just as long as you vote Right," responded a CP officer. They immediately bet a sheep on whose party would win the election.

Meanwhile, the NP's Lukas van Vuuren waits. His only meeting was held in the Pretoria City Hall last Thursday with F W de Klerk as the main speaker. Says Van Vuuren: "I know the Hercules people. They don't attend meetings anyhow." But he admits he would not have been so confident had there been only one rightwing candidate opposing him.

Although he beat the HNP by 1 922 votes in a straight fight in 1981, many voters have since become disillusioned with the tri-cameral system. The CP offers an uncluttered reactionary alternative. Van Vuuren hopes to win again "if all my supporters vote" by a margin of about 1 500.

With the exception of Van Vuuren, who doesn't seem to be campaigning at all "because everybody knows the NP's policy," the candidates are focusing on ways of upgrading Hercules economically.

Hercules residents are mostly blue collar workers. Joblessness is rife with some houses being shared by up to three families. Little wonder that Barnard promises "higher wages for teachers, government officials, railway workers and Iscor employees" (not surprisingly, all bureaucrats who are thought to back the CP anyway), and an economy where "everyone can afford his own home."

In his campaign, Jaap Marais has been arguing that the Bible propagates apartheid. This could cause confusion among the voters who are generally ardent NG Kerk followers, as the NGK last year officially denounced apartheid.

With just a week to go to election day, indications are that in Hercules it will be touch and go between the CP and NP. Barnard relies on his charm, while Van Vuuren, it seems, relies on the power of habit and loyalty. But Marais' prospects look grim and the question is, will his defeat bring the HNP's demise closer?



ARGUS 1/5/87

## Grim prognosis for SA's political future

304A

From GARNER THOMSON  
The Argus Foreign Service

Dateline: LONDON

**T**HE prospects of political compromise across the racial divide in South Africa have "long since grown dim", says the International Institute for Strategic Studies in its latest global Strategic Survey for 1986-87.

It blames first the "laager mentality" — South Africa's response to western concern and pressure — then the emergence of extremists, both black and white, for the grim prognosis, and adds: "It is difficult to foresee anything but further deterioration in an already parlous situation".

"Neither increased pressure from governments, nor that from western businesses (which left South Africa in large numbers during 1986) nor violence by blacks in the townships have moved Pretoria to temper its harsh policies.

"If anything, they have had the opposite effect, creating a laager mentality and resulting in heavier repression in South Afri-

ca and new pressures on its neighbours."

The report singles out disaffection on the right of the National Party and the unhappiness of traditional white South Africans as the chief reasons President Botha has been prevented from proceeding with "even limited reform", which he had hoped would be acceptable to moderate black leaders and his own followers.

"The reimposition of the state of emergency, harsh police and army action, the arrest of large numbers of black leaders and activists, and a tightening of press laws have dampened over expressions of opposition throughout the country."

But, warns the report, problems are multiplying.

"The economy has been further weakened. In 1986 white emigration was greater than immigration. The National Party has begun to fracture, and black violence, smouldering beneath the lid imposed by the security forces, could explode with greater violence at any time."

# Walvis Bay set for unusual election battle

17/5/87 304A  
Dateline: WALVIS BAY

**I**N this Atlantic Ocean port, cut off from the rest of South Africa, voters are gearing up for one of the most unusual battles of the May 6 whites-only general election.

The campaign in Walvis Bay centres not on the future of apartheid race policies, but on relations with Namibia, which completely surrounds the tiny South African enclave.

Walvis Bay is South Africa's smallest constituency, with just 4 592 registered white voters, but as the best deep water harbour in south-western Africa, it has great strategic importance.

The enclave, 800km from the nearest South African town, owes its status to a quirk of history. Britain annexed it in 1878 and joined it to the Cape Colony which subsequently became part of an independent South Africa.

Wedge between the Atlantic and the vast sand dunes of the Namib Desert, the squat settlement of 23 000 people is permeated by the smell of fish from factories processing the pilchards on which the town depends.

Its dusty streets are plastered with election posters showing that the two-way contest between the ruling National Party (NP) and extreme rightwing

Conservative Party is in full swing.

NP Member of Parliament Boet Botma, 59, said voters' main concerns were the depressed fishing industry and the fate of Walvis Bay if Namibia, now controlled by South Africa, became independent under a "hostile" government.

## Two-way contest in full swing

South Africa retains control of Namibia in defiance of the United Nations. It refuses to grant independence until an estimated 35 000 Cuban troops withdraw from neighbouring Angola.

There is a multi-racial interim government in Namibia but Pretoria is fighting a bush war in the north against black guerillas from the South West Africa People's Organisation (Swapo).

Swapo, which enjoys strong support among Namibia's blacks, has said it regards Walvis Bay as part of Namibia.

A bomb blast last August which killed five people here is blamed on Swapo by townspeople although no one claimed responsibility.

Botma said Walvis Bay's role should be settled through negotiation once Namibia had an established government.

He did not believe a hostile communist government would come to power. But South Africa, which has a large military presence in the port, would defend it if necessary, he said.

Hennie van der Walt, 51, candidate for the Conservative Party, said his party would keep Walvis Bay as part of South Africa whatever happened in Namibia.

A Conservative Party government would hold a referendum in Namibia to ask whites if they wanted to become a fifth province of South Africa, he said.

Both candidates said local whites preferred the apartheid race rule of Walvis Bay to the more relaxed laws of Namibia, where most race discrimination has been scrapped.

Walvis Bay first became a constituency in its own right in 1982 when Botma won for the NP with a majority of 1 186 votes over the Conservative Party.

Walvis Bay is one of the few South African towns where whites are not the smallest race group. About 8 500 whites of Dutch, German and English descent live in the port, together with 8 500 blacks and 6 000 coloureds. — Sapa-Reuter.

News by A Croft, 626 Mutual Building, Harrison Street, Johannesburg



# Protection for whites 'as long as I live' <sup>1986/87</sup> Botha

30/11  
MARTZBURG. — As long as he lived reform would proceed only on the basis of protection of the white man, President P.W. Botha said last night.

Addressing about 1 200 people in the YMCA sports centre, Mr Botha said reform would be continued after the May 6 election, provided that stability could be maintained.

"You as voters must decide if you want to continue along the road of security, economic growth and stability in order to bring about justice.

"You must also decide whether you want to see justice done to the white man who has no other home in this world.

"I don't want to see a repetition of what happened in Zimbabwe, what happened in Mozambique and what happened in Zambia.

## "GROW STRONGER"

"This country will grow stronger as a regional power on this sub-continent, not for its own purposes alone but also for the sake of its neighbours."

Mr Botha then told the packed audience that he stood "between South Africa and communism."

The ANC's calendar for 1987 was aimed at "isolating the Botha regime".

"They don't want to isolate Eglin or Worrall, but Botha because Botha is standing in the way of communism."

Sapa.

(Report by P. Claassen, 801 Nedbank Centre, Strand Street, Cape Town.)

## Two Soweto rail coaches set alight

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A passenger train coach was set alight at Dube station, Soweto, last night, a spokesman for the Bureau for Information said today.

This brings to 70 the number of coaches damaged by fire in violence surrounding the strike.

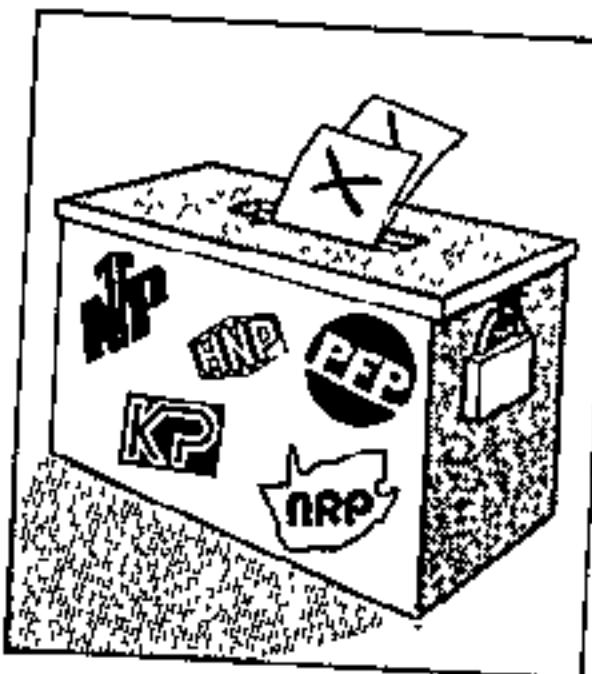
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304A FM 1/5/87

# THE WHITE ELECTION

## Sending the right signals



Just over 3m white South Africans are eligible to vote next week in what has been described — stretching the truth a little — as the “most important election in the country’s history.” But

how many can honestly say they know what they will be voting for?

It’s been one of the longest campaigns ever: gruelling, in fact. And although the “issues” initially seemed unclear, the reason for the poll has ineluctably settled on reform, which, once you come down to it, means negotiations with blacks to share power “at the highest level.”

Faced with the inevitability of a Nat return to power, however, the question is — can government get it right this time round?

By its own lights, of course, the National Party (NP) says it firmly believes in and will continue to reform. But reform what, and how? There is powerful evidence to support the contention that the party is trapped in yet another constitutional quandary — neo-apartheid racial “groupism” or “own affairs” as the only political building blocks of the future. Unfortunately this will not work — witness the rejection of the idea by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, without whom no credible black will come to the negotiating table.

Clearly, therefore, if we’re not simply to lurch from one crisis to the next, this logjam will have to be broken. Own affairs as a constitutional starting point must be dropped, and the will must be found to engage the African National Congress (ANC) as but one significant party involved in negotiations (and, for its part, the ANC will have to rethink its strategy of violence if it is to retain the tacit support of the West).

The clearest portent of a break in the logjam may lie in the message voters look like giving on May 6.

**The May 6 election has cast SA’s political options into stark relief — not perhaps government’s original intention. The message enlightened voters need to get across is that the time has stopped for appeasement of the Right.**

The NP has long told its critics that in reforming it has to look over its right shoulder, engage in “fancy political footwork,” and reform incrementally. The hope in Wednesday’s election is that the anti-Nat showing — including the opposition alliance, the independents, and what promises to be a significant NP stayaway faction — will be strong enough to send the Nats an unambiguous signal to get on with it. And even if the rightwing manages to get around 20% of the vote, government should cut its losses on that flank and press on — a move which would at least consolidate the disenchanted 20% on its left (see *Current affairs*).

In calling the election, P W Botha hoped to smash the growing white Right, which was moving towards unification around the Conservative Party (CP). So far this is the only “positive” aspect in the campaign, from the NP’s point of view. The unresolved CP-Herstigte Nasionale Party feud will cost both parties dearly and benefit the Nationalists.

The NP will be returned to power by an overwhelming majority. It has a stranglehold on white politics, and the broadest possible backing from its federal party congresses. In spite of claims to the contrary it has no need to seek a new mandate.

When the State President decided on a May election earlier this year, the timing must have seemed perfect — a massive security crackdown under the State of Emergency had created the impression among whites that the unrest had abated; the economy was improving after drifting for

months; and Botha apparently believed that black political concessions since the start of the “reform era” in 1982 had won over many liberal reformist whites.

The transparency of Nationalist intentions was revealed by its campaign. It has fielded a smokescreen to hide the party’s political bankruptcy. It can now be safely assumed that when Botha opted for an election earlier this year, his real intention was to buy time. The reform initiative had run aground. Chris Heunis’s constitutional boffins were struggling for new ideas; there were rumblings of discontent on both the Left and Right of the NP caucus; and Botha’s instinct told him a diversion was needed to consolidate the NP.

When the “new deal” for blacks crystallises as a programme, Botha will go back to the white electorate, and ask approval in a referendum. This is a long process, possibly taking two or three years, during which time (he apparently believes) he won’t be accused of stalling on reform.

The new mandate claim is arguably the most hollow of the campaign. There can be no thinking South African who doubts the urgent need to negotiate *something* with blacks. The emptiness of the issue is compounded by the NP’s continued alienation of Chief Buthelezi, and categorisation of the ANC as a Communist-dominated, terrorist organisation.

Only a year ago, when the Eminent Persons Group (EPG) mission seemed headed for success, government was on the verge of a major breakthrough — spearheaded by Foreign Minister Pik Botha — that could have led to talks with the ANC. In effectively scuttling the basis of an SA-ANC get-together via the EPG’s finely worked “negotiating concept,” which called for a “suspension” of violence (agreed to by the ANC) as a prelude to talks, Pretoria showed a disregard for negotiation that must urgently be reconsidered.

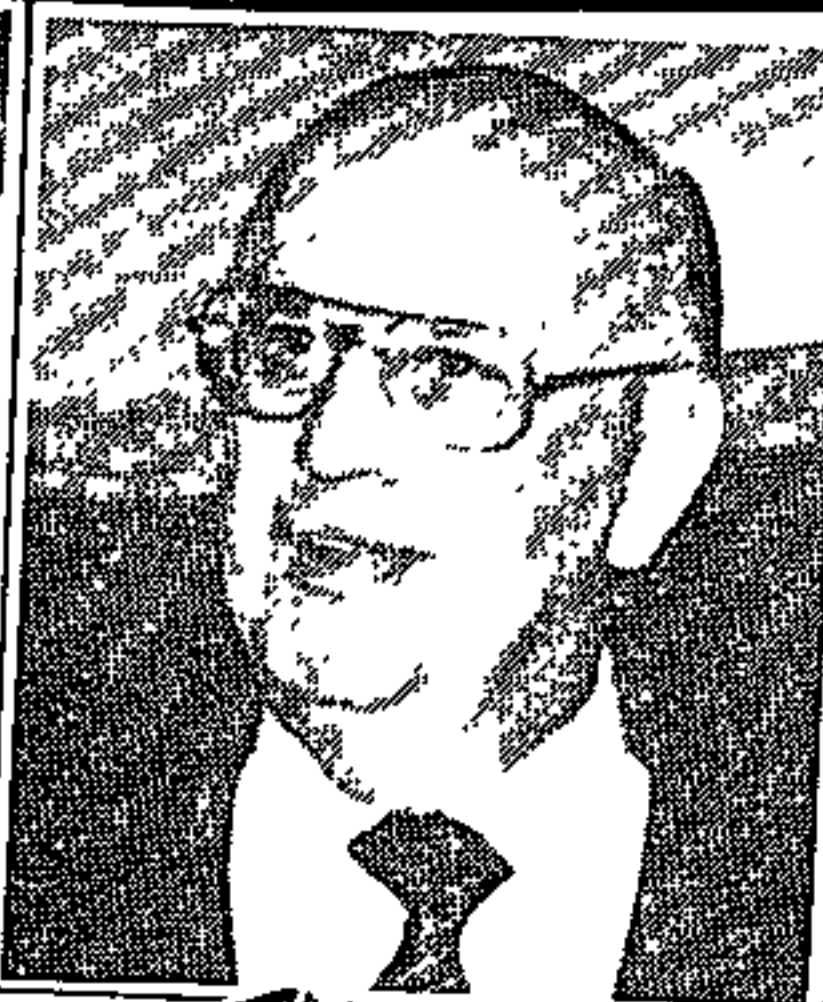
### FACING UP TO MAY 6



Colin Eglin



Jaap Marais



PW Botha



Andries Treurnicht



Bill Sutton



## THE INDEPENDENT SLATE



**Wynand Malan**



**Esther Lategan**



**Denis Worrall**

By using the ANC threat as a smoke-screen to hide its own lack of ideas, the NP has built the organisation into something that it is not, and boosted its image considerably in the townships. Both the ANC and the NP have reasons to capitalise on any build-up of violence around the election.

But what Botha gains on the roundabouts, he loses on the swings. The longer-term implications of the crumbling of the NP's intellectual base — manifest in the Stellenbosch phenomenon — are profound.

The Afrikaner rebellion is undoubtedly the only significant election offshoot. This is evidenced by comments by black leaders who, while questioning the relevance of the election as a whole, welcome what they see as the most encouraging signs in 40 years that whites, formerly aligned to the ruling clique, are prepared to move towards change.

The NP rebellion and the PFP-New Republic Party (NRP) pact seriously affected the NP's ability to dictate the campaign issues to the extent it has done in previous years. Initially, Nat leaders hoped to make "foreign interference" the main campaign plank. But the rebellion, centred on a rejection of the cornerstones of apartheid, forced the party on to the defensive. The Group Areas Act in particular became a major campaign theme in the liberal opposition camp. But nightly contradictions by Cabinet Ministers on the future of apartheid laws boggled the minds of many voters.

In an effort to regain the initiative in the campaign and draw attention away from the more fundamental issues, the NP embarked on a dangerous course of implying that anyone who opposed the party, supported the ANC. In so doing, the Nats have further insulted respectable white voters who oppose both the NP's racism and the ANC's violence.

But when it tried to defend apartheid for the sake of the Right, it alienated potential supporters to its Left; and when it spoke (occasionally) of possible reforms to discriminatory laws, it shed more supporters to the Right.

What happens after May 6 is the key question. The liberal Afrikaner rebellion will obviously gain momentum, and possibly link up with the PFP-NRP alliance into a significant political force. But unless there is a major breakaway from the NP caucus (which is not expected in the short term), it is unlikely to force fundamental Nat policy changes.

The Right will continue to gnaw away at the NP's most vulnerable flank, but it is likely to spend more time trying to repair the massive damage caused by the fratricidal *broedertwis*.

So it seems, on the one hand, that it will be business as usual on May 7. The National Council will come into being, and some black leaders will agree to serve on it. The Group Areas Act may be amended, but the principle of residential segregation will remain; the NP will continue to rule. P W Botha, his image dented, will be unable to retire in triumph and seems set to stay on for at least two more years — when he will call another white election. But this process can hardly go on indefinitely.

In the *FM*'s view, the Nats must discard the fiction that blacks will ever accept anything but participation in the central processes of government. It can create as many black city states, RSCs, homelands, and tri-cameral houses as it wishes, but there will never be a solution until black and white share real power. Just what that share will be is the critical question. But we cannot assess the options until there are negotiations between the people who hold the real power in the country. These are: the major white political parties, obviously with the Nats at the fore as the team with possession, the ANC, Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), Inkatha, and anyone else who can show they have a

meaningful constituency in the country.

That will be only the beginning. The real bargaining will take time, but the process will at least reveal what the options are. As things stand, the white electorate — like everyone else — is operating in a vacuum. The crunch question, then, involves the conditions under which white and black nationalists can get together to talk.

The ruling Nats' bottom line is that the ANC — and to a lesser extent the PAC — should abandon violence, cut ties with the SA Communist Party and enter into peaceful negotiations. The black nationalists will no doubt adhere to the line that negotiations are superfluous, unless they are designed merely to work out a way in which political power can be handed to the black majority immediately.

This is unrealistic, but predictable as an initial bargaining chip. The ANC says it does not accept the NP's conditions, and that its violence will continue.

The *FM* does not believe that the government should negotiate with the ANC while it retains its commitment to violence. Governments worldwide accept that it is counter-productive to treat with terrorism. And those governments, including the African states which host the ANC and PAC, should make it clear that they will not support the movements while their strategies are based on bombs and bullets.

Against that, as a gesture to help break the logjam, the government should drop its demand that the ANC sever ties with the SA Communist Party. This problem can be dealt with in the negotiations. Armed with this face-saving concession, the ANC should announce that it will drop violence and negotiate with no preconditions on either side.

Candidates who see these issues clearly — and have said so in the run-up to the election — deserve backing. Only in this way can the message to the ruling elite become unambiguous. Reform yes — but this time really get it right. Otherwise even more time will be lost, polarisation increase, and only extremists stand to gain.

# NP-shaded PFP 'nonsense'

## Political Staff

THE claim by a UDF spokesman, Ms Cheryl Carolus, that the Progressive Federal Party was just a different shade of the National Party was "outright nonsense", the PFP's Cape leader, Mr Roger Hulley, said yesterday.

"While I can understand Ms Carolus's extreme frustration, it is counter-productive for opponents of apartheid to waste time bickering and sniping at each other," he said.

Ms Carolus said at a Votes for All Campaign meeting on Wed-

nesday that the PFP had "deserted" the broad democratic movement and its principled stand and was "just a different shade of the NP".

Mr Hulley said: "The basic dividing line in white politics is between those who believe in the race group as a basic constitutional building block and those who seek a non-racial solution based on the individual."

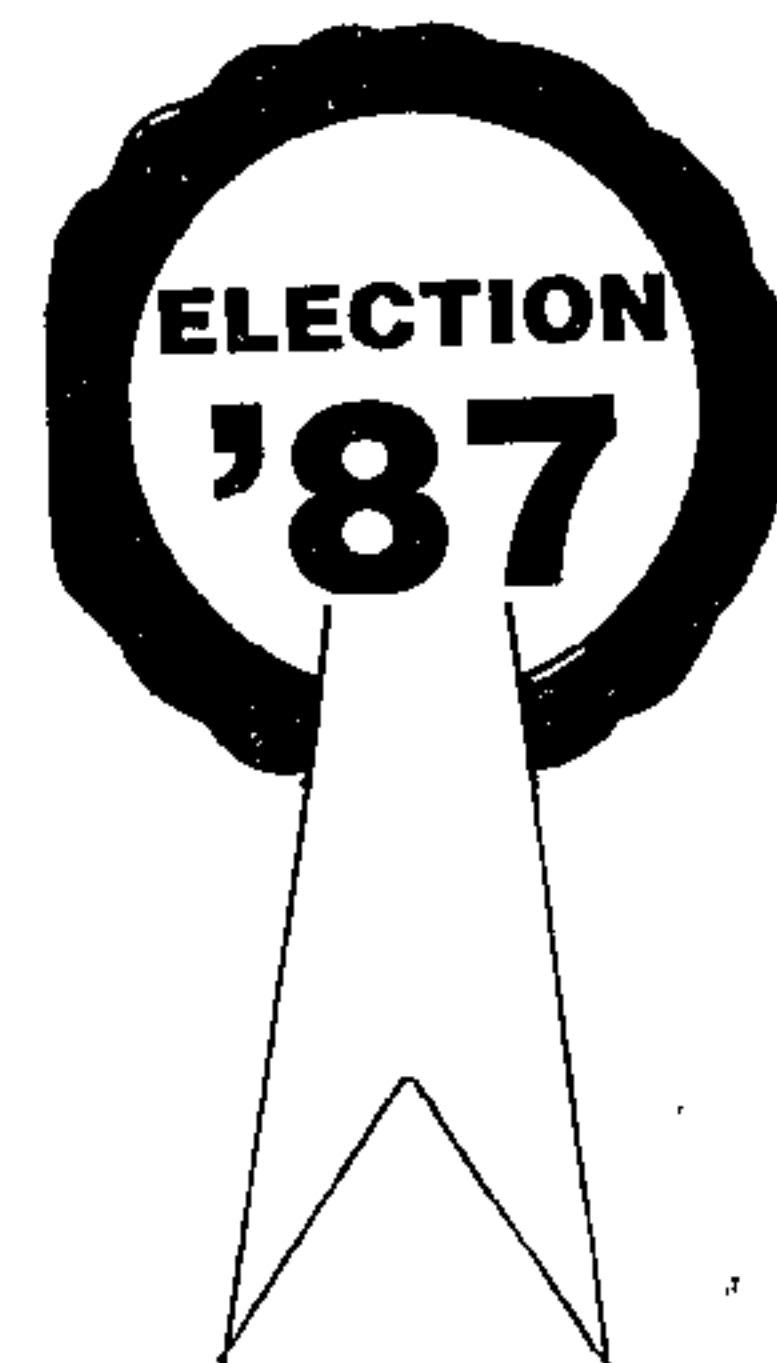
"Whereas the NP and the parties to the right of it believe in race groups, the PFP and its predecessors since 1959 have been totally committed to the non-racial approach."

"The NP and the PFP are therefore diametrically opposed to each other ..."

"Our recent change of strategy to build alliances for a new non-racial South Africa does not involve any change in principle whatsoever, since both the NRP at the Natal Indaba and the new independents have also accepted the non-racial approach."

"As to the relevance of Parliament, I can only say that if change is not to be sought peacefully through Parliament, then the alternative is by force and confrontation."

(Report by B Streak, 122 St George's St. CT.)





## Top Natal industrialist supports Alliance

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Mr Chris Saunders, leading Natal industrialist, has come out firmly behind the PFP/NRP Alliance after recently saying he had been wrong to support the "yes" vote in the tricameral referendum.

He described the Leader of the Opposition, Mr Colin Eglin, as a "distinguished" leader who knew the meaning of "duty, honour and country" and praised him for exposing the government's "Alice in Wonderland" policies.

There were three basic principles on which to run the country, he told an enthusiastic alliance meeting — that everyone was a South African, that everyone would have to share a common society and that rights came before race.

The government's principles of group and ethnic division were a "recipe for disaster".

He called on voters to support the alliance if they wanted a free-enterprise economy and peace and prosperity.

(Report by O Pollok, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban)



# Hope for SA lies in negotiation, not reform

**W**E need some clarity on the nature of politics and negotiation to enable us to make a more realistic assessment of this last "whites only" election and the difficult road ahead towards a just society.

Politics can be described as an interplay of pressures. This description has a sobering effect since it withholds one from cherishing too high expectations of politics.

It protects us from a dramatic view of politics, known as "redemptive politics", with its everything or nothing approach which is incapable of accommodating differences.

It also enables us to be critical of the misuse made of politics by one group in dominating other groups. Politics consists precisely in the creation of a space for free competition and for the co-operation between different groupings in spite of their differences.

*"Negotiation is the only strategy capable of overcoming the political crisis."*

Thirdly, it guards us from harbouring the illusion that different political groups in a country can co-exist only on the condition that they share the same culture and agree on all issues. It is due to the inevitable differences that politics can be described as an interplay of pressures.

It is a necessary condition of negotiation that opposing groups be willing to compromise on controversial issues in order to create the conditions for co-existence. It is this willingness which constitutes the moral quality of the process of negotiation. The participants emerge differently from the way they went in.

There is a tragic dimension of politics in the sense that opposing groups lay claim to the same scarce resources, the most important of which is the reality of power. When one group monopolizes power it results in destructive conflict which leads to violence without victory.

But when power is shared, it leads to constructive conflict which enables groups to learn to co-exist in spite of differences.

What are the implications of these statements for our political situation?

In order to answer this question and to keep the discussion within limits I propose that we reduce the pressure groups of specific ideological positions.

The various ideologies which lay claim to the scarce resource of power are the following: nationalism, liberalism, pluralism and socialism.

Nationalism, following the slogan "one people, one nation, one state" finds itself to be in a crisis in a plural society such as South Africa, inhabited by different ethnic groups. Therefore, the white or black nationalist will have to acquire a broader concept of nation or withdraw himself within a white or black homeland where he can express his longing for an exclusive ethnic nationalism.

Liberalism, based on the principle of "one person, one vote", is also in a crisis in a plural society in so far as it only accepts the unitary state idea of the Westminster system, following the model of majoritarian democracy allowing the winner to take all.

The individualism built into this ideology makes it impossible to conceive the notion of group rights as a coherent concept. Its main contribution,

however, is the introduction of the idea of free association.

Pluralism combines the ideas of individual and group rights and accepts the co-existence of a plurality of groups in the same state, but comes up against difficulties in an open society in so far as it does not consistently apply the liberal principle of voluntary association. In an open society the idea of imposed group membership is a contradiction in terms.

Socialism cherishes the

*"In a country in which the majority of individuals and ethnic groups are black, it is inevitable that the majority of representatives in the government will also be black."*

ideal of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need" and aims at the cultivation of a communal feeling which includes all citizens and succeeds in overcoming group loyalties.

Countering elitism, workers are brought into political decision-making and economic justice takes a high priority. In South Africa these ideals come up against the divisive nature of ethnic loyalties and a society divided by class conflict.

**T**HESE four ideologies represent the basic approaches of the competing factions in the South African politics. According to me there is hope for South Africa if the various political groups are willing to take part in politics as interplay of pressures.

The process of negotiation, demanded by this kind of democratic politics, entails the following:

● Negotiation is the only strategy capable of overcoming the political crisis. Participants should realize that the alternative of a civil war is unacceptable since it means the death of politics and a choice for violence without victory.

● The purpose of negotiation should not be to convert opponents. Politics and religion should be clearly distinguished: while religion converts, politics compromises in order to invent a system of co-existence which balances opposing view-points.



By JOHAN DEGENAAR

304A



Sharpeville, 1960 . . . When one group monopolizes power it results in destructive conflict which leads to violence without victory.

● It is necessary to distinguish clearly between ethnic nationalism and constitutional nationalism. According to ethnic nationalism each ethnic group deserves a state. Constitutional nationalism, on the contrary, bases the state on a constitution, conjointly decided on, which succeeds in uniting various ethnic and other groups in spite of their differences.

In case white or black ethnic nationalists are not willing to accept this principle, they should be allowed to withdraw themselves within the boundaries of white and black homelands.

● The principles of individual and group rights should apply in order to protect individual freedom as well as the individual's language, which is not an individual but a communal concern. It is imperative that in both cases the concept of rights should in no way be used to discriminate in favour of certain already privileged individuals and groups at the expense of other individuals and groups. In such cases the concept of rights is misused to maintain existing unjust practices.

● The best way of giving the idea of group existence some credibility within a democracy is to accept the principle of voluntary association. It is in this context that the term minority rights is preferred to the term group rights.

● In a plural society the idea of a unitary state with majoritarian government should be replaced by the idea of a federal

*"Whites should not in any way nourish the illusion that white domination or white privilege can be maintained in a black country on a black continent."*

al state with a federal government which can be structured on an ethnic or regional basis, or which can include elements of both. Just economic distribution should apply to all the segments of the federal state. Groups which refuse to enter into the federal agreement, can be accommodated on a "confederal" basis.

● In a country in which the majority of individuals and ethnic groups are black, it is inevitable that the majority of representatives in the govern-

ment will also be black. Since this will be the case in a federal set-up the rights of minority groups will be protected.

**H**OWEVER, whites should not in any way nourish the illusion that white domination or white privilege can be maintained in a black country on a black continent. The "whites only" mentality will inevitably be a relic from the past in the post-apartheid society.

● A social-democratic system is needed to help the great mass of underprivileged workers to be integrated into processes of political decision-making and to participate

*"Only when a shared perception of stalemate exists will both sides negotiate in good faith."*

more fully in economic wealth.

● There is hope for South Africa in negotiation, not reform, since reform consists of concessions made by the ruling party. But one should also be clear about what negotiation entails.

Genuine negotiation accepts the real power of competing pressure groups and therefore presupposes the participation of free groups.

Negotiation which is based on co-operation has to be rejected in favour of competitive negotiation which allows the relevant parties to co-operate in creating a future which no one group would have chosen on its own.

In conclusion, I would like to make two points, one about the method of my discourse, the other about the willingness or not to negotiate.

Firstly, I have deliberately chosen to write about principles and ideas rather than about politicians, parties and movements. This enables us to achieve a conceptual distance which opens up a new perspective on actual events.

Secondly, I have assumed that the groups involved are willing to negotiate. Is this a realistic assumption? In case they are unwilling, what would be the reasons for their refusal to commit themselves to the politics of power sharing?

In order to answer these questions we need to look at, not only the subjective precondition of the participants' intentions, but also at the objective preconditions of the situation, namely, the historical context, the economic structures and the complex processes involved. In the absence of this kind of information let us conclude by at least taking note of Heribert Adam's view as expressed in a recent article:

"Unfortunately, the political crisis has yet to worsen before it gets better in South Africa. Only when a shared perception of stalemate exists will both sides negotiate in good faith. As long as each side feels in ascendancy, the violence without victory will continue."

It is imperative that the competing sides realize the destructive nature of the conflict ahead of us and, rather than follow the road predicted by Adam, come to grips with what is at stake and choose negotiation rather than the spiral of violence.

In the meantime we, along with Western leaders, should practise hope as creative expectation and use our influence on all levels to convince the groups involved that a negotiated settlement is preferable to civil war, which is but another name for the death of politics.

[Professor Degenaar is head of the Department of Political Science at Stellenbosch University.]



# Wiley inquest after poll **'Shroud of silence' criticized**

CAPE TOWN  
11/5/77  
306A

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE public were owed an explanation as to why there appeared to be no further action taken to establish the circumstances surrounding Mr John Wiley's death, the Cape leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Roger Hulley, said yesterday.

It was necessary to ask this because the Chief Magistrate of Cape Town had announced, after a month had passed, that the inquest into Mr Wiley's death would be held only after the election on May 6, he said in a statement.

Mr Hulley said: "When it was suggested at the time that this matter would probably not be pursued before the May 6 election, the suggestion was scornfully dismissed and the contrary asserted.

"Therefore, in the light of this latest development, the public is inclined to be sceptical and curious.

"When it suits the government — as apparently in the Chris Ball affair — they can mount a commission of inquiry very quickly.

"In the case of Mr Wiley, however, a shroud of silence has settled over the mystery, and all that has emerged is that an inquest will be held in due course — which is, in any event, an inadequate procedure in the circumstances ...

"In order to be fair to Mr Wiley's memory, and to spare his family the pain of extravagant speculation and rumour-mongering which is occurring in the absence of clear answers, I believe it is essential for the State to proceed with a full inquiry at the very earliest opportunity.

"If it should be established that a private and personal reason was the actual cause of Mr Wiley's death, then the public must draw a curtain on the matter and allow his family their private grief.

"However, if a reason of legitimate public concern were to have been the cause of death, then it would have implications at the highest levels of government and public policy, and then no stone must be left unturned to establish the facts and ramifications. If this is not the case, then it cannot be cleared up too soon," Mr Hulley said.

(Report by Barry Streek, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

Agency: Mr Chris Worrall.  
Camp 7/1/83 11/5/87 304A

## Reform for whites' protection — Botha

MARITZBURG. — As long as he lived reform would proceed only on the basis of protection of the white man, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said here last night.

He addressed about 1 200 people in the YMCA sports centre, and said reform would be continued after May 6 provided that stability could be maintained.

"You as voters must decide if you want to continue along the road of security, economic growth and stability in order to being about justice.

"As long as I live reform will continue only on the basis of protection for the white man.

"I don't want to see a repetition of what happened in Zimbabwe, what happened in Mozambique and what happened in Zambia.

"This country will grow stronger as a regional power on this sub-continent, not for its own purposes alone but also for the sake of its neighbours."

President Botha said: "We are not prepared to have a fourth chamber for blacks or black majority government.

"We are prepared to have majority government, but on a basis of differentiation. We are prepared to have a devolution of power and to share power, but not to relinquish it so we and our children have no future." — Sapa

(Report by Pierre Claassen, 801 Nedbank Centre, Strand Street, CT.)



# Guns over the Helderberg — Worrall balloon first casualty

BY ANDREW DONALDSON

INCENSED by the Worrall balloon as it floated over Somerset West yesterday morning, somebody shot at it with live ammunition, according to its pilot, Springbok balloonist Mr André van Wyk.

And, as if that wasn't enough, the balloon — which has been successfully campaigning for independent candidate Dr Denis Worrall above the Helderberg — has "suspiciously" been grounded by the Somerset West municipality.

Angry Worrall campaigners, claiming the National Party had "taken all the fun out of the campaign", said "certain people have leaned so heavily" on the town clerk that police had been called in to enforce the grounding.

"We had the police in here this afternoon demanding copies of Mr Van Wyk's civil aviation clearance — which he's got. We've been to great lengths to get a permit for the balloon," said Ms Sheila Harvey, Dr Worrall's secretary.

However, a Boland police spokesman denied police involvement. "If the balloon was grounded, it definitely had nothing to do with us," he said.

The grounding has disappointed pilot Van Wyk, who was hoping to use his campaign earnings to take part in the hot-air balloon world championships in Austria next year.

This, he said, had angered him far more than the "pot shot", which took place above Somerset West soon after take-off.

"At about 1 000 feet I heard the gunshot, heard it hit the balloon and saw the rips where the bullet hit it and exited. There was no real harm done."

If, however, the shot had hit him or his gas cylinders, the results could have been "catastrophic". He has not reported the matter to the police.

His "grounding" was enforced by a municipal directive ordering him to state, before take-off, exactly where he would be landing — which, due to changing wind directions and weather conditions, was impossible, he said.

"I explained this and they said: 'Fine, — then you can't fly.'"

As he had already flown six times over the town, he believed his sudden grounding

was politically-inspired, rather than an aviation matter.

His grounding was confirmed by town clerk Mr Gert Human, who added: "We've had complaints about the balloon, which has been operating without permission from us."

Mr Human, who said he had asked "Worrall and his people more than once to get the proper clearance from the municipality", declined to say who the complaints had come from. "I'm not dealing with this on a party political basis."

Dr Worrall was not available for comment. A spokesman for his opponent, Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, said Mr Heunis did not object to the balloon and had not received any complaints about it.

(Report by A Donaldson, 122 St George's St. CT.)

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## Eglin: NP majorities will be slashed

Dispatch Correspondent

PIETERMARITZBURG

— The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin, has predicted that National Party majorities would be slashed around the country next Wednesday and that more votes would be cast and more MPs elected for a South Africa free from apartheid than ever before in the country's history.

Speaking in the Pietermaritzburg city hall yesterday, Mr Eglin said the May 6 election was the most important to have been held since the NP came to power in 1948 and that the scene had been set for "the biggest shake-up in SA politics in 40 years."

Mr Eglin said the election issue was no longer what was happening on the right and far right of the political spectrum, but what was happening in front where moderate South Africans were "massing in an alliance that will get rid of the Nationalist government and bring to our country stability and prosperity

by burying the bones of outdated apartheid."

"The message must show that there is a deep stirring among the voters. It must say that more and more white South Africans want to see the racism and the compulsion of apartheid removed and replaced with voluntary association based on freedom of personal choice."

Mr Eglin said the tide of disillusionment with the government was becoming irreversible.

"The movement for an alternative government, based on an alliance of moderates is gathering a momentum which the Nationalists are not going to be able to stop."

Mr Eglin said the Nationalists' great red herring for the 1987 election campaign was that the PFP was "soft on Communism" or that it "surrenders to the ANC."

He said the PFP's policies were diametrically opposed to communism.

(Report by C. Jenkins, 27 Chancery Lane, Pietermaritzburg.)



# Three big losers will reassess their futures

By Colleen Ryan,  
Political Reporter

30x14 5/8/87  
The three white political parties which fared badly in the elections will be reassessing their futures in the next few weeks.

The New Republic Party — which lost all but one of its seats — will convene its federal council next week to discuss future plans. The NRP's sole surviving MP, Mr Ralph Hardingham (Mooi River), is expected to align himself with the Progressive Federal Party.

PFP sources say pressure will not be placed on leader Mr Colin Eglin to step down but strategists who formulated the party's campaign are likely to face criticism.

Mr Eglin said there would be a meeting of the enlarged federal executive within the next 10 days.

"Not being the official opposition will mean we lose the opportunity to set the tone of opposition in Parliament. With the right wing as the official opposition it will be even more important for a smaller PFP to try to counter this damage," he said.

Mr Eglin dismissed a call by Archbishop Tutu for the PFP to walk out of Parliament: "Those calling for a boycott of Parliament have not yet suggested how you can be more effective outside."

The Herstigte Nasionale Party was eclipsed by the Conservative Party and lost its only seat, Sasolburg. The CP has expressed no interest in suggestions that the two parties resume unity talks.

HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais has not yet outlined his plans

● See Pages 6 and 11.

# Campus meeting slates white voters

## Wits students call for anti-apartheid general assembly

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Thousands of Wits students have called on their governing council to convene a university general assembly to "affirm opposition to apartheid and its commitment to the democratic rights of its members and of all in our society".

The decision was unanimously adopted on Wednesday by a gathering of more than 2 500 students during which the "pro-apartheid stance of white voters" was condemned.

Black Students' Society president Mr James Maseko said pre-election meetings on campuses and the days of protest called by the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions had been partly intended as a reminder to whites that they should consider the future of the entire country before voting.

### With the majority

But, said Mr Maseko: "We saw white people waking up early and rushing to the polls, telling Botha 'you can continue with your apartheid'."

Time is running out, he warned, but he told white students: "There is still a chance for you to take a stand on the side of the majority of this country."

He said the teargassing, sjambokking and arrests on campus on Monday were but a taste of township repression. He appealed to white students: "Come out of your cocoons and be part of the real South Africa."

Student Representative Council president Mr Etienne Marais spoke of a new unity at Wits as expressed in the agreement to close campus on election day. Closure constituted recognition of the right "to disagree publicly with an unjust Government", he said.

Mr Marais added: "It is important we bring the whole Wits community together to stand up strongly against injustice."

Deputy vice-chancellor (student affairs) Professor Mervyn Shear spoke on behalf of the Senate.

The senate expressed support for all who strove for just government and civil liberties and saw the shut-down as "a silent and solemn protest" against all deeds which might threaten its members' safety.

A statement from the Academic Staff Association said Wits distinguished itself by closing on election day and stated: "We (the academic staff) are proud of our students' steadfast commitment to justice."



## The load ahead

With the election behind them, MPs return to parliament on May 18, for a marathon session which will effectively keep government in Cape Town until the middle of next year.

The delayed main Budget on June 3, followed by a month-long Budget debate, will be the first hurdle. After a break in July, MPs return for at least three or four months of further legislative sittings. Parliament will reconvene in January after the year-end recess for another full session lasting about five months.

Government is expected to come under immediate pressure from the Progressive Federal Party and its own junior partners in



**P W Botha ... looking for blacks to join his council**

the coloured and Indian chambers, to implement its campaign pledges of further reform — none of which have been clearly spelt out. Although the legislative programme is not

heavily loaded at this stage, a number of ministers are understood to be preparing to pilot new laws and amendments through the three Houses.

Among the more controversial Bills will be a measure to further entrench SAA's monopolistic stranglehold by restricting the advertising of cut-rate airfares, and the final move — at long last — in the scrapping of job reservation on the mines.

However, "reform" is likely to remain central to government's activities. Depending on its interpretation of the election results, "change" will come fairly quickly — or be held up to allow the Nationalist rightwing to catch up with mainstream thinking.

P W Botha's immediate reform aim is to get the National Council off the ground after its inauspicious debut. The draft Bill published for comment last year drew overwhelmingly negative response from the people central to its success. It will almost certainly have to be virtually re-written before being reintroduced. Even then it appears unlikely the council will attract the calibre of black leaders necessary to give it credibility. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, for one, has made his participation conditional on the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

Apart from the National Council, government's constitutional planners appear to have nothing new up their sleeves. It seems that Botha is hoping there will be sufficient spin-off from the council's deliberations to generate new "reform" momentum.

Crucially, there is no indication that government intends making significant changes to the Group Areas Act (GAA) or the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act. Meanwhile, the coloured Labour Party (LP) — fighting desperately to regain credibility — is expected to press hard for some tangible progress towards scrapping more apartheid measures.

The LP's continued participation in parliament and its close ties with government will be spotlighted as never before during the coming weeks by the breakaway South African Democratic Alliance (Sada), centred around seven rebel LP MPs. After being virtually ignored by the media, the House of Representatives could become the most interesting of the three chambers.

As for the GAA, which has been targeted by the LP as one of the measures it wants scrapped in the immediate future, it is likely to remain locked in the President's Council until Botha is satisfied that his followers will accept slight modifications.



# Hangover after the election party

By DAVID BRAUN  
Political Staff

**T**HE session of Parliament starting today will largely be the hangover after the election party the night before.

This is the time, Mr Harry Schwarz predicted before the election, that the voters would be given their medicine (having already had their sweets).

It is also likely to be a session marked by a considerable tightening up of security measures, as endorsed by the electorate.

Thirdly, this session could see some movement towards introducing legislation to set up the National Council, which is to be a new forum in which black leaders can deliberate with the leaders of the tricameral system on a new constitution for South Africa.

President Botha is likely to spell all this out in broad terms when he delivers the equivalent of a "speech from the throne" at a joint sitting of all three Houses tomorrow morning.

The session actually starts with a number of formalities today.

Among these will be the election and swearing in of eight indirectly elected MPs for the House of Assembly, the 166 directly elected MPs and the four MPs nominated by the State President.

All three Houses will then elect representatives to an electoral college which will elect a Speaker this afternoon.

The Speaker will be officially welcomed at a joint sitting of the three Houses tomorrow morning and President Botha will address the joint sitting at 11am.

The Leader of the Opposition, Dr Andries Treurnicht, will introduce a motion of censure of the Government at a meeting of the Assembly tomorrow after Mr Botha has spoken.

The censure debate is to

last from Wednesday until Friday, with sittings on Wednesday night and Friday morning.

It will be the first test of the Conservative Party as the official Opposition and the debate is likely to be a fiery clash between it and the Government.

The Progressive Federal Party has already made it clear that it will be attempting to put up a "ferocious" performance in this session to make up for its loss in numbers with a showing of determination.



Botha . . . address joint sitting



Treurnicht . . . introduce motion of censure



Schwarz . . . warns Government



Mulder . . . interesting sideshow

An interesting sideshow will be the return to Parliament of former Information Minister Dr Connie Mulder.

Dr Mulder was obliged to resign from Parliament after the Information scandal of the late 1970s and he has often said that his side of the story has still to be told.

He said this week: "I owe it to South Africa to reveal certain things that have never seen the light of day. Now that I again have parliamentary privilege I can reveal them."

The session is expected to last until some time in October, with a one-month recess for the winter holidays in July.

The first part of the session will be taken up mainly with the State Budget (June 3) and the budgets of the Post Office (May 25) and the SA Transport Services (May 26).

These will contain details of salary increases for public servants, tariff increases (air fares, railways tariffs, telephone tariffs and so on) and possible adjustments to the taxation system.

The report of the Margo commission of inquiry into the taxation system could also be tabled this session.

Mr Schwarz warned the Government last week that it must be careful not to take any action in the Budget that would drastically affect inflation.

The Government had to keep tight control of its expenditure and administered prices. He appealed to the Government not to administer any medicine to the economy which would impair the upswing from a very bad recession.

The Government's clamp-down on security in the coming weeks is likely to affect universities, black trade unions, certain publications, and organisations and individuals using foreign funds for domestic political purposes.

Emergency regulations recently overturned by the courts are expected to be reformulated and loopholes plugged.

It is not clear when legislation providing for the establishing of the National Council will be introduced.

President Botha announced on the eve of the election that the council would be set up after the poll and that peace-loving black leaders would be invited to serve on it.

He also indicated that there could be elections for black urban communities to establish their leaders.



# HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF BLACKS PROTESTED THE WHITES-ONLY ELECTIONS BY JOINING A TWO-DAY STAYAWAY

By SEFAKO NYAKA

LIFE in the otherwise bustling Soweto came to a virtual standstill during the two-day stayaway this week.

It was called by the United Democratic Front, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the National Education Crisis Committee.

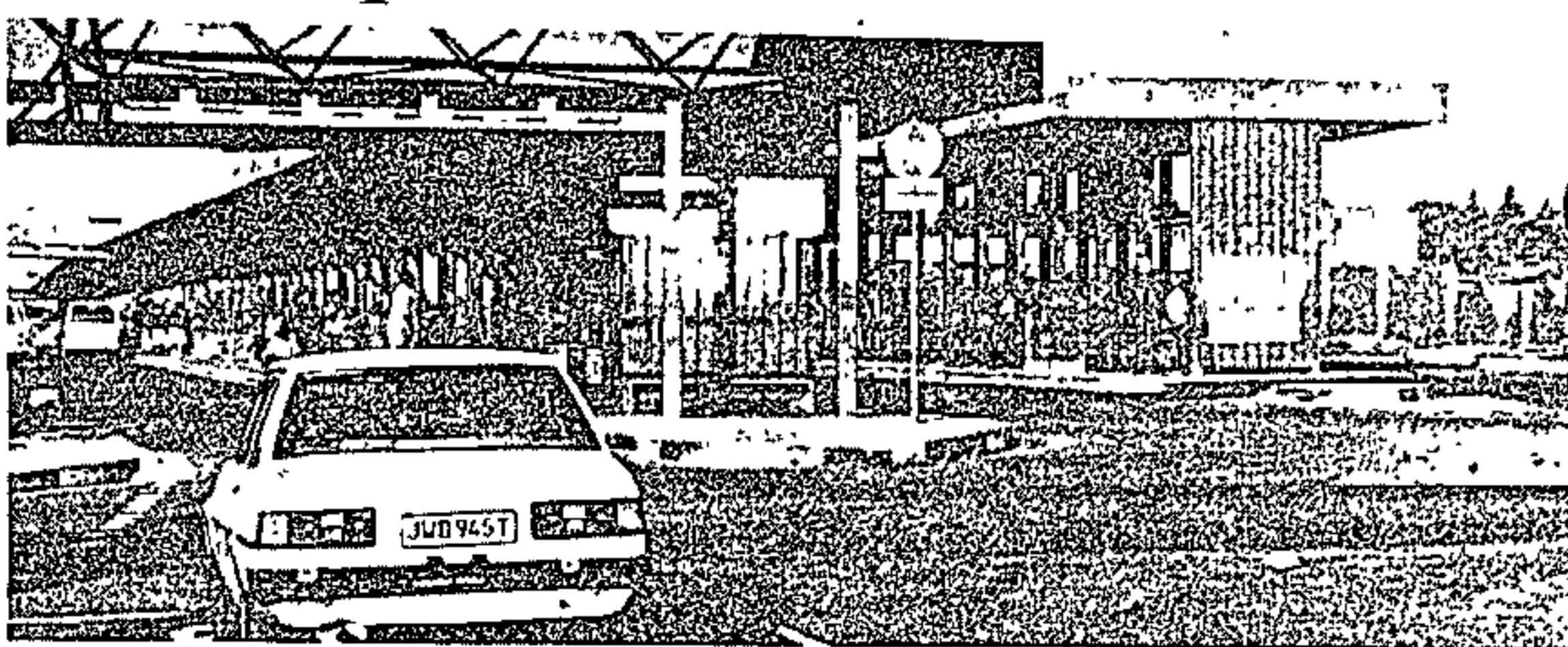
Although boycott pamphlets called for a halt of transport into Johannesburg and a boycott of businesses in the city, Soweto was as badly affected.

Health workers and journalists, who were exempt from the stayaway, found there was no transport to work. Nurses heading for Baragwanath Hospital were still hitching-hiking on the Potchefstroom Road at about 9am — more than two hours after they were due to start work.

Some of the nurses begged passing motorists to give them lifts. Unlucky drivers stopping at red robots or intersections found their doors flung open by nurses desperate to reach Baragwanath and health clinics in the township.

Trying to get transport to the city was almost impossible, unless an acquaintance spotted you and gathered

## An eloquent silence over Soweto



A deserted bus terminal in Soweto bears testimony to the success of the election stayaway.

enough courage to stop and ignore curious stares.

All businesses in Soweto were closed.

About 6am on the first day of the stayaway a Security Force helicopter hovered over Soweto encouraging workers to go to work as adequate

security would be provided.

But security was unnecessary as thousands of workers didn't bother to venture into the streets.

Even the barricades set up by the "comrades" in the early hours of the morning were not needed as Soweto residents heeded the boycott.

The few people who sneaked out of Soweto in a bid to "protect their jobs" had a free passage to work, and there was also no reason for them to be dropped off near Doornkop military base outside Soweto on their way home — the "comrades" were nowhere in sight.

This gives credence to a claim by a Soweto Youth Congress (Sayco) member that the purpose of the stayaway was thoroughly canvassed in street committees where it was widely accepted.

Buses and the few taxi owners who chanced driving to the city hoping to clean up passengers returned home disappointed. One township-bound taxi from Noord Street taxi rank had only two passengers.

Late in the afternoon on both days groups of youths played soccer in township streets, ignoring the few boycott breakers.

Students at the Soweto College of Education and Vista University and school pupils also stayed away.

The Soweto Council building in Jabulani was deserted, safe for the "greenflies". But even they seemed to yawn through the two days as there were no councillors or officials to guard.

This left the ever-present Security Forces with nothing to do but to doze in the back of cassirs and perhaps wonder what had happened to the stayaway and the "comrades".

## The OTHER poll: Those who voted with their feet

By MONO BADELA

AT least 2.5-million black South Africans — including 1.5-million workers and about 1-million students — registered their protest against the whites-only elections by staying at home this week.

The Labour Monitoring Group described the stayaway, called by the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu), the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC), as the "biggest mass protest of its kind (a two-day stayaway) in South African history".

Included among those who remained at home during the two day anti-election protest were more than 1.5-million workers and hundreds of thousands of youths and students. At least some 30 000 mineworkers heeded the call.

And although the number of workers out on strike rose dramatically on Wednesday — almost doubling the size on the protest stay away which began on Tuesday — townships in the major cities were generally quiet, with isolated clashes between protestors and police.

### MANAGEMENT FIGURES

A sampling of stayaway figures given to newspapers by major companies:

CHECKERS: 10 percent at work in Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth  
NISSAN: 98 percent turnout at Pretoria plant  
FATIS and MONIS: Total stayaway at Isando plant  
UNILEVER: 100 percent stayaways in Durban, Boksburg and Johannesburg  
OK BAZAARS: 10 percent attendance in central Johannesburg on first day, 40 percent on second day  
COLGATE PALMOLIVE: One percent attendance at Boksburg plant  
SASOL: "unaffected"

The LMG arrived at its finding by monitoring a sample of companies in the manufacturing and retail sectors where an estimated 500 000 workers stayed away on May 5 and 600 000 on May 6.

The group then assumed that at least half the number of workers in other sectors stayed away, adding another 420 000. Adding this to 30 000 miners, they arrived at a conservative estimate of 1.05-million workers.

The estimate of the number of students involved was based on Department of Education and Training figures. The department reported a 100 percent stayaway from schools on the Rand and the closure of four universities.

The University of Natal's Development Studies Research Group (DSRG) — which surveyed 70 industrial and commercial firms in Pietermaritzburg employing 12 138 workers — said 64 percent of the African workforce stayed away on May 6 and 63 percent on May 5.

Workers from other racial groups were largely unaffected by the stayaway.

The DSRG said 93 percent of the firms interviewed were affected by the stayaway. Three out of five companies adopted a no work, no pay, no penalty policy.

Three percent said they would pay the workers who stayed at home, five percent said they would take some disciplinary action against them, the rest were undecided or would not comment.

The group said 90 percent of businesses in the Indian sector were shut on May 6; 60 percent were shut on May 5.

According to Cosatu, the stayaway



Strikers outside a Johannesburg clothes shop which shut in sympathy with the mass protest

Picture: JUDA NGWENYA, Reuters

was most extensive in the Eastern Cape where almost 100 percent of workers stayed away despite "systematic repression", including the detention of "more than 1 000 leaders" and activists.

Cosatu gives the figure as high as 80 percent in the Witwatersrand area with the entire Transvaal registering some 65 percent overall. Durban, Pietermaritzburg and Pinetown reported a stayaway of more than 60 percent and Cape Town about 25 percent.

Zoe Riordan, of the Port Elizabeth Labour Monitoring Group, said 96 percent of black workers and 70 percent of coloured workers stayed away in Port Elizabeth on Wednesday. In Uitenhage, 97 percent of the black workforce and 70 percent of the coloured work force stayed at home.

Her figures were based on interviews with large and small companies in the cities, employing

about 27 000 workers.

Riordan said the strongest stayaways occurred in Cosatu-organised factories.

Most employers indicated they had adopted a no work, no pay, no penalty policy. However, several indicated they were adopting a more hardline policy towards black stayaways. Some indicated they would concentrate on hiring and promoting whites.

Murphy Morobe, the national publicity secretary of the UDF, said yesterday that the "overwhelming support" for the call underscores the significance of our campaign for a national united action and the centrality of the UDF, Cosatu and the entire democratic movement in any attempt at resolving the problems of South Africa.

Morobe said the "overpowering enthusiasm and discipline" with which the people had put the call into

practice should tell the National Party that the "oppressed masses" were more determined than ever and more united against apartheid and National Party rule.

Cosatu used its response to the stayaway to warn of further government action against the union movement and the serious consequences this could have.

Cosatu said in a statement that the protest "clearly demonstrated the opposition of the vast majority of South Africa's people to the mad, repressive course this government is bent on".

It was clear that the action by Cosatu members was a response to the vicious attacks on the organisation. "Cosatu is aware," the statement said, "that PW Botha has called this election to get a clear mandate to continue with his policy of repressing democratic organisations."

Cosatu also said there were strong indications that the government was creating a climate in which it would justify "even more brutal repression of the labour movement."

"We warn, however, that any further attempt to undermine and attack Cosatu or its leadership will lead to renewed resistance and the rapid destruction of the labour relations machinery."

"This is a sure recipe for industrial chaos," Cosatu concluded.

The LMG said this was the first time since 1958 that a call for mass action had been made in protest against a white general election. This week's stayaway was more successful than in 1958 because there is a far stronger trade union movement as well as mass-based youth, student and community organisations. Also there were serious divisions among the white community, state and employers, the LMG said.

## With love from the Bureau

By VUSI GUNENE

ON the eve of the two-day stayaway Pretoria townships were flooded with pamphlets entitled "Message from the State President".

Two pamphlets were distributed by members of the Security Forces to residents in Atteridgeville, Mamelodi and Soshanguve. Both pamphlets are alleged to have been issued by the Bureau for Information.

The pamphlets argue that for the past six years "the process of peaceful reform has enabled me to scrap the old pass book, job reservation, and influx control".

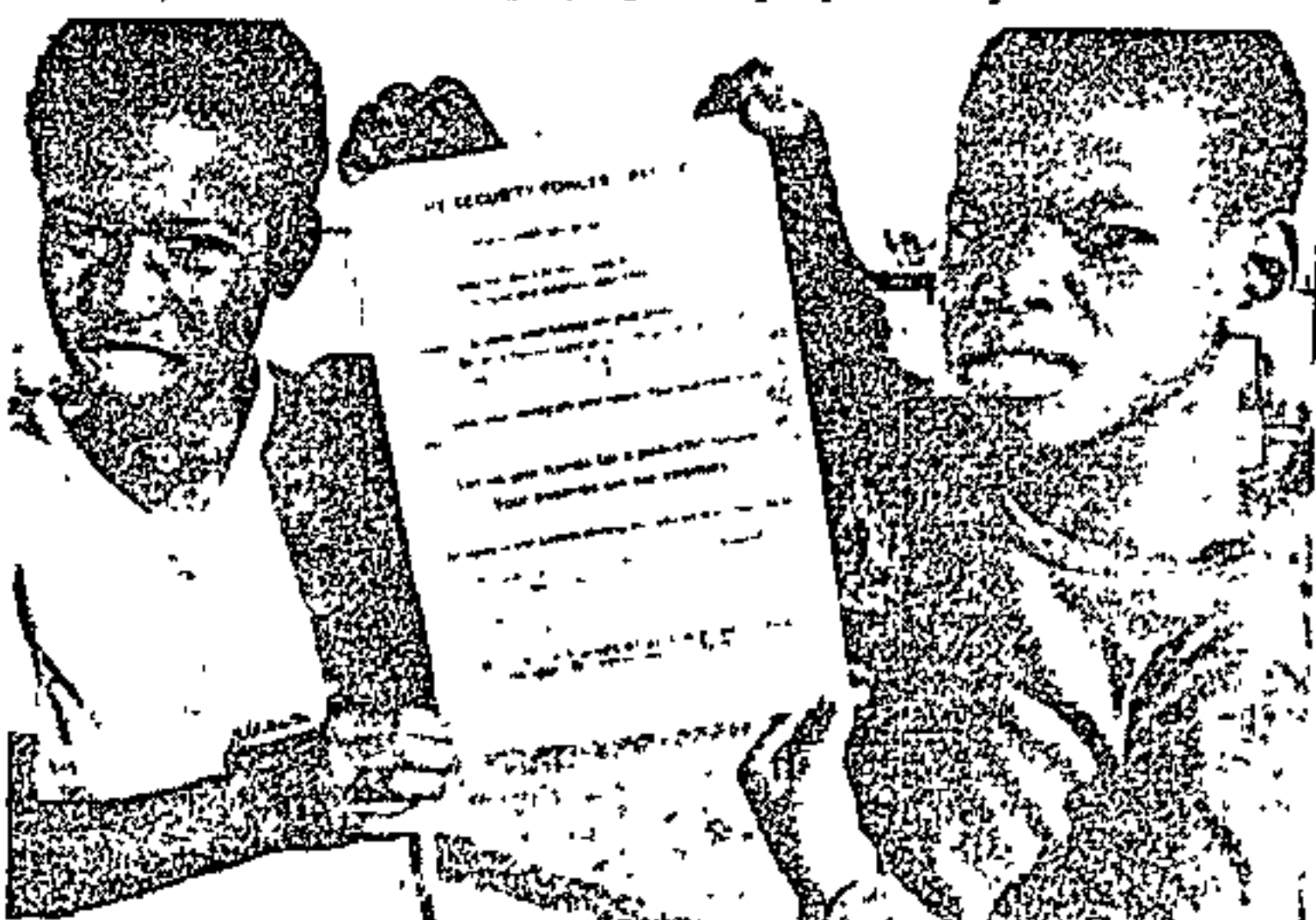
According to the pamphlets reform "has brought us freedom rights, the restoration of South African citizenship, improved education and employment opportunities, open hotels, restaurants, cinemas and other

public amenities.

"This has been the result of peaceful negotiation between the elected leaders of the many groups in South Africa — not of senseless violence," the pamphlet states.

In contrast to the stayaway call, the pamphlet urges: "I believe the man who wants to ride a bus must be able to do so. The man who wants to go to work must be able to do so and the child who wants to go to school must be able to do so."

Meanwhile, hundreds of workers stayed away from work. A large contingent of Security Force members kept a low profile and manned roadblocks at entrances to the Pretoria townships.



Children show a pamphlet distributed by the Security Forces calling on residents to ignore the call for protest strikes

Picture: JUDA NGWENYA, Reuters



# World reacts to SA election

By NEIL LURSEN  
The Argus Foreign Service  
Dateline: WASHINGTON

THE Reagan Administration has called on the South African Government, in the wake of this week's election, to open the country's political and economic life to the large majority of South Africans.

The future of the country would be determined in large measure by whether the Government now followed this course, State Department spokesman Charles Redman told reporters in a prepared statement here.

"We must also draw attention to the inescapable fact that the majority of South Africa's population was not permitted to vote," Mr Redman said.

"This remains the most significant political reality and problem in the country."

## "Press for urgent end to apartheid"

Whatever the outcome of the whites-only election, US diplomatic objectives remained the same, he added.

"We shall continue to press for an urgent end to apartheid and the establishment of a truly democratic system based on constitutional guarantees for majorities, minorities and individuals."

The former US ambassador in Pretoria, Mr Herman Nickel, now a private consultant in Washington, told the

## US to press for urgent end to apartheid

the campaigning with intense interest.

He said yesterday that the great and worrisome question that hung over this week's results was what they portended for chances of peaceful change and accommodation.

"The appeal to white fears is a dangerous political game to get into," he said.

## Make urgent problems difficult to deal with

"It will make South Africa's urgent problems more difficult to deal with and will accelerate the polarisation that helps the extremists at both ends of the political and racial spectrum."

Mr Nickel, who is to head a new study group to examine the South Africa issue under the auspices of Johns Hopkins University, said that all Americans who had the future of South Africa at heart hoped the Government would not follow this course until the next elections in 1989.

Rather, they hoped the Government would take bold steps to seek accommodation for the disenfranchised ma-

jority on a basis that would allow representative black leaders to come to the negotiating table.

Mr Nickel said the strong support for the independents indicated strong support for that kind of approach among Afrikaners.

In a discussion with journalists here before the final results were known, Mr Charles Freeman, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, said the election campaigning had been encouraging because it had led to widespread discussion within the white political establishment of the necessity to bring black South Africans fully into the political process.

"Surely it is not wrong that some South Africans can go to the polls to select their government. What is distressing, what is wrong about this procedure is that only some South Africans can exercise the vote."

Mr Freeman said that economic sanctions had made it more difficult for the West to bring influence to bear in South Africa and had evoked a nationalist backlash among white South Africans.

Press 8/5/87 (3044)





# UK gloom over slide to right

By MICHAEL MORRIS, <sup>Argus</sup>  
The Argus Foreign Service

**W**HILE South Africa's slide to the right in Wednesday's poll is viewed with anxiety and gloom in Britain.

Political commentators see no hope for reform, with the Government more tightly constrained than ever before.

What was hailed as a potential political watershed has become, in the eyes of many, a sombre reflection of en bloc white resistance to the most fundamental changes.

Following custom, the British Government has tendered no official response. But Whitehall sources make clear the government's anxiety over what President P W Botha's next step will be. The reform programme he has promised, it is felt, is long overdue.

## Hopes for return to reform process

Conservative MP Mr Tim Rathbone, a founder of the group Conservatives for Fundamental Change in South Africa, said: "In so far as the result reflects a swing to the reactionary right, I think it does not bode well for the reforms which most people want to see in South Africa."

"I personally hope that whatever the complexion of the government, there will be a speedy lifting of the state of emergency and that there will be a return to the process of reform and a completion of that process at a speedy rate."

He said the fact that voting was restricted to whites reflected "yet again the lack of

legitimacy of a government which is elected by a small minority of the total possible franchise".

He said he would continue "urging for the reforms which are crucial for a peaceful future in South Africa."

"I fear the lack of a satisfactory performance by the independents and the lack of success for the PFP do not bode well for the future."

Constitutional expert Professor Jack Spence said the surge of support for the Conservative Party "will be an even greater constraint on President Botha's reform programme."

## "Maintain tough repressive posture"

"He will probably maintain his tough, repressive posture, because of those constraints, and not take reforms much further than the national statutory council... and there is not much prospect of any black leader of substance taking part in that."

Asked for his assessment of the elections at a press conference yesterday, Mozambique President Joaquim Chissano scoffed: "What elections? This concerns whites, not South Africa. And President Botha does not have the sound support even of the whites. So it is a big split on the issue of apartheid. We cannot see any change in South Africa... it's not an election. It's a failure."

The Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain, which dismissed the poll as irrelevant, said it would merely encourage activists to step up their campaign against Pretoria.

## World leaders respond to election verdict

**T**HE European Community should promote a dialogue between different racial groups in South Africa, Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek said yesterday in reaction to the South African election result.

"I have urged the Belgian presidency (of the EC) to draw up soon an EC proposal for dialogue among all communities in South Africa," he told Dutch radio.

"The big question is whether President Botha will use the mandate he now has to work in the spirit of his past statements, towards the abolition of apartheid," Van den Broek said, but added: "I am not very optimistic."

"As long as there are no clear signs, like the liberation of Nelson Mandela, South Africa's future is dim," he said.

Van Den Broek told the Dutch parliament yesterday he would send a long-expected letter to Dutch companies this week, urging them not to invest in South Africa.

South Africa's ambassador to Australia, Mr Cornelius Bastiaanse, was heckled and jeered in the New South Wales rural city of Wagga yesterday in a tense aftermath to the South African elections.

Mr Bastiaanse had travelled to Wagga to address a meeting organised by a right-wing rural group which is supporting the bid for the Prime Ministership by Queensland premier, Sir John Bjelke-Petersen.

More than 200 chanting demonstrators were waiting for Mr Bastiaanse when he arrived and police had to provide an escort for him.

During the meeting police removed protestors from the hall as they shouted "racist go home", drowning out the speeches.

Later, Australian Prime Minister, Mr Bob Hawke, said the meeting was organised by people "trying to bring Pretoria's friend, the apostle of apartheid, Sir John, to Canberra".

5/5/87

Argus 304A

# Mixed reaction from Namibia

The Argus Africa  
News Service  
Dateline: WINDHOEK

**T**HERE has been mixed reaction from Namibian politicians about the result of the South African white election.

Swapo member Mr Anton Lubowski — a Windhoek white who is prominent in the growing Namibian trade union movement — said the swing to the right by voters in South Africa demonstrated the essential racial nature of that society.

He said he believed that the win by the National Party would "lead to an increase of conflict and polarisation of society".

The Minister of Agriculture in Windhoek's Transitional Government, Mr Jannie de Wet — a National Party of South West Africa stalwart — said he had expected the huge victory of Mr Botha's party.

"Because of the terrorist activities and unrest in the country, I think the white voters felt they could only support the party which could af-

ford them the maximum protection", he said.

Mrs Anna Frank, well-known member of Mr Dirk Mudge's Republican Party, said she was personally surprised at how well independent candidate Dr Esther Lagtegan had done in the fight in the Stellenbosch constituency.

Many political observers here seem agreed that the election victory of the National Party could strengthen the position of the NP in Namibia and make Mr Botha less inclined to grant independence to the territory on an

internationally recognised basis.

Political analyst Dr Kenneth Abrahams said he believed that President Botha would not allow the implementation in Namibia of any constitution which did not specifically guarantee white minority rights.

Mr Lubowski said he felt that if Mr Botha had no longer to worry about preserving his power base among whites he might adopt a different attitude in dealing with the Namibian independence question.

## Stage set for conflict — UDF

**T**HE stage was now set for the deepening of the South African conflict and further polarisation of the country following the white election result, the United Democratic Front said today.

A statement signed by the UDF publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, said the clear right wing shift among whites was due to "outrageous and false Nat 'swart gevaar' propaganda".

"As the election heat and dust settles, white South Africans who voted for continued white minority rule will find the crisis and conflict has intensified, and there will be less comfort for all to take home," the statement said.

The UDF's determination to create a South Africa free of racism could never be diminished by the election outcome, it added.

"Sooner or later, whites will have to realise that the oppressed majority and their organisations like the UDF, Cosatu and the ANC cannot be wished away. If anything, we are determined to ensure that this will be the last racist election in our country."

## Foreign Press comment

**P**RESIDENT Botha's sweeping return to power spells little hope for a peaceful solution to the country's racial conflict, British newspapers said today.

*The Times* predicted a hardening of attitudes among South Africa's black majority and an increasing number of highly-qualified whites leaving the country.

Calling the result a "vote for further polarisation, isolation and impoverishment," *The Times* said in an editorial that Mr Botha's revolutionary black opponents would profit from the outcome just as much as the president.

The left-wing *Guardian* said the vote had stripped all justification for any remaining Western confidence in white benevolence towards the blacks.

The *Financial Times* said hopes had been dampened that the independents could become the focal point of a strong reformist movement.

The swing to the right in South Africa's election was bad for all concerned, especially the winners, *The New York Times* said today in an editorial.

The newspaper said: "The lurch to the right is a windfall for the revolutionary left, whose advocates will ignore the defects of his half-free election and cite its results as proof of the impossibility of non-violent change."

"Within South Africa, the morning-after disillusion will come soon enough. A more right-wing Parliament won't banish reality, won't end conflict at home or South Africa's isolation abroad."

White voters have given President Botha a massive endorsement, the *New Zealand Herald* said in editorial comment upon the election. "But an endorsement for what?" the paper asked.

Yesterday's elections made front-page news in major Dutch papers, with the left-of-centre daily *Volkskrant* saying the polls showed a shift to the right in South Africa.

Papers noted the NP's position was never threatened and that there had been heavy media exposure for the NP in what amounted to what the *Volkskrant* said had been South Africa's "dirtiest election campaign ever".

The election result was given prominent front page treatment by most Australian newspapers, under headlines ranging from "South African voters reject peace" in the *Australian* to "Swing to right as Botha romps home" in the *Melbourne Age*.



Eglin orders serious rethink

# CP edges out PFP as official Opposition

8/5/87 B/Dary 304A

THE CP will form the official Opposition in the House of Assembly when Parliament reconvenes on May 18 — a development which could further boost the right wing in white politics.

With the final two seats of Schweizer Reneke and Ventersdorp going to the CP, the position of parties in the House of Assembly was: NP 123, CP 22, PFP 19, NRP 1 and independents 1.

PFP leader Colin Eglin said yesterday his main concern over his party losing its status as official Opposition was that in future the tenor of major debates in Parliament would be set by members of the far right.

● See Comment, Page 8

Eglin said it was "frightening" to think of a No-Confidence Debate where the leader of the Opposition would be attacking government for being too liberal.

"The official Opposition sets the tone of the debate in Parliament. It is going to be terrible to see that veering to the far right."

CP leader Andries Treurnicht said yesterday as the official Opposition his party would be in a better position to protect the rights of white South Africans.

"I think this puts us in a strong posi-

MAX DU PREEZ  
Political Correspondent

tion, for putting our own policies and for criticising government for its programmes and intentions," he said.

President P W Botha said the NP was determined to uphold security and to move ahead with constitutional, economic and social reform. "We are not going to be influenced by the policies of other parties. We will not deviate from the course we have taken."

Eglin yesterday ordered his badly humiliated party to launch a "hard-nosed, honest and in-depth" self-examination.

"I am a political realist. There is no point in glossing over our defeat. Next week we will have an intense discussion and examination of our whole position and formulate new strategies."

"Because we are no longer the official Opposition, we will just have to be sharper, better and more cohesive. We have the important task of bringing the anguish of the society outside the walls of Parliament into that house."

Eglin said apart from the PFP/NRP alliance being a failure, another reason for the poor showing of the PFP was that whereas it had made race relations and

● To Page 2

## Tutu and Buthelezi deplore poll results

SIPHO NGCOBO

THE outcome of SA's election was panned by a broad spectrum of extra-parliamentary organisations and individuals yesterday.

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said SA had entered the "darkest age in its history" after the NP landslide win and white shift to the right.

A clearly despondent Tutu said he expected an "escalation in oppression and intolerance of any dissent".

The PFP/NRP alliance also took a pasting from Tutu.

"I repeat the plea I made to the PFP donkey's years ago — get out of Parliament because you have given the world the impression that we have a multi-party democracy when now it is quite clear we have a total charade."

And he called for more foreign pressure to be put on Pretoria.

● See Page 5

● See Comment, Page 8

The NP's victory was also slated by KwaZulu Chief Minister Gatsha Buthelezi, the Five Freedoms Forum (FFF), the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the SA Council of Churches (SACC).

Buthelezi said he was "totally appalled" at the election results, adding President P W Botha had "all but destroyed" prospects of negotiations.

SAPA reports the SACC appealed to Botha to talk to "legitimate leaders of blacks to produce a new constitution".

## CP is new official Opposition

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harmony the major issues of its strategy, government had concentrated on security and violence and the NP issues had dominated the campaign over the final few days. The SABC had played along with government to create a wrong image of the PFP.

Botha, according to sources close to him "in an ecstatic mood" after the NP landslide, said government had asked for and received a clear mandate from the electorate to pursue security for the country and its peoples as a primary objective.

In an interview with the SABC, Botha said continued reform and development in various fields of society remained a government priority.

Botha assured South Africans that any

attempt to force extra-parliamentary change or finance such activities from abroad would be steadfastly opposed by the state.

PATRICK BULGER reports that lone NRP MP Ralph Hardingham yesterday refused to commit himself to any particular party in the House of Assembly.

"I'm not making any commitment at this stage. My whole attitude is that I do not go against my party," he said.

Randburg independent Wynand Malan was not available for comment, but a close adviser said last night that while he might consider an alliance with the PFP he would "never" contemplate joining the party.

● From Page 1



THIS WAS an election with a difference, a turning point in our history. The crude methods of President Botha's campaign forced the white electorate to a choice — and the voters chose, unequivocally, to declare the values they hold most dear.

They voted, first and foremost, to define themselves by pigmentation, not as South Africans but as white South Africans. The definition gathered together under the *kruithoring* banner of the National Party not only Afrikaners ancient and modern, but also Portuguese Catholics and Johannesburg Jews, toffee-nosed English from Natal and culture-bound Germans and Greeks.

Voters crossed all cultural, religious and language barriers to enter the white *laager*, and to shut out the rest. The only binding factor was race, which is white SA's distinguishing feature, its cross and its highest value.

In gathering up the forces of whiteness, all but a small minority — about 16% PFP and NRP, and less than 2% Independent — voted against the core Western value that places the free individual at the centre of the system.

Wynand Malan emerged as the Afrikaans equivalent of Helen Suzman in 1961, the lone candle-bearer for a different, gentler, vision.

**S**ophisticated Afrikaner yuppies, coming with their wealth to resemble their upper-class English counterparts in enclaves like Sandton and Constantia and Berea, kept alive the idea of drawing all races into a common South Africanism.

But that idea, to most whites, is over-sophisticated nonsense. It does not fit the definition of South Africans as a distinctive white tribe, its membership attainable only by pigment.

They voted, as author Merle Lipman says they always will do, for security. Pressure from abroad pushed them into defiance, and pressure from the black masses at home pushed them into psychological bunkers. Security is the highest value of the white tribe.

In the face of threats of revolution, the voters brushed aside all other issues. Neither taxation, nor economic stagnation, nor corruption in high places, nor civil rights,



□ BOTHA ... crude methods

# White SA has drawn its bottom line

KEN OWEN

K/Day 304A  
8/5/87

nor the incredible incompetence of Nationalist governance — symbolised on the night by the chaos at the polls and the confusion of voters' rolls — could stem the move to the right.

But security means more to whites than mines along the borders, or necklacings in the townships, or the uproar created by radical students on liberal campuses. It means above all crime in the streets, the prostitution in Hillbrow and Yeoville, the Mandrax pushers outside the schools, the burglaries and assaults and muggings that have reduced the aged and the weak to living caged and fearful lives behind locks and bars.

For these conditions they do not blame the National Party, or the failures of an undermined police force, or the unemployment created by mismanagement of the economy. They blame "them" — the outsiders, the Third World hordes moving inexorably into the cities and the once-manicured First World suburbs.

So they voted for law and order, and damn the niceties. They endorsed, and so made themselves responsible for the detention without trial of 20 000 people or more. White South Africans, remembering that the Rhodesians kept de-

tainees in Gonakudzingwa camp for 15 years, do not flinch at the prospect.

Nor are they squeamish about Press restrictions, or the state of emergency, or inroads on the courts, or about the suppression of civil liberties, or the rule of law.

In rejecting on such a massive scale the harmless PFP, the voters served notice that Europe's civilised concern for human rights and the quality of intellectual life count for little so long as, in their nightmares, they see the barbarians at the gates.

**T**he tide to the right runs stronger now than at any time since the United Party began to decay, and it does not stop at President Botha's feet. It runs past him, into the Conservative Party, which can look forward to wielding the power — as official Opposition — to set the agenda for SA's political debate.

The ability to set an agenda — to define the issues for the no-confidence debates and sometimes even for elections — is the greatest power in the hands of the Opposition, and the PFP has ceased to

dominate or even lead the opposition.

Connie Mulder, more effective than most Cabinet Ministers across the floor of the House, will now return to capture and hold the attention of the Nationalists. Arrie Paulus, the hard mining man who has spent a lifetime in defence of white workers against the encroachment of blacks, will fill the hole left in Parliament by Graham McIntosh and Mike Tarr of the PFP.

No longer will Ferdi Hartzenberg alone have the ability to cow the Nationalists front benches. Outside Parliament it looks worse for the Nationalists.

The CP's fight with the HNP cost the rightwingers eight seats; even so, more than 50 Nationalist seats have been rendered marginal. The voters want peace, stability, quiet in the townships, security in the streets — and if they don't get it, they will continue their march to the right.

For the moment, Nationalist leaders — and many other apologists — are trying to limit the damage caused by the shift to the right that President Botha has precipitated. To mollify foreign opinion, they are emphasising the stability

of a vast Nationalist majority.

It is untrue. The Nationalists were more stable in the last Parliament, even though their numbers were smaller, because they were more securely seated; now their many marginal seats are under constant threat, inherently unstable.

Responsible Nationalists are also emphasising reform. They plan to continue, they say, to raise the curious structures which Minister of Constitutional Development Chris Heunis has devised. But Heunis, sitting uneasily on a winning margin of 39 votes, is a much reduced man; he cannot take risks when the tide is running rightward.

In any event, the principal issue in this election was the question of negotiating with the ANC. President Botha cast this issue in brutal terms, saying he would not negotiate with murderers; and the reply was as plain. If there is to be negotiation, it cannot be with the ANC.

**N**or, indeed, will the National Party dare negotiate with the UDF, not while the Conservatives are standing by to resuscitate President Botha's own propaganda associating the UDF with the ANC.

Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi, made furious by the rebuff of the Indaba in Natal, will not find it easy to negotiate, nor will his minimum demands prove palatable to an electorate that has disdained even the Indaba Bill of Rights.

So it is back to the Bantustans, and to heavily-guarded township leaders of dubious background and even more dubious support, and to the security forces.

Calm will reign so long as the security forces can hold down the lid, and the majority of the white electorate is not too fastidious about how they do it. All Athenian values have been cast aside, and if the Nationalists show any real inclination to pick them up again, the Conservatives are waiting in the wings — armed with President Botha's slogans and issues of this election — to teach them the lesson he has taught to the PFP.

South Africans can look forward, perhaps, to a kind of calm under the eyes of the police or under the guns of the soldiers — a hard, Spartan kind of peace.



FM 1987

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IDASA

## Democracy trail

According to the organisers, it is purely coincidental that the first major conference of former PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's Institute for Democratic Alternatives for SA (Idasa) takes place only two days after the whites-only election.

But the timing couldn't have been better. The gathering in Port Elizabeth this weekend of around 400 business, political, academic, community and church representatives will serve to refocus attention on the real issue facing SA — how to establish a just, nonracial democracy.

However, the conference takes place under the threat of possible government action to cut off foreign funding to extra-parliamentary opposition groups.

At a National Party election meeting in PE last week, State President P W Botha mentioned Idasa and told party supporters that a new look was needed at where extra-parliamentary groups were getting their money.

He said Slabbert had admitted Idasa receives foreign funds, adding "no self-respecting country can allow such meddling practices to continue as far as its internal affairs are concerned."

But Idasa national director Wayne Mitchell says the organisation has never tried to

hide its foreign funding. He points out it also receives money locally.

Mitchell says that in the light of Botha's previous attacks on Chris Ball and the white independent candidates, his comments on Slabbert and Idasa were clearly honing in on another target for personal attack.

He says the Nats themselves receive foreign funds via the multi-nationals and use the money to perpetuate apartheid, unlike Idasa which uses its funds "patriotically" to promote the search for peace and democracy.

Since its formation last year by Slabbert and former PFP executive chairman Alex Boraine, Idasa has kept a low profile. It has set up headquarters in Cape Town, opened an office in PE and held workshops to establish a base from which to progress. The weekend conference will undoubtedly test the institute's potential for problem solving in SA.

Idasa's goal is to promote a democratic culture in SA through the identification by South Africans of democratic alternatives, and the isolation of all groups — black and white — whose aim is to perpetuate racial domination.

The cross section of speakers at the conference promises some lively interchange at the workshops which will follow the opening.

The central theme is democracy. There will be addresses by a Cosatu representative (democracy and labour); the Free Market

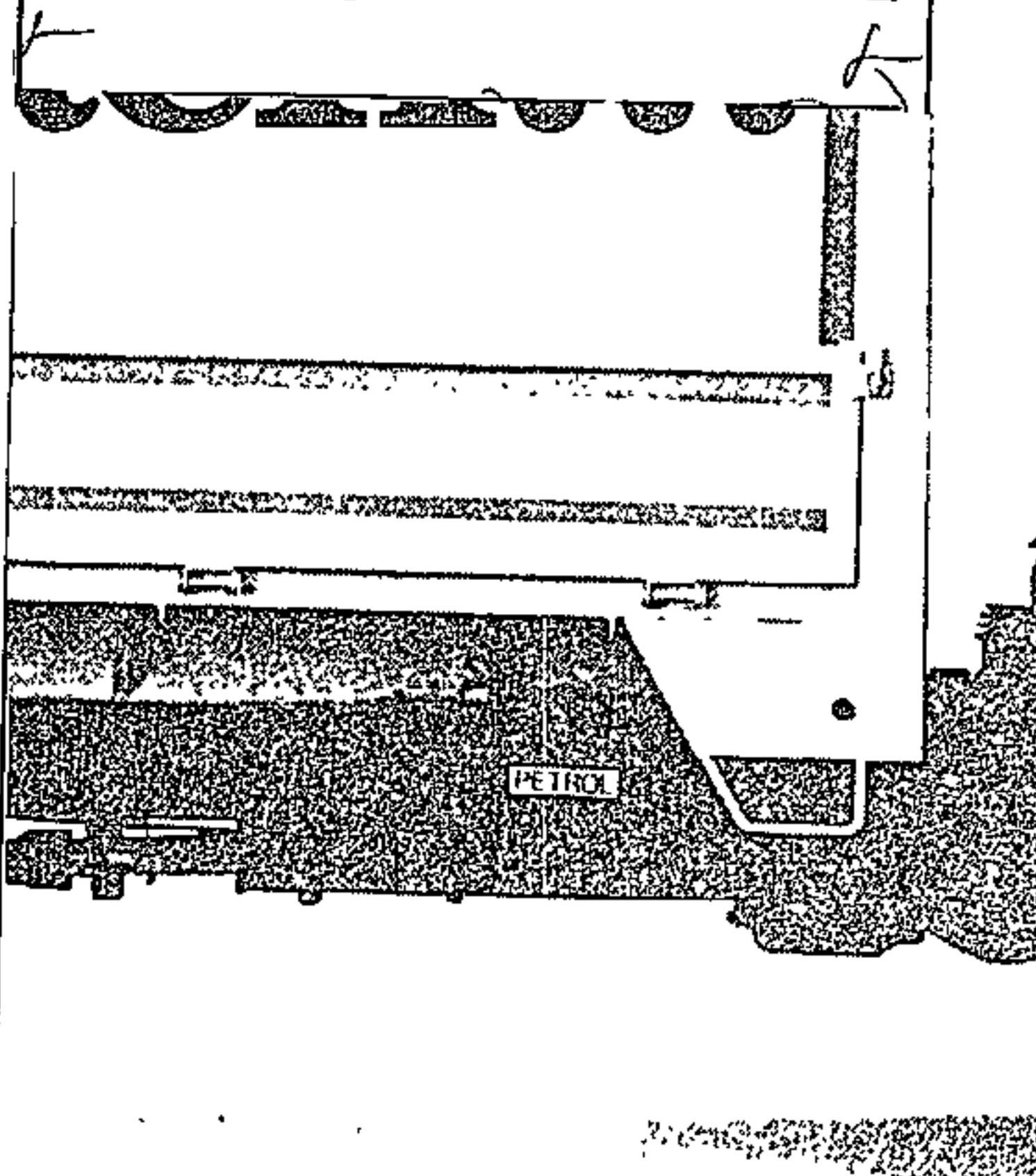
Foundation's Leon Louw (democracy and business); Soweto educationist, Fanyana Mazibuko (democracy and education); UCT religious studies Professor John de Gruchy (democracy and the church); the Legal Resources Centre's Arthur Chaskalson (democracy and the law); *Sowetan* editor, Joe Latakomo (democracy and the media); and two speakers on democracy and government, UCT economics professor Charles Simkins, and a UDF representative.

Speakers who will respond to the key note addresses are PE University industrial psychologist Peter Cunningham; the Federated Chamber of Industries' Johan van Zyl; the Leadership Education Advancement Foundation's Richard Todd; De Villiers Soga of Idamasa, an eastern Cape ministers' fraternity; PE attorney and city councillor Graham Richards; editor-in-chief of the *EP Herald* and *Evening Post* Koos Viviers; University of the Western Cape's André Odendaal, and key SA watcher, Heribert Adam. Slabbert himself will sum up with a closing address.

Mitchell says response to the conference has been good and interest is high. He says Idasa has undertaken groundwork in most parts of the country, but mainly the eastern Cape, which is regarded as the most volatile region of SA and as such is a good place to start looking for solutions to political problems.

The main aim of the conference is to

communicate views and ideas across the spectrum of delegates, to look at what democracy means, and to explore how it can come into being in SA.





# RAAIKI



NP candidate Piet Marais celebrates his victory in the Stellenbosch constituency over independent Esther Lategan  
Picture: GIDEON MENDEL

## We've moved into another dark ages, warns Tutu

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu's

description of the National Party's landslide election victory as the "darkest age" in South Africa's history was echoed in much of the reaction to the results yesterday.

United Democratic Front acting publicity secretary Murphy Morobe said the voteless had made their feelings about the election known through a three-million strong stayaway.

He added: "With the clear right-wing shift amongst whites — due to outrageous and false *Nat swart gear* propaganda — the stage is now set for the deepening of the conflict and a further polarisation of South Africa.

"As the election heat and dust settles," he continued, "white South Africans who voted for continued white minority rule will find the crisis and conflict has intensified."

He added: "Sooner or later, whites will have to realise that the oppressed majority and their organisations like the UDF, Cosatu and the banned ANC cannot be wished away. If anything, we are determined to ensure that this will be the last racist election in our country."

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), in a statement after the bombing of the federation's Johannesburg offices yesterday morning, said it feared the blast and elections had ushered in "a period of unprecedented repression against democratic forces."

Tutu said: "Now we have a rightwing government that has been confirmed in its rightwing views, with a possibility of an extreme rightwing opposition. I believe what we are going to see now is an escalation in the intransigence of this government; an escalation in oppression and intolerance of any dissent."

### WEEKLY MAIL REPORTERS

"I repeat the plea I made to the Progressive Federal Party donkey's years ago: Get out of parliament because you have given the world the impression that we have a multi-party democracy when it is now quite clear we have a total charade."

An African National Congress representative in Lusaka said the ANC believed the results had changed "nothing fundamental ... (it) merely reinforces the status quo and confirms that Botha has majority support within the white minority."

Despite the "small shifts" within the National Party, the ANC official predicted increased suffering due to escalating state violence inside the country and against neighbouring countries.

The white extra-parliamentary Five Freedoms Forum said the electorate had shown the government's two states of emergency had worked. "The politics of fear and ignorance wins votes."

"The Five Freedoms Forum finds the results profoundly depressing. Whites have scorned black demands for equality and basic human rights. They have voted for confrontation instead of negotiation ... Extra-parliamentary politics have been vindicated as the only way to negotiate a non-violent solution."

Professor Hermann Giliomee of the University of Cape Town's Department of Political Studies said the election result confirmed the "iron law" of South African politics: "Never underestimate the National Party."

He said the campaign of the PFP and independents have peaked much too soon. The NP had run a highly successful campaign on security and communism which had won the votes

of many English-speakers. After the PFP's disastrous showing "the CP seems to be the only credible alternative government."

Giliomee said extra-parliamentary organisations should rethink their strategy. Analysts had calculated the entire parliamentary system could be crippled if groups like the UDI controlled the House of Delegates and Representatives, he argued.

Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, the former PFP leader who resigned from parliament last year saying it was incapable of change, said of the election results: "To a certain extent feel vindicated."

Slabbert said his resignation was based on a trend he observed as leader of the parliamentary opposition.

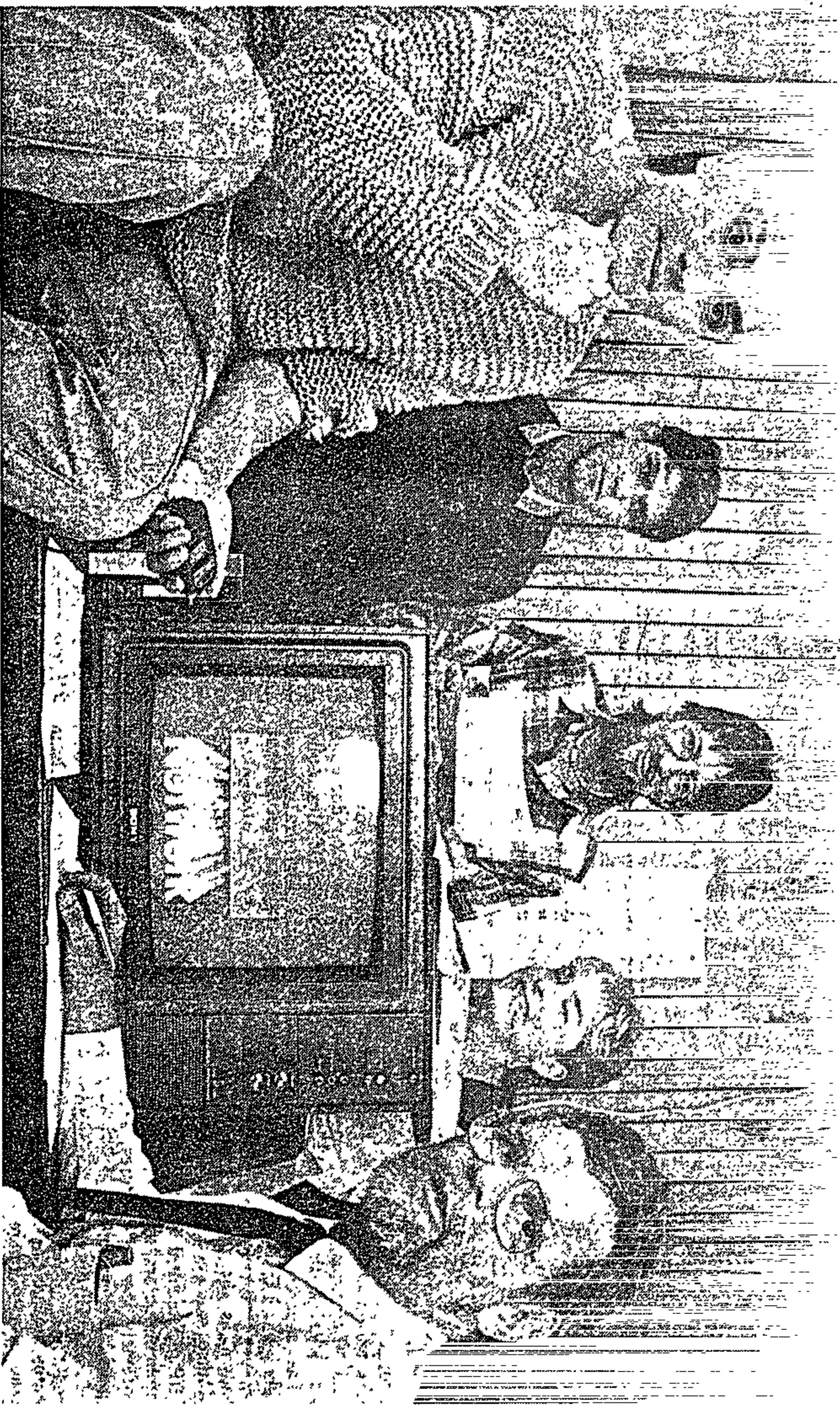
"It was an extraordinary situation ... any party that appeared slightly suspect on the issue of white security was going to take a bit of a pounding. He said the election result "somehow confirms what I felt all along, that the government has moved more into an almost extra-parliamentary executive and parliament itself is trapped in the confrontation between the government and extra-parliamentary opposition."

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi president of Inkatha, said he was "totally appalled" at the result and foresaw a "long, hard, costly, political grind ahead."

"We must now concentrate on doing whatever can be done at the regional level," he said.

The results, Buthelezi added showed the total historical necessity for the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba. The politics of negotiation must ultimately triumph and it is time now to commence on that triumphant journey by taking local and regional steps towards final national goals."





Professor Gavin Stewart and assistants ... no sign of any black opinion picture: STEVE HILTON-BARBER

SABC-TV gave the National Party, the government and the security forces more than half of all its live coverage on the nightly *News* and *Network/Network* programmes during the seven weeks of the white election campaign.

In the final week of the campaign, the NP's share of air time increased dramatically.

These findings were contained in a survey conducted by senior students in the Rhodes University Department of Journalism who monitored the news and current affairs programmes.

They found that in the final week of the campaign, NP speakers were directly or indirectly quoted for one

## SATV gives Nats the better voice again

By PETER AUF DER HEYDE,  
Grahamstown

hour, 26 minutes and 27 seconds; the Progressive Federal Party and the New Republic Party together received only 44 minutes and eight seconds of live air time; the Heistugte Nasionale Party and the Conservative Party were given 30 minutes and 32 seconds

of air time; and Independent candidates received only one minute and 10 seconds.

Survey co-ordinator Prof Gavin Stewart said the most alarming factor was the total absence of television air time for blacks.

"Black people are most vitally affected by the election," he said, "but they had no opportunity of expressing

their opinion on it.

"The interviewers also did not press the NP speakers to elaborate on the reform they were supposedly engaged in. They were given enough time to talk about the Acts which have been repealed, such as the Immorality Act, but they were not asked what laws they wanted to scrap next."

In contrast, "the PFP were particularly pressed on all aspects of their policy. Interviewers wanted to know about their policy on negotiations with the ANC. This tied up very nearly with the security and communism issue which the NP tried to make the most important issue of the election."



## EDUCATION

### KwaNatal blueprint

A blueprint for nonracial education in Natal was released last week by the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba's education committee.

In a covering statement, Indaba Director Dawid van Wyk says the recommendations do not envisage racial equality in education within one year. Nor would they result in lower (white) education standards, or threaten subsidised (white) private schools. Such allegations, he says, are false, as are suggestions that the Indaba favours bussing to enforce racial integration.

In terms of the recommendations, race would cease to be a criterion for admission. However, schools would continue to serve specific geographic communities "which might, or might not be racially mixed." Elected school committees would effectively decide the composition of schools, since they would have authority over language medium, curriculums and staff appointments.

Established by resolution of the Indaba in May 1986, the committee was instructed "in

the first instance" to pen a paragraph for the Indaba's proposed Bill of Rights for Natal.

This was done at the committee's first meeting on June 19 last year and the paragraph reads: "Every person shall have the right to public education in an institution that will cater for his interests, aptitudes and abilities and the Province shall make provision for this right without discrimination: Provided that . . . it may, in providing facilities, distinguish between persons on grounds of language or sex."

It was this paragraph, and a clause in the Bill of Rights which provides for the scrapping of all racially discriminatory laws, that led to misconceptions about the Indaba seeking instant equality in education says Van Wyk. Inequality, he observes, is an outcome of past policy. "The truth is that it is not possible to upgrade all schools overnight. But there will be steady and meaningful progress toward equal education of a high standard."

The committee, chaired by former professor of education at the University of Natal (Maritzburg) Jack Niven, met 18 times and submitted five interim reports during the Indaba's deliberations. Its final report recommends:

□ A single ministry bound to principles and objectives broadly similar to those contained in the 1982 Human Sciences Research Council report on education. These include the provision in Natal of "open-ended, nonracial, public education which re-

FIM 8/5/87

spects and protects the language and cultural rights of all its inhabitants;" priority to eliminating racial inequality in the training of teachers and continued assistance to private schools;

□ An administrative hierarchy consisting of a Provincial Education Council, which must advise the minister and co-ordinate and monitor education planning; regional co-ordinating committees responsible for physical planning and financial control; and school committees, which may decide on the language of instruction, participate in selecting staff and the subjects to be taught.

□ Private schools which "conform to criteria determined on educational grounds" would be entitled to operate and claim a State subsidy.

Natal's pupil population is estimated in

the report to be 1 713 568, of which 69% is Zulu. Total expenditure on education in the province last year amounted to R959,4m. Per capita expenditure ranges from R2 127 a year on white pupils, to R255 on black pupils and teacher/pupil ratios from 1:17 for whites to 1:48 for blacks.

The report notes that 85% of expenditure on education goes towards salaries, and that government itself is committed to equal pay for equal work. Excluding salaries, an estimated R405m would be required annually to upgrade current expenditure on items such as books, stationery, maintenance, hostels and teaching loans to standards enjoyed by whites. Meeting the estimated shortage of 9 472 classrooms for Zulu pupils would cost some R470m.

According to Van Wyk, the committee

concerned itself with "the principles to underpin a new system" rather than precise detail. "Such things as the precise composition of the council and detailed powers of school committees should be matters for a new Education Act to be passed by the Provincial Legislature.

"The educational criteria for subsidisation for private schools would obviously be the same as those which obtain today — syllabus and standards — and the extent of the subsidy would depend on transfers from central government."

Costs of equalising the system, he added, would have to be met by government. The extent of these costs will be directly addressed in the report of the Indaba's economics committee which is still to be released.



# Crossroad's new mayor: The witdoek chief

SQUATTER refugees burned out of their Old Crossroads homes by "witdoeke" vigilantes allegedly supported by the police and the South African defence force during May last year, will have to negotiate with self-proclaimed "witdoek" leader Johnson Ngxobongwana to get their land back.

The *Weekly Mail* established this week that Ngxobongwana, chairman of the Old Crossroads committee, is now officially mayor of the squatter settlement, which was declared a local authority on April 29.

This means that he and his 15-member committee, elected at a meeting attended by 1 000 residents on April 12, will have the ultimate say over who resettles the 30ha spread of land formerly occupied by residents of the Portland Cement, Nyanga Bush and Nyanga Extension satellite squatter communities.

Thousands of shacks in the area were destroyed during weeks of bloodshed which left at least 60 dead and about 70 000 homeless. Now the area has been upgraded:

**The man who led the 'witdoeke' during last year's Crossroads unrest is now mayor, reports GAYE DAVIS**

Roads have been laid and flush toilets and taps installed on 1 440 residential sites, where about 8 000 people will live in homes they must build themselves.

Leaders of the refugee squatters — now living in Khayelitsha tent towns and squatting on vacant land in Nyanga — said earlier this month that repeated appeals to the authorities for negotiations over who would live on the land had been ignored, in spite of Minister of Constitutional Development Chris Heunis's statement that they would be allowed to return "on a priority basis" and that "delicate negotiations" were underway. The leaders warned that if Ngxobongwana and his followers settled the land "there will never be peace". Ngxobongwana has said that none of the refugee leaders are welcome back

Josette Cole, author of *Crossroads and the Politics of Reform*, said a "recipe for renewed conflict" had been created. Giving Old Crossroads the status of local authority (which empowers Ngxobongwana to establish a municipal police force) amounted to "classic divide and rule strategy" and effectively formalised the corruption allegedly rife in the settlement.

Confirmation that Ngxobongwana was now officially mayor for a 12-month term and that refugees would have to negotiate directly with him came from Ricky Schelhase, assistant director of housing at the office of Community Services.

Schelhasse was among the "guests of honour" at Ngxobongwana's April 12 meeting. In a photograph which the refugees believe backs their claims that a secret deal has been struck between Ngxobongwana and the state over the land he can be seen with SADF employee Colonel JL Rheede and Warrant Officer Philip du Toit, a policeman attached to the security branch.

Schelhasse denied that any deals had been struck or that Ngxobongwana's election had been engineered by the state.

He warned that "no-one can guarantee" the safety of the refugees if they insisted on returning. Ngxobongwana had appeared in court on many charges (including murder, public violence, sedition and offences under the Firearms and Ammunition Act) but he had never been found guilty, Schelhase said.

He said that an additional R4 which Ngxobongwana demanded from residents each month over and above their R7 rent went into a "Crossroads Development Fund" account at Volkskas Bank. The money would provide loans to people who wanted to build on the upgraded land.

Schelhasse also claimed that Old Crossroads' total population was only 40 000, contradicting the figure of 90 000 estimated in February.

Cole said corruption had now been "formalised". She feared the move would precipitate renewed strife between residents.

Capl Tink

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day, May 8, 1987

# Role for sport in SA reform?

JOHANNESBURG. — Leading South African sports personalities yesterday commented on the election results.

Rugby boss Dr Danie Craven said sport should play a role in the country's reform and it was "high time" sport stood up and was counted.

"The election results will have no effect on us (the SA Rugby Board). We have our policy and will continue on that path," he said.

Golfer Gary Player, speaking from Munich in West Germany where he is playing in an exhibi-

tion tournament with his son Wayne, said: "We really need to take cognizance of the fact that sportsmen are such good ambassadors and should be used by South Africa, particularly in a time of crisis."

Springbok rugby captain Naas Botha was not surprised at how strongly the Conservative Party had come through in the election.

"I sensed the thinking on my trips around the country. But all that concerns me is reform in the country, and however fast or slow

it comes, it must be achieved," he said.

The sharpest attack came from the National Soccer League's spokesman, Mr Abdul Bhamjee, who said the election was "a non-event".

"If we started talking about the results of the election and the swing to the right, it would be meaningless. Some 1,5 million people voted. But what about the other 27 million in the country? They were disregarded and it is not logical to discuss the issue," Mr Bhamjee said. — Sapa

Churches (SACC) ap-  
in time for a long time  
group of people to help  
Italy: 621  
Freddies: 295



# Major shuffle on the cards

30 APR

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

IN the post-election shake-up President P W Botha is considering a Cabinet reshuffle, the independents are determined to go ahead with the momentum they have gained, the Conservative Party takes over as official Opposition and the Progressive Federal Party assesses its setback.

The Minister of Agriculture, Mr Greyling Wentzel, and three Deputy-Ministers, Mr Ron Miller (Foreign Affairs), Mr Hendrik Tempel (Development Aid) and Mr B H Wilkens (Constitutional Development and Planning), lost their seats.

In his reaction to the election result Mr Botha said the Government would go ahead with its policy of orderly reform in various fields after getting a strong and clear mandate from the electorate.

The National Party won 123 seats, the Conservative Party 22, the Progressive Federal Party 19, the New Republic Party one and an independent one.

## Worrall: We must continue

By DALE LAUTENBACH  
Political Staff

THE independents had an "obligation to continue the momentum" they had begun in the election, Helderberg independent Dr Denis Worrall said today.

"The needs which inspired those who supported us have not been wiped out by the countrywide trend to the right. If anything, those needs have been highlighted," he said.

"We have an obligation now to continue the momentum — particularly in respect of the black community and certain black leaders like Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who went out on a limb; in respect of the large number of young people who found hope in the independent movement, and in respect of the Afrikaners who broke away from traditional National Party bonds."

Eight more MPs in the Assembly will be indirectly elected by the parties on a proportional basis and Mr Botha can nominate four others.

It seems as if the CP will get one of the indirectly chosen MPs while the PFP will lose its one.

### An obligation

Dr Denis Worrall, independent candidate in Helderberg, said today that the independents had an obligation to continue the momentum they gained in the election.

Although he would not elaborate, it appears as if there will at some stage be a move toward a new non-racial political party.

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin, has met members of the party's strategy committee and later there will be a meeting of the party's federal executive.

In Pretoria Dr A P Treurnicht, new Leader of the Opposition in the Assembly, is planning strategy for the new session of Parliament which starts in Cape Town on May 18.

8/5/87

(304A)

August

#### SLOTING IN

Those Afrikaners included the academics who had abandoned the National Party and who were looking now for ways of slotting in.

"We will continue not just because there is a wholesome idea that provides the imperative, but because of these obligations to three specific communities," Dr Worrall said.

"There is undoubtedly a momentum and I think the reason for that momentum is precisely that we are reading the situation correctly.

"The message we got across is the one people are looking for: it is a message of hope and it's not just white South Africans who are looking for that message."

He, Mr Wynand Malan, who won the Randburg seat, and Dr Esther Lategan, who reduced the National Party majority in Stellenbosch by 70 percent, would meet soon for talks.

#### 39 VOTES

Dr Worrall was beaten by Mr Chris Heunis in Helderberg by just 39 votes.

It is understood that after the polls closed the NP was expecting a majority of about 1 600. It appears that the NP underestimated the support for Dr Worrall in the Stellenbosch area in his constituency and an independent candidate's ability to collect special votes.

"The fact that the results achieved by the independents ran against the countrywide trend is partially a reflection of the sort of people we are, but more specifically because of the message we got across."

#### Place-change

As the PFP is no longer the official Opposition it will have to change places with the CP in the Assembly chamber and the PFP members will now sit between the CP and the Nationalist MPs.

The PFP will in future have only two front benches in Parliament, which will be occupied by Mr Colin Eglin, Mrs Helen Suzman, Mr Ray Swart and possibly Mr Harry Schwarz.

Dr Treurnicht still has to decide on some of his new front-benchers and spokesmen on various departments.

The first session of Parliament will continue until the end of June. Another session of Parliament will start late in July.

This year's main Budget will be introduced on June 3.

#### "Satisfied"

Mr Botha said there had been a few disappointments in the election results but generally the National Party had reason to be satisfied and could move into the future with greater confidence and determination.

The PFP had received a tremendous blow, the CP would have to disentangle itself from extra-parliamentary movements and the independents would cause a sensation for a short while and then disappear.

"We are not going to be influenced by the policies of other parties. We have well-balanced policies — we have our goals and I think we are decided to achieve those goals without moving to the left radical road or right radical opinions."



...this stage of moving  
...it had given a... about co-operation with the CP for the  
present. — Sapa

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## Don't be seduced to silence, business told

DURBAN. — The business sector should beware of being "seduced into silence or coerced into conformity" by government pressure or entreaties if it wished to regain the confidence of the black masses.

Mr Obed Kunene, executive director of the Urban Foundation and former editor of *Ilanga*, said yesterday: "The perception, correctly or incorrectly prevailing among the masses, is that the private sector is basically operating in cahoots with government, tacitly condoning government actions."

"While I understand the reluctance to jeopardize the negotiation process by being perceived to talk through the media, the negative effects of covert negotiation must also be carefully assessed."

"I also doubt whether real pressure has been exerted often enough behind the scenes either."

He told an Institute of Personnel Management social responsibility seminar in Johannesburg that the Group Areas Act should be "one very important target of private-sector firepower".

"The Act constitutes an artificial ceiling on vertical mobility and a barrier to horizontal mobility, which are natural products of the development and growth which is taking place in society."

"I can state that while this Act is on the statute book, no effort to promote black managerial development will succeed."

□ Mandate for reform — Page 3

# Transmittal to Lead Opposition

CAC TMS 8/18/17

3042



# It's YES for Dr No



**DR ANDRIES TREURNICHT**... The arch-conservative former dominee and newspaper editor who became the new Leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly after the CP captured the final two seats in the election yesterday. Picture: TONY WEAVER

By **ANTHONY JOHNSON**  
and **BARRY STREEK**

**THE Conservative Party, which won 22 seats in Wednesday's election, is the new official Opposition in the House of Assembly.**

The CP captured the last two election results — Ventersdorp, where it defeated the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Land Affairs, Mr Ben Wilkens, and Schweizer-Reneke, where it ousted Mr W A Lemmer.

These two late results removed any doubt as to which party would be the official Opposition — and that arch-conservative Dr Andries Treurnicht would replace Progressive Federal Party leader Mr Colin Eglin as Leader of the Opposition.

The CP's final seat tally is 22 as opposed to the combined moderate opposition seat count of 21 — 15 PFP MPs, one New Republic Party MP and successful independent Mr Wynand Malan.

Mr Eglin, saying he was "more worried than surprised", last night accepted that his party had lost its position as official Opposition, reports **Max Preez**.

Mr Eglin said the concept of alliance politics as promoted by him during the election campaign "got a serious knock", but that he still believed it should not be abandoned altogether — "probably just to be put on the back-burner for a while".

## Moorcroft defeated

In the final two results, Mr Wilkens (NP, 5 173) was defeated by Mr S P van Vuuren (CP, 6 704) in Ventersdorp, and in Schweizer Reneke Mr W A Lemmer (NP, 5 431) was beaten by Mr J M Beyers (CP, 5 622).

This means one minister, Mr Greyling Wentzel, and three deputy ministers — Mr Wilkens, Mr Hendrik Tempel and Mr Ron Miller — lost their seats in the election.

The PFP's hopes of increasing its total to 27 were dashed when the sitting MP in Albany, Mr Errol Moorcroft, was defeated by the NP's Mr Jannie van der Vyver.

Yesterday analysts were examining why the PFP's "turbocharge" campaign had backfired and why the wheels had come off the PFP-NRP reform alliance.

Much of the credit for rallying white voters in the right-wing kraal was being given to the highly effective African National Congress-PFP propaganda smear campaign by NP leaders, particularly the government-controlled TV monopoly.

Political observers also pointed to burgeoning extra-parliamentary protest in the form of May Day rallies, stayaways and student unrest in white areas during the election campaign as having alienated a significant number of potential PFP supporters.

In Cape Town, for instance, the closing of De Waard Drive outside the University of Cape Town campus during the final stages of the election campaign has been cited as one of the factors which encourage the drift towards the right.

## Support suffered

And the PFP lost support to the left as a result of a boycott of the election by young voters, particularly at universities, who argue that Parliament is irrelevant to the basic conflict in South Africa.

A number of PFP MPs have also said support for the party suffered as a result of emigration.

In the end the NP captured 52,4% of the votes cast, the CP 26,3%, with the PFP trailing a poor third at 14,2%. The HNP gained 3,1%; the NRP 1,2% and independents 1,4%.

A far-right alliance could have taken at least another 10 seats from the NP, including two held by senior cabinet ministers.

MPs canvassed yesterday agreed the NP would now be likely to take an even tougher line on "security" and apartheid measures like the Group Areas Act.

The new Parliament, in which more than a third of the MPs — 59 in all — will have been replaced either through defeat on Wednesday or through retirement, will have a very different agenda. The focus is likely to be the nature of white control rather than the nature of reform.

This could force the PFP into its more traditional role as a party of protest and one of bridge-building with anti-apartheid groups, rather than holding out as a potential for an alternative government.

The first weeks of the new session of Parliament, which starts on Monday May 18, will give an indication of the new trends.

C-1  
8/5/87  
(304A)



CH 6 Tues 8/8/07 3044

# Business sees vote as a mandate for reform

Financial Editor

ORGANIZED commerce and industry considers the result of the election has given the National Party a mandate to proceed with promised reforms — and these should be carried out as a matter of urgency to avoid labour troubles and strengthen the economy. The president of the Cape Chamber of Industries, Mr Otto Scholtz, said yesterday: "The National Party has been asking for a mandate to reform."

"Now it has got it and we hope it will proceed down the road of reform at an accelerated pace so that political expression can be moved to the right place and removed from the workplace."

The president of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce, Mr Peter Hugo, warned that intensified sanctions and disinvestment would be counter-productive by strengthening the swing to the right, and said

it was vital for the government to proceed as quickly as possible with promised reform.

"There is no doubt that the government has now cleared the decks and has its mandate for further reform," he said.

"Now my hope is that the government will act quickly and decisively regarding future political change so as to restore business and investor confidence in the SA economy."

"That is what is needed if the economic upturn we are experiencing is to be maintained and accelerated."

Mr Hugo said it was clear that "economic sanctions and disinvestment have boomeranged in that they have undermined the Government's reform policy and strengthened the right."

But some prominent businessmen said they feared a right-wing Opposition might put a brake on

the promised reforms, causing pressure from overseas to intensify.

The chief executive of Syfrets, Mr Brian Robinson, said he that because he was "an investment man" he looked at the result mainly in the light of overseas reaction.

He thought overseas governments and economic communities would give the government a chance but if they saw no significant reform in six months they would "put the screws on" in the form of intensified sanctions and disinvestment.

Mr Tom Boardman, senior general manager of the Board of Executors, said he did not think the election result would have any immediate effect on the economy, which seemed to be picking up.

The unknown factor would be the reaction from the outside world.

See Page 6.



# Imperative that business show decisive leadership

Care Times 8/5/87 (304A)

**T**HE ominous lull which South Africa experienced on the reform front since the first rumours of a possible election started doing the rounds, was deeply distressing. The report of the President's Council on the Group Areas Act was shelved; the proposals of the KwaNatal Indaba were put on the back burner. During this period a range of new regulations under the State of Emergency were published. These increasingly encroached on basic human rights and freedoms. Massive detentions took place. In some instances Government embarked on deliberate smear campaigns against members of the private sector and inflicted guilt through association. What confused me most of all was — with rare exception — the deafening silence from much of the private sector which accompanied many of these developments.

This impels me to record a cautionary comment which I would like to direct at the business sector: Never be seduced into silence or coerced into conforming either by sweet and reasonable entreaties or public or private pressure by Government. Business should be wary of traps like the Carlton, Good Hope and Pretoria conferences. At those occasions Government seemed ready to talk and



Address by Mr Obed Kunene, Executive Director of the Urban Foundation in Johannesburg yesterday.

negotiation must also be carefully assessed.

Business needs to decide how best to exercise its influence. The mix between public and private pressure to influence public policy will necessarily vary with circumstances, but observable public pressure has up to now been neglected.

I support what incoming Johannesburg Consolidated Investment chairman, Murray Hofmeyr, said recently. He warned business to be careful not to fall into the trap of justifying its silence and inactivity on basic political and ethical issues on grounds that no leader should confuse his personality with his corporate identity. He went on to say that virtually all business leaders have a platform, not in their own right, but because of the positions they hold. He said if every leader is going to be reduced to the lowest common denominator of his most cautious shareholder, policy-holder, depositor or employee, those who have scant regard for basic freedoms will be given free rein.

However, I also doubt whether real pressure had been exerted often enough behind the scenes either. Although it would be wise for business to quash the popular belief that it is within their power to force Government to abandon apartheid and to address the vital issue of the franchise and power-sharing, it should not under-estimate the leverage of its control over the economy, on which Government is fundamentally dependent for fiscal revenue and social development.

**A**LLOW me to identify one very important target at which the volley of the private sector fire power should be directed as a matter of urgency. I refer to what I would prefer to call "racial zoning". The destructive law that underpins this concept, ie the Group Areas Act, has been a major alienating force operating negatively between the different population groups. This Act constitutes an artificial ceiling on vertical mobility and a barrier to horizontal mobility, which are natural products of the process of development and growth which is taking place in society. While

*The Group Areas Act has been a major alienating force operating negatively between the different population groups.*

this Act is on the statute book, no effort to promote black managerial development will succeed. It is a well-proven fact that successful managers are a product of an urban middle and upper-middle class culture. The Group Areas Act denies black people this development. The present system of racial zoning caused the short supply of land available for black housing and this Act distorts the housing market even further. Untenanted housing is available in relative abundance for whites, while blacks, who can afford to build their own houses, are often obliged to share with others in hopelessly overcrowded conditions.

The abolition of The Group Areas Act will have three major spin-off effects:

□ We will move one step closer to normalizing our divided society,

□ The recovery of the housing construction industry will be sharply stimulated; and

□ Black leadership as well as international decision makers will be obliged to reassess their negative perceptions concerning the genuineness of the reform process.

But once again I have to stress that ambitious actions like these cannot be tackled by any individual or any company. A concerted and well co-ordinated assault will have to be launched by the private sector. I want to echo the belief of Jan Steyn, Executive Chairman of the Urban Foundation, that this particular reform is achievable within the next one or two years if the business community throws its weight behind the efforts being made by ourselves and others in this direction.

As a black South African I have a sense of relief that, what I hope will be, "the last white election" is over. We face real challenges on the road ahead that will require courage and vision from both black and white, political and business

*We face real challenges on the road ahead that will require courage and vision from both black and white, political and business leadership.*

leadership. If we as blacks seek to try "grab it all" or whites attempt to hang onto white privileges — such as the benefits of the Group Areas Act — our chances of managing a peaceful transition in South Africa will be very slight indeed.

**I**F we are bold and we are prepared to take those steps necessary to facilitate a process of negotiation toward a genuine sharing of power and prosperity, we will survive together. The business community has a key role to play in helping to conscientize the white power elite and to convince black leadership that it seeks a genuine shared future for all South Africans.

Such a shared future must *inter alia* be based on a political system that offers full participation in the decision making processes for all South Africans as citizens of this common land; on the acceptance of an economy that is free, but so structured that the disadvantages of black people, attributable to the destructive policies of the past are neutralized and access to its opportunities dramatically facilitated; on a return to the Rule and Law and to equality of its protection for all South Africans and on the immediate elimination of any of the remaining laws still entrenching racial inequality. Such bold action is essential for our common future. As Gavin Relly said on Sunday "it will mean a dramatic, mind wrenching and courageous act of leadership".

To fail to provide decisive leadership at this time could well destroy all hope of joint survival. Because, with Camus, I believe the issue is not "how to die separately, but how to live together".

*It is the perception in the minds of the majority of people in South Africa that business and capitalism are synonymous with government and its apartheid system.*

listen to the private sector. However, those conferences appeared to the uninvolved onlooker to be little more than a forum for the promotion of government policies. Government tried hard, and succeeded to some extent, to create the impression that business and government were as one. The perception, correctly or incorrectly prevailing amongst the masses is that the private sector is basically operating in cahoots with government, tacitly condoning government actions. In many instances the business sector is seen as a mere extension of government.

It is the perception in the minds of the majority of people in South Africa that business and capitalism are synonymous with government and its apartheid system. It is this which poses the most serious threat to the survival of a free market economic environment in the post-apartheid era. In order to correct this perception, South African business will have to demonstrate much more clearly that it is actively adapting to the promotion of a post-apartheid society in the interests of growth, prosperity and stability.

**I**N order to be effective in the change process and to be regarded as credible, business needs to reconsider the strategy it has followed until now in dealing with government. Intense discussions of a socio-political nature have taken place between government and the private sector — but they tend to take place behind closed doors. The strategy up to now was to give minimal publicity to such initiatives. Business sincerely believed that it could advance its cause far more successfully if it could speak freely and openly with government out of the spotlight of the media. Positive and tangible results from such meetings, however, are limited, and businessmen should reconsider their strategy in this respect. Whilst I understand the reluctance to jeopardize the negotiation process by being perceived to talk through the media, the negative effects of covert



CAPE TIMES 8/5/87

# 'SA has chosen war; God help us all'

306A

Staff Reporter and Sapa

THE immediate reaction from extra-parliamentary politicians and groupings to this week's massive swing to the right was one of despair and gloom.

Hopes for a negotiated democracy in South Africa had been crushed by the white election result, said the Five Freedoms Forum.

The white electorate had shown that the government's two states of emergency had worked — "the politics of fear and ignorance win votes".

"The whites have scorned black demands for equality and basic human rights. They have voted for confrontation instead of negotiation."

Sounding an ominous note, the Forum said the Conservative Party, as the Official Opposition, would "accelerate conflict and white-on-white violence will manifest itself".

"The NP will increase the role of the shadow military government and shove Parliament as a decision-making body into the background. Extra-parliamentary politics have been vindicated as the only way to encourage negotiation and a non-violent solution."

"South Africa has chosen war; God help us all," said the Forum.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he was "absolutely appalled" by the elec-

tion outcome and feared for the future of the country.

He warned that blacks would see the vote as a justification of arguments that violence was the only way to "bring whites to their senses".

True negotiation under the present ruling party was simply impossible, he said. "Even those of us who are committed to non-violence would rather die than accept this NP prescription for a sugar-coated apartheid pill."

"Never in the history of the country has the white electorate been more aware of international and external threats to the very fabric of South Africa. Yet whites deliberately voted to support white privilege," he said.

"The NP cannot deliver the goods it has promised to the white electorate. There will now be no real negotiations between black and white at the national level and negotiations at regional level will become of crucial importance."

The election had demonstrated the historical necessity of the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba — "the politics of negotiation must ultimately triumph ... reform which is dictated from above can never be acceptable to the majority of South Africa's population".

If President P W Botha persisted in obstructing "even voluntary regional negotiations because he is bent on ramming his neo-apartheid plans down our throats, then ... we will have to seek mandates for the next step we may need to take from millions of black South Africans".

The UDF publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, said the clear right-wing shift among whites was due to "outrageous and false Nat 'swart gevaar' propaganda".

"As the election heat and dust settles, white South Africans who voted for continued white minority rule will find the crisis and conflict has intensified, and there will be less comfort for all to take home," he said.

The UDF and other organizations of the "oppressed majority" were "determined to ensure that this would be the last racist election in our country".



# Tutu forsees 'dark age'

*Conf. Traits 8/5/77*  
*304A*

By DIANE CASSERE

SOUTH AFRICA could expect an escalation of oppression, intolerance and "State-sponsored terrorism" after the outcome of the May 6 election, the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, said yesterday.

He also warned that SA was entering the "dark ages of the history of this country".

Archbishop Tutu was addressing a joint press conference with the Ned Geref Kerk moderator, Dr Allan Boesak, at Bishops court.

"The despondency in the air will deepen and so will the anger of the black community where, even up until now, an amazing degree of goodwill still existed," he said.

He warned that there would be an increase in protest and resistance from blacks and that stayaways would "become the order of the day".

Both Archbishop Tutu and Dr Boesak appealed to the Progressive Federal Party to withdraw from Parliament.

"We have asked them not to give

credence to a system that does not deserve it. If the PFP had called on the government to release detainees and lift the state of emergency before it would take part in the election, then the election would have been seen for the farce it was," Dr Boesak said.

"The PFP has not done the progressive movement any good. It should now say 'we have tried, but we withdraw' — then we will have something to talk about in black politics again."

Both men called on the international community to increase pressure on SA.

Sanctions could make a substantial difference "without a person having to shoot one bullet, or place one bomb".

Archbishop Tutu said SA Airways should be denied landing rights everywhere and that communication should be shut off by the outside world for two weeks "so that the business community will see it cannot survive in isolation".

He said neither he nor Dr Boesak wanted sanctions, but that this was the only way to bring about a resolution to SA's problems "as quickly as possible with as little violence as possible".

*Off Times MS 87 222*

# US plea: Address real problems now

*304A*

JOHANNESBURG. — The US State Department yesterday urged the South African government "to proceed now to address the country's real problems".

In a statement on the election results, the State Department said: "The future of SA will be determined in large measure by whether the SA government now opens the country's political and economic life to the large majority of South Africans who have been excluded from their rightful place in it."

It said the most important political reality and problem in SA was the fact that the majority of South Africans was not permitted to vote.

"We shall continue to press for an urgent end to apartheid and the establishment of a truly democratic system, based on constitutional guarantees for majorities, minorities and individuals," the statement added.

□ In Bonn, West Germany told Mr Botha yesterday he must use his landslide victory to dismantle apartheid as time was running out to solve SA's problems.

The foreign ministry said in a statement the result gave Mr Botha the chance "to take decisive steps to overcome apartheid in SA".

The opposition Social Democrats said the victory was "bloodstained" and would force European governments to review their attitudes towards SA. — Own Correspondent and Sapa-Reuter



CAN. Times 8/5/87

304A



The State President, Mr P W Botha

## We accept security mandate — Botha

JOHANNESBURG. — The government had asked for and received a clear mandate from the electorate to pursue security for the country and its people as a primary objective, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said yesterday.

He added the government accepted that mandate. In an interview with the SABC, Mr Botha said he also accepted that continued reform and development in various fields of society remained a government priority.

He said progress and development would have to be instituted in a constitutional and evolutionary manner.

He emphasized that this would be achieved not by extra-parliamentary means, nor would he permit it to be forced upon the country.

Mr Botha assured South Africans that any attempt to force extra-parliamentary change or finance such activities from abroad would be steadfastly opposed by the State.

Asked if the right-wing gains would affect reform, Mr Botha said the government would not be influenced by the policies of other parties.

He said the election result should give the outside world a "clear picture" that it could not dictate to South Africa. — Sapa

Y-8, 1987

# Europe cautious over SA election

Post Correspondent

LONDON — European Governments have reacted cautiously to the National Party's landslide election victory.

The British Foreign Office said it did not comment on elections in other countries.

However, a spokesman said that now that the election was over they were looking forward to the opening of Parliament to see what President P W Botha planned to do.

"We are confident the South African Government knows what we think it ought to be doing. We will wait to see what President Botha wishes to do."

A spokesman for the West German Foreign Ministry said: "This result has given President Botha the opportunity to undertake decisive measures to overcome apartheid in SA."

The Dutch Foreign Minister Mr Hans van der Broek said he would call on the 12 EEC countries to agree quickly to a declaration on SA.

He said Botha had consolidated unprecedented power and the EEC should act positively to help him bring about long-promised reform.

Mr Van der Broek said time was of the essence in SA and Botha should be helped and encouraged to open all-race dialogue and make "very significant" reforms.

British businessmen were gloomy

Mr Nick Mitchell, general manager of the British Industry Committee on South Africa (BICSA) said: "Quite bluntly, this was the scenario we least wanted to see.

"One has got to be disappointed by the performance of the PFP.

The Reagan Administration of the United States urged the SA Government to move immediately to end apartheid.

US officials, who asked not to be identified, said it might take several weeks before it was possible to decide how President Botha would interpret his new mandate.

The official Soviet news agency Tass said the National Party had suffered a moral and political defeat.

Tass said results were "evidence that the white community is split more widely than ever before. Some 40% of the eligible voters chose not to register at all and thus refused to support the Government". — Sapa-Reuter



# Nats set to face loss of seats to the left and the right

BY LATE last night the NP was facing losses to the left and right if trends in support of the PFP/NRP alliance and the Conservative Party firmed.

This was the message emerging from party workers and vote scorers in Southern Natal and on the Reef on the brink of last night's vote-rush.

The one exception to the apparent solid support for the alliance in Natal was Umlilo, where the candidate was the NRP's Geoff Oldfield who conceded he faced defeat unless

he could muster a large portion of the 2 500 PFP votes polled in 1981. "If I can, then I am safe," he said.

Generally, there was agreement among party workers that NRP voters appeared to have supported their PFP allies rather well and certainly better than the NP had expected.

Similarly, NP officials conceded that the CP had been given solid support, particularly in the Transvaal, and might have improved its position in many rural seats, both in the

Transvaal and Orange Free State. Those who were prepared to give candid comments on the polling thus far, however, insisted the day's trends could conceivably be diluted or even reversed by voting patterns last night.

After a brisk opening in the morning followed by a midday lull, polling percentages were regarded as generally high, ranging from 50% in Namaqualand to 19% in North Rand. Late in the afternoon, the earlier reluctance of party workers to ana-

lyse the vote waned and, in a number of constituencies, organisers even started to concede trends which were going against them.

The most prominent trend to emerge was that of the predominantly Natal and Eastern Cape NRP vote breaking more favourably for the PFP than seasoned NP vote-scorers had expected.

Should the trend continue, the PFP stood to ward off concerted NP attempts at taking two Pietermaritzburg seats, and themselves

posed a serious threat to Nat-held Natal seats such as Umliluzana, which was yesterday marginal.

It also placed the two NP East London seats in jeopardy.

CP support on the Reef, particularly in the Vaal Triangle, brought NP seats such as Vanderbijlpark within definite range. Overvaal was all but conceded to the CP before polling started.

The HNP's lone MP, Louis Stoffberg of Sasolburg, was not given much chance by his opponents, con-

firmed another general trend running against the HNP, which has drawn particularly niggardly support.

The one exception was the party's leader, Mr Jaap Marais, who was said to be doing well in Hercules, Pretoria, where he was in a three-cornered fight with the NP and CP.

Apart from the Pretoria Central constituency, where the NP appeared to be holding firm, the CP support was making the government party vulnerable to losses to left and

right in the capital.

In Wonderboom, Jan van Zyl of the CP was doing well in his challenge to the Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology, Danie Steyn.

The NP's expected gain of Van Zyl's former seat, Sunnyside, appeared to be threatened by the PFP which had gained from the strong CP vote drawn from NP supporters.

For much the same reason, the PFP was confident that the affluent Waterkloof constituency would be captured. — Sapa.

## Paint is thrown in election protest

LONDON — Anti-apartheid demonstrators broke through police lines outside the SA Embassy yesterday, hurling cans of red paint which splattered the front wall and main doors of the building in Trafalgar Square.

Three were arrested, charged with criminal damage and taken to the Bow Street station.

Police set up pavement barricades, called in reinforcements and ordered the main group of 12 protestors off the pavement outside the embassy.

Across the street, the campaigners set up their own "polling booth" and handed out mock ballot papers with only one candidate — Nelson Mandela.

Demonstrators mount a daily placard parade outside the embassy, usually avoiding police reaction. Yesterday, with the election in progress, they were determined to register stronger action.

Meanwhile, the British Press warned yesterday that, despite an almost certain victory for the NP, whites were so divided the victory was likely to be a hollow one.

The Times said: "Mr Botha's party will be returned to power tomorrow, but without the support of the best of its breed. And without that credibility, it has lost its legitimacy as the political arm of the Afrikaner people."

The Financial Times said the four-month election campaign had widened rather than reduced the divisions in Afrikanedom and had thereby given a glimmer of hope to the prospects for a

# Schwarz is fed up with voters' apathy

DIANNA GAMES

HARRY Schwarz, PFP candidate in Yeoville, Johannesburg, yesterday criticised the apathy of voters, which was apparent despite the long election run-up, the enormous publicity surrounding it and the mass of election mail sent out.

He said his party had been inundated with voters' calls asking about practical details of the election. "This was in addition to a very low turnout during the day. He also criticised the "absolutely chaotic state of the voters' roll".

Voting in three of the central constituencies in Johannesburg — Houghton, Yeoville and Beaudenfontein — was very slow through most of yesterday although a large turnout after 5pm was predicted.

There was a small police presence at several stations but only one incident was reported — the arrest of a black man helping PFP voters in Yeoville who was accused of tampering with NP posters, Schwarz said. He was released shortly afterwards.

In Hillbrow's lone polling booth, vot-

ing was brisk, with the Conservative Party the newcomer in the area in which the PFP captured the 1981 seat with a majority of nearly 3 000.

While it was too early to tell what inroads they may have made into the votes of the two other parties, the NP's Leon de Beer said he was more concerned about the threat from the PFP than that from the CP. "Although I think we'll give the Progs a run for their money," he said.

PFP candidate Ali Widman said he could "smell victory" in the late afternoon air. But he admitted it was difficult to assess the support for the CP, a new opposition in Hillbrow.

"But at the moment I think they're in danger of losing their deposit," CP candidate Gaye Derby-Lewis, who has campaigned heatedly against the grey areas which predominate in much of Hillbrow, was not available for comment.

In Yeoville, Schwarz, who ran unopposed in the seat in 1981, said: "I think we should win". He said it was difficult to forecast the majority as this would also depend on the extent of the poll.

His opponent for the seat is Hein Kruger, former Nasionale Pers journalist, who predicted a major NP dent in the PFP stronghold. Kruger, who is selling the line of rapid reform but strong security, estimated his support to be mainly from immigrants and much of the Jewish community.

In Houghton neither of the candidates — newcomer George Pagan (NP) and Helen Suzman (PFP), who has held the seat since 1953 and won it in 1981 with a majority of 5 232 — could be found for comment during the afternoon.

In Beaudenfontein, Douglas Gibson (PFP) was feeling confident. "The figures show we're going to win," he said. The PFP won the seat in 1981 with a 1 103 majority.

Sam Bloomberg (NP) was out doing the rounds of the polling booths and could not be found for early comment.

## IN BRIEF

### Parachuting show was not 'arranged by the NP'

A CLAIM that an SADF Hercules aircraft and 40 parabs were used in a parachuting show for an NP election meeting at the Hinhluwe Inn last Friday has been rejected by the Inn's manager and an SADF spokesman.

Hinhluwe Inn manager J C Gie denied the show was arranged by the NP, in spite of a report by a visitor to the hotel that one of the meetings' organisers had called over a loudspeaker for

# Stellenbosch and Helderburg festive

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

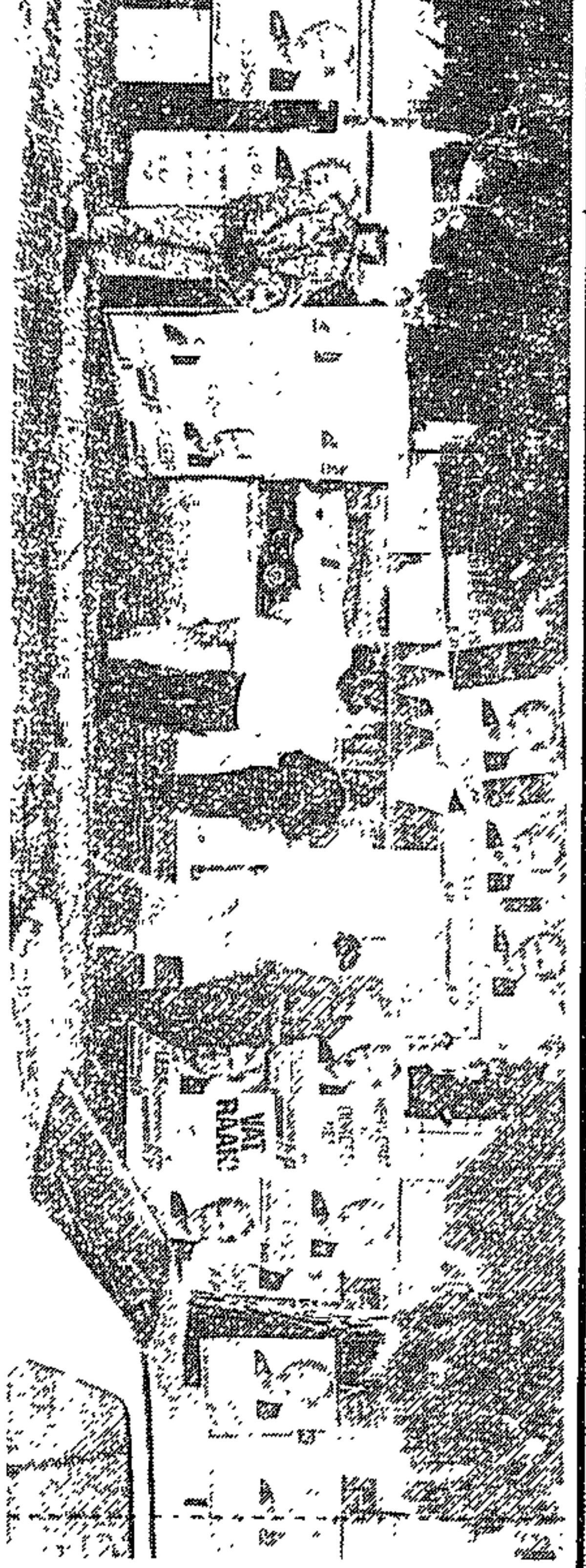
RAINY weather failed to dampen election fever in the two key Cape constituencies of Helderberg and Stellenbosch, contested by independents Denis Worrell and Esther Lategan.

Voters streamed to the polling stations in both constituencies at the start of election day, and presiding officers

dates were racing neck-and-neck. Worrell was ecstatic at the trend that appeared to be developing.

Hennis, who took the seat in 1981, seemed far less happy at the emerging pattern of events.

## PICTURE FOCUS

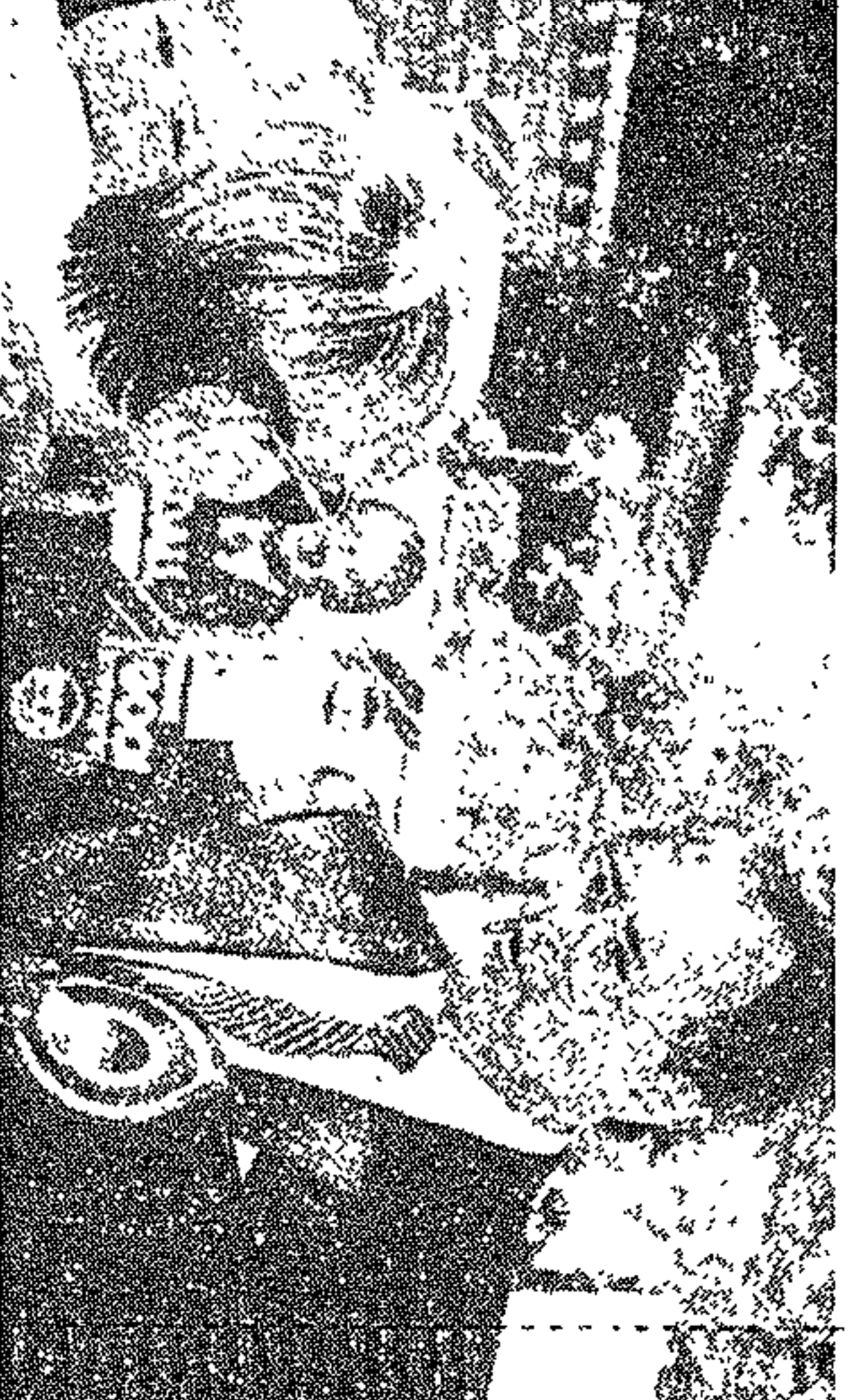


THE scene this morning at the Florida Hoërskool polling station



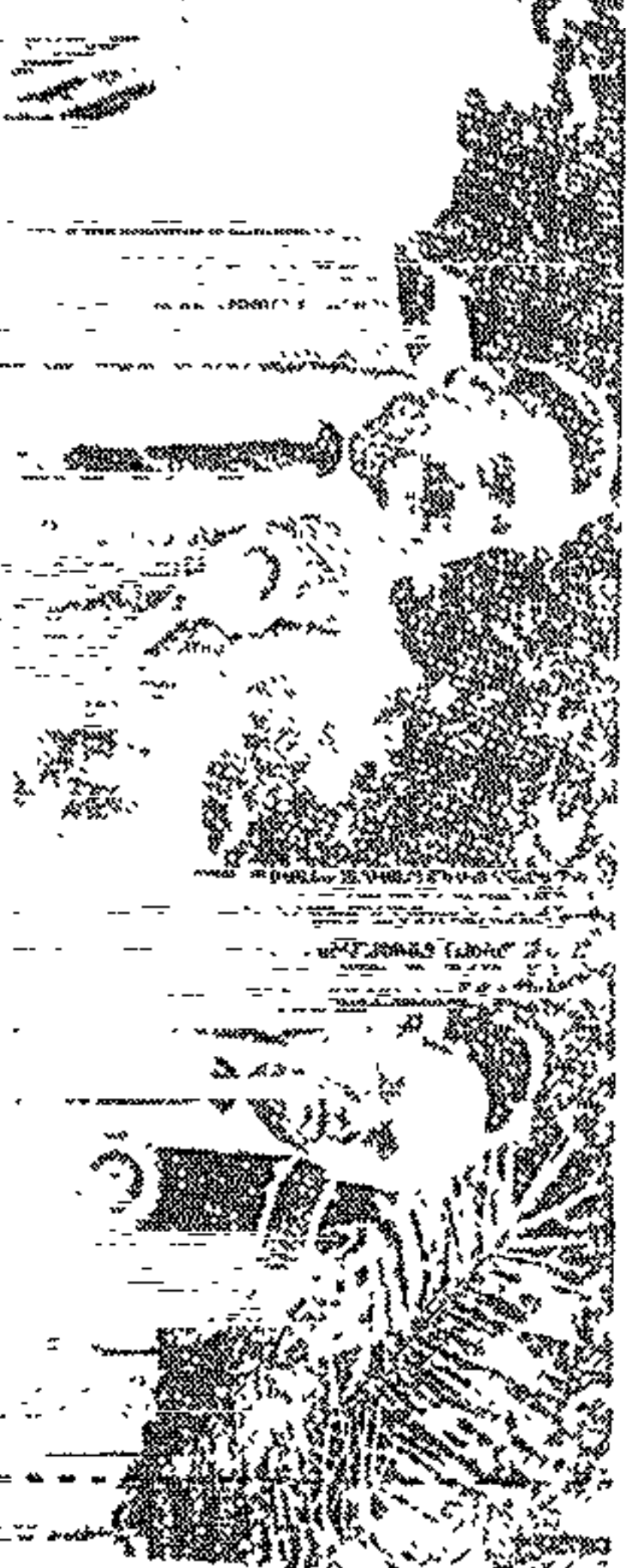
THE PFP's Harry Schwarz collects a poster

Picture: Daniel Simon



BRIAN GOODALL (PFP) greets Kyle Nathan, 5, and his mother, Cynthia at Dunvegan Primary School

Picture: C. Watt





...the black pessimism. The conservative Daily Telegraph said the result of the elections could give warning to Botha that, unless reform was more credibly pursued, his party would break up.

The left-wing Guardian criticised Botha saying: "A significant acceleration (of reforms) is unlikely so long as Mr Botha is president. His policies have angered black and foreign opinion, thrown the economy into disarray and divided the white communities, within themselves and against each other, as never before."

"Anyone hoping for progress towards racial justice from this election is likely to be disappointed. The only good news is that it may well be his (Botha's) last."

— Sapa-Reuter.

## HNP sun to set in Brakpan

PATRICK BULGER

IN THE far East Rand constituency of Brakpan, the HNP looked set to fall into obscurity yesterday.

By late afternoon, its table was almost deserted as CP and NP candidates ushered voters to their crowded tables. HNP workers, many of them on bicycles and sporting felt hats and *bokkardde*, were hoping to catch working class votes. But apart from themselves, and women in orange and black crimptene, the sun seemed to be setting on the HNP.

At that stage, an estimated 20% of the 20 000 voters had cast their votes, with the NP claiming to be marginally ahead. CP candidate Frank le Roux was confident claiming "the credibility of the government is completely corroded". But the NP's Paul Broodryk felt the large doubtful vote would swing the result his way.

...lying plates for them on the spot where they thought the first parachutist would land.

### Yellow chrysanthemums for supporters of Lategan

STELLENBOSCH — Voters turning out for independent candidate Esther Lategan were greeted with an unusual touch when they arrived at the Stellenbosch Town Hall today — yellow chrysanthemums.

Her youthful supporters, dressed in her campaign colours of black and yellow, handed flowers to voters as they arrived.

Lategan said she felt "very positive".

### CP and PFP candidates are up in air — campaigning

CP AND PFP parliamentary campaigners were up in the air yesterday, leaving their NP and HNP opposition on the ground.

One PFP and two CP candidates used helicopters and aircraft to visit far-flung polling sites.

Moolman Mentz from Ermelo was flown from poll to poll by his son in an aircraft while his colleague in Losberg, S.C. Jacobs, joined him in the bathoo brigade. Not to be outdone, North Rand PFP candidate Pieter Schoeman took to a "chopper" to cover the populous constituency. It has more than 35 000 voters.

### Polling picks up in Walvis Bay late in the afternoon

WINDHOEK — Polling began accelerating markedly at 4pm in the Walvis Bay constituency yesterday, after 33.5% of the voters had already marked their ballot papers, campaigners reported.

REPORTS Own Correspondent, Sapa



● VOTERS enjoying refreshments at the CP stand in Klerksdorp West

PICTURE S. B. B.

...the day with the idea of fulfilling his duties as new Cape leader of the NP by visiting constituencies on the Peninsula to lend support to his fellow candidates.

Bad weather and apparent concern over the pattern of voting in his constituency appeared to have put paid to that plan by midday.

In Stellenbosch, "Lang David" de Villiers, previously a confidant of the NP's inner sanctum, stood on the city hall steps and predicted victory for Lategan over standing NP MP Piet Marais.

Students had obviously been turned against the ruling party, he said. Lategan, expressing confidence at the way voting was going, believed she was well ahead by lunchtime.

Marais predicted things would swing his way.

## Old lady joins battle of Benoni

PATRICK BULGER

BURLY policemen and an old lady grilling candidates on their policies marked early polling at Benoni on the East Rand yesterday.

"We will separate black and white money," CP candidate Mario Valli told the woman questioner.

The answer failed to impress and she shuffled over to PFP candidate Sam Grolman's table.

Swiss-born Valli — "my convictions have always been towards the right" — seemed not to mind. "The working class is still coming after five and we will get 60% of their vote," said Valli, a 40-year-old plant engineer.

NP candidate Johan Lemmer looked amused.

"Of the three candidates I would rather be in my shoes," said Lemmer, a former Nat provincial councillor.

"We are getting votes right through the spectrum..." He fell silent as a huge

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Marais predicted things would swing his way.

## Clash of styles as tempers rise in tense Krugersdorp

MAX DU PREEZ

IN KRUGERSDORP, seat of prominent verligte Nationalist Leon Wessels, the tension of a close contest was evident from the start with heated arguments between the NP and CP about the placing of posters at the polling booths.

CP candidate Clive Derby-Lewis even wrestled with an NP organiser and both had to be calmed by a policeman.

By early afternoon things had settled down somewhat, but both camps were ready for a showdown when people come to vote after work.

The difference in approach of the two camps at the tables outside the polling stations told its own story.

At mid-afternoon, the PFP looked to be putting up a strong fight. Organisers calculated it was running neck and neck with the NP at the city hall, one of four polling districts. At the Lake Club, on the smarter side of town, the party was well ahead after almost 30% of voters in that district had made their crosses. Organisers said Grolman had more than 600 votes to the NP's estimated 280, while the CP had gained a mere 32.

The CP tables at all the polling stations were almost deserted but, as Valli pointed out earlier, the working class had yet to clock out.

The NP tables were run by executive types and well-groomed women, who would quietly approach voters and ask at which table they wanted to be served. Non-Nais would be left to go to the CP table.

The CP helpers were dressed considerably more informally, were mostly over 60, served koeksisters and melktert, and koffee to all supporters, and would hassle virtually everyone coming to vote.

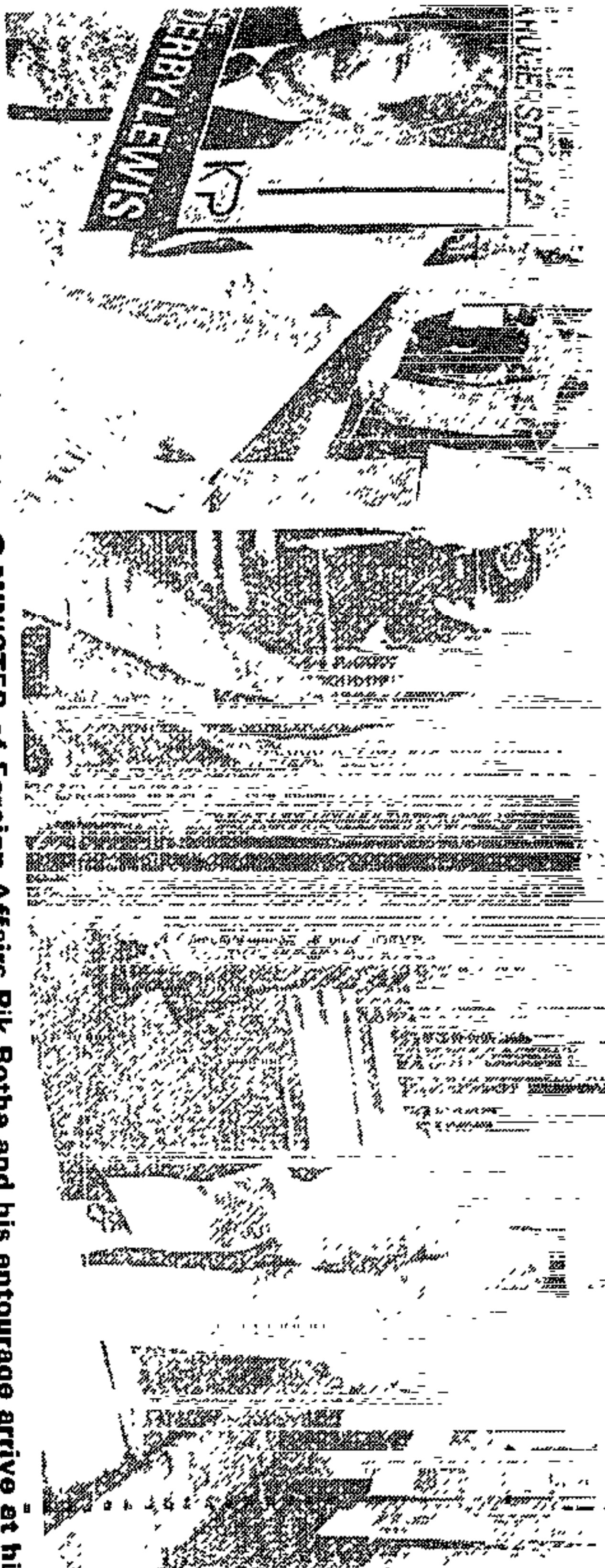
A WB representative heavy in Krugersdorp, Goliieb van Eeden, went from polling booth to polling booth to talk to people.

tion campaign that Derby-Lewis was also a prominent AWB member, despite being English-speaking. He is on the Transvaal executive of the CP.

Derby-Lewis was interviewed by several foreign TV crews yesterday. One TV reporter explained: "He is one of very few CP candidates who can speak understandable English — and he has a lot of entertainment value."

Wessels's wife, Tertja, complained to the officiating magistrate that a policeman standing guard at the door to the polling booth was influencing people to vote CP.

The outcome was not known by yesterday afternoon.



● THE CP's Clive Derby-Lewis's poster at Krugersdorp

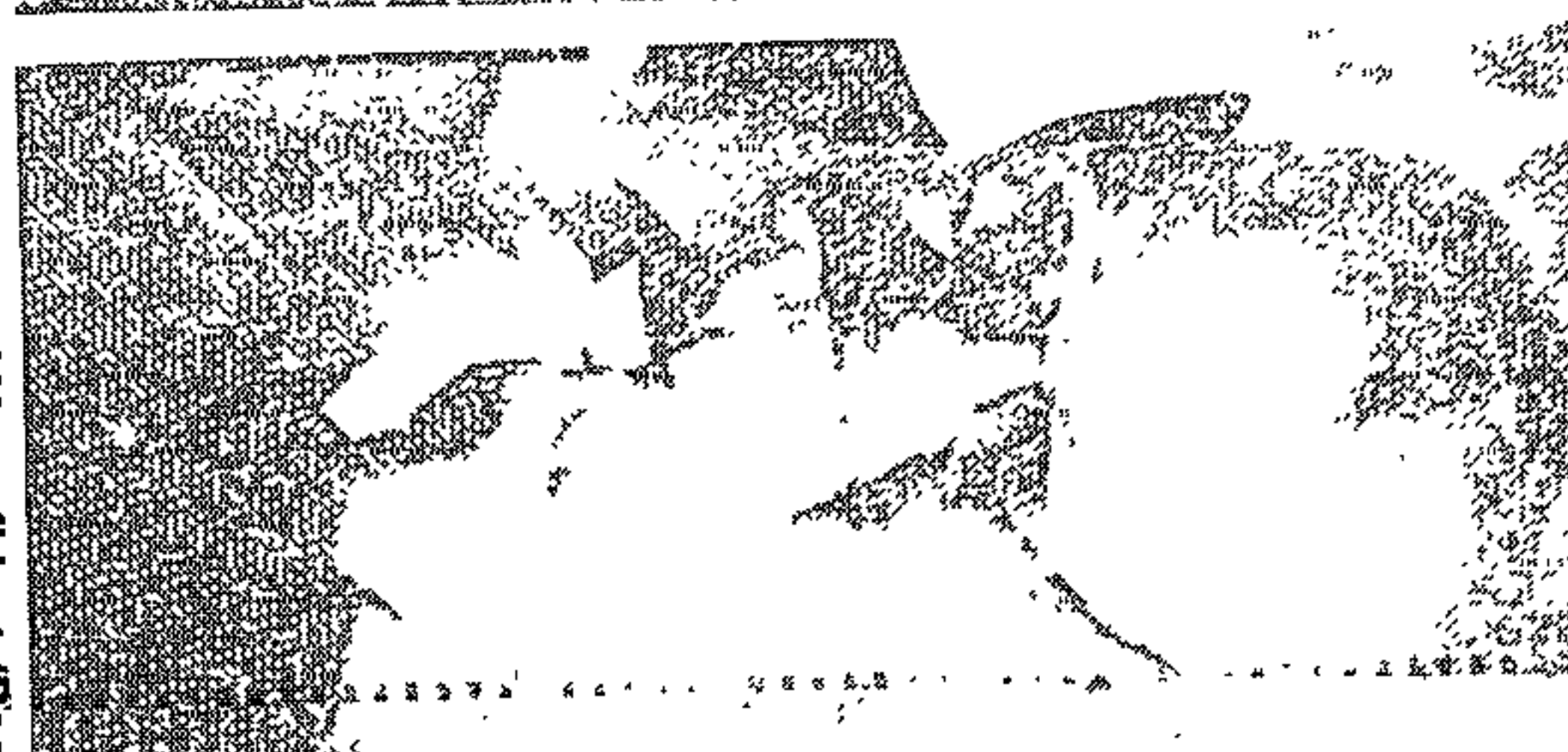
● MINISTER of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha and his Westdene constituency yesterday

PICTURE L. Bush



● NP Edonvale candidate Joan Hunter, right, greets Bessie Ash at the Bedfordview Civic Centre polling station yesterday

PICTURE C. Ward



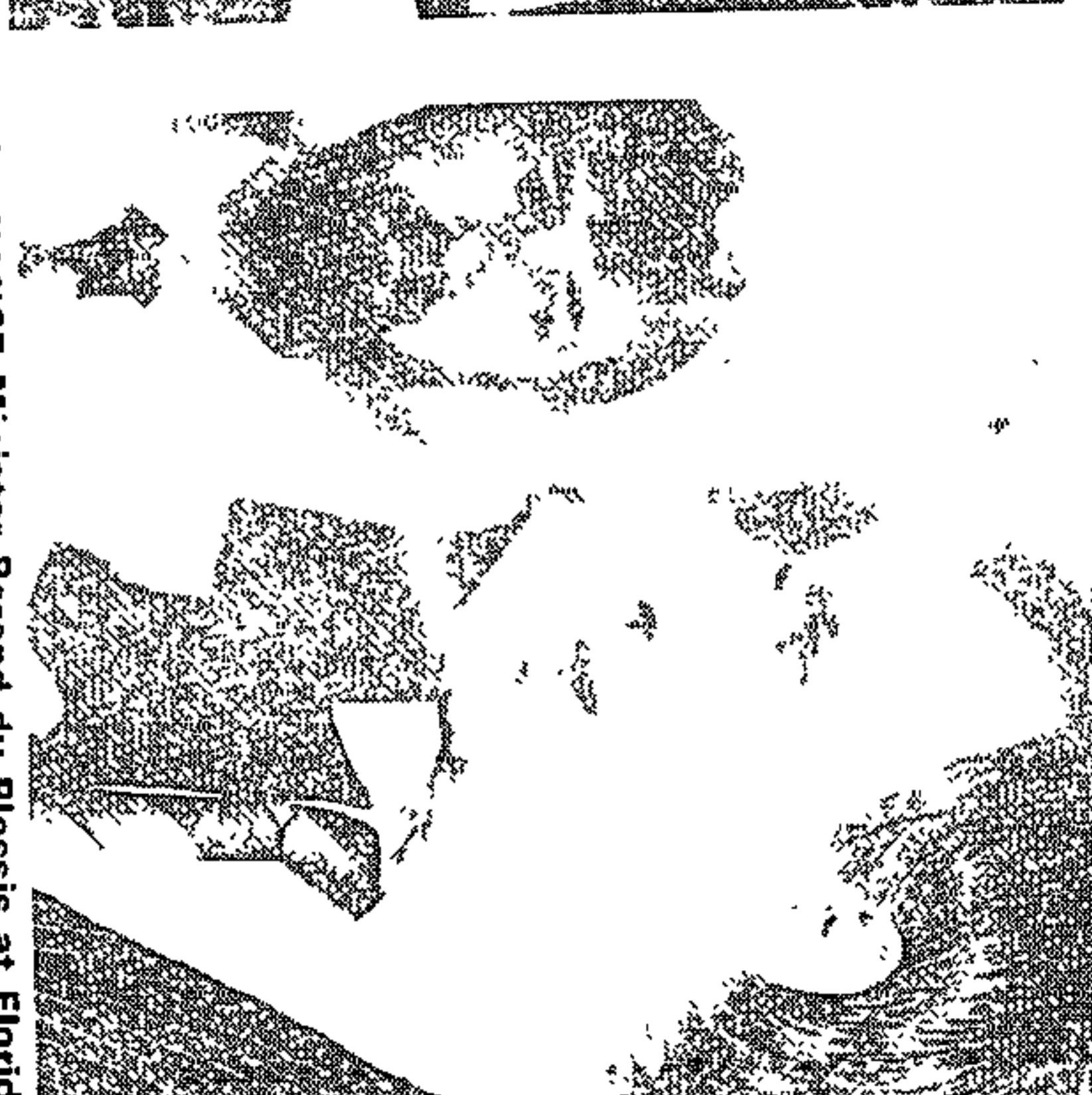
● SEEMINGLY confident 'Rooi Rus' Swanepoel in Westdene

PICTURE L. Bush



● HELDERBERG candidate Denis Worrall greets voters in yesterday's Cape rain

PICTURE A. G. van der Merwe



● FINANCE Minister Barend du Plessis at Florida Hoërskool yesterday



Parties might take legal action

# Voters' roll chaos brings poll confusion

MASSIVE voters' roll confusion marred yesterday's elections, with thousands of voters arriving at polls to find their names had been scrapped or moved to other constituencies.

NP and PFP workers indicated their parties would take legal action if they lost in certain constituencies by narrow margins.

In some areas — such as North Rand and Bryanston — reports were received of the names of people who had been dead for at least 13 years suddenly appearing on the roll.

Problems were experienced in constituencies all over the Transvaal, with

**Election reports in this edition by Max du Preez, Dominique Gilbert, Patrick Bulger, Linda Ensor, Diana Games, Hamish McIndoe, other Business Day correspondents and Sapa.**

complaints also received from East London and Natal.

Even NP candidates complained to harassed election officers about missing voters, while PFP and CP candidates slammed the roll as a complete shambles.

The NP's polling sub-agent in Bryanston, Jan Bosch, said: "The voters' roll is a shambles and calamity. We've lost hundreds of voters who were on the old voters' roll a few weeks ago but today no longer feature on the new computer print-outs."

PFP candidate in Benoni Sam Grolman was last night preparing to lodge an objection with electoral authorities over the presence of at least 60 dead voters on the roll.

There were also moves afoot to object to the listing of at least 120 voters known to be overseas whose names still appeared on the roll.

Petitions were opened at several polling stations after irate voters were re-

**Election  
draws big  
voter  
turnout**

A HIGH percentage poll was being predicted for yesterday's election.

Chief indicator was the high percentage morning poll experienced almost without exception at polling stations across the country.

In some constituencies polling had reached levels of 30% and more by the start of the lunch hour rush.

Uncharacteristic, however, was a sudden lull in the voting after noon in contrast to the particularly vigorous start. The trend was noted across a broad spectrum of constituencies nation-wide.

Another area of uncertainty and disagreement was the crucial issue of whether the PFP would gain substantial support from its NRP alliance. Some PFP workers tended to give the PFP the benefit of a 55-45 NRP break in their favour, which could put several NP-held seats in Natal and the Eastern Cape within the party's grasp.

There were also early indications of strong support for the CP in seats where the NP did not expect any real threat.

The CP appeared to be drawing strong support in blue-collar urban areas in the Vaal Triangle and on the East and West Rand.

This trend was particularly disturbing to NP workers who acknowledged that

● To Page 2



P.T.O.

● To Page 2



P.T.O.



Dr Robert Hall  
*Cape Times 7/5/8*  
**Heunis,  
Hall in  
polling  
booth tiff**  
*304A*

By CHRIS BATEMAN

NATIONAL PARTY candidate Mr Chris Heunis caused a stir at a Somerset West polling booth yesterday when he told Dr Robert Hall, chief financier of his opponent Dr Denis Worrall, that "I'm going to give you your cheque back".

Mr Heunis was referring to a cheque for R10 000 donated to the National Party in November 1986 by Dr Hall "to achieve and maintain stability and reform".

Dr Hall said his response had been that Mr Heunis could "send it to the Worrall campaign".

"I didn't even ask for interest," he said.

Mr Heunis said he had bumped into Dr Hall in a passage where he made the offer.

Attempts by the Nationalist press in April to criticize "foreign" support for the Worrall election campaign were quickly labelled as "dishonest" and "hypocritical" by Dr Hall.

At the time, Dr Hall said the NP press appeared to be "clutching at straws" since no mention had been made that both he and his wife were still NP members and had given "substantial" financial support — the R10 000 cheque — to the party.



# No reason to apologize, says US museologist

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — American museologist Dr John Kinard, who caused a storm when he attacked South Africa and South African museums in a controversial speech here on Tuesday, said yesterday he had no reason to apologize.

At the annual Southern African Museums Conference, Dr Kinard told delegates that South Africa and its museums were in need of "intensive care" and that what South Africa had done in terms of violence to the human spirit had made it the "worst country on the face of the earth".

The meeting erupted when Mr Eugene Louw, Administrator of the Cape, protested. About 70 people are reported to have walked

out while Mr Louw was speaking.

Mr Louw, an honorary delegate at the conference, stood up and said Dr Kinard's speech was the "worst attack on South Africa" he had ever heard.

He added that similar attacks would force him together with other administrators to review the policy of sending representatives to association conferences in the future.

Yesterday Dr Kinard said he did not feel he owed Mr Louw an apology.

Dr Kinard said "droves of people" got up and left the meeting in protest against Mr Louw's remarks.

"These people made a tremendous statement by disagreeing with Mr Louw. I had always thought that South Africans were

scared of politicians. It was amazing for them to get up like that and support me," he said.

Dr Kinard, who presented another paper yesterday, said Dr Brian Stuckenberg, director of the Natal Museum in Maritzburg, had asked him before the meeting to be "kind". "I told delegates that I did not believe I had been unkind. I just told the truth. However, I apologized to anyone who might have felt I was unkind," he said.

Mr Louw did not attend yesterday's sitting but Dr Stuckenberg told reporters Mr Louw was not boycotting the conference because of the clash with Dr Kinard — he was simply too busy to attend.

Dr Stuckenberg said the matter was "forgotten" as far as he was concerned and he

did not wish to make any comment.

Another delegate, who did not wish to be named, said the general feeling among those who walked out of the controversial meeting was that Mr Louw had no right to insult an invited speaker, regardless of whether they agreed with Dr Kinard or not.

Another, however, said he believed Dr Kinard had taken the opportunity to use the meeting as a political platform.

Dr Kinard said yesterday that museums in the past avoided controversy and saw themselves simply as chronicles of events rather than agents of social change — but this attitude was changing. He believed this was one of the chief roles of a museum.

# Crackdown is coming, say experts

By MOIRA LEVY

AS THE National Party romped home in the all-white elections, political commentators and black leaders warned of a new crackdown.

They fear that P W Botha will hit hard at extra-parliamentary protest, curb links between progressive leaders and the ANC, and go all out to promote black politicians like Gatsha Buthelezi.

They predict that South Africa will become more violent and repressive.

The state of emergency will continue, security force action will intensify and more and more curbs will be placed on press and extra-parliamentary organisations, especially UDF affiliates, they say.

At the same time spokesmen an-

ticipate that the Botha government will renew its bid to woo black leaders, especially Buthelezi, and make a determined effort to secure the local government option.

They fear that recent police action on campuses, detentions and security clamps will continue.

And they warn that meetings with the ANC in Lusaka will probably be prohibited in future. Most commentators predicted that the government would curb all the ties between the ANC in exile and business, church and student leaders.

Professor Jakes Gerwel of the University of the Western Cape, said: "We are at the end of the terminal phase of white colonial rule, and this is a phase marked by repression. The government is historically incapable of reversing

that."

Dr Alan Boesak of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches predicted: "We will see an all-out government effort to present Gatsha Buthelezi as an alternative to Nelson Mandela.

"They will have to start giving Gatsha at least some of the things he is asking for. The outside world is looking for credible black leaders who will not bring about any real change."

Dr Alex Boraine of the Institute for Democratic Alternatives for South Africa (Idasa), summed up post-election government as a "mixed bag of unabated coercion, with a move towards co-optation, probably with Gatsha Buthelezi as the chief prize".

He said government attitudes to the ANC were hardening. "They

will allow nothing to do with the ANC and will continue treating the ANC as a scapegoat for their own failures."

Professor Hermann Giliomee of the University of Cape Town, said he expected the government to make every attempt to instal the regional service councils, especially in the black townships.

P W Botha would try to draw black leaders into its proposed National Council and might consider reviving the Indaba-style negotiating platform, he said.

Mr Don Pinnock, of the Rhodes University Journalism Department, warned that in spite of what he termed the "creativity and inventiveness" showed by the alternative newspapers in continuing to report what is going on, more press curbs were likely".



ARGUS 7/5/87 (306A)

# HNP virtually destroyed

## The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Herstigte Nasionale Party has been virtually destroyed in the election with 56 of the party's 86 candidates losing their deposits.

The party lost its sole parliamentary seat in Sasolburg to the National Party. HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais trailed to third position in Hercules and none of its other candidates won.

The party's only MP, Mr Louis Stofberg, fell to NP candidate Mr Willem Odendaal, who won by a majority of 2 673.

While commentators wrote the HNP off as a factor in South African politics, Mr Marais admitted the party was bloodied, but maintained it was unbowed.

One of the best shows by the beleaguered party was in Worcester, where the HNP polled 2 245 votes but lost to the NP.

The NP's Mr Lukas van Vuuren took Hercules with less than half the votes, polling about 3 200 less than the combined rightwing vote.

Asked about the future of the HNP, Mr Marais said the election results would have to be studied.

Unity talks would have to take place between the Conservative Party and the HNP "before the next by-election".

Mr van Vuuren came in with 6 114 in the working-class, western Pretoria district. Mr S P Barnard of the CP polled 5 253, and Mr Marais received 4 123 votes.



Surge to right threatens status of official Opposition

# Dark clouds over PFP

State of the parties:

NP ..... 115  
CP ..... 20  
PFP ..... 19  
NRP ..... 1

Ind..... 1

ARGUS 7/5/87

30 CA

## Independents: 'Start of something new'

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE  
Political Staff

THE narrowly-defeated independent candidate for Helderberg, Dr Denis Worrall, said today the election achievement of the independents had to be seen as "the beginning of something new."

He declined to spell out what he had in mind for the future but said this was something he and the other independents would discuss soon.

Dr Worrall, who was defeated by Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, by only 39 votes, said the overall election result was "depressing to people who are concerned with fundamental change in South Africa."

On the other hand there had to be something about the approach of the independents to produce the results they did.

"As far as we are concerned this has to be the beginning of something new," he said.

In regard to Helderberg he said: "We would have liked to have won but we are contented with the result because we fought this election on an issue basis."

"From that viewpoint what we managed to achieve must be regarded as significant, especially in view of the fact that we started from scratch."

Dale Lautenbach, reports that Advocate D P "Lang Dawid" de Villiers, whose resignation from Nasionale Pers before the election in support

"It's difficult to judge what the effect might have been in other constituencies had the independent message been tested there."

While it seemed that English-speaking voters had swarmed into the NP camp, Afrikaners were moving in support of the new message and this momentum could be continued.

By IOS WENZEL

Political Correspondent

FOLLOWING the huge surge to the right the Progressive Federal Party was today in danger of losing its status of official Opposition in the Assembly.

The Conservative Party has won 20 seats and the PFP 19 but the result in one seat which was previously held by the PFP, Albany, was still outstanding. Two Transvaal seats where the results were still being awaited, Venterdorp and Schweizer-Reneke, looked promising for the CP.

In Waterberg the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, increased his 1981 majority of 1 894 to 2 375.

The National Party also made significant gains, though its majority was cut severely in many seats. The CP drew close to 500 000 votes.

The Progressive Federal Party and its alliance partner, the New Republic Party, took a beating from the National Party.

The Speaker of Parliament may have to decide which will be the new official Opposition in the Assembly following the general election.

There was the possibility today that the Progressive Federal Party and the Conservative Party might have an equal number of seats.

Acting to legislation regulating the payment of salaries and the appointment of office bearers of Parliament the Speaker has the final say when a deadlock with two opposition parties with an equal number of seats occurs.

The number of votes cast for a party in the election could be a factor, according to one parliamentary source.

Mr Colin Eglin, the leader of the PFP, indicated today he was distressed by the prospect of his party no longer being the official

## Results seen as leading to greater repression

BLACK Sash president Mrs Mary Burton said the results of the election had damaged any possibility there might have been of a smooth transition to a system which would represent all South Africans.

"I see, with foreboding, the Government using still greater repression to implement policies which will elicit stronger resistance from the disenfranchised majority," she said.

The president of the United Democratic Front, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, said the election results had come as no surprise in view of the Government's efforts to "frighten white voters over the ANC."

### DEPRESSING

"It is not surprising that the NP has won. The tactic of using the ANC in the election was, of course, to frighten the whites of this country who are afraid of what will happen if the black man comes to power. They are afraid of revenge because of the way they have treated blacks," she said.

"It is depressing but not surprising."

The Democratic Lawyers' Organisation (DLO) said the central issue was that the constitution, under which the elections were held, was unacceptable to the majority of South Africans.

The tri-cameral system masked the real face of South Africa, which was



Dr Treurnicht



CLOSE CALL: Mr Chris Heunis, right, shakes hands with opponent Dr Denis Worrall after retaining his Helderberg seat by 39 votes.

Picture: PETER STANFORD, The Argus.



ed by the security forces.

The organisation believed that peace would only be possible if all South Africans were recognised as equal citizens in a single undivided country.

"Only a system of one person, one vote can form the basis of a new South Africa."

Former member of the Provincial Council Mrs Di Bishop said: "SAFV won the election."

The director of the Natal-Kwazulu indaba, Professor David van Wyk, said members were now looking forward to constructive discussions which would lead to a referendum for the people of Kwazulu and Natal on the indaba proposals.

"The results of the election are neither surprising nor discouraging from the indaba's point of view," he said.

"We are therefore looking forward to constructive discussion with members of the Government and other parties in the months that lie ahead."

A spokesman for the Transvaal Indian Congress, Mr Cassim Saloojee, said the election reinforced the congress's standpoint that no change could be expected from the present Government structures.

#### "NO ANSWER"

"The results simply confirmed our view that parliamentary politics would provide no answer for the future of our country," Mr Saloojee said.

"It is the majority outside the parliamentary structures who will ultimately determine the future."

Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said the election result was indicative of the urgency for real reform.

"The majority have voted for reform and security but cognisance must be taken of total black aspirations to ensure security. The Helderberg result is an indication that the accommodation of black aspirations cannot be found in the present and accepted policies of the National Party."

Mr Hendrickse said a reformed system of government guaranteeing security could only be found in the framework of a non-racial federal structure. — Staff Reporter and Angus Correspondent.

According to some observers Mr Ralph Hardingham, the only NRP MP, could play a role if he decided to join the PFP.

In an election of shocks a Cabinet Minister and two deputy-ministers lost their seats in the Assembly, and the Conservatives and the Nationalists took seats from each other.

With 12 plateland results, mainly in the Transvaal, still outstanding the state of the parties was: National Party 114, Progressive Federal Party 19, Conservative Party 19 and independents one. The New Republic Party won only one seat and the Herstigte Nasionale Party none.

In the previous Assembly the National Party had 118 elected seats, the PFP 26, the CP 16, the NRP five and the HNP one. There were two independents and nine vacancies, eight of them Nationalist.

A spokesman for President P W Botha's office said Mr Botha would comment only when (Turn to Page 3, col 1)

# Major setback to reform alliance — Eglin

## Staff Reporter

THE election had demonstrated a "lurch" to the right, said Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, soon after retaining the Sea Point seat for his party.

He said: "I cannot deny that the results pose a major setback for the PFP and the concept of a reform alliance developing into an alternative government for South Africa."

"Distressed as I am that the PFP has lost seats, I am even more distressed at the showing of the Conservative Party."

"There is no doubt that the election in its totally repre-

sents a lurch to the right and although the parties to the right can take some consolation, there is no consolation for South Africa because the future is not going to be determined by white politics but by the ability of those in authority to deal with South Africa as a multiracial country."

"The PFP is going to have to re-evaluate its strategy in the light of the results so far."

## DIABOLICAL

"Botha has been successful but one should not underestimate the importance of his ally, SABC-TV, which has been diabolical."

"But whether it has been diabolical or not, one cannot gainsay that white South Africans have been cajoled or coerced into taking a very conservative attitude towards reform in South Africa."

"People have bought a modernisation of apartheid combined with rightwing racism, but they have not accepted that fundamental change from a rightwing society to a multiracial society is necessary."

"The election results must lead to a further polarisation of black and white."

He was delighted to have retained his seat against the NP in the face of a "pretty fierce onslaught" in the past three days involving "oodles of money" and support from its staunch ally, SABC-TV.

He said the PFP had stood up well in the Peninsula, Rupert Lorimer had done well in Bryanston, but in Natal it seemed that the concept of a PFP-NRP alliance had not gone down well.

● More election reports, pictures and results on Pages 2, 3, 5 and 23.



**EMOTIONAL VICTORY:** Overcome with emotion, Mr Leon de Beer of the National Party could not quite believe he had won Hillbrow. Mr de Beer beat the Progressive Federal Party's Mr Alf Widman by 89 votes. The other candidate, Mrs G Derby-Lewis of the Conservative Party, was a distant third.

AR&US  
7/5/87  
**GAINS**

**AND LOSSES** *3044*

THE NP gained: Durban Point from the NRP, Pietermaritzburg North from the PFP, Pietermaritzburg South from the PFP, Sasolburg from the HNP, Langlaagte from the CP, Wynberg from the PFP, Hillbrow from the PFP, Risik from the CP, Umbilo from the NRP, Germiston District from the CP, Koedoespoort from the CP, PFP, Jeppe from the NRP, Walmer from the PFP, Edenvale from the PFP, Kuruman from the CP, North Rand from the CP, Sunnyside from the CP, Meyerton from the CP, and King William's Town from the NRP.

It lost: Roodepoort to the CP, Standerton to the CP, Middelburg to the CP, Durban North to the PFP, Bethal to the CP, Ermelo to the CP, Carletonville to the CP, Witbank to the CP, Randfontein to the CP, Losberg to the CP, Delmas to the CP, Overvaal to the CP, Potgietersrus to the CP, Brits to the CP.

The NP therefore had a net gain of seven seats.

The PFP gained: Bryanston from an independent, Durban North from the NP.

It lost: Pietermaritzburg North to the NP, Pietermaritzburg South to the NP, Wynberg to the NP, Hillbrow to the NP, Walmer to the NP, Bezuidenhout to the NP, and Edenvale to the NP.

The PFP therefore had a net loss of five seats.

The CP gained: Roodepoort from the NP, Standerton from the NP, Middelburg from the NP, Bethal from the NP, Ermelo from the NP, Carletonville from the NP, Witbank from the NP, Randfontein from the NP, Losberg from the NP, Delmas from the NP, Overvaal from the NP, Potgietersrus from the NP, and Brits from the NP.

It lost: Langlaagte to the NP, Risik to the NP, Germiston District to the NP, Koedoespoort to the NP, Jeppe to the NP, Kuruman to the NP, North Rand to the NP, Sunnyside to the NP, and Meyerton to the NP.

The CP therefore had a net gain of four seats.

The NRP gained no seats.

It lost: Durban Point to the NP, Umbilo to the NP, Umhlanga to the NP, King William's Town to the NP.

The NRP therefore had a net loss of four seats.

The HNP gained no seats.

It lost: Sasolburg to the NP.

The HNP therefore had a net loss of one seat.

The independents gained no seats. (But Independent Mr Wynand Malan retained Randburg, which was previously an NP seat.)

They lost: Bryanston to the PFP.

The independents therefore had a net loss of one seat. — Sapa.



## Voters influenced by security, says Slabbert

By DAVID BRAUN  
Political Staff

SOUTH Africa has reached the stage where it is not possible to generate an alternative to government in the sense of a party getting a majority of seats, Dr van Zyl Slabbert said today.

The former Leader of the Opposition was reacting to the outcome of yesterday's election.

Dr Slabbert resigned from Parliament and the leadership of the PFP last year because he no longer believed his participation in the system could be used for change.

"The election showed voters were influenced by the security issue," he said.

"This was possible because the election took place under conditions of siege and lack of information."

NRP voters voted massively for the NP, so the PFP's strategy of an alliance with the NRP did not pay off.

Dr Slabbert said Dr Denis Worrall put up a magnificent performance and won on the ground because he had to catch up with a lead of 1 100 in postal and special votes.

"As far as I can see Mr Heunis has been mortally wounded."

### STAVED OFF

"Mr F W de Klerk still comes out of this looking not too bad."

"If you take the extravagant claims of a rightwing breakthrough and that the CP managed to come back with only about the same number of seats they started with, you see that Mr de Klerk managed to stave off the threat fairly well."

Dr Slabbert said the election sent confused signals to the leadership of the NP as Mr de Klerk fought on the right and battled while Mr Heunis fought on the left and was almost demolished.



## CP threat to PFP's position

(Cont. from Page 1)

all the results were known. He is expected to speak on television tonight.

The CP won the Bethal seat of the Minister of Agriculture, Mr Greyling Wentzel, and the Ermelo seat of the Deputy-Minister of Development Aid, Mr H J Temple.

The PFP won the Durban North seat of the Deputy-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Ron Miller.

In Helderberg, the Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, scraped home by only 39 votes against independent Dr Denis Worrall. He failed to win an overall majority, polling 8 439 votes against Dr Worrall's 8 400 and Mr Len de Wet's 1 189 for the CP.

In Simon's Town, the PFP challenger, Mr John Scott lost to the NP's Mr Harry Dilley.

The only independent to win was Mr Wynand Malan in Randburg.

In Randfontein the former Minister of Information, Dr Connie Mulder, regained the seat he resigned from in 1979, following the Information scandal.

The HNP lost its only seat, Sasolburg, in a three-cornered contest with the CP and the NP.

In Wynberg Mr David Graaff, son of the former leader of the United Party, Sir de Villiers Graaff, won the seat for the NP from the PFP by 97 votes.

In Green Point the PFP scraped home against the Nats by only 39 votes.

In Gardens Mr Ken Andrew had his PFP majority slashed from 1 227 to 486 after a tough campaign against Mr Japie Basson of the NP.

The Stellenbosch result came out soon after midnight when it was announced that Mr Piet Marais had won by 1 781 against independent Dr Esther Lategan and Mrs R Reyneke of the HNP.

In Hercules the HNP leader, Mr Jaap Marais, came bottom of the poll against the NP and the CP. This was a seat where the NP benefited from the rightwing squabble. The Nats polled 6 114 against nearly 10 000 for the rightwing parties.

### Press curbs

In terms of the state of emergency regulations, news, pictures and comment are restricted.



## The faces of a winner . . .

**THE ECSTASY:** Above, smiling PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin is hugged by his wife Joyce after increasing his majority in Sea Point.

**THE WAITING:** Below, a reflective Mr Colin Eglin, surrounded by confident-looking supporters, waits for the result.



Pictures: JIM McLAGAN, The Argus

# PFP majorities slashed in shock Peninsula results

**By DICK USHER, SUE LUPTON and HENRI DU PLESSIS**  
**Staff Reporters**

**THE** Progressive Federal Party lost a seat and narrowly held two with slashed majorities in the Peninsula — its traditional stronghold.

It lost Wynberg to the Nationalists by 97 votes, won Green Point by 39 and Gardens by 486, both after several recounts.

In the key Simon's Town seat, which the PFP hoped to gain following the death of Mr John Wiley, Mr John Scott lost by 268 votes to the NP's Mr Harry Dilley. Mr Scott received 7 020 votes to Mr Dilley's 7 288.

In Wynberg Mr David Graaff defeated PFP general secretary Mr Robin Carlisle by 5 264 votes to 5 167.

Tears of jubilation and of disappointment were shed outside the Southfield Civic Centre when magistrate Mr Pierre Joubert announced the result at midnight.

### Stunned disbelief

While NP supporters, who were in the minority in the small crowd, cheered and clapped, stunned PFP members could only stare in disbelief and despair.

Mr Philip Myburgh, who has retired from politics, won the seat in 1981 with a 2 212 majority.

An hour's delay in the announcement of the results was the first sign that a surprise was in store.

When Mr Graaff's campaign organiser, Mr Alan Geldenhuys, peered out of the hall and nodded, Mrs Sally Graaff shrieked and PFP supporters frowned.

But the crowd of about 50 was not convinced until Mr Joubert announced the result.

Then, amid applause and delighted shrieks, Mr Graaff was hoisted onto the shoulders of supporters.

He thanked Mr Geldenhuys and described Mr Carlisle as "a

worthy opponent" who "would continue to make a contribution to South Africa".

A disappointed Mr Carlisle replied, saying Mr Graaff was the only NP candidate who had not resorted to the election tactic of linking the PFP to the African National Congress.

### "Damaging to SA"

Mr Carlisle said he respected Mr Graaff for not using this strategy, which was "damaging to South Africa beyond belief".

"The PFP, fired by the force of defeat, will fight for freedom and justice to the end," said Mr Carlisle.

It was fifth time lucky for fruit farmer Mr Graaff whose victory followed four election defeats in the past 27 years — three times for the United Party and once for the New Republic Party.

Mr Graaff is the son of Sir de Villiers Graaff, former Opposition leader and life president of the New Republic Party.

Deep bitterness marked Mr Tian van der Merwe's narrow win for the PFP in Green Point over Mrs Estmé Chait for the NP. She cut his majority from 965 to 39.

The result did not come through until about 2.30am, having been delayed by several recounts.

Mr van der Merwe said: "I am very glad we have retained this seat and, in the process, retained our self-respect."

Supporters, who had learnt of a series of PFP setbacks around the country, greeted his re-election with jubilation.

"We have been subjected to a propaganda campaign mainly through newspapers and SATV in which honesty, decency and standards of civilisation had very little part to play.

"It is appropriate for all of us, as South Africans, to study the history of other countries and, in the way we study truth and respect for decent standards, we should study the history of Nazi Germany," he said.

His remarks were greeted angrily by NP supporters with shouts of: "What about your communist thugs."

Mrs Chait thanked her supporters and announced that the result would be contested.

"I am sure we are going to hold it on Supreme Court ruling," she said.

Mr Ken Andrew, returned in Gardens after four recounts with his majority reduced from 1 227 to 486, said the results of the election made him fear for the future of the country.

### "SABC propaganda"

The election drew 58.85 per cent of the constituency's voters to the polls.

In an interview, Mr Andrew said he was very disappointed with the performance of the PFP. He attributed the NP's success to the unlimited funds at its disposal and SABC propaganda.

"As a result of television propaganda, the NP has succeeded in getting a large number of English-speaking South Africans to enter the laager," he said.

"It will now become more difficult to solve this country's problems peacefully."

"Against this background, the Gardens result is not as disappointing as in other constituencies.

### Look at plans

"However, we are obviously going to have to take a hard look at our strategies and plans against the background of almost-unlimited NP financial resources and TV propaganda.

"Tonight makes me fear for the future of my country."

Mr Andrew polled 4 997 votes to Mr Basson's 4 511. There were 135 spoilt papers. In Matland, where the PFP pulled out all the stops in an intense campaign, Mr Herbert Hirsch polled 3 228 votes to the 7 508 of Mr Kent Durr, the Deputy Minister of Finance.

The NP majority was the biggest in the history of the constituency.

## Champagne for Dilley as Scott beaten

**By DALE LAUTENBACH**  
**Political Staff**

**NATIONAL** Party supporters drenched their winning man, Mr Harry Dilley, with champagne when his win over PFP candidate Mr John Scott by 268 votes was announced at 4.40 this morning.

A pale Mr Scott comforted his supporters with: "Don't worry, we'll still beat them."

The PFP lost this keenly contested seat on special votes only, said Mr Scott.

### ON THE DAY

"We won on the day — in Fish Hook and Muizenberg with an overwhelming majority. We won in Zeekoewiel and we even won in Kaagjagersberg. We won on postal votes and the only reason they took a 268 majority was that they had 400 more special votes than we did."

Cheering supporters lifted Mr Dilley on to their shoulders and sprayed him with more champagne. His only comment was: "I'm very happy. I had a great team."

Mr Scott said: "My great fear following this result and results elsewhere in the country is that whites are being driven into a laager and that we will have a Rhodesia-type situation unless we can escape from this fear psychosis."

Tired supporters embraced him, saying "Hear, hear" to their narrowly-beaten candidate.

## PFP joy over Johannesburg council poll

**JOHANNESBURG.** — The Progressive Federal Party last night won control of the Johannesburg City Council amid tears, disbelief and jubilation.

The PFP's candidate, Mr Pat Rogers, defeated Mrs Marietta Marx (National Party) by 125 votes in a 66.29-per cent poll.

The win gives the PFP 24 seats on the council. The ruling NP-Independent Ratepayers Association coalition has 23.

Neither the PFP nor the NP expected Mr Rogers to win. Both parties blamed a "je-faktor" of about 200 votes. Sapa.



## Nats romp home as whites swing to right

THE National Party romped home to a comfortable victory in this week's whites-only election with an increased majority. *safe*

The Nat victory, however, was greeted by a statement issued by the ANC in Lusaka which called on the black community to "ensure that this election is our country's last racist election".

The right-wing Conservative Party emerged as the new Opposition in the House of Assembly, deposing the PFP which lost several seats to the National Party. (304A) 11/12/51 87

The Nats in turn lost several seats to the CP, especially in Transvaal rural areas. At least one Nat Cabinet member and a deputy-minister lost their seats.

The New Republic Party, which lost its five seats, and the Herstigte Nasionale Party, which lost its sole seat of Sasolburg, have virtually been obliterated as a factor in white politics.



# First results

## Unopposed seats

FOLLOWING are the details of the two uncontested parliamentary seats in the general election. In each case the previous parliamentary result is given.

An asterisk (\*) indicates that the candidate was a member of the last House of Assembly, but not necessarily for the same constituency. The figure in brackets below the name of the constituency is the number of registered voters as indicated by the Electoral Office on January 31, 1987.

### Claremont (16 840)

\*Van Eck, J (PFP) unopposed  
Previous Part: (1986 by-election) PFP 5 689, NRP 885, PFP majority 3 804

### Groote Schuur (14 977)

Van Gent, J (PFP) unopposed  
Previous Part: (1981 Gen Election) PFP 5 941, NRP 3 244, PFP majority 2 697

## Special edition

FOR the very latest election results and news — watch out for the special extra-late edition of the Cape Times which will be on sale from 7am this morning. This newspaper will be available at most street points and major outlets from Camps Bay to the city and from Milnerton to Muizenberg.

### Bloemfontein West (15 863)

\*Coetsee, H J (NP) ..... 7 371  
Lombard, Prof J C (CP) .. 3 713

NP majority ..... 3 658  
split papers ..... 114  
percent poll ..... 70,5%

Previous Part: (1981 Gen Election) PFP 7 428, NRP 1 482, NP majority 590

# CP polls strongly

## in early results

### The Heideberg rivals



By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
and BARRY STREEK

THE ruling National Party appeared to be heading for some significant setbacks, particularly on the right, as the polls closed in yesterday's white election.

But chaotic voters' rolls, mostly untested support for the Conservative Party, divided New Republic Party loyalty to the Progressive Federal Party-NRP Alliance, widely divergent percentage polls and three-way splits made many results unpredictable.

The sitting parties all held on to their seats in early results, including Walvis Bay, Johannesburg North, Vasco, Bloemfontein West and Uitenhage.

It seemed clear that the Herstigte Nasionale Party had fared badly in most seats and the failure of the feuding far right-wing parties to form an election pact did not spite their guns in the onslaught against the NP in the Transvaal in particular.

If this earlier trend is borne out by late-arriving results from outlying areas, the CP could do considerably better than expected.

NP officials conceded that the CP had been given solid support, particularly in blue-collar urban constituencies in the Transvaal, and may have improved its position in many rural seats in the Transvaal and Free State.

The PFP was expected to win some new seats,

but tough fights in the Maritzburg area and in Walmer could see it losing seats to the NP.

Although the CP was bound to lose some of the seats it held, party organizers were confident it would pick up a number of NP seats, particularly in the Transvaal plateau and blue-collar areas in the Vaal Triangle.

In the Western Cape the sitting MPs seemed to be in comfortable positions except in Stellenbosch, where the result seemed too close to call, and in Heideberg, where conflicting claims by the Heunis and Worrall camps made the outcome of keenly fought contest difficult to predict when polls closed.

In the hotly contested Simon's Town seat, the PFP was confident its candidate, Mr John Scott, would become the new MP. But the party was

- Voters roll chaos — Page 2
- Heunis in tiff — Page 3
- Pictures — Page 4

## State of parties yesterday



Seats: 109  
Gains: —  
Losses: —



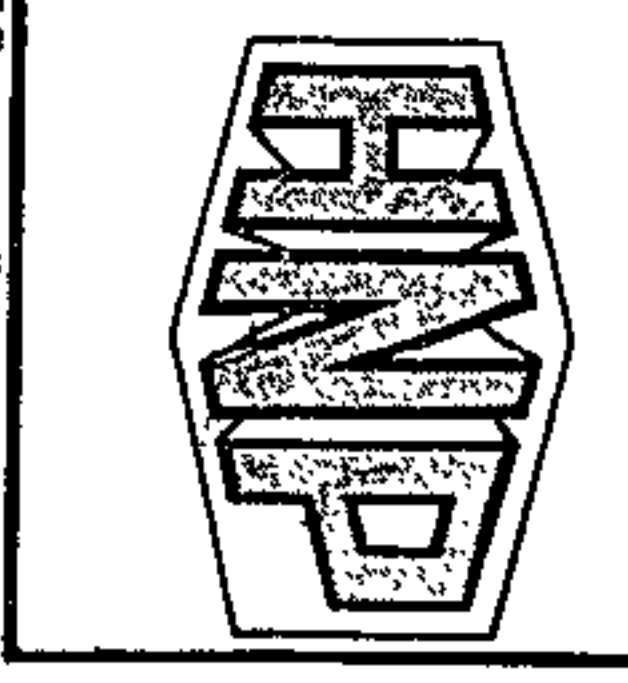
Seats: 26  
Gains: —  
Losses: —



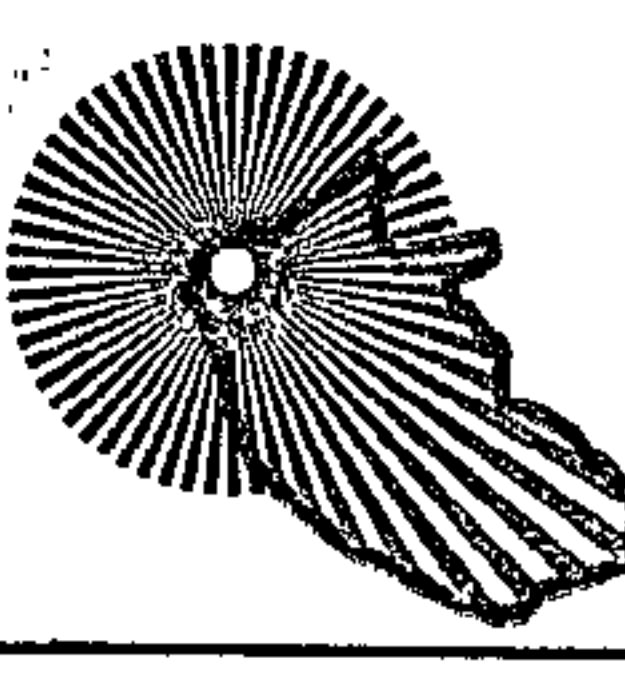
Seats: 16  
Gains: —  
Losses: —



Seats: 5  
Gains: —  
Losses: —



Seats: 1  
Gains: —  
Losses: —



Seats: 2  
Gains: —  
Losses: —



# Naas to stay with the Blue Bulls



Naas Botha

By IAN SMIT

NAAS BOTHA is staying in Pretoria — and that's final.

The Springbok and Northern Transvaal rugby captain says he "put on a few extra wrinkles" over the past few days before finally deciding to turn down an attractive business offer from Cape Town.

The blond flyhalf, after carefully considering an offer from a Cape Town sports manufacturing company, yesterday officially decided to remain in Blue Bull country.

"Yup, it was a tough decision, and I think I put on a few wrinkles over the last few days," said the "golden boy" of Northern Transvaal rugby yesterday.

Naas did not want to be drawn on what had made him decide to remain in Pretoria.

"There were a lot of factors involved and I don't think it would be fair to anyone to discuss the matter in public," he said.

"I gave the matter a lot of thought and the important thing is that I have decided to stay in Pretoria — and that's that."

□ WP not scared of Naas — Back Page

A policeman inspected the poster and a complaint was then lodged with the returning officer, Mr Attie Tredoux.

The NP candidate, Mr Japie Basson, arrived and seized the poster saying that the board to which it was attached belonged to the NP.

A short altercation then ensued which ended when Mr Tredoux said he would take the poster into his possession to preserve the amicable atmosphere which had prevailed so far.

Subsequently a party worker told the Cape Times the poster had been put up surreptitiously as a prank by a University of Cape Town student of her acquaintance.

## BUSINESS BRIEF

Gold (Ldn) (close)	\$458,75
Gold (NY) (close)	\$458,70
Rand .....	\$0,4997/5004
FT index (close)	1640,50
BD 100 .....	2014,20

had canvassed at the polling booths.

At the close of polls, the PFP was eyeing possible gains in Durban North, East London North East London City, North Rand and Umhlanga thanks in part to the NRP vote, which was favouring the PFP more than NP strategists had anticipated.

This trend could be sufficient to ward off a concerted NP onslaught on PFP seats in Maritzburg North and Maritzburg South. However, the situation in Greytown seemed to be neck-and-neck.

The PFP was bracing itself for a setback in Walmer in the Port Elizabeth area and earlier hopes that it might stage an upset win over the NP in Newton Park were fading rapidly. It was also fighting a determined challenge in Albany.

The CP election machine in the Transvaal plateland was confident that seats such as Ermelo, Ventersdorp and Lydenburg would be added to the party's parliamentary stable, while retaining key seats such as Barberton, Lichtenburg, Waterberg and Pietersburg.

The CP was also hopeful it would capture Krugersdorp and retain Brakpan.

In the Free State, Heilbron was a primary target for the CP, but a swing towards it could also deliver Fauresmith and Parys.

A number of constituencies in the Cape and Natal achieved exceptionally high percentage polls.

However, the chaotic state of the voters' rolls in certain Transvaal constituencies produced some surprisingly low polls and some frustrated candidates were threatening to go to court to challenge the close results.

# Voting quiet as a mouse brekka

ELECTIONS can have strange side-effects. Especially on journalists. These are some snippets from reports filed by reporters around the country yesterday.

□ □ □ □

CAPE POINT NATURE RESERVE. — By 7.30am only seven voters had cast their ballots at the polling booth in the office of the chief warden here, but party workers and officials were looking forward to seeing the reserve's captive puffadder eat a mouse for breakfast.

As guinea fowl trotted across the lawns, presiding officer Mr J T Smit said there were only about 200 people in the district, which included Scarborough and Kommetjie, who still had to vote and most of them were expected to do so after work.

"We are all going to watch the Mountain Zebra, there is a puffadder going to be fed here any moment and we are all going to watch that," he said.

□ □ □ □

ONE OF the earliest voters at Durban

Point was 80-year-old Mrs Mary (Bedsord) Marran, a 1928 Springbok swimmer at the Olympic Games in Amsterdam.

"It has to be Frank Martin — there is no PFP candidate here.

"All sportsmen should be casting their votes today for the PFP/NRP alliance," Mrs Marran said.

□ □ □ □

A TRICKLE of voters cast their ballots in

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The Facts correction service ☎ 208-4911 (Monday to Friday) Cape Times, Box 11, Cape Town (Registered at the GPO as a newspaper)  
State of emergency censorship restrictions apply to a wide range of reporting, comment and pictures in the Cape Times.

**Tomorrow  
FUNFINDER**



Cape Times 7/5/87

# Mandela: 'Vote against apartheid' call

FOIA  
Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — The New York Times yesterday praised Mrs Winnie Mandela for urging whites not to boycott the election but to vote for opponents of apartheid.

The newspaper was quoting the text of a speech she was prevented from delivering at the University of the Witwatersrand on Monday, and inferred that the speech

had been approved by her husband whom she last visited in Pollsmoor Prison two weeks ago.

"The message of the ANC is that white South Africans of relevance must vote against apartheid," the text ran. "Each vote against apartheid is a vote of protest against a government which is fighting with its back against the wall, desperately and ruthlessly clinging to power — a

government that has lost control."

In an editorial, the Times called Mrs Mandela "wise", adding: "It finally seems to have occurred to the ANC that the right course for apartheid's opponents is to call for more voting, not less."

"If this represents not just a gimmick but a change of heart, something has already happened in SA."



U.S. 1  
 ousted  
 by wide  
 margin

By Tom Youngusband  
 The Transvaal leader of the PFP Mr Douglas Gibson lost his Bezuidehout seat by more than 2 000 votes to National Party candidate Mr Sam Bloomberg.  
 Mr Bloomberg got 7 354 votes, Mr Gibson 4 912. Of the 21 200 registered voters in the Bezuidehout constituency, 58.6 per cent cast their ballots.  
 There were 500 special votes and 900 postal votes.

When the Bezuidehout results were announced shortly before 2 am, National Party supporters shouted, cried, hugged each other and jumped up and down in jubilation.

Mr Bloomberg was hoisted into the air by his supporters and on to a table from which he made his victory speech.

He told the crowd: "You have wanted me and you got me. Tonight's result is clearly an endorsement of the Nationalist Government's policy of reform and change.

"I hope I shall be able to serve you as I have served you during the past 30 years."

'SURPRISED'

He thanked Mr Gibson for giving him the opportunity of a "really tough fight".

He added: "You made me work ... you taught me a lot in politics."

Mr Bloomberg said he had been "surprised" Mr Gibson had been ousted so easily.

"He was a powerful candidate," Mr Bloomberg said.

He said he believed his 30 years in community service and his experience in the police force would serve him well in Parliament.

Mr Bloomberg said his special task would be to represent the elderly.

A smiling but obviously disappointed Mr Gibson congratulated his opponent, saying he hoped Mr Bloomberg would "make a good politician".

He added: "If people think they can write Gibson off because he lost in an election, they've got another think coming."

Mr Gibson told The Star he was "astounded at the magnitude with which the Nat Party had increased its support".

He said he hoped voters would get what they voted for.

344  
 715/81  
 Van: victory  
 shows awakening  
 of a new spirit

By Rob Nuttall

Mr Wynand Malan, elected to Parliament yesterday as an independent, described his victory over the National Party (NP) as the awakening of a new spirit in South Africa.

Showers of champagne greeted the announcement of Mr Malan's resounding 2 647 vote win over NP candidate Mr Olaus van Zyl.

International focus

Mr Malan polled 8 240 votes to Mr van Zyl's 5 593 votes and the Conservative Party (CP) candidate, Mr Arthur Acar's 864 votes. Mr Malan, who won the seat for the NP in 1981, resigned from the governing party early this year.

International attention was focused on the outcome of the contest and several overseas televi-

sion crews filmed the announcement of the election result.

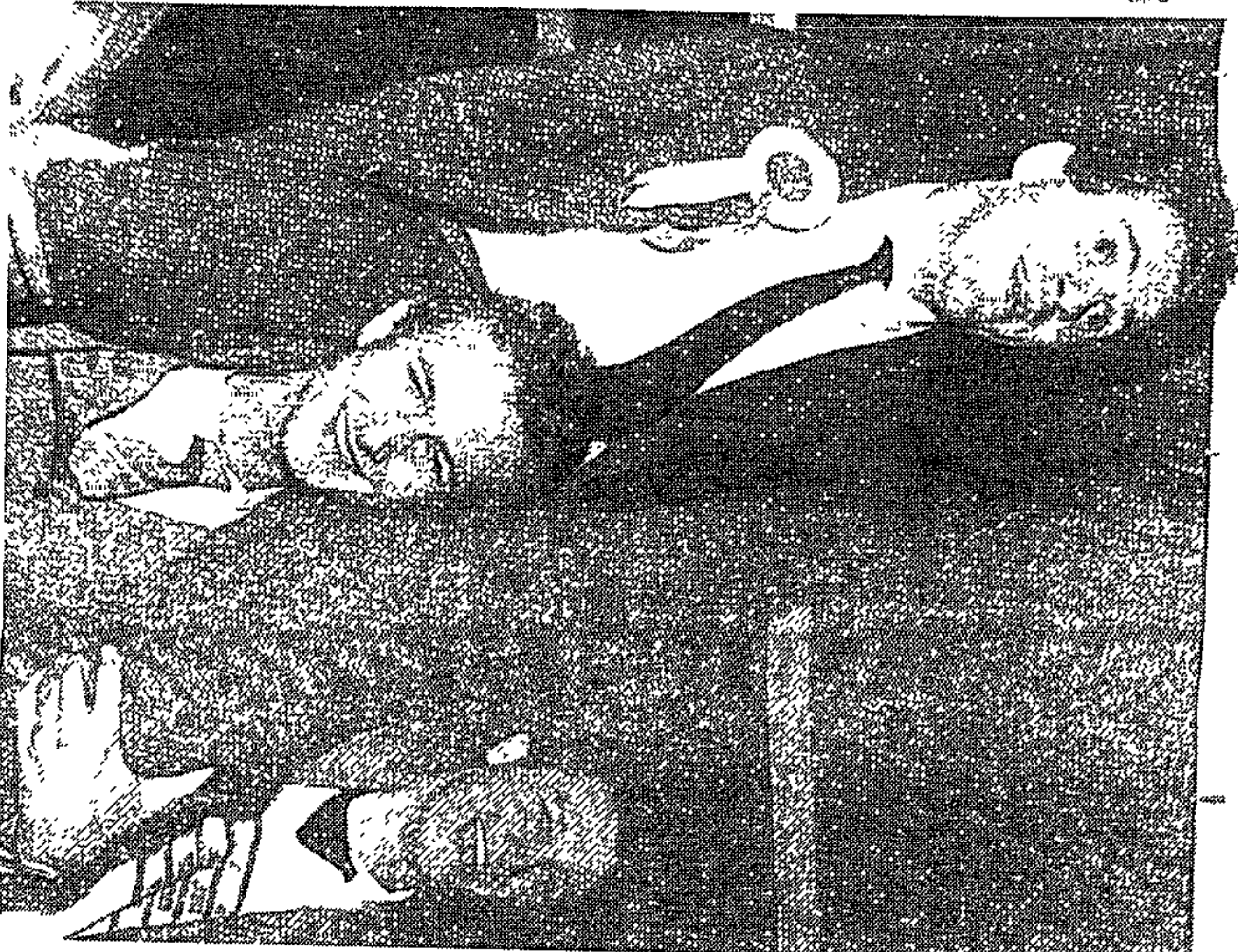
Mr Malan told cheering supporters that the Randburg result showed South Africans were prepared to move forward in the search for true justice.

"I call upon all South Africans to move towards a future of justice and peace and to work together to achieve this goal."

He said he did not believe sanctions against South Africa or internal violence would help find a solution to the country's problems.

Early voting trends at the three Randburg polling stations, with substantial support for Mr Malan, continued throughout the day and by the time the polls closed at 9 pm he and his workers were confident of a comfortable victory.

The CP fared miserably, so much so that Mr Acar's tables at the Northcliff polling station closed nearly 30 minutes before polling officially ended.



An exultant Mr Leon de Beer of the National Party is carried by his supporters. At the age of 27, he was one of the youngest MPs elected yesterday.

Widman's defeat is  
 a big blow for PFP

By Zenaide Vendelro

The PFP suffered a devastating defeat in Hillbrow yesterday, where the NP's Mr Leon de Beer wiped out Mr Alf Widman's 1981 majority of 2 959 to take the seat by 89 votes.

The upset in the formerly safe PFP seat stunned Mr Widman and his supporters.

It is believed there were four recounts before it was announced that Mr de Beer (27) had polled 3 455 against the PFP's 3 366 votes. The CP did well considering it was standing in the constituency for the first time, receiving 1 196 votes.

The result marked the end of an era of PFP dominance in Hillbrow. Mr Widman has represented the constituency at local, provincial and central government level for more than two decades.

Shocked PFP party workers commiserated with a subdued Mr Widman, who left the polling station as soon as the result was announced.

"What can I say?" he shrugged. "But Hillbrow will remain an open area."

As workers lifted an exultant Mr de Beer on their shoulders, he shouted: "We did it!"

"This is the first time that the National Party has won in Hillbrow." The people of Hillbrow have shown that they are sick and tired of the PFPs, who not only talk to the ANC but also criticise the police."

When questioned on what he would do about the "greying" of Hillbrow, Mr de Beer said he would have to wait for the President's Council report on the Group Areas Act and consult with the Minister concerned.

Mrs Gaye Derby-Lewis of the CP said she was happy with the result. "Many people predicted that I would lose my deposit."

"But the fact that I got 1 200 votes and the NP won indicates that there has been a big swing to the Right in Hillbrow."

"Now I would like to see what Mr de Beer is going to do about the Group Areas Act. If the situation get worse over the next two years — and I predict that it will — and the constituency is not delimited, then the CP will have a good chance in the next election," she said.

Defeated Horace says he won a moral victory

By Dan Side

Mr Horace van Rensburg, the independent candidate who was described this week by Mrs Helen Suzman as more of a PFP reject than a rebel, feels he won a moral victory in Bryanston last night, although he lost his seat in Parliament to Mr Rupert Lorimer.

"Most observers expected me to get no more than 500 votes," said Mr van Rensburg, who polled 2 128 votes to finish third behind Mr Lorimer's winning total of 7 398 and National Party banner-carrier Mr Craig Williamson's tally of 4 865.

"Traditionally, independents without the backing of one of the two major parties have not managed to get more than a couple of hundred votes.

"I had no established organisation behind me, suffered from a lack of funds and did not have the backing of a national party machine or profile," said Mr van Rensburg.

"Facing facts, genuine independents have never been part of the South African scene and voters in this constituency were scared of splitting the vote and letting the Nats in."

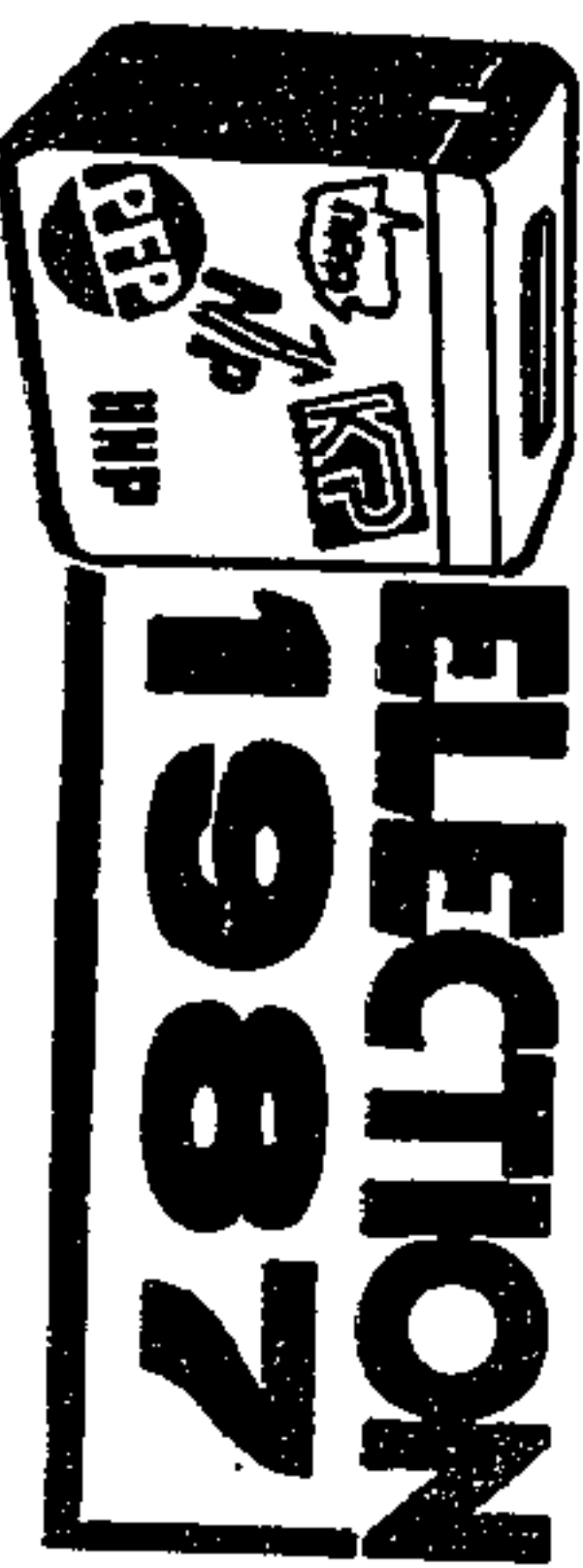
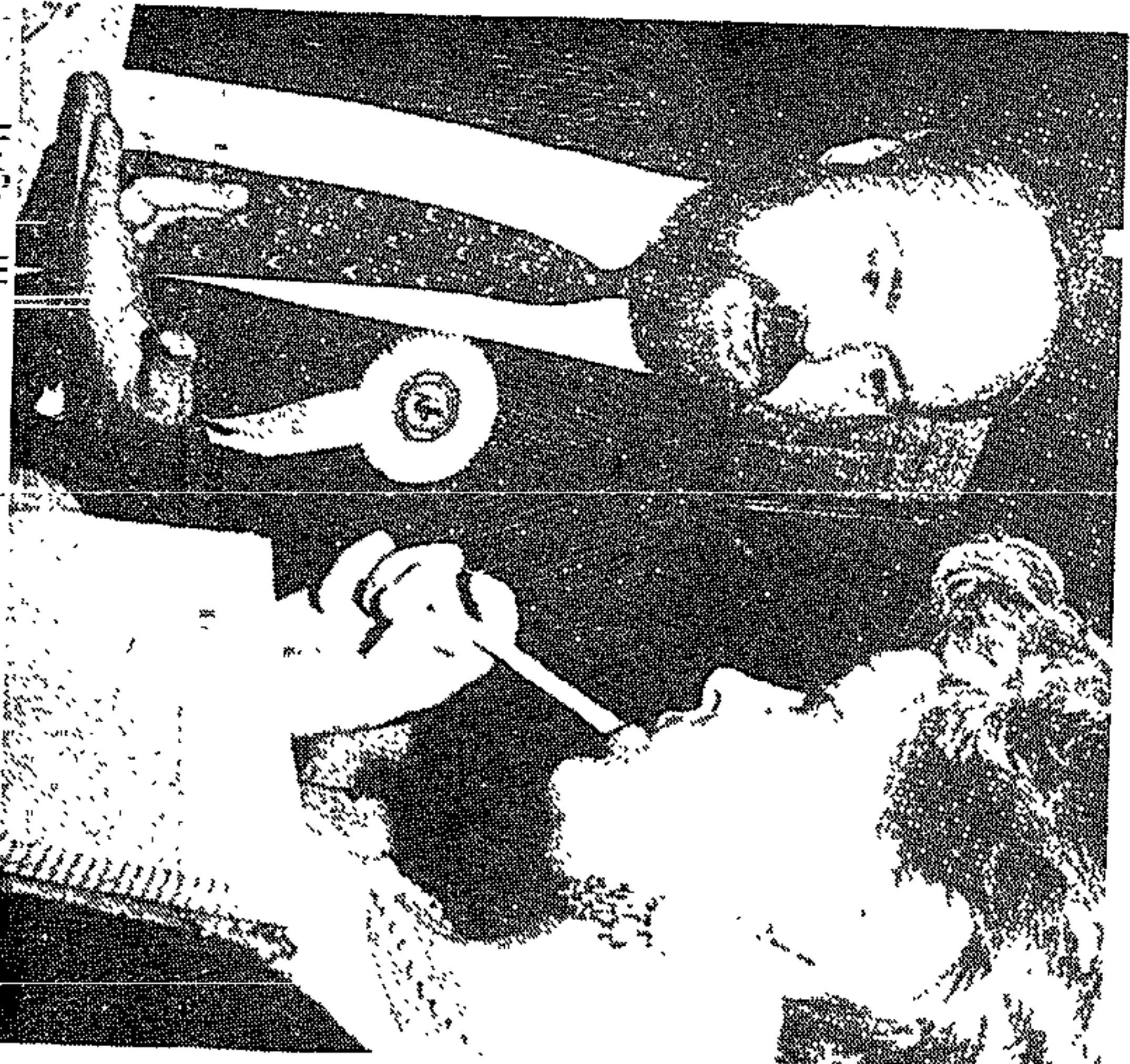
'SWING TOWARDS NON-RADICALISM'

Mr Williamson said he felt great about his performance. "Mr Lorimer received only 305 more votes than Mr van Rensburg and myself combined, so I call the election a swing towards non-radicalism."

Mr Lorimer, who received a scare on election eve when he was arrested for alleged non-payment of a debt, felt he had won a "tremendous victory" even though the majority of 2 533 over Mr Williamson was less than the 3 804 margin Mr van Rensburg had enjoyed over the Nationalist Party candidate in the previous election.

A feature of the Bryanston election was that no ballots were adjudged to have been spoilt. Constituent Mr Andrew Laxton disagrees with the finding, claiming this morning that he did not put his mark behind any of the names of the three official candidates, instead writing in "the name of a black man".

"What it boils down to is that I deliberately spoilt my paper, and



Victorious Mr de Beer



# Now it's back to earth after all the hot air

By Andrew Walker

The agony and the ecstasy, the good, the bad and the unlucky — that was the story at counting stations around the country last night as election results were announced.

In the fiercely contested flatland constituency of Hillbrow it was a time of sadness for veteran PFP campaigner Mr Alf Widman, unseated by a jubilant Mr Leon de Beer of the National Party.

But it was a gay occasion too, with the editor of the magazine *Exit* reported to have claimed that the result hinged on the vote of homosexuals happy with Mr De Beer's "positive attitude to gay rights".

## RECRIMINATIONS

In the rugged Free State area of Sasolburg it was time for recriminations among the Rightwingers as a split vote allowed Dr W A Odendaal to win the day for the Nats, pushing Mr Louis Stofberg, the HNP's lone voice in the last Parliament, back into the cold.

The cool of the Highveld autumn night did not bother Mr Rupert Lortimer of the PFP. He waltzed in in Bryanston, leaving in his wake the spy who would be MP, Mr Craig William-

# Nat casualties as platteland goes Right

By Therese Anders

The Transvaal platteland swung to the Right last night.

Among the casualties as election results were announced was Ermelo's Mr Hendrik Tempel, who until this morning was Deputy Minister of Development Aid.

Mr Tempel was defeated by the CP's Mr Moolman Mentz with a majority of 671.

The HNP candidate lost his deposit.

Amid scenes of great CP jubilation a disappointed Mr Tempel shrugged his shoulders and said: "I'm a free man now."

He blamed his loss on the general overall platteland swing to the Right.

His wife said the gruesome murder by a black man last week of an elderly local white woman had pushed some voters into the CP camp.

Ermelo's new MP Mr M J Mentz said he was too tired to say anything more than: "This shows the platteland is not prepared to forsake its kith and kin."

In Witbank new Conservative Party MP the Rev Wyand van Wyk gave up his church and NGK pension in February to stand for the constituency.

# Professor Doubly registered man blames biased TV could have voted twice

By Sol Makhgabtiane

Yesterday's election had its depressing moments for some white voters who found their names not on the voters roll — but Mr Charles Kuhn of Sandton had "problems" of a different kind.

"To put to the test the possibility of my obtaining two ballot papers, the electoral officer, a PFP representative and myself approached the issuing desk where I presented the second voter's number.

"The lady at the desk was about to hand me a ballot paper when I told her that I had voted. She said it was not possible. I did not take the second ballot paper and she deleted it from the records."

Mr Kuhn (38), of Fourways, voted only once because "knowingly voting more than once constitutes an offence which is punishable by a R200 fine".

Mr Kuhn recommended that officers issuing ballot papers inside the hall should not give papers to those voters wishing to make a declaration vote — without first making a declaration.

A declaration ballot — made within the voting hall — enables voters going to the wrong polling booth to vote.

He said: "How many other people have had the same situation and have not said anything about it and voted twice? In my view this is a bit of a farce when some people have no vote, while others are given two votes."

Mr Kuhn said that he recently corrected the post office and area code details contained on a card sent to him for confirmation by the Department of Home Affairs. This may have given rise to the confusion, he said.

# NP says protest vote gave Carletonville to Arrie

The secretary-general of the all-white Mining Workers' Union, Mr P J "Arrie" Paulus, has been elected to Parliament for the Conservative Party in the traditionally National Party constituency of Carletonville.

He won the seat from the NP candidate, Mr Ben van den Berg, with a majority of 98 votes.

A total of 60.5 percent of the 22 000-strong constituency cast their ballots yesterday.

Mr Paulus won 5 970 votes, Mr van den Berg 5 872 and the HNP's Mr Joseph Choile 571.

In the 1981 election the National Party won with a majority of 1 379.

The neck-and-neck battle between the CP and NP continued throughout the day and pent-up feelings between the party workers exploded into a fist fight and racial comments as officials counted the votes.

As the results were announced after 2.30 am in the civic centre of the mining town that is about an hour's drive

west of Johannesburg, Mr Paulus's supporters roared wildly, chanting "Arrie, Arrie, Arrie" and lifted Mr Paulus high above the crowd. They then gathered together and solemnly sang "Die Stem".

Mr Paulus said he expected to win, but he was disappointed by his narrow victory.

"It is nice to know that white people trust me and I will do my best to unite the whites in Carletonville."

Mr van den Berg, a businessman with legal qualifications, said: "It was a hard, clean fight. You have to remember that this is a mining constituency. This was a protest vote," he said.

Mr Choile expected to lose: "There was a huge lie factor and most of our voters switched over to the CP. Mr Paulus is a popular figure and the CP campaign created the impression that it was the strongest party."

In Florida, an exhausted Mr Rusty van Druuten, the independent candidate, learnt just after midnight that he had lost his de-

posit. He polled 833 votes in a constituency of almost 20 000 voters.

He reckoned his low-key campaign had cost him R6 000. His bid for Parliament was entirely self-financed. Mr van Druuten is a former award-winning television reporter for the SABC.

Ironically, the incident which led to him leaving the SABC involved the corporation's political bias in coverage of another independent candidate, Dr Denis Worrall.

Mr van Druuten decided to leave the SABC and run for Parliament shortly after being ordered by senior SABC staff not to kick off a news broadcast with an item on Dr Worrall's return to South Africa.

## SOLO EFFORT

It was only on election day that Mr van Druuten was able to enlist the help of "a dozen people, mainly old friends" in running his campaign. Otherwise, it was a solo effort.

He had to deliver campaign

material himself to households because of the postal strike and he prayed rain would not destroy his cardboard-backed posters.

He said he did not regret leaving the SABC because public reaction to his resignation had been positive.

"People still stop me in the street to express their approval of the stand I took against SABC bias."

On the East Rand, Mr Brian Goodall of the Progressive Federal Party polled 6 734 votes against the 6 902 of Mrs Joan Hunter of the National Party, who won the seat by 168 votes. The PFP majority was 1 869 in 1981 and 1 162 in 1979.

Speaking from his home last night, Mr Goodall said he was disappointed by the result and said it was clear his defeat formed part of a national trend against the PFP.

"There was no doubt that there was a strong protest vote against the PFP. The security issue and the linking of the PFP

with the ANC had an impact on a lot of voters."

Mr Goodall, who won Ederivale in a 1979 by-election, said it was interesting to note an increase of about 440 in the number of votes cast for the PFP, adding that "there were just too many Nats".

The party had also performed well in comparison to the PFP in other Transvaal seats such as Benendenout, he said.

Elsewhere on the East Rand, Germiston District's National Party candidate, Brigadier Kobus Bosman, described his victory over Mrs Bessie Scholtz of the Conservative Party as "beyond all expectations".

"I expected to win, but not by such a large majority. I was up against a well-known and popular candidate, but the voters have given us the mandate to go ahead with reform. It was the National Party that won the seat, not me," Brigadier Bosman said.

Mrs Scholtz, in tears, said she

was satisfied with the outcome, although she was a loser.

"It was a good fight. I got over 5 000 votes which I think is wonderful for a new party."

In 1981, Mrs Scholtz won Germiston District as the NP candidate. She later crossed the floor to the CP.

From the large crowd of CP supporters waiting for the result last night, it was clear they believed they stood a good chance of winning.

"Tante Bessie won't let us down," said one young supporter with a Vlerkleur pinned to his felt hat.

Another CP supporter said that even though they had lost the election, he felt "good and clean inside because I voted right, not like the Nats who want to give the country away to the kaffertjies".

The result of Germiston District was NP 7 604, CP 5 210, HNP 350. There were 256 spoilt papers, NP majority 2 394.

In Linden, a day of intense activity at the Louw Geldenhuys

Primary School ended in anti-climax when only a handful of people were there to hear Mr Pk Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, announced as the winner of the Westdene seat.

He said: "I'm very happy. I kept my position in spite of a severe attack from Left and Right, and I got in with the same majority, over 4 000 votes, and the same total number of votes."

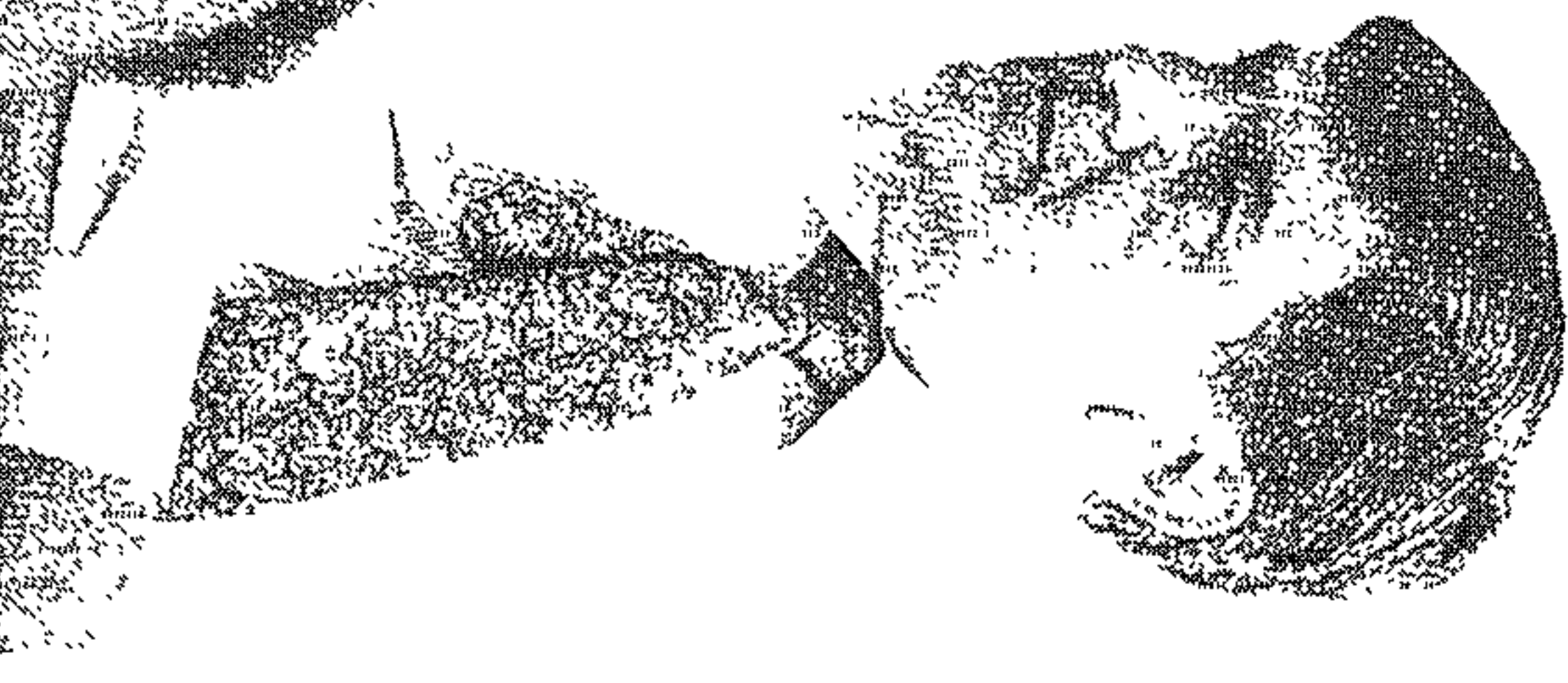
"The electorate have put their trust in me again and I will not disappoint them."

In the last election the NP received 7 673 votes and the majority was 4 609. Yesterday, the NP won 7 531 votes for a majority of 4 353.

Mr Botha's PFP opponent, Mrs Maggie Fourie, said she was disappointed in the electorate, who had not learnt their lesson.

"I sincerely hope there isn't further unrest," she said. "I'm afraid the Government will look on the results as a mandate for their policies."

Mr Arrie Paulus . . . "I will do my best to unite the whites in Carletonville."

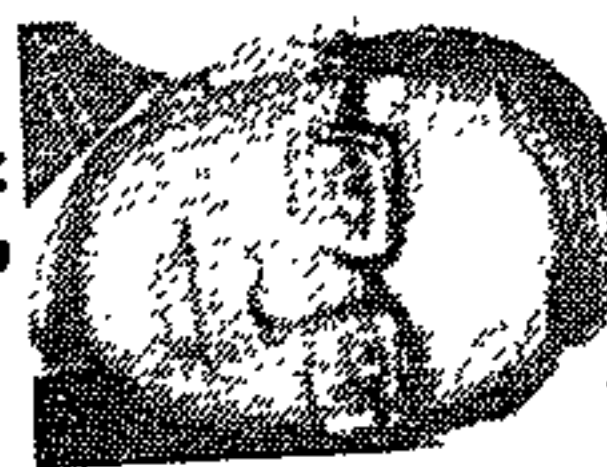




**OUT:**



Mr Greyling  
Wentzel



Mr Ron  
Miller



Mr Louis  
Stofberg



Mr Alf  
Widman



Mr Douglas  
Gibson



Mr Chris  
Heunis



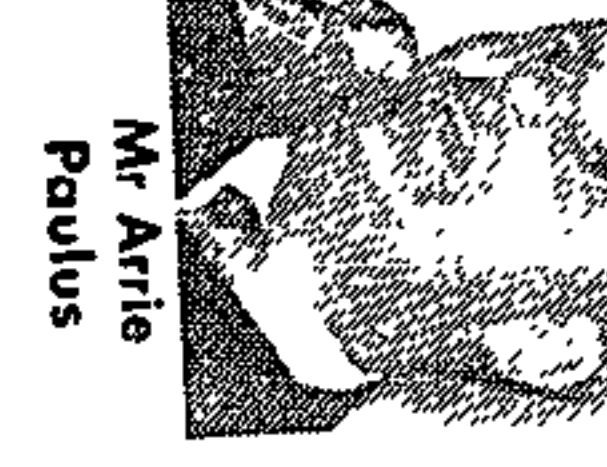
Dr Connie  
Mulder



Mr Wynand  
Malan

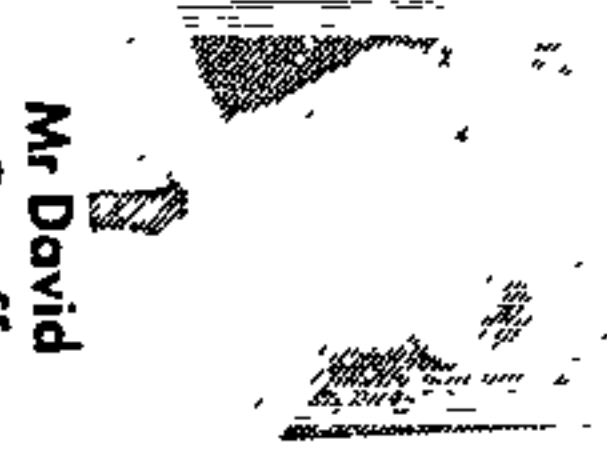


Mr Arrie  
Paulus



Mr David  
Graaff

**IN:**



Mr David  
Graaff

NP 114

PPF 19

CP 20

NRP 1

HNP 0

Ind 1

# Right romps home

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

The pattern of white politics has been shattered following an avalanche to the Right in yesterday's House of Assembly elections. The National Party has been returned to power, more strongly represented than at the dissolution of Parliament earlier this year, but weaker than when it was returned in 1981. The Conservative Party seems set to sweep the Progressive Federal Party aside to become the new Official Opposition in the Assembly.

The dramatic effects of yesterday's poll results include:

- The Progressive Federal Party/New Republic Party alliance lies shattered, with the NRP bundled out of Parliament in a series of ignominious reverses. It has been reduced from eight seats won in 1981 to a single representative in the new Assembly. The PFP's representation in the Assembly has been slashed by a third.

Not only has the alliance failed to make the vital breakthrough in its strategy towards building an alternative government in 1989, but the PFP has lost seats it previously considered its strongholds, including Wynberg, Bezuidenhout, Hillbrow and both Pietermaritzburg constituencies.

- The three independent candidates, led very well in the prevailing circumstances. Mr Wynand Malan won Randburg comfortably from the Nats and Dr Denis Worrall's assault on Heideberg and its Nationalist big game incumbent Mr Chris Heunis failed by just 39 votes. Dr Esther Lategan cut the Nationalist majority heavily in putting up a brave fight for Stellenbosch.

As recriminations and stresses within the shattered PFP threaten to pull the party apart, the independent movement could well form the nucleus of a new political party to the

**Cabinet  
Minister,  
2 deputies  
lose seats**

At least one Cabinet Minister — Minister of Agriculture Mr Greyling Wentzel — and two deputy ministers were beaten in the election, while a number of others had close calls.

Both the National Party's "crown princes", Cape leader Mr Chris Heunis and Transvaal leader Mr F W de Klerk, have their images dented.

Mr Heunis avoided defeat at the hand of Dr Denis Worrall by only 39 votes. Mr de Klerk faced a strong challenge from the CP and had his majority slashed to 1 524.

The rural constituency of Bethal in the Eastern Transvaal saw a major victory for the Conservative Party, which topped the Minister of Agriculture.



**The winner!**

Mr Wynand Malan, the only independent candidate to win a seat in Parliament yesterday, speaks to supporters after his resounding win in Randburg.

● See Pages 3, 17,  
18, 19, 20 and 21.



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## Minister is out

● Out of Parliament from today are several party office-bearers, including a Minister and two Deputy Ministers.

Minister of Agricultural Economics Mr Greyling Wentzel lost Bethal to the CP. Deputy Minister of Development Aid Mr Hendrik Tempel lost Ermelo to the CP while the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Ron Miller, lost Durban North to the PFP, the party's only gain in the poll.

Their defeat could precipitate a Cabinet reshuffle.

Casualties in the PFP included the party's secretary general Mr Robin Carlisle (Wynberg), the Transvaal leader Mr Douglas Gibson (Bézuidenhout) and its Defence spokesman, Mr Brian Goodall (Edenvale).

HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais came third in Hercules while the party's only MP, Mr Louis Stoffberg, lost his Sasolburg seat to the NP in a vote split by the CP.

● The HNP has effectively been destroyed as a rival to the Conservative Party.

This clears the field for a straight fight between the CP

from the seat he had held for 21 years. Mr Wentzel lost to the CP candidate, Pretoria advocate Mr Chris de Jager, by 1 612 votes.

Mr de Jager polled 10 331 votes to Mr Wentzel's 8 719 votes.

In the last election Mr Wentzel beat HNP candidate Mr R H Lenting by 2 680 votes.

Another casualty at the hand of the right wing was Deputy Minister of Development Aid Mr Hendrik Tempel. He was defeated by the CP's Mr Moolman Mentz, who won with a majority of 671.

The PFP in Durban North decisively beat the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Ron Miller, who was previously a member of the New Republic Party. PFP candidate Mr M J Ellis won with a majority of 2 110.

Former Law and Order Minister Mr Louis le Grange, who is now the Speaker of the House of Assembly, narrowly retained his Potchefstroom seat. His majority over the CP's Mr P. Mulder was 558 votes.

In Lydenburg, Minister of Manpower Mr Pietie du Plessis clung on to his seat by a mere 143 votes to defeat the CP's Mr A A Bruwer.

● To Page 3, Col 8



## Reform chances dashed — experts

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

Chances of real reform taking place through Parliament were dashed by the right-wing swing in the white election, according to some analysts.

Professor Mervyn Frost, head of the Department of Political Science at the University of Natal, said the swing signified some fundamental shifts.

He added: "The official opposition is now likely to be the Conservative Party. The implications of this are dire.

"From the point of view of the ruling party, the watchwords were security and stability, not reform.

"So with the threat now demonstrably coming from the Right, it is not likely to embark on a programme of high-speed reform which would in any way satisfy the aspirations of the black majority."

Any hope extra-parliamentary groups might have had for a new alignment led by the PFP and the independents had been dashed, he said.

He pointed out: "In Natal, the pro-Indaba group has been struck a severe blow by the wipe-out of the New Republic Party."

In spite of the independents' good showing, Professor Frost said they were unlikely to form the core of a new party.

"The chances of electoral success of a breakaway reformist party are slim," he said.

Professor Frost added: "On the international level, consequences are even more severe.

"What the international community will see is a shift to the Right.

### NO CHANGE

"This will strengthen the hands of the advocates of increased pressures."

Head of political studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, Professor, Alf

# Shock results set back PFP alliance

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

The Progressive Federal Party's alliance strategy is in tatters after several shock results for the PFP and the New Republic Party.

The PFP lost at least seven seats to the National Party: Hillbrow, Bezuidenhout, Edenvale, Pietermaritzburg North and Pietermaritzburg South, Walmer and Wynberg.

In what appeared to be a major swing to the right, many voters who had previously voted against the Government, turned their backs on the PFP in this election. The NP's campaign, based on claims that the Progs were "soft" on communism and the ANC, might have contributed to this swing.

The NRP is expected to disintegrate after los-

ing five Natal seats to the NP. The loss of Durban Point, Amanzimtoti, Umbilo, South Coast and Umhlanga indicates that many NRP supporters turned their back on the NRP-PFP alliance and the kwaNatal indaba — which formed a crucial part of the election campaign.

NRP leader Mr Bill Sutton lost in Caledon, and the NRP also lost in King William's Town.

The PFP's "turbocharge" campaign — a strategy of gradually increasing support with a view to eventually forming an alternative government — has been dealt a severe setback.

The disastrous showing of the PFP in Hillbrow, Bezuidenhout and Edenvale has dealt heavy blow to the party in the Transvaal, where it now has only six of the province's 76 seats.

PFP Transvaal leader Mr Douglas Gibson who lost the PFP seat of Bezuidenhout to NP candidate Mr Sam Bloomberg, said he was astounded at the magnitude of the increase in Nat support in the constituency.

The PFP's gain in Durban North over Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs Mr Ron Miller was one high mark for the party in a generally disappointing showing.

Another consolation for the PFP was the victory of Mr Rupert Lorimer in Bryanston. He easily beat Nationalist Mr Craig Williamson and former PFP MP turned independent Mr Horace van Rensburg, after both opponents had waged a fierce anti-PFP campaign.

The PFP was also disappointed in North Rand — a seat it claimed it could win. The NP's Mr A C Grobler won North Rand with a majority of 1 197 over Mr Pieter Schoeman of the PFP, while the CP candidate, Mr P H de la Rey trailed behind.

Veteran PFP MP in Houghton Mrs Helen Suzman had her majority slashed by the National Party's Mr G Pagan.

The PFP's showing in Sandton, Yeoville, Johannesburg North and Parktown was an improvement on the Houghton result, but the National Party generally increased its share of the vote in these Prog strongholds.



One of the lucky few alliance candidates in Natal who managed to defeat the National Party was Mr Ray Swart, Progressive Federal Party leader in Natal, who increased his majority in Berea.



Full ahead <sup>304A</sup>  
all engines, <sup>1/5/87</sup>  
watch your  
starboard

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

The collapse of the PFP/NRP alliance and the strong showing of the Conservative Party could have a major impact on the Government's interpretation of its mandate.

The National Party asked the electorate to endorse its commitment to further negotiations with black leaders for a new system of government which would be based on:

- A rigid commitment to segregated residential areas and schools.

- Each population group to be given maximum autonomy over its "own affairs" through its own instruments of decision-making and administration.

- Equal power-sharing between groups on matters of mutual concern so that no one group can dominate another.

- Endorsement of the Government's hard line on security action both inside the country and across the borders.

- Further reform in the social, economic and constitutional fields.

The Government's solid majority in the new Assembly means that this mandate will be acted upon with vigour.

However, mindful of the major gains of the Conservative Party both in seats won and in terms of inroads into Government majorities, there will almost certainly be no backsliding on the Group Areas Act and the own affairs aspects of the Government's constitutional plans in the near future.

With the mandate it was given yesterday, South Africa can expect the Government to take even stronger emergency measures and move ahead with those aspects of reform involving the upgrading of the quality of life of blacks.

The Government would not like to see further growth to its right before the 1989 election.



# ELECTION 1987

## Party workers tell of voters roll 'shambles'

The chaotic state of the voters rolls throughout the country is likely to become one of the major items of controversy and outrage in the wake of yesterday's general election.

Party workers and voters nationwide expressed strong dissatisfaction with the rolls, calling them "a mess", "a shambles" and "in a shocking state".

The PFP's Mr Pieter Schoeman who lost by 1 197 votes, said this morning they would call for an investigation into the voters roll and the delimitation of the North Rand constituency. There was a lot of unhappiness among voters at some of North Rand's eight polling booths because a "significant number were turned away". The voters roll was in a "shocking state".

Voters who had been registered in constituencies for years were reported to have been unable to cast their votes after their names were not found on lists at the polling stations.

Complaints have also been received that the ballot box procedure did not amount to a secret ballot as serial numbers reflected on the voting ticket could be used to trace the voter and the party for whom the person voted.

### THREATENED NOT TO VOTE

In Westdene, Mr Pik Botha had to intervene when a number of Westdene residents involved in a voters roll mix-up threatened not to vote at all.

These voters, from Greymont, which borders on neighbouring constituency Triomf, received notices in the post stating they had been registered in Triomf. At Triomf they were told they should vote in Westdene, causing many to threaten not to vote.

Mr Botha intervened and arranged for hundreds to vote in Triomf after they had signed affidavits affirming their identity and stating they had been registered in Greymont.

The PFP's Bryanston polling staff reported a large proportion of "dead and emigrated" voters. One the other hand, voters who had lived in the constituency for 10 years and longer were not on the roll, said PFP worker Mr Tim Sargeant. "The roll is a mess."

Wives and husbands sharing the same address had been allocated to different polling stations.

Several voters in Walvis Bay were turned away from polling stations. Their names had been deleted from the Walvis Bay voters roll and transferred to Namibia.

In the Free State of three persons registered at the same residential and postal address, one was correctly registered in Smithfield and able to vote close to home, while the other two were registered in Winburg and told to vote 50 km away.

In another case at Bloemfontein West, four members of the same household found they were listed to vote at different points.

One Yeoville couple, who said they had been casting their votes in Yeoville for years, found that only one of them was on the roll.

The National Party's Mr Leon Wessels said several people he was sure were registered in his constituency had arrived to find their names not on the roll.

In the Durban constituency of Berea, NRP candidate Mr Geoff Oldfield complained that 5 000 of the 17 200 voters were missing, and the muddle had resulted in large numbers being turned away.

## HNP left devastated in wake of lost deposits

By Claire Robertson and  
Toni YOUNGHUSBAND

The Herstigte Nasionale Party has been virtually destroyed in the election, with 65 of the party's 86 candidates losing their deposits.

The party lost its sole parliamentary seat in Sasolburg to the National Party, party leader Mr Jaap Marais trailed to third position in Hercules and none of its other candidates managed to win.

The party's only MP, Mr Louis Stofberg, lost to NP candidate Mr Willem Odendaal, who won by a majority of 2 673.

While some commentators wrote the HNP off as a factor in South African politics, Mr Marais admitted the party was bloodied but maintained it was unbowed. "The struggle is hard, but it continues!" he told a crowd.

One of the best shows of the beleaguered party was in Worcester where the HNP polled 2 245 votes but lost to the NP.

The NP's Mr Lukas van Vuuren took Hercules with less than half the votes, polling about 3 200 less than the combined right-wing vote.

"The NP has not received a mandate to sell us out from Hercules," said Mr Marais.

Asked about the future of the HNP, Mr Marais said the election results would have to be studied first. When told that the sole HNP seat of Sasolburg had fallen to the NP, Mr Marais expressed surprise and declined to comment further.

Mr Marais said unity talks would have to take place between the CP and HNP "before the next by-election".

In Hercules, Mr van Vuuren came in with 6 114 votes. Mr SP Barnard of the CP polled 5 253, Mr Marais received 4 123 votes. "The effect of the split vote was most obvious here," Mr Marais said after the result was announced at about 1 am. Mr van Vuuren admitted that the disunity had "worked to my advantage".



showed that no significant change, let alone reform, can come about through white electoral politics.

"The election campaign was fought on the issue of State security, and its most important campaigns were mounted against the unions, students, the ANC and Barclays Bank.

"The PFP lost massive support to the National Party, which in turn lost support to the Right.

"The independents did surprisingly well, but they were essentially a comic sideshow at the graveside of electoral politics."

He said the stayaway by more than a million unenfranchised workers was most significant.

Professor Stadler said Dr Worrall was a "very powerful character" whom the Government might offer a deal.

He added: "They have either got to stroke or kill him; they can't pretend he doesn't exist."

Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, head of the newly created Centre for Applied Studies at the University of Witwatersrand, said the close Helderberg contest and Mr Wynand Malan's Randburg win indicated impetus for reform on the left of the National Party.

The independents, he said, would fill the gap left by the new Nats and PFP.

In Natal, said Professor Schlemmer, former NRP voters were now voting for the National Party.

# One million stayed away in whites-only vote protest

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Mass stayaways in townships countrywide and a sudden upsurge of political violence made yesterday's poll quite different from any white election held to date — and ensured even before the votes were counted that May 6 1987 would have a special place in the history books.

More than one million people stayed away from work and school yesterday in protest at the all-white election and the suppression of trade unions and political organisations under the state of emergency, according to the estimates of the independent Labour Monitoring Group (LMG).

The stayaway, which began on Tuesday with an estimated 520 000 participant workers, affected all major centres with the exception of Cape Town and Bloemfontein.

Hundreds of thousands of schoolchildren and university students also left classrooms and lecture theatres standing empty for two days.

National figures are not yet available, but the Department of Education and Training says that in Johannesburg and the East Rand there was a complete stayaway in Soweto, Benoni, Boksburg, Germiston, Kempton Park and Springs.

## SCHOOLS EMPTY

Witnesses said schools in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage were empty and that no schooling took place in the Pretoria townships of Atteridgeville and Mamelodi yesterday.

The Universities of the Witwatersrand, Cape Town, Western Cape, Durban Westville and Turfloop came to a standstill and many students stayed away at the University of Natal.

Widespread street violence flared across Natal, according to the Bureau for Information, and a man lost his life in the Soweto township of Dlamini on the first day of the stayaway.

According to the bureau, on the Tuesday there

7/5/87 (304A)  
were at least 61 officially recorded "unrest incidents" in the townships near Durban, Maritzburg, Pinetown and Ladysmith. Police moved against activists and crowds in situations of stone-throwing, petrol-bombing of property and vehicles and attendance of illegal gatherings, the bureau said.

Its report for this 24-hour period recorded 10 people injured — including three policemen — and 20 arrested nationwide.

Compared with Natal, the other provinces were peaceful on Tuesday despite the mass stayaway — with the bureau reporting five violent incidents in the Western Cape, four in the Transvaal and one in the Eastern Cape. Security forces used teargas and birdshot in many of the reported instances of conflict.

## STREET VIOLENCE

Street violence continued to centre on Natal townships yesterday.

Official reports and figures for the day had not been released by the bureau at the time of going to press.

Earlier this week two small explosions — thought to have been caused by mini-limpet mines — shook Johannesburg's Civic Centre and three landmines detonated in border areas, leaving one man dead and at least 10 injured.

Yesterday, 40 people — the majority of them white — were held while carrying placards in the central Durban area of Berea.

The South African Council of Churches and the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference — which between them represent all the mainstream "English" churches — observed election day as a day of special intercession.

Human rights advocates wore black armbands yesterday.

(Parts of this report have been omitted to comply with the emergency regulations).

# Acid test is Budget, say businessmen

By Michael Chester

Business leaders today underscored that the first acid test for the new government will come on June 3 when the main 1987 Budget emerges and the administration shows its hand on immediate and longer-term economic goals.

Mr Harold Groom, president of the Association of Chambers of Commerce (Asso-com), said the Budget would provide the key to the whole level of business and consumer confidence — and clues to the intended pace of vital socio-political reform.

"Several key economic indicators have improved in recent months, but a far faster and more secure upswing is essential if we are going to curb chronic unemployment problems and create more social stability," he said.

"Business hopes the new Parliament will recognise that faster socio-political reform is a vital factor in the economic outlook."

"Assocom will also be reminding the new Parliament that much more attention must be paid to South Africa's dilemma with persistent high inflation."

Mr Murray Hofmeyr, executive director of the Anglo American Corporation, who hit news headlines with recent pleas to business leaders to "stand up and be counted", and Mr Tony Bloom, head of the vast Premier group, also advocate a renewal of emphasis on reform measures as the main cure of longer-term problems.

Dr Azar Jammie, director of the Econometric research unit, is convinced that cuts in taxation, especially moves to moderate the steepness of the marginal tax ladder, are imperative on June 3. Tax cuts, he argues, can ultimately also play a critical role in slashing the rate of inflation, if carried out in tandem with careful handling of rand exchange rate decisions, along with the rising gold price on world markets.

Without reductions in income tax, the country had little chance of meeting even the relatively modest target of a three per cent economic growth rate, he said. "It is vital that the Budget acts as a spur to consumer spending and provides the booster to business confidence that will generate the dramatic increase in new fixed investment needed for business expansion and the faster creation of new job opportunities."

## TAXATION PRIORITY

Johannesburg tax consultant Mr Nic Nel is equally convinced that lower taxation should be a first priority. Today he announced the formation of a Taxation Association to launch a nationwide campaign among consumers and businessmen to lobby all MPs to support sweeping reforms of the tax system.

Mr Nel hopes to mobilise more support for proposals to introduce a single flat rate of tax for everyone, individuals and companies alike, and which he believes can be

pegged as low as nine percent, and still bring in all the revenue required by government.

Mr Nel believes his blueprint promises to axe the need not only for general sales taxes, but also the need for special taxes from the new Regional Services Councils, which he estimates are poised to run at about R692 million a year.

He urged the new parliamentarians to take a much firmer stand in demanding the release of the full report of the Margo Commission of inquiry into taxation, which he believes has deliberately been held back while awaiting the election outcome.

Mr Andre Spier, executive director of the Syncom think-tank, urged the new government to accelerate the privatisation programme and hand over more State enterprises and services to the private sector.

Syncom is now preparing detailed reports on the potential role of privatisation in such spheres as education, health services, low-income housing, public transport and social security and pension schemes.

The Small Business Development Corporation will be backing moves to speed up commitments to the dismantling of unnecessary technical regulations, which it believes are still acting as barriers to the expansion of the informal sector of the economy, and especially the entrance of black entrepreneurs to the economic mainstream.



# CP set to take

4/2/80  
150/100  
2/1/80

## Over PFP's role

It's bin nice knowing you!

By PATRICK CULL, Political Correspondent  
SOUTH AFRICA'S white voters yesterday opted to "go it alone" with a massive swing to the right that seems likely to install the Conservative Party as the official Opposition.

At the time of going to Press, the CP had won 20 seats to the 20 taken by the Alliance plus one Independent. The final eight results, including Albany and Cradock, will now determine who will be the official opposition.

The last results are expected this afternoon.

The odds favour the CP as there has been a significant shift to the right in the Transvaal and they should pick up Schweizer-Reinecke and Ventersdorp.

This would give them 22 and, unless the PFP can hold Albany, which would be against the general trend, the CP would automatically replace the PFP as the official Opposition.

Eleven Alliance seats fell to the National Party yesterday — seven held by the PFP and four by

tion scandal, and the secretary-general of the right-wing Mineworkers Union, Mr Arrie Paulus. Two other significant results were brought about by yesterday's events.

Firstly, the CP all but annihilated the Herstigte Nasionale Party, many of whose candidates lost their deposits, and that party can now have little future despite the game words of its leader, Mr Jaap Marais, that the fight will go on.

○ Turn to Page 2

CP looks set to take over

PFP's role

4/2/80  
150/100  
2/1/80

○ From Page 1

Secondly, both the heir apparents to the State Presidency were severely damaged.

The Cape NP leader, Mr Chris Heunis, scraped home by just 39 votes against Dr Denis Worrall in Helderberg and his Transvaal counterpart, Mr F W de Klerk, had his own majority slashed and then had to watch while the CP carved holes in his power base.

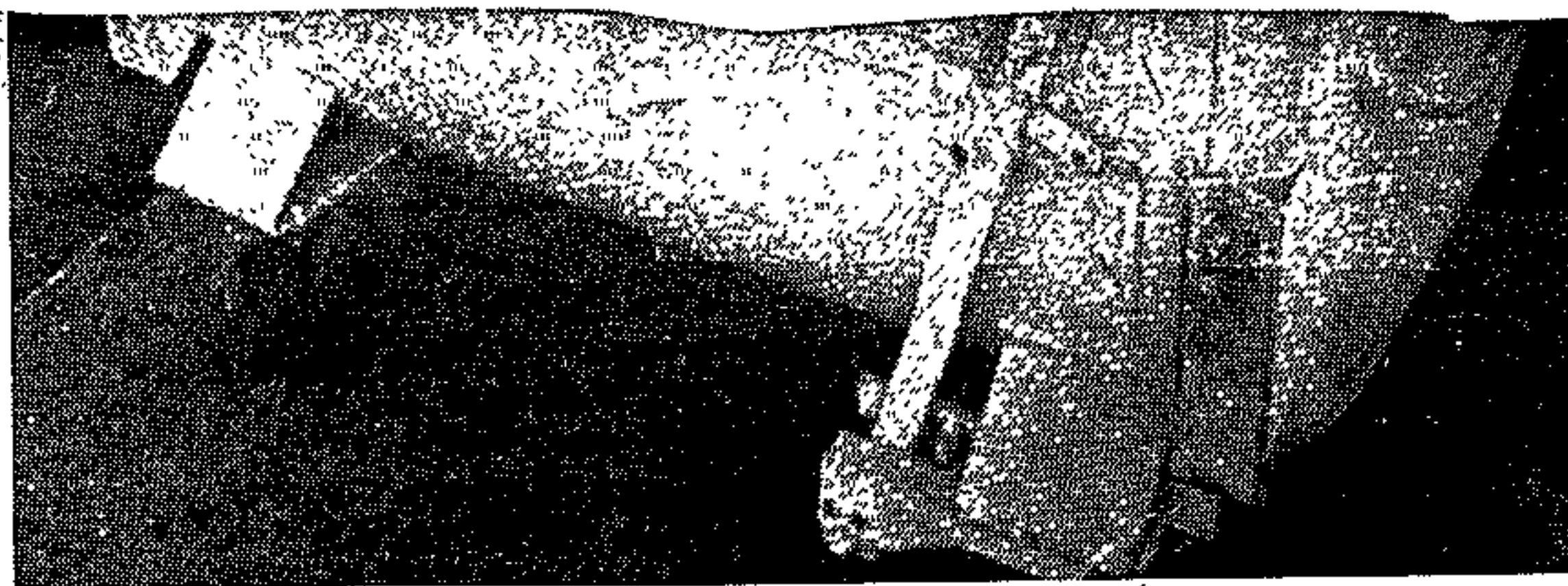
The National Party will no doubt claim that it has received a massive mandate for reform.

Certainly they have returned to power with an increased majority in an election marked by a high percentage poll.

More realistically, the electorate has swung markedly to the right and the mood is one of belligerence and a determination to "go it alone" rather than one of negotiation.



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(304A)



The morning after... the rejected candidate, Mr PADDY BALL in Walmer, is joined by his victorious opponent, Professor FANIE SCHOEMAN, in the dirt bin.

Picture by Evert Smith

## 'Lurch to right' is blow to PFP — and Vaal Nat leader De Klerk

CAPE TOWN — The election had demonstrated a "lurch" to the right, said Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the PFP, soon after retaining the Sea Point seat last night.

"I cannot deny that the results pose a major setback for the PFP and the concept of a reform alliance developing into an alternative government," he said.

"Distressed as I am that the PFP has lost seats, I am even more distressed at the showing of the Conservative Party.

"There is no consolation for South Africa because the future is not going to be determined by white politics but by the ability of those in authority to deal with South Africa as a multiracial country.

"The PFP is going to have to re-evaluate its strategy."

● The leader of the National Party in the Transvaal, Mr F W de Klerk, said today he was disappointed at the setback the CP had dealt his party in the Transvaal, but satisfied with NP

P.T.O.

● Turn to Page 2

also recaptured eight seats lost to the CP by default when they broke away from the NP in 1982.

In turn the CP thrust into the soft Transvaal underbelly of the NP, taking 13 seats and coming desperately close in several more.

The CP won Bethal, Britz, Carletonville, Delmas, Ermelo, Losberg, Middelburg, Overvaal, Potgietersrus, Randfontein, Roodepoort, Standerton and Witbank and retained a further seven.

In the process they eliminated the Minister of Agriculture, Mr Greyling Wentzel (Bethal), and the Deputy Minister of Development Aid, Mr Hendrik Tempel (Ermelo).

They will go to Parliament with the former crown prince of the NP, Dr Connie Mulder, thrown out in disgrace in the wake of the Informa-





Among speakers assembled in Port Elizabeth today for the two-day national conference of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa were (from left) the regional director of Idasa in East London, Mr ERIC MNTONGO, Idasa executive director Dr ALEX BORAINÉ, Prof JOHN DU GRUCHY of the department of religious studies at the University of Cape Town, the chairman of the National Education Union of South Africa, Mr MVUYO RALAWÉ, and the executive director of the Free Market Foundation of South Africa, Mr LEON LOUW.

## SA moving further away from non-racial democracy - Boraine

By KIN BENTLEY

SOUTH AFRICA was further away from becoming a non-racial democracy as a result of Wednesday's white election, Dr Alex Boraine said in Port Elizabeth today.

Opening the two-day conference of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, Dr Boraine, the executive director, said "a mood of despair" had settled on progressive people because of the election results.

The "enormous swing to the right in white poli-

tics" meant that the goal of a new non-racial democratic South Africa would be made that much harder to achieve.

However, this road was "totally inevitable", he said, adding that the conference would be a tentative step on the road.

Much depended on the motivation and determination of the people of South Africa as to whether their society became truly non-racial and democratic or drifted further into totalitarianism.

The first speaker, Idasa's Border regional di-

rector and a former trade unionist, Mr Eric Mntonga, said the black people's struggle had two main aims — to get rid of racial oppression and of class exploitation.

Apartheid was being fought through "the national democratic struggle" while labour unions were tackling exploitation.

Unions' long-term demands included the release of detainees, the return of exiles and the establishment of a non-racial democratic South Africa, he said.

304A

# Launch of Idasa in PE tomorrow

By KIN BENTLEY

THE focus falls on extra-parliamentary politics in Port Elizabeth tomorrow when a two-day national conference marking the official launch of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) gets under way.

The conference comes at a time when opponents of the Government's apartheid policy are reeling from the hammering the liberal opposition took in yesterday's election.

Two PFP leaders who quit Parliament at the beginning of last year in protest against its inability to address the crisis in South Africa — Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, Idasa's

policy director, and Dr Alex Boraine, its executive director — will lead tomorrow's workshop on democracy.

Representatives from the majority of Western embassies in South Africa will be among the 400 delegates.

Idasa is working towards the establishment of a non-racial democratic South Africa.

The conference will be opened by Dr Boraine. Thereafter, a series of keynote addresses will be given by experts in democracy, in relation to labour, business, education and the church (tomorrow) and to law, the media and government

(Saturday).

The speakers are:

● Mr Arthur Chaskelson, national director of the Legal Resources Centre, who will talk on "Democracy and the Law". The response will be led by a PE city councillor, Mr Graham Richards.

● Mr Joe Latokgomo, editor of the Sowetan, who will talk on "Democracy and the Media". The Editor-in-Chief of the Eastern Province Herald, Weekend Post and Evening Post, Mr J C Viviers, will lead the response.

● Professor J W de Gruchy, head of religious studies at the University of Cape Town, who will speak on "Democracy and the Church". The Rev De Villiers Soga, head of the Interdenominational African Ministers of South Africa, will lead the response.

● Mr Sydney Mafumadi, deputy general secretary of Cosatu, who will speak on "Democracy and Labour". Dr Peter Cunningham, a senior industrial sociology lecturer at the University of Port

Elizabeth, will lead the response.

● Mr Funyana Mazibuko, the director of the university preparation programme in Johannesburg, who will speak on "Democracy and Education", to which Mr Richard Todd, head of the Leadership Education and Advancement Foundation, will respond.

● Mr Leon Louw, director of the Free Market Foundation, who will speak on "Democracy and Business". Industrial leader Mr Johan van Zyl will respond.

● A key United Democratic Front member, yet to be named, who will address the conference on "Democracy and Government". Professor Heribert Adam, a German expert on SA politics, will respond.

● Dr André Odendaal, a political scientist from the University of the Western Cape, who will also speak on "Government". Dr Charles Simpkins, a member of the South African Labour Research Unit and senior lecturer at UCT, will lead the response.



# Pik: it's a lie; Eglin: he's playing politics

## 'Rot' row still going full blast

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

The row between the National Party and the Progressive Federal Party over the State President, Mr. Botha's, alleged remark that Nelson Mandela could rot in jail was still going full blast as voters went to the polls today.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr. Pik Botha said in a statement last night he could not as Foreign Minister allow the Progressive Federal Party to

besmirch South Africa abroad with its lie — a lie concerning the State President.

Mr. Botha released the statement after the Progressive Federal Party yesterday refused to accede to his demand for an apology to the State President for an advertisement which quoted him as saying Nelson Mandela could rot in jail until one of them died.

PFP leader Mr. Colin Eglin hit back at Mr. Botha today by saying the Foreign Minister was talking nonsense and using his position as Foreign Minister to play politics and win a few votes for the National Party.

### Last minute pleas to voters

Final messages to the voters from political leaders today were:

- Mr. F. W. de Klerk, leader of the Transvaal National Party: The Government seeks a strong mandate to negotiate reform and to safeguard the country against the revolutionary onslaught.

- Only the NP has the ability to broaden democracy while retaining group self-determination and defending the State against violence and other strategies of the African National Congress.

- Mr. Colin Eglin, leader of the Progressive Federal Party: Millions of people around the world and millions of voteless South Africans are watching today's election for a message of hope. This could be a decisive day in the history of South Africa if the long political drought is broken and if the country, after 39 wasted years, shows it is prepared to move to a new era where there can be development potential free of the restrictions of apartheid.

I call on every South African who has the privilege of the vote to use it to vote for a new era in which South Africans can look forward again to making this country what it should be — the greatest country in the world.

- Dr. Ferdi Hartzenberg, Transvaal leader of the Conservative Party: After today's election South Africa will once again step into the era of partition, an era which will make this country great again. An era offering us a better future.

- Mr. Jaap Marais, leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party: The HNP is certain that, although the National Party will keep many of its constituencies, the total number of right-wing votes will be more than those of the NP. This will be proof of the right-wing's position of strength in the country, even though the two right-wing parties are at odds.

(Compiled by D. M. Braun, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

### Soldiers replace PFP posters they removed

National servicemen replaced Progressive Federal Party anti-apartheid posters which they had earlier removed from the Jan Smuts Avenue bridge in Hyde Park yesterday.

After representations to their commanding officer by the PFP, servicemen returned the posters.

(Report by C. Ryan, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

Mr. Pik Botha said in his statement last night the quotation attributed to the State President was a lie and the PFP's leader, Mr. Colin Eglin, should have known it was.

Yet Mr. Eglin had not denied it was a lie and even although the source publication, the *Financial Mail*, had admitted the statement had not been controlled and it had been negligent, Mr. Eglin refused to apologise for the lie.

### "Day and night"

Mr. Botha said South Africa's diplomatic representatives now had to work "day and night" to neutralise the lies of a political party in South Africa.

Mr. Eglin said: "The quotation in the advertisement was printed in good faith by the *Financial Mail* on February 13. It is about time Mr. Botha put the interests of South Africa before the election interests of the National Party."

"Mr. Pik Botha, by fulminating about the PFP's advertisement, is making an international issue which would not have existed had it not been for his behaviour."

(Report by D. M. Braun, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

# Forced removals still going on — action group

CAPE TOWN — The National Party's election manifesto claims the Government has achieved an end to forced removals but this is only an attempt to deceive the white electorate, according to a statement issued in Cape Town yesterday by the National Committee Against Removals.

The group said that barely two weeks ago the State President, Mr Botha, told a Stellenbosch election meeting he could not guarantee that the settlement of Lawaaiikamp at George would not be moved to Sandkraal despite strong opposition from Lawaaiikamp residents.

"Since February 1985 when Dr Gerit Viljoen announced there would be no more forced removals the Govern-

## No-hope poll — FFF

The Five Freedoms Forum sees no hope in either voting or abstaining today.

"White voters go to the polls today, some with the same futile beliefs they had before the 1984 referendum that their cross would be a mark for justice. Others will vote on a ballot of insecure racial hatred," an FFF statement said.

"Our hopes for peace lie in one person, one vote and in negotiation and the restoration of basic human rights.

"We view the ballot boxes with profound sadness and pray that the future after the elections is not as ominous as we fear," the FFF said. — Sapa.

(Report by M Collier, 626 Old Mutual Building, Harrison St, Johannesburg)

ment has blatantly broken its promise and uprooted the people of Langa, near Uitenhage; engineered the expulsion of 70 000 residents of Crossroads; dis-established the township of Oukasie at Brits; legislated the incorporation of the Transvaal communities of Machakaneng, Braklaagte and Bloedfontein against their will into Bophuthatswana," the statement said.

The group said that in March last year the Government had begun to remove the residents of a township near Machadodorp in the Eastern Transvaal.

"The authorities claim the removal is voluntary but the residents say the Government, having deliberately neglected their township, did not consult them before trying to move them."

The group said more than 40 000 people were threatened with removal in East London's Duncan Village as part of a government "upgrade" programme and a similar plan was under way for Walmer in Port Elizabeth.

"Despite strong resistance to plans, the Government is also going ahead with the incorporation of the sprawling resettlement camp of Botshabelo/Onverwacht into QwaQwa."

The group said that since the declaration of the state of emergency last year many leaders of communities threatened with removal or incorporation had been detained.

"This is clearly an attempt to harass and intimidate people into moving against their will." — Sapa.

(Report by W Blumenfeld, 801 Nedbank Centre, Strand Street, Cape Town)

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THE election of many surprises, is how today's poll could well be remembered.

Seasoned party organisers yesterday admitted that because of the large number of three- and four-cornered contests, the unusually high number of doubtful voters, the expected low poll and the huge lie-vote, their predictions of the results could be way off the mark.

The fact that it is the first general election in which the Conservative Party is taking part also contributes to the unpredictability.

A crucial factor is the failure of the CP and HNP to agree to an election pact.

The major "find" of the election campaign has been the "New Nats". Today's results will show if this phenomenon of urban Afrikaners could lead to a new direction in white politics. It will show whether — as the PFP and independent candidates Wynand Malan in Randburg, Esther Lategan in Stellenbosch and Denis Worrall in Helderberg are saying — this election could be the start of a moderate alliance that could make a serious bid for power in 1989.

The battle in the Johannesburg and Cape Town regions is raging mainly between the PFP and the NP; on the East Rand and West Rand and the Vaal Triangle between the large number of Afrikaans-speaking white and blue-collar workers; Pretoria, the Free State and the Transvaal

# Election results might surprise if predictions are off target

MAX DU PREEZ and DOMINIQUE GILBERT

platteland between the NP, CP and HNP; and in Natal and Eastern Cape between the NP and the PFP/NP alliance.

A number of key constituencies in each province can give some pointer to what may be expected.

## TRANSCAAL

In the Vaal Triangle, Transvaal NP leader FV de Klerk (Vereeniging) and Education and Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen (Vanerbijpark) face strong challenges from the CP, and the neighbouring Overvaal seat is expected to be a CP gain.

On the Wes Rand, NP rising star Leon Wesels is struggling for survival against the CP's

most prominent English-speaking leader, Clive Derby-Lewis. CP stalwart Connie Mulder is likely to win in Randfontein.

In Pretoria, the right-wing onslaught is strongest in Roodeplaat, Gezina, Hercules, Koedoespoort and Wonderboom. The PFP could surprise and take Waterkloof, especially if the CP does well.

In Johannesburg, the PFP is likely to hold on to all its seats and gain North Rand. Hillbrow, Bezuidenhout, Houghton and Bryanston are seats to watch for a weakening of English-speaking support for the PFP, and Helderkruijn, Johannesburg West, Randburg and Florida for increased Afrikaner support for the PFP.

The right wing stands to gain

most in the rural areas. Although the NP has a chance to take back Soutpansberg, Pietersburg, Barberton and Koedoespoort — all seats with MPs who defected to the CP — the CP claim they can take Ermelo, Brits, Standerton, Carletonville, Middelburg, Lydenburg, Potgietersrus, Rustenburg, Schweizer-Reneke, Stilfontein, Ventersdorp and Witbank.

CAPE All eyes are on the Helderberg contest, but the PFP believes it will take East London North and Simon's Town with a good chance in East London City, Durbanville and Maitland.

The CP is expected to lose De Aar and Kuruman to the NP.

## FREE STATE

Free State NP secretary Inus Aucamp says campaign figures show a clean sweep of all 14 constituencies for his party, and all of them possibly with an outright majority.

The contest to be watched is Sasolburg, the only seat the HNP has ever won. Others are Parys, where the NP got less than the combined right wing in the last by-election, and Fauresmith.

## NATAL

The PFP is confident it can unseat Deputy Foreign Minister Ron Miller in Durban North, with a good chance of taking Umhlatuzana. The PFP is most under threat in Maritzburg North, while the NRP is making a strong bid for South Coast.

Report by Max du Preez and Dominique Gilbert, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg

## Lorimer: Press aware of summons



● LORIMER

PFP CANDIDATE for Bryanston Rupert Lorimer had a nasty pre-election shock yesterday when court documents were pressed on him for non-payment of an account — and journalists from Nationalist newspapers seemed to know it was going to happen.

Lorimer said yesterday at least one Nationalist Press journalist was outside the Randburg magistrate's court when he emerged from a Bryanston candidates' meeting called by the returning officer to discuss election issues and postal votes.

Others arrived to photograph

HAMISH MCINDOE

him after he had been met outside the court by a messenger of the court, who asked Lorimer to accompany him to his office.

Lorimer yesterday expressed surprise that members of the NP Press seemed to know about the incident before he did.

"The whole matter is far less dramatic and exciting than my political opponents would have wished.

"In the hurry and excitement of a hectic election campaign, I overlooked a matter which has

now been dealt with," he said.

The matter: a court judgment of a few years ago for the repayment of about R5 000 on Lorimer's Barclaycard account.

Lorimer said during the election campaign he had omitted to keep up the specified payments. After a meeting with the attorneys concerned "satisfactory arrangements have been made".

Lorimer said he was "very confident" of beating the NP candidate, Craig Williamson, in today's election.

Report by Hamish McIndoe, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg

## Jo'burg's fate to be settled in The Parks

THEO RAWANA

THE balance of power in the Johannesburg City Council is at issue in today's municipal by-election — if the PFP wins, it will gain control from the NP.

The candidates in The Parks ward, which comprises Emmarentia, Roosevelt Park, Montgomery Park, East Town and Waterval, are the NP's Marietta Marx and the PFP's Pat Rogers.

Rogers says the people of Johannesburg want a council that swears allegiance first to the city, rather than to the NP.

He says a PFP-dominated council will ensure direct communication with the residents, instead of issuing notices in the Government Gazette in jargon people cannot understand.

Because residents are tired of a council that has been unresponsive to their needs and views, he stands a good chance of winning, Rogers says.

The crime rise is caused by unemployment brought about by government's economic policy, he adds.

Marx says it is important for a councillor to be available to the residents at all times and getting to know what their problems are. "I have already seen many people and proved I am prepared to work hard.

"Simply saying there is drainage to be fixed here and there, and not being with the people, is no representation at all."

## Blacks condemn PW's pamphlet

SEVERAL black leaders yesterday reacted with contempt to pamphlets, bearing a message from President P W Botha, dropped on black residential areas countrywide this week.

About 500 000 pamphlets, in which Botha says he needed a strong mandate from white voters to enable him to negotiate the participation of blacks at all levels of government, were dropped the day before a two-day stayaway by blacks to protest at the whites-only election.

Soweto Civic Association chairman Nthato Motlana said he found it unacceptable that the NP, after 39 years in power, should ask the people for a man-

DIANNA GAMES

date when they had refused all that time to use the one they had been given.

He said all elections in SA, bar the first, could be said to have been about black politics as parties had come and gone on how to handle the "black menace".

"In 1948 the NP won an election on its manifesto of having found the final solution, and over these years they have battled to implement that solution."

Azapo spokesman Lybon Mabasa said the move showed the fear in the NP and white community that they could no longer explain their arrogance in trying to determine blacks' destiny

without blacks having a say in it.

Addressed to "Fellow South Africans", the pamphlet said blacks may be asking why whites were having an election and how it would affect them and SA's political future, SAPA reports.

"The fact is that six years have passed since the last elections for the House of Assembly. The time has come to consult the white electorate about its views on how we should proceed with peaceful reform. That is why I have already proposed that your leaders who reject violence should join me in negotiations in a national council," it said.

Report by Dianna Games, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg



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# Last election for P W Botha — 'hopefully'

LONDON — The SA election and accompanying black unrest was being prominently reported in Britain and Western Europe yesterday, with President P W Botha coming under harsh examination.

Media reports predicted the return of the NP with a roughly similar majority — but most commentators doubted the government would use victory to relaunch the reform programme.

In Britain, attention was focused on former London ambassador Denis Worrall's fight in Helderberg and the other independent candidates.

While many commentators have described the election as a white man's farce, millions of Britons heard author Alan Paton say the opposite was true.

Paton told BBC radio the election would be a critical indication of "how far white SA is prepared to go".

Paton said he hoped for a swing to the left — and

IAN HOBBS

doubted that there would be a movement to the right. He felt Botha had been "quite genuine" when he originally announced his reform programme.

The abolition of influx control and the Mixed Marriages Act had, to the Nationalists, been a great step, but then Botha's reform had ground to a halt.

Paton said Botha "just does not understand the extent of the great problems that confront the country" and "he puts his party before anything else".

Dismissing the suggestion the election was irrelevant, Paton said: "The NP and the Afrikaner nationalist is still very relevant."

The election had resulted in the bold decision by Worrall and the "encouraging" stands by young Afrikaners.

Paton said he admired Worrall for the step he had taken. "I always re-

garded him as a brilliant opportunist in the past. Whether he has changed his spots I don't know, but I wish him luck."

Hopefully, the NP would lose votes to the left, as this would bring the day of negotiation with the ANC nearer. At least "when you have been at an absolute standstill for years and years or going backwards, then any step forward gives you hope for the future".

An editorial in the Guardian said an election in a country with an unending racial crisis could never be without relevance.

As before, the election had brought out intransigence among Afrikaner nationalists towards blacks, white opponents and foreign critics.

The election had forcefully reminded blacks that they had no votes, and angered them. The result was strikes and protests.

The Guardian said accelerated reform was unlikely as long as Botha remained President.

It said: "His policies have angered black and foreign opinion, thrown the economy into disarray and divided the white communities within

themselves and against each other, as never before.

"He has exacerbated all these problems by gratuitously calling an early election.

"Anyone hoping for progress towards racial justice from this election is likely to be disappointed. The only good news is that it may well be his last; and the only people likely to be vindicated are those who see South Africa as a classical tragedy in which all concerned must play out their pre-ordained roles to the bitter end, however long it takes."



NORMAN SHEPHERD

WHITE businessmen on the Natal South Coast have set up an indaba of a different sort with local black civic and business leaders.

In discussing political, social and economic matters of mutual interest in talks — dubbed the Margate/Gamalakhe Indaba — over the last nine months, employment was identified as the greatest need in the area.

To this end, the 10 black and 10 white committee members were instrumental in getting the KwaZulu Finance and Investment Corporation to establish about 15 mini-factories

costing R120 000 in Gamalakhe.

The corporation will provide advice and loans of R1 000 to budding black businessmen who want to make clothing, pottery, leatherwork or operate any other small-scale business from the complex in Gamalakhe.

Small 40m<sup>2</sup> workshops will be made available at subsidised rents.

The Asikhule (Zulu for "let us grow") Foundation was born as a result of the meetings.

# Natal sets up an indaba of a different kind

The foundation arranged for the KwaZulu Training Trust to train 42 black women in commercial sewing, and more are to be trained. Training is aimed at giving them the technical knowhow to be able to train others or run their own businesses.

Some of those trained are to rent workspace at Gamalakhe.

A further five sewing courses have been arranged in various KwaZulu areas.

The multiracial committee is also

trying to organise the marketing of goods at a planned crafts centre in Munster. The centre is to be similar to the one in Umgababa, higher up the coastline.

"We are providing advice on the building of shops and shopping centres and are encouraging black-white partnerships," says Margate businessman Michael Gird.

Meanwhile, black and white businessmen continue to meet regularly to discuss important local issues.

"The important thing is that we are talking. This is the first time this (white businessmen approaching black leaders for talks) has been done here," says Gird.

He says there are mutual goals such as racial harmony and economic upliftment.

Says Gird: "We ascertained all the problems in the area — crime, lack of birth control — come down to money and could disappear with the provision of employment."

Call for strike to continue

# Stayaway and violence on eve of polling

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ALAN FINE

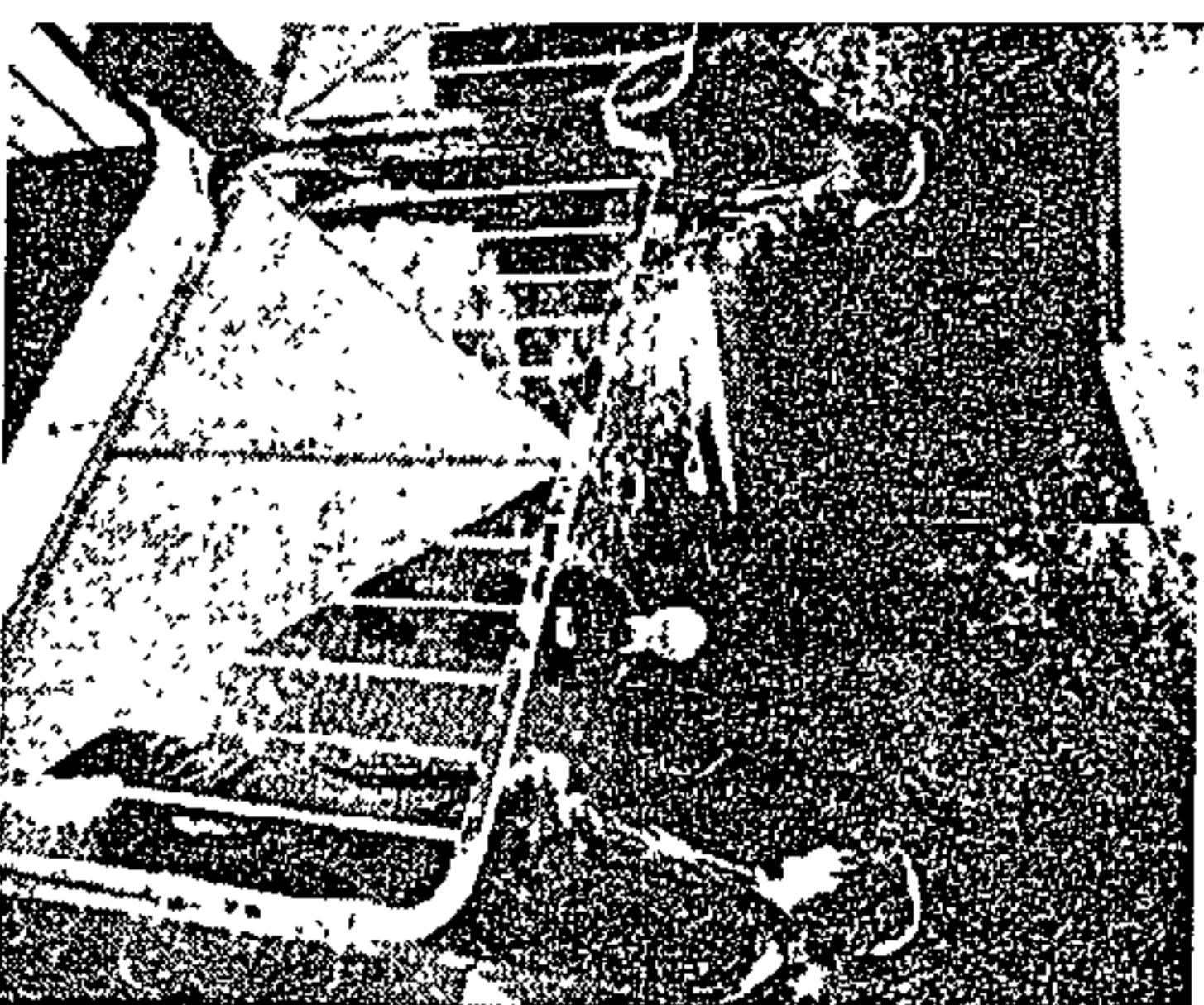
WHITE SA goes to the polls today after a day of widespread work stayaways by half-a-million workers, landmine and bomb explosions, arson, stone-throwing, and clashes between security forces and township residents at illegal gatherings.

Four of SA's universities have decided to close today as a result of the election and incidents surrounding it. They are the universities of the Witwatersrand, Cape Town, the Western Cape and the North.

Protagonists of the stayaway have called for it to continue today.

Stayaway trends seemed particularly patchy on the Witwatersrand, with different firms in the same areas reporting widely divergent attendance rates.

The Labour Monitoring Group (LMG), a group of mainly university-based so-



This little chap was rather dwarfed by two policemen, doing guard duty at Rosebank Primary School's polling booth yesterday. Picture Robbie Botha

cial scientists, said at a conservative estimate 500 000 mainly black workers in commerce and private industry stayed away yesterday. The estimate is based on a countrywide survey of about 200 firms.

Firms appear to be treating the stayaway on a no work, no pay basis. No cases of dismissal have come to light.

Action was most pronounced in the Eastern Cape where, according to the LMG, 99% of black and 35% of coloured workers took part. The figure in the Transvaal was 43%. This excludes the state and mining sectors. The figure for retailing was somewhat higher at 75%.

Putco and Sats reported peak hour commuter capacity ranging from 7% to 25% from Reef townships yesterday morning. About 75% of Putco drivers in the area stayed away.

The LMG puts the stayaway figure for Natal at 50%. However, the Natal Chamber of Industries says it was closer to 35%, and attributes this to an absence of transport facilities.

Most of the unrest incidents reported by the Bureau for Information occurred in townships around Durban.

In Cape Town the average was 5%, the LMG said.

The head offices of mining groups faced up to 50% absenteeism. However, the mines themselves were largely unaffected, managements said.

Three small Gencor gold mines — Grootevlei, Marlevale and Unisel — reported almost total stayaways by their

## Stayaway marks election

approximately 9 750 black workers. The company's Impala refinery was partially affected.

The 9 000-strong workforce at three shafts of Anglo American's Western Holdings mine stayed away, as did about 1 000 Arcoal employees. And Rand Mines Milling and Mining faced a 20% stayaway.

A spokesman for the Bureau for Information declined to comment, saying the stayaway had nothing to do with it because it was not unrest. He said he would not speculate on whether the unrest incidents in Durban were related to it.

The stayaway follows a call by Cosatu, backed by the UDF and the NEC, for two days of peaceful protest against the election.

It has also been aligned with demands for the reinstatement of dismissed Sats workers, the right to hold meetings and express views, the release of detainees, and the creation of a climate favourable to democratic activity.

Earlier this week an FCI spokesman expressed regret at the call for stayaway action, and the fact that business was to bear the brunt of a reaction to government policies.

● To Page 2





ent Times 6/5/81 (3044)

## WE CALL ON THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA TO LISTEN:

We, members of a wide range of organisations working for change in South Africa, believe an increasing number of whites share our desire for a prosperous and free country, ruled in the spirit of justice and equality, by a government elected by all South Africans. We believe that more and more whites, given the choice, would vote as we would — for a fair and lasting peace among all the citizens of Southern Africa.

Yet the election on May 6 — an all white election in the tricameral parliamentary system — gives us no way to express these choices. The best of the meagre options we might vote for are notions of accelerated "reform", and other schemes which divide the nation. Such plans offer no guarantee of peace. Indeed, they may well lead to a worsening of the conflict that already grips our nation. We need to put our most urgent efforts into creating a climate in which genuine democracy can be exercised.

Argus 6/5/87

NATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL

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# Walkout as Louw hits back at US delegate

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — More than a third of the delegates at the annual conference of the South African Museums Association in Maritzburg walked out when Mr Gene Louw, Administrator of the Cape, reprimanded an invited black American delegate.

Mr Louw accused Dr John Kinard of "one of the most stringent attacks on white South Africans I have ever heard".

Dr Kinard had slated South African museums, which he said were in need of "intensive care".

He told delegates that South African museum experts knew less about African people than they did about African animals. He was appalled by the quality of life among black South Africans.

He slated the education system and the housing programme for blacks, and said he was equally appalled at the way blacks were treated "as non-citizens and non-beings".

South African museums faced a serious challenge in exposing these conditions, he said.

His address prompted an unscheduled reply from Mr Louw, an honorary delegate at the conference.

Mr Louw said similar attacks would force him and other provincial administrators to reconsider the policy of sending and inviting representatives to museum conferences.

More than 70 out of the 200 delegates left the room while Mr Louw was speaking.

One of them, who did not wish to be named, said that, while Mr Louw was a VIP delegate, he had no right to stand up and speak in that manner to an invited speaker.

The delegate said all delegates were obliged to listen to what Dr Kinard and other speakers had to say. He said all the delegates who left the meeting were back at the conference today.

Dr Kinard said he had been caught by surprise at Mr Louw's criticism.

"But the thing that really energised me was the response of the museum people," he said.

"My experience was that the white community was silent on critical issues that affect their lives, and here, in a spontaneous and unrehearsed way, they responded to someone in power who embarrassed them."

"I was mystified and excited because I realised these people had to live here and took great risks by standing up in that way."

Dr Kinard said he bore no grudge over Mr Louw's attack on his speech.

## Landslide disaster death toll rises to 49

JAKARTA. — More bodies have been recovered from a mound of earth and rubble which engulfed

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full-page special election table of parliamentary and provincial results page 4. It will help readers of the results as they are

news and results will be in all editions of the Cape. A special extra-late go on sale at 7am tomorrow. Newspaper will be available at points and major outlets Bay to the city and from to Plumstead. This edition, very latest available results plus comment by a special panel of political experts keep readers fully informed losses and trends. Cape Times will give the full of the final position in the election.

# Tension on eve of election

Where to vote — Page 4  
All the seats — Page 5

CM- This is 6/5/8 7 304A



By ANTHONY JOHNSON and BARRY STREEK

**PRE-ELECTION** tension mounted around the country yesterday as workers and students began a two-day stayaway to protest against today's whites-only election.

Many township schools around the country were deserted and five universities — including the University of Cape Town and the University of the Western Cape — decided their doors would be closed today.

Yesterday also saw an upsurge in unrest. One death was reported in one of two landmine explosions on the border between South Africa and Zimbabwe.

And incidents of unrest in many cities were reported, particularly Durban where there were running battles between youths and police in seven townships.

## Whose ship in?

Chief Reporter  
IT'S probably just sheer coincidence.

Roughly two million whites are expected to cast their ballots today — and a galaxy of government stars, including several ministers and their deputies, could lose their seats or have their once comfortable majorities slashed.

While most of the endangered National Party candidates will probably be saved by the failure of the bickering far right wing to forge an election pact, not in two decades have so many members of the cabinet and their deputies been under threat.

Both the Progressive Federal Party and the Conservative Party were confidently predicting yesterday that they would capture some seats from the NP.

The PFP is particularly confident of winning Simon's Town and Durban North.

Yesterday's protest against the "apartheid election" — sponsored largely by the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions — was peaceful in most areas, except for Natal.

Regions worst hit by the stayaway, greeted by a massive security presence in some areas, were the Witwatersrand, Durban, the Eastern Cape and the Northern Cape.

The Labour Monitoring Group at UCT said the response to the stayaway in Cape Town appeared to be limited. Attendance at high schools in the area varied from virtually normal to complete absenteeism.

At UCT students, staff and non-academic workers generally heeded the call for a two-day stayaway. The vice-chancellor, Dr Stuart Saunders, indicated that no one would be penalized for taking the two days off.

The University of the Witwatersrand will be closed today and the University of Durban-Westville till Monday.

When polls close at 6 tonight, at least 16 ministers and deputy ministers — including the three heirs apparent to the presidency — will know they have been in a tough fight.

Heading the list are Mr F W de Klerk, Transvaal leader and Minister of National Education, in Vereeniging, and Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Education and Development Aid, in Vanderbijl Park.

These two seats have produced a strong right-wing backlash against the government's reform programme — and the word from the neighbouring Overvaal

## showers today?

Staff Reporter  
today, election day, is likely to be cool with a possibility of rain. A bureau spokesman at D F Mafan Air- shows would follow behind the cold has passed through the Peninsula. temperature was expected to be 18 conditions would start clearing should be "reasonably warm" by

Let my record speak for itself.

constituency is that the NP's sitting MP, Mr George Ballot, will be defeated by the Conservative Party's Mr Koos van der Merwe.

Cape leader and another front-runner for the presidency, Mr Chris Heunis, is predicting he will increase his majority against independent Dr Denis Worrall, who in turn was still predicting a "surprise" yesterday.

In Durban North the Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Ron Miller, is facing defeat at the hands of the PFP's Mr Mike Ellis.

And in Amanzimtoti Mr George Bartlett, Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs, is battling to retain his seat.

Other ministers said to have serious problems are Mr Pietie du Plessis, Minister of Manpower, in Lydenburg; Mr Greyling Wentzel, Minister of Agriculture, in Bethal; and Mr Danie Steyn, Minister of Economic Affairs, in Wonderboom.

By yesterday afternoon more than 9% of the 3 031 000 voters had already cast their votes by post or special ballot for the election.

The chief electoral officer, Mr Gerrie van Zyl, said 181 800 special votes had been cast and 94 291 postal vote applications by late yesterday afternoon.

(Report by A Johnson and B Streek, 122 St George's St, Cape Town.)



# Me, vote? My husband never told me?

By ANDREW DONALDSON

EMMELINE PANKHURST is vindicated.

The Edwardian militant champion's fierce international campaign for women's suffrage has finally reached the Durbanville constituency, according to Mrs Beverley Roos, the PFP's candidate, there in today's white general election.

Mrs Roos told the Cape Times yesterday that one woman in her constituency, till told otherwise by a PFP canvasser, did not know she was allowed to vote.

She related the following telephonic conversation, which took place after the canvasser had introduced herself to the woman:

"Don't you want to speak to my husband?" the woman asked.

"No, I want to talk to you," the canvasser replied.

"But I'm not allowed to vote."

"Love," the canvasser patiently replied, "white women got the vote in 1930."

After some silence, the woman replied: "My husband never told me that."

The woman excused herself from the telephone for a while, presumably to confirm her newly-discovered status among the franchised.

When she returned, she asked: "Do I have to vote the same as my husband?"

"No, it's a secret ballot," the canvasser said.

"Well, in that case I'm not going to tell him I can vote."

Commenting on the incident, Mrs Roos said: "As a woman candidate you can imagine how I feel."

As if that wasn't enough, canvassers at her Dur-

banyville office were further perplexed when another woman called up asking how much the "tickets for the election cost".

The woman was inquiring at the office as the PFP had sent her a card with her voter's number and other details which, she thought, were an invitation to "attend" the election.

□ Mrs Roos will not be voting as she is registered in the Groote Schuur constituency where PFP MP Mr Jan van Gend was elected unopposed. She believes she is the only candidate who will not be voting.

□ Mrs Pankhurst, after a lifetime of numerous imprisonments for her fierce activism, died in England in 1928—the year legislation allowing women to vote in that country was introduced.

(Report by A Donaldson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)



By MARIANNE THAMM  
and YAZEED FAKIER

HALF-AN-HOUR before the scheduled start of last night's Baxter productions of "District Six: The Musical" and "You Strike the Woman, You Strike the Rock", about 30 UCT students persuaded the casts to cancel the shows.

Tonight's shows have also been cancelled.

The students, who with the casts addressed audiences already seated for the shows, argued that the productions should be cancelled to comply with the national stayaway over the whites-only election today.

"At first people were very cross — then the atmosphere swung around," theatregoer Mr Thomas Kne-meyer said last night.

District Six star Soli Philander had said from the stage that he had not been aware the stayaway had applied to the performers.

"The audience seemed to be split 50-50," Mr Kne-meyer said. "Then one of the audience said that even if the play went ahead, he did not feel he could stay 'because you risked your lives to come and perform'."

This sentiment was supported by the audience and was warmly applauded by the cast. The audience then filed out of the theatre.

The group of students also spoke to "You Strike the Woman" director Phyllis Klotz and cast members about cancelling the show.

Baxter director Mr John Slemon and publicity manager Mrs Yvonne Williams-Short were called backstage to discuss the problem. It was then decided to put the question to the audience who were already seated in the studio, and they unanimously decided that the show be cancelled.

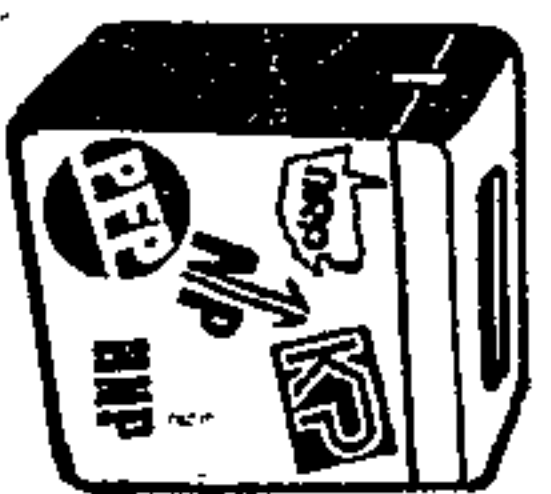
Mr Slemon said that Baxter staff had not been victimized or threatened and he had heard about the stayaway only at 7.30pm.

Mr Slemon assured the audience that his staff and crew would be fully paid and that patrons would be refunded.

(Report by M Thamm and Y Fakier, 122 St George's St, CT).

Carl Timpis 6/5/87  
Baxter  
shows  
called  
off in  
election  
protest  
304A  
[Signature]

# Forced removals Still going on



## ELECTION 1987

## — action group

CAPE TOWN — The National Party's election manifesto claims the Government has achieved an end to forced removals but this is only an attempt to deceive the white electorate, according to a statement issued in Cape Town yesterday by the National Committee Against Removals.

The group said that barely two weeks ago the State President, Mr Botha, told a Stellenbosch election meeting he could not guarantee that the settlement of Lawaalkamp at George would not be moved to Sandkraal despite strong opposition from Lawaalkamp residents.

"Since February 1985 when Dr Gerit Viljoen announced there would be no more forced removals the Govern-

## No-hope poll — FFP

The Five Freedoms Forum sees no hope in either voting or abstaining today.

"White voters go to the polls today, some with the same futile beliefs they had before the 1984 referendum that their cross would be a mark for justice. Others will vote on a ballot of insecure racial hatred," an FFF statement said.

"Our hopes for peace lie in one person, one vote and in negotiation and the restoration of basic human rights.

"We view the ballot boxes with profound sadness and pray that the future after the elections is not as ominous as we fear," the FFF said. — Sapa.

(Report by M Collier, 626 Old Mutual Building, Harrison St, Johannesburg)

## Hendrickse is pro-independent

PORT ELIZABETH — Cabinet member the Rev Allan Hendrickse says he welcomed the entry of the independents into the white election.

He supported Professor Sampie Terreblanche's contention that the Nationals had no vision for the future.

His son Mr Peter Hendrickse, MP for Addo, appealed to white voters to support the PFP and independents in the election.

The new Democratic Alliance has also called on white voters to reject the National Party at the polls.

In a statement last night Mr Peter Hendrickse said the NP had "no conception of the meaning of reform, which for them meant 'modernisation of racial domination and oppression — new-style apartheid'."

He said the NP could not understand that "we reject separate voters rolls, that the concept of own affairs is nothing but entrenched ethnicity and racism".

"They cannot under-

stand that we emphasise the right of the individual as paramount and that the State is there to serve the individual."

Mr Hendrickse said that after watching NP election advertisements he felt compelled to ask white readers to vote against apartheid, domination, racism and oppression.

"While I have differences with the PFP, I ask you to vote for them and the independents."

The chairman of the alliance and MP for Schauderville, Mr Charles Redcliffe, said young white South Africans should vote as abstaining could allow the NP victory by default in seats being contested by the independents and the PFP-NRP alliance.

Mr Redcliffe said the NP had "no vision and no plan for saving this country other than one based on modernised apartheid."

He said the NP was "a prisoner of its racist past incapable of bringing about fundamental change". — Sapa.

(Report by P Cull, 19 Baakens Street, Port Elizabeth)



Tight security to prevent any disruptions

**3 million whites**

(2011)

6/5/87 emc

**go to polls today**



By David Braun, Political Correspondent

Three million white voters are going to the polls today to elect a new House of Assembly — under the watchful eye of a heavy security force presence.

High percentage polls and narrow majorities are expected in the 164 constituencies of the House of Assembly up for grabs. There are no elections in the other two constituencies of the 166-seat chamber because the Progressive Federal Party's candidates are unopposed.

For the first time in many elections, the National Party has not been able to return any MPs unopposed.

The elections, against a backdrop of controversy and after more than two years of severe political and economic setbacks for South Africa, are being held under strict security.

The Commissioner of Police, General Johann Coetzee, said last night that extraordinary security measures had been taken to protect voters and officials and prevent disruptions.

He said rumours of disruption which had circulated in recent days were part of the African National Congress's declared tactics to make South Africa ungovernable.

Early reports today from various parts of the country mentioned tight security, including overnight armed guards and armed contingents of riot police patrolling between polling stations.

Heated contests — many of them four-cornered and three-cornered — could result in a number of surprises.

Although nobody expects the NP to lose, at most, maybe a dozen seats, it could find that it returns to Parliament with a minority of the total white vote.

### Opinion polls

In the 1981 general election, the NP's share of the vote dropped to 56 percent (66 percent in 1977) and many observers believe that in this election its share could be less than half.

This would be in line with the last published opinion polls, which showed that NP support had dipped to 47 percent.

The main reason for the drop in support has been the appearance of the Conservative Party on the scene in 1982.

Today is the first time the CP is being tested in a general election — so from tomorrow it will be a known quantity for the first time.

The CP is confident of polling more than 700 000 votes and returning to Parliament with more than the 17 seats it held yesterday.

An important side-show today is the municipal by-election in Johannesburg, where a contest between the NP and the PFP for Ward 11 will determine who controls the city council.

The ward was vacated by Mrs Sheila Camerer, who is the NP's candidate for Rosettenville in the parliamentary election. (Report by D M Braun, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

See Pages 3, 12 and 13



## Smiles all round for the final election showdown

Politicians from all the political parties put on their brightest smiles to greet their supporters at the polling stations today.

There was tight security in many constituencies.

Small contingents of armed riot police patrolled polling stations in the Bezuidenhout constituency.

At all three voting stations in Randburg, municipal police assisted with traffic direction and police guarded strategic points.

There was excitement in Hillbrow as CP, NP and PFP party workers steered voters to their tents. NP candidate Mr Leon de Beer said: "The National Party is straight down", and then laughed when he realised what he had said.

In Nelspruit, supporters worked until late last night erecting tents and posters, and were back at polling stations long before daybreak.

In the HNP-held Sasolburg seat, voters were urged by the CP to "keep blacks out of Parliament" while the HNP goaded them to "stay white, my people!"

A solitary black policeman, armed with a shotgun, kept the dawn watch next to the posters before officials arrived to prepare for the day.

In Ermelo, CP candidate Mr Moolman Mentz, who was tipped by some political observers to take the seat, took to the air soon after 7 am.

His son is flying him to the constituency's furthest polling stations of Piet Retief and Pongola.



PFP candidate Mr Douglas Gibson (left) and NP candidate Mr Sam Bloomberg square up in Bezuidenhout as voting starts early today.

## Early pace varies from brisk to slow at the booths

Thousands of voters made an early start to the voting. Booths opened at 7 am, but the pace of vote-casting varied from very brisk to very slow.

Pre-election indications that independent candidate Wynand Malan would retain his Randburg seat appeared to be holding up during early voting, with an estimated two-to-one ratio of voters choosing his tables.

Voting was slow this morning at the General Christiaan de Wet Primary School in Westdene — constituency of Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr Pik Botha.

In Bryanston, voters began arriving a half hour before polls opened. Voting started at a brisk pace in Hillbrow, with queues of pensioners. Yet at Germiston central polling station only about 50 voters trickled in during the first hour.

In Hercules, Pretoria, voting also got off to an unspectacular start. Here HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais is seeking a seat.

In the Lowveld towns of Nelspruit, Barberton and Lydenburg voting got off to a good start. Early pace was also brisk at Machadodorp and Lydenburg.

But in the Western Transvaal constituency of Lichtenburg voting was off to a slow start, then picked up. The huge, predominantly white mining community of Carletonville trickled to the polls. Here, miners' leader Mr Arrie Paulus stands for the CP.

In the Eastern Transvaal constituency of Bethal a steady stream of voters came in as voting began.

At Ermelo voting began slowly. However, in the Northern Transvaal, the main polling station in Pietersburg was congested in the first half hour.

In the Waterberg, Potgietersrus and Soutpansberg constituencies voting was also reported heavy. Yet voting got off to a slow start at most of the seven polling sites in the Vereeniging constituency.

In nearby Sasolburg, voting was brisk at the main polling booth.



# Real contest begins when blacks and whites negotiate Choosing candidates for the final bout

By David Braun,  
Political  
Correspondent

The elections today, to quote one senior government official, are in effect semifinals. The real contest for ultimate power begins when the representatives of the whites negotiate with those of the blacks for the future of the country.

What voters are doing today, therefore, according to this interpretation, are choosing their representatives for the finals.

The opposition parties have also seen this election as a kind of semifinal. Both the Progressive Federal Party and the Conservative Party concede the National Party will not be ousted this time round. But both say what happens today will be the start of the process which will change the Government at the next general election, at the moment scheduled for 1989.

## 'FINALS'

Naturally, each says it will be taking power in the "finals" in '89.

South Africa has been in a state of election effectively since August last year, when the National Party signalled an early poll was on the cards by convening an extraordinary federal congress to ratify key principles and policies.

This must make this campaign one of the longest in South Africa's election history.

Boiled down to the essentials the mandates the political parties and the independents are asking from the electorate are:

● The National Party

wants voter endorsement to negotiate a new constitution with leaders of all groups which would provide for sharing power at all levels, but not so that one group may dominate the others.

The party further seeks approval of the Government's handling of the security situation and the economy.

● The Progressive Federal Party, New Republic Party and the three independents want to eliminate remaining pillars of apartheid such as the Group Areas Act, Separate Amenities Act (which prohibits integrated beaches, for example) and the Population Registration Act.

The PFP and the NRP want votes for either party or the independents on the basis that these groups are the components of a future alliance.

The alliance groups want to negotiate a new Constitution acceptable to all the country's groups, and which will ensure that no one group dominates the others.

The PFP has said it would use the full might of the state to prevent violent change.

● The Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party want a full return to total segregation of the groups at every level of life.

The CP wants to partition South Africa into separate fully independent states, including states for the coloureds and Indians and, of course, for the whites.

More than three million voters are registered to take part in this election, a massive increase on the 2,3 million registered for the 1981 general election.

In spite of low turnouts

at public meetings, the percentage poll is expected to be about the same as those of the last two general elections, or about 66 percent.

This means about two million voters should cast their votes.

A record 480 candidates made themselves available for election, and only two, both of the Progressive Federal Party, were elected unopposed.

The NP is fielding 164 candidates, the CP 126, HNP 86, PFP 80 (excluding the two unopposed), NRP 14 and there are eight independents.

The PFP is expected to return to Parliament with between 25 and 36 seats, the CP with between 10 and 26 and the NRP with four or five. At least one, but possibly two (Malan and Worrall) independents are expected to make it, while the HNP is generally expected to be eliminated in this election.

The National Party could therefore return to Parliament with between 97 and 126 seats, and it needs 84 to govern.

## WILD CARD

The wild card in this election is the Conservative Party, which has not been tested in a general election since it was founded in 1982.

If by-elections are anything to go by, the CP is expected to lose at least eight of the 17 seats it held going into the election, while it should gain in the region of 15 seats from the NP.

Probably the most significant result in this election will be the total number of votes cast for the different parties.

Out of two million votes expected to be cast, the National Party could

end up with less than half. The CP/HNP could draw in the region of 700 000 to 800 000, while the PFP is likely to get in the region of 350 000 to 400 000.

Projections like these indicate that in most constituencies the majorities are going to be very small.

Marginal seats for you to watch tonight are:

● Potential PFP gains — Benoni (from NP), Durban North (NP), North Rand (CP), Simonstown (NP) and Umhlanga (vacated by NRP).

● Potential PFP losses (to NP) — Pietermaritzburg North and Bezuidenhout.

● Potential CP gains (all from NP) Bethal, Brits, Carletonville, Ermelo,

Losberg, Lydenburg, Overvaal, Pretoria West, Randfontein, Roodepoort, Rustenburg, Schweizer-Reneke, Standerton, Stilfontein and Witbank.

● Potential CP losses — De Aar (to NP), Germiston District (NP), Jeppe (NP), Langlaagte (NP), North Rand (PFP), Pietersburg (NP), Rissik (NP), Sunnyside (NP).

● Potential loss for HNP (to NP or CP) — Sasolburg. Possible surprise gain for HNP (from NP) — Hercules.

● Potential loss for NRP (to NP) — King Williams Town.

● Potential gain for independents — Randburg (from NP). Possible surprise gain for independents — Helderberg (NP).  
(Report by D M Braun, 216 Street, Pretoria.)

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6/5/81



# Party waverers put key seats up for grabs

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

The loosening of traditional party allegiances countrywide is reflected in Johannesburg and on the Witwatersrand where several key seats are up for grabs.

Predictably, all the parties contesting the election are supremely confident of their chances.

The main struggle in the predominantly English-speaking parts of this area are between the National Party and the Progressive Federal Party — where the PFP has its largest Transvaal following.

While past trends show that the NP is steadily winning over older, English-speaking voters, the PFP believes this is more than compensated for by growing support for the party among young Afrikaners in the towns.

The PFP says it will retain all its seats in the Transvaal, while the NP believes it will capture a few Prog constituencies.

Moving away from the central areas, the National Party is engaged in an even tougher fight against the right-wing parties, particularly the Conservative Party.

National Party workers have conceded that they are facing a strong challenge from the CP to the west of Johannesburg, in seats like Roodepoort, Randfontein and Carletonville.

Witwatersrand constituencies which have attracted a sizeable amount of attention include Randburg, Bryanston and Hillbrow.

In Randburg former Nationalist MP Mr Wynand Malan, who is standing as an independent, is expected to beat his friend and former colleague, Mr Olaus van Zyl of the National Party. The Conservative Party candidate, Mr Arthur Acar, has not been regarded as a major factor in the fight.

In Bryanston, the former Progressive Federal Party MP Mr Horace van Rensburg is standing as an independent against Mr Craig Williamson (NP) and Mr Rupert Lorimer (PFP).

While the Nats are hoping that Mr van Rensburg will draw PFP votes away from Mr Lorimer, it is not certain this strategy has worked. The result is difficult to forecast, but the PFP is expected to retain the seat.

Hillbrow — a PFP seat — has posed difficulties for Prog MP Mr Alf Widman. While the seat has been "safe" for the PFP in the past, the issue of the large influx of blacks, coloureds and Indians may result in a swing to both the NP and the CP.

The leader of the PFP in the Transvaal, Mr Douglas Gibson, said his party was "satisfied that there will be more anti-apartheid votes cast in this election than ever before".

"We have made satisfactory progress in a number of constituencies, such as Florida (NP seat), and I think we are also going to do well in Johannesburg West (NP).

Mr Gibson said the PFP was definitely going to win North Rand (CP) with candidate Mr Pieter Schoeman. The party's chances were also excellent in Helderkruijn, Benoni and Waterkloof (all NP seats).

Mr Gibson discounted Nat claims that it had a chance in Yeoville (PFP). The party was also confident of retaining Bryanston — in spite of the anti-Prog campaign that was waged by NP candidate Mr Williamson and independent Mr van Rensburg.

Mr Gibson also discounted Nat claims that Mr Sam Bloomberg would defeat him in Bezuidenhout.

He said from the PFP's canvassing figures, he was confident of victory. One indication was the PFP's postal vote lead.

The National Party's campaign manager for Johannesburg and the western Witwatersrand areas, Mr Kevin Wearing, said the National Party was confident of winning seats held by both the Conservative Party and the PFP.

He said new seats which the NP would capture were Bezuidenhout from the PFP and Langlaagte and Jeppe from the CP.

"We also expect to win North Rand and Bryanston," he said.

He said the NP might "surprise" the PFP in Yeoville, would reduce its majority in Parktown and had an "outside chance" in Johannesburg North (PFP).

Mr Wearing said the race in Randburg would be "very close". He discounted the PFP's chances of doing well in Johannesburg West, but admitted the NP's majority would probably be reduced in Helderkruijn.

Mr Wearing discounted PFP claims that it had a good chance of winning the elite Pretoria seat of Waterkloof. He said the NP was also confident of winning back Germiston District from Mrs Bessie Scholtz of the CP.

The Conservative Party's spokesman and candidate for Krugersdorp, Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, predicted a swing to the right wing on the Witwatersrand and all over the country.

He said he had a good chance of winning Krugersdorp, and that his wife, Mrs Gaye Derby-Lewis could win Hillbrow.

He discounted the Herstigte Nasionale Party as being a major factor, even in Hercules, where the candidate is HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais.

A few CP-held seats "were in the balance", such as Rissik and Sunnyside. He thought the CP would possibly retain North Rand.

(By C Ryan, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)



# Seats won during elections in SA 1910-1981

204A

	S A P	U.P.	N.P.	Unionists	Labour	Dominion Party	National Home Rule	Afrikaner Party	HNP	Progressive Party	Progressive Federal Party	New Republic Party	National Conservative Party	Independent	Socialist	National Representative	Coloured Representative	National Union	Roos Party	Vacant Seat	Total
1910	68			37	3																108
1915	54		27	40	3																130
1920	41		44	25	21									6							130
1921	79		45		19																131
1924	52		63		18																133
1929	61		77		8		2														133
1933	61		75		4	8	2							1							133
1938		111	27		3	8							6								150
1943		89	43		9									1	3				2		158
1948		65	70		6																153
1953		57	94		5			9													141
1958		53	103																		150
1961		49	105																		156
1966		39	126						1									4	1		156
1970		47	117						1												160
1974		41	117						1												165
1977	3		134						6											1	165
1981			131							17	10									1	165
										26	8										165

How the political parties have fared at general elections since Union and how the number of seats in the Assembly has grown.

Students  
in hotel:  
CP complains

Tygerberg Bureau

MR JOHANN LEIBOLD, the Conservative Party candidate in Bellville, has attacked the MP, Mr Andre van der Walt, for allowing "black radical students" to live in a hotel in a white residential area.

However, Mr van der Walt said he couldn't see what the fuss was about, as "there were more black people living in Boston's (in Bellville) backyards than at the hotel, which moreover has international status".

Mr Leibold has sent pamphlets to white voters, warning of a situation he said would "lead to racial friction".

"This hotel... should not be allowed to be turned into a hostel for radical blacks who are running through the corridors, shouting political slogans."

Mr Leibold said two other Bellville hotels housed University of the Western Cape students, but they were in the central business district and did not pose the same problem.

● A spokesman for the hotel said: "We have received no complaints whatsoever about this from anyone."

(Report by A Stuijt, Belray Arcade, Durban Road, Bellville.)



**INSIDE TODAY:**  
Your fill-in election  
results scoresheet  
● See Page 15

## Sit! Angry P W tells Press during heckling

WHEN President P W Botha's meeting in Johannesburg started to get out of hand last night because of rowdy heckling, journalists came under fire for showing too much interest.

"The Press must sit. If the Press sits everything is all right. You came to listen to me. Sit!" the President shouted at one stage.

He was trying to stop cameramen moving to photograph hecklers in various parts of the hall.

But not only journalists were moving around. On several occasions almost the entire audience of 1 400 people stood and craned to see who was shouting the odds.

At least two hecklers were escorted from the hall.

Mr Botha tried at first to deal with interruptions with good humour.

Explaining why he had called an election, Mr Botha said Parliament had sat for five years and it was whites who had to decide to what extent they wanted reform.

Heckler: "That is what Ian Smith said."

Mr Botha: "Oh no. Ian Smith did not want to reform and at the end he had to accept the dictates of Great Britain."

When television crews and photographers descended on a particularly noisy group, Mr Botha said he would appreciate it if the Press would sit.

But later he snapped: "Why do you always try to look out for a few nasty incidents? Why don't you sit and listen and hear about orderly government?"

## Wide interest in election in Britain

THE white general election is being given considerable newspaper, television and radio coverage in Britain.

Fleet Street sees the poll as a genuine watershed — a time when voters make the final choice between a peaceful, negotiated future and a protracted descent into violence and bloodshed.

In the past few days, newspapers here have carried extensive news reports on the election, interviews with black political organisations, background features, editorials and profiles of some of the key figures, including President Botha, Transvaal Nationalist Party leader Mr F W de Klerk, and Dr Denis Worrall, the former ambassador to London who is fighting as an independent in Helderberg.

There is a widespread belief among British journalists that President Botha has halted, perhaps permanently, the process of racial reform he started early in his presidency. And they report that any sign of increased strength on the far right will certainly put a stop to change.

## Nats get most SABC time

THE SABC more than doubled the time it gave to the National Party in the week leading up to the election, according to the weekly survey of the SABC's coverage conducted by journalism students at Rhodes University.

"National Party speakers were directly or indirectly quoted for 1 hour, 26 minutes and 27 seconds. With Government, security forces and other NP supporters, the total was 1 hour, 48 minutes and 58 seconds," said a statement.

"The PFP-NRP alliance also received its highest coverage to date: 44 minutes, 8 seconds. Independents received only 1 minute, 10 seconds while the Conservative Party and the Herstigte Nasionale Party received 30 minutes, 32 seconds."

The survey ran from April 27 to May 3.

## Peace initiative 'will continue'

INDEPENDENT candidates Dr Denis Worrall and Dr Esther Lategan told their final election meeting in the Stellenbosch Town Hall last night that their initiative for peace, supported by people of all races, would continue after tomorrow's election.

More than 900 people attended the meeting, which was chaired by Mr DP "Lang Dawid" de Villiers QC, former managing director of Nasionale Pers.

Also on the platform were two influential ex-Nationalist academics of the University of Stellenbosch, Professor Willie Esterhuyse and Professor Julius Jeppe.

Dr Lategan, independent candidate for Stellenbosch, said the only way to achieve stability was "to stop forcing blacks to resort to street politics".

The aim should be to let them "join forces with all the moderates".

She said: "We give no hope if we say the solutions lie in things like city states for blacks and an advisory national statutory council."

Dr Worrall, independent candidate for Helderberg, said the independents had forced the Government to discuss the real issues in the election.

## 'Dirty tricks campaign', says Helen

Fiery Progressive Federal Party MP Mrs Helen Suzman has met head-on the Nationalist Party offensive that was launched against her yesterday.

Addressing a spillover crowd in Houghton, she refused to dissociate herself from a picture shown in National Party-supporting newspapers of her with arms around Mrs Winnie Mandela.

She castigated what she termed a "Nationalist dirty tricks campaign".

She said she believed in negotiation with the Mandela-led ANC because banning such dissident organisations merely drove them underground. Belittling National Party criticism that negotiations with the ANC fostered communism, she said that such policies as forced removals, influx control and pass arrests had "provided fertile ground on which the seeds of communism could flourish".

Mr Tony Bloom, chief executive of Premier Milling and a strong voice for reform among the country's top businessmen, introduced Mrs Suzman and declared himself in favour of freeing Mr Mandela.

(Compiled by HGW Tyler, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)



# The REAL election fight

By MOIRA LEVY

THE chief contestants in the all-white election due to take place next week are not the Nats and the Independents or Nats and PFP-NRP alliance, according to political commentators.

The real contestants, commentators said this week, were the ANC and the Afrikaner Nationalist government.

The crucial debates are not taking place on public platforms and in the newspaper columns. The battle is being fought behind the scenes, over questions of power and negotiation and unicameral-style politics.

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert has publicly referred to the election as a contest between the extra-parliamentary government of the management committees, JMCs and the State Security Council and the extra-parliamentary opposition.

A member of the UDF Western Cape executive is reported as saying: "The main issue at stake is the question of political power, who has it and how it is exercised and maintained."

## Growing violence

"This applies not only to the tri-cameral parliament but to all the mechanisms of minority rule: Black local authorities, management committees, RSCs, JMCs, the military and security forces, vigilantes and homeland authorities."

Political commentators point to the pre-election backdrop of growing violence, resurging university and school unrest and state and worker clashes.

The media is giving high profile publicity to the debates between the Nats, the New Nats and the PFP-NRP alliance.

Yet South Africa is experiencing cross border clashes that have drawn international condemnation.

And within the borders police shootings have brought bloody violence right to the centre of Johannesburg.

A prominent Cape Town academic, Dr Colin Bundy, said: "These elections have as little to do with democracy as detention without trial has to do with the rule of law."

He described the election as an exercise in which the minority was choosing between different options of preserving its rule.

"It is increasingly clear in any case that parliament is no longer where political power resides. What control does parliament have over the fierce state action here and over our borders?"

## Members won't vote

The UDF has stated that its white members will not vote. But at the same time, it acknowledges that the majority of whites will participate in the elections, and that there is an urgent need to "take the politics of the democratic movement into the white community on a mass scale."

It is important that our democratic alternative is presented to whites, because those who have rejected apartheid will need direction, particularly after the Nats are re-elected on May 6.

The UDF has rejected the option of working with the PFP to win seats.

(Report by M. Levy, 95 St. Leary Road, Woodstock.)



# STILL ONE MORE



Article added (304A)

# **IS THE PFP FOR THE ANC** **COMMUNISM** **TERRORISM** **OR VIOLENCE?**

**NO.** We state categorically that this allegation is a lie.  
It is the National Party that has made both communism and the ANC seem so desirable to so

many South African

It is the National Party that has given the ANC huge popularity by constantly quoting this banned organisation at election meetings and in TV and radio broadcasts.

It is the economic policies practiced by the National Party over the last thirty-nine years that have enhanced the appeal of communism.

It is life in the townships under National Party Government.

It is inflation.

It is the poverty and unemployment suffered by so many under the

National Party Government that has given communism its superficial appeal.

The PFP is totally against violence, aggression and terrorism – whoever perpetrates it.

But we are also:

- 1.** Against the National Party.
- 2.** Against their arrogance.
- 3.** Against the way they have spiralled the cost of living, and seriously damaged the ability to create employment.
- 4.** Against the way that they discriminate on the basis of colour.
- 5.** Against the way they lie to you, the voter, and to the country.

**I'm going to vote PFP.**





We're only a day away from the election and you still haven't grasped what it is about. Nobody said you're communists. But we have said you're incapable of understanding the real issue facing SA and that you are therefore incapable of dealing with it. And that means you cannot be trusted with South Africa's security.

18. dec 1987 We'll try one more time. So please listen carefully to some real experts:

**"Our aim is to gain control of the two great treasure houses on which the West depends – the energy treasure house of the Persian Gulf and the mineral treasure house of Central and Southern Africa."**

Pres. Brezhnev of the Soviet Union (1973).

Even you should know that in South Africa they're working at this through the ANC – 23 out of the 30 members of the ANC national executive committee are communists on Moscow's payroll.

Yet you want to unban them?

Here's another one:

**"The struggle in South Africa is not between Blacks and Whites. It's between the supporters of genuine freedom and stability and those who wish to force a socialist dictatorship on South Africa with the help of international terrorism."**

Pres. P.W. Botha.

It must be clear even to you, that the PFP's policy of publicly, consistently and bitterly opposing laws designed to neutralise revolutionaries before they do their evil work, of



overall isolation than at any time in its history. We ask ourselves — can we stop the rot or is the process irreversible? Where do we go from here?

The sanctions and disinvestment campaigns in the US and Western Europe have no doubt stripped away most of the illusions, although I have the impression that some of us even in the business community still tend to indulge in wishful thinking and to grasp at straws.

For example, the view is sometimes expressed that, because some in the West are having second thoughts as to the negative impact of sanctions, it may be possible for sanctions to be reversed or at least not extended. We would be well advised to be careful of such argumentation.

## Whetted

The more that it can be demonstrated that sanctions are not working, the more the appetite of those harbouring the essentially negative view that the government has to be punished into behaving better will be whetted to redouble their efforts. Conversely, if the perception is that sanctions or divestment are having an impact, then this will be widely seen as justifying further punitive measures.

So let us not be sanguine, indeed, I have little doubt that SA will continue to loom large on US and West European domestic agendas. In any event, unless South Africans achieve a dramatic breakthrough here — on the home front — the sanctions will ensure that their destructive momentum is maintained. After all, why cease backing a winner which has paid off so handsomely in terms of their own

# We can overcome all our obstacles



VON SCHIRNDING

**Edited version of the speech delivered last night by KURT von SCHIRNDING, Director General of the SA Foundation, at the Business Day Business Achievement Award banquet in Sandton**

agendas?

This brings one inevitably to the role of the international media. It is an over-simplification, I realise, and one we in SA indulge in too frequently, that all our woes are due to misrepresentation by the media. It is a *sine qua non* that good news is no news and that the media feed on sensation.

Also, no honest South African would suggest that there is not sufficient cause for serious censure on a variety of issues — and there can be no objection to that. However, having said this, it must also be recognised that the South African scene has not been dealt with objectively. And here I would draw a distinction between Press reporting and television coverage.

We all know that a great deal of superficial coverage of South African

can events and issues continues to appear in the Press worldwide, but a great deal of thorough and competent coverage has also appeared, particularly in the major newspapers. This is simply not true of television coverage, which, for obvious reasons, reflects the immediate, the vivid and the dramatic.

And so the most positively disposed US administration which SA is likely to experience in the foreseeable future, together with a Republican-controlled Congress — this favourable constellation took the lead in the Western world in applying punitive measures against SA.

What went wrong? For one thing the government's uncompromising attitudes and the international perception that it was embarked upon a confrontation course played

directly into the hands of the sanctioners. Hardly surprising that the sanctions and divestment campaign assumed a snowball momentum which became virtually irreversible.

You all know the culmination of this sorry saga. Did it have to happen or could it have been prevented? More important, can further isolation be prevented?

The answer has to be "yes". Obviously, SA's racial problems are an issue which can be conveniently exploited and, as I have suggested, no opportunity has been lost to exploit it to the full — regardless of the consequences.

## PRESSURES

This will continue to be the case. Pressure on SA will not abate, and it is as well to remember that, in the past, pressure has not always been applied to SA with wisdom. No government will negotiate under duress and certainly the pressures which have been exerted on SA from abroad have often had all the makings of just that. That was one of the fatal flaws of the EPG exercise.

Nonetheless, it does seem that the realisation is beginning to dawn abroad that divestment, sanctions and the like are having the opposite effect of what their instigators had envisaged. Government has not failed, reform has been reared. Indeed, the saturation coverage of South African affairs has created an unprecedented opportunity — a demand for more coverage.

After two years of focus abroad on black unrest, the impression was created that the structure of South

African society was about to collapse. Typically, the time frame allotted to this eventually was short. And because what seemed so inevitable has not come to pass, a vast and unsatisfied demand is emerging to know why.

The reply which comes from SA will be heard. If that reply points to compromise, negotiation and agreement with legitimate black opinion, then we shall be well placed to regain the confidence of the world community.

If, after the election, the momentum for change is regained and convincingly implemented, we can still succeed in turning the tide. It may need a near miracle, but it can be done.

It has been said that diplomacy's greatest asset is the passage of time. Much time has already passed and much of it has been fruitlessly wasted. Our future and the future of our sub-continent will be determined, one way or the other, by how wisely we use the limited time that remains.

We cannot be expected to plunge headlong into the never-never land of undefined political reform. But we can move firmly and with growing confidence, through negotiation, to that new SA where the colour of a man's skin will not determine his status in society, where freedom of association in its truest sense under the sovereignty of the rule of law is the accepted and irreversible main-spring of our national life.

If we have the political will to overcome our fear of the future and move, with purpose towards that new SA that all men and women of commonsense wish to see, then we

With open arms we need international community. We need courageous, visionary leadership to guide us all along that road. On the other hand, we can take the path of least resistance — one step forward, two steps back into the laager — until we reach a point of no return... a country divided and beleaguered, increasingly isolated from the international community, not only economically and technically but also academically and intellectually... a society confronting itself and the world and slipping ever more rapidly into dark totalitarianism.

That is not the SA I would wish my children to inherit. The choice is ours. We of the private sector, representing as we do a significant element of the middle ground which opposes apartheid, will — as concerned, responsible citizens of this country — have to nail our colours firmly to the mast of comprehensive political transformation.

## Opportunity

We have to demand from our government what no government in this country has been able to achieve over the past century and more — a set of policies demonstrably based on the assumption that this land of ours belongs equally to all its people — a set of policies accepted by a broad and legitimate black leadership as leading to a society of equal participation and opportunity.

When black SA indicates its agreement, world opinion will follow suit. The time for shilly-shallying is over. If we take our courage in our hands, if we listen to our conscience and do what is right, we can move mountains. As President Franklin Roosevelt once remarked in another context: "We have nothing to fear but fear itself." That remark is not inappropriate to our dilemma. If the political will is there, we can overcome all obstacles. Let us hope that we have wisdom to make the right choice.

We dare not allow the SA of tomorrow to remain hostages to the follies of yesterday's men.

# Plan for 'dual logic' economy

THE EXTENT of economic sanctions in the future, the type of government and economic policy and the absence or otherwise of real negotiation, will determine whether SA takes the "high road" — and evolves into part of the developed group of nations — or takes the "low road" — and becomes a "wasteland" society.

This is the conclusion of "The World and SA in the 1990s," by Clem Sunter, based on a research project commissioned by Anglo American and undertaken by overseas and South African teams.

SA, says Sunter, is now an average country with an average economy, with a per capita GDP similar to that of Yugoslavia, Mexico, Portugal and Chile.

However, precious minerals are becoming a less important factor for economic success compared with knowledge. And SA's commodity exports are becoming

## ALAN FINE

First of a two-part summary of a book released yesterday based on a talk given by Clem Sunter to about 230 audiences — some 30 000 people — on political and economic scenarios

threatened by high tech — a sharp rise in the gold price would only delay the moment of truth. What is required, he says, is the development of new export industries.

SA has a number of "comparative advantages" which could facilitate this, including a good infrastructure, relatively cheap power, sophisticated financial services, potential as a tourist attraction, proximity to African markets and its position as an important trade route.

Harnessing these advantages

will require, in addition to political stability, a successful economic model. This, Sunter argues, must be what he calls a "dual logic" economy.

The first component would be a "substantial and service export industry" growing alongside current exporters. This would comprise the large, capital-intensive businesses.

But these would not provide the majority of jobs for work-seekers. This would be the function of the second component — medium and small business and the informal sector.

The two components would be linked in a process whereby the simpler tasks carried out by the giants of the economy would be subcontracted to the small business sector. The latter would also be given a boost by a massive housing programme.

(\* Published by Human & Rousseau, Tafelberg, R14,95).

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war', is doing a great job for the ANC.

Finally, listen to another expert on how to take over a country:

**“ . . . when a country is demoralised, you can take it over without firing a shot.”**

Lenin.

The PFP's belief that you can talk the communists out of what they want, is naive to the point of being stupid. It's like saying the PFP can talk communists out of communism and their goal of world domination.

And by urging South Africans who truly desire peace to believe this, you're doing a great job of demoralising them. Because you simply create false hope.

**Isn't it time the PFP leadership decided whose side it is on?**

**Because on 6 May the voters of South Africa are going to show whose side they're on.**

**They're going to vote for realism. They're going to vote NP.**

## UDF (304A) women unite

A NEW women's organisation — the UDF Women's Congress — was launched in secret in Cape Town at the weekend, bringing the formation of a national women's federation a step closer.

The Women's Congress was launched by 97 delegates from women's organisations throughout the country at a day-long conference opened by veteran anti-apartheid campaigner Helen Joseph. She may not be quoted.

The congress — which will form the political backbone of the new federation — is an independent alliance of women's organisations which are affiliated to the United Democratic Front.

Full reports and pictures, page 10.

Unless otherwise stated, all political comment in this edition by R A Seara; political reports by M Williams and M Levy; headlines by W Odendaal; cartoons by J Shapiro, all of 95 Sir Lowry Rd, Woodstock.

294-5385 Sec 2



DURBAN — The KwaZulu-Natal Indaba was strongly supported in Durban Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce president Brian Hill's annual report, released yesterday.

Hill said the Indaba was "a unique event which motivated the special nature of the moderate people in Natal-KwaZulu and still holds the initiative for the time being".

He had been privileged to be the chamber's official representative at the Indaba and for almost eight months, assisted by fellow officers of the secretariat, had witnessed "genuine negotiation between people of different racial groups, different cultures and political beliefs".

## Indaba backed by Durban Chamber of Commerce

They had drawn up a set of constitutional proposals for second-tier government in Natal in which all people could participate and which addressed the sharing of power and the reasonable fears of group domination.

Mention was also made in the chamber's annual report of the research the chamber had commissioned into the cost implications of achieving fiscal parity in health and education within the Natal/KwaZulu region.

The research was done by Senbank chief economist J A du Pisanie in co-operation with Pretoria University.

"Unfortunately the report has subsequently been misrepresented as suggesting that the whole Indaba initiative is unrealistic and that the cost of implementing the proposals would bankrupt the province.

"This is, of course, not so. Whatever governmental system is in place at second-tier level, these identified needs will have to be addressed.

"All the report was intended to do was to inform and illustrate that unless there is a high level of economic growth, parity in the fields of education and health would be seriously constrained," Hill said. — Sapa.

could

# Council plan will go ahead — PW

JOHANNESBURG. — The government would go ahead and institute its proposed National Council after May 6 to negotiate South Africa's future with blacks, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said last night.

Making his last election campaign speech, in the City Hall here, he said: "We will invite decent-minded, well-balanced, peaceful people to come and sit with us on this council and to discuss the future of South Africa."

"We will prove to them that it is necessary for black urban communities to elect their own leaders ... we are not prepared to negotiate with leaders and murderers across the borders."

Mr Botha was repeatedly heckled and twice reminded reporters and television crews to "sit down ... you came here to report on me".

On the government's proposed National Council, he said: "We will communicate and try to find common ground to deal with common interests, while at the same time making sure that the own affairs of the different groups are protected."

Mr Botha rejected outright "de-



mands" from overseas for instant reform in South Africa, saying: "The National Party is not prepared to chase the hare of reform overnight ... we are prepared to build on a base of stability and sound foundations."

The United States had taken generations to complete its constitution, and Switzerland nearly 400 years.

"Why must we, suddenly overnight, have a constitution which will satisfy the whole world?"

Mr Botha said his government had implemented, with great success, the new dispensation it had promised at the time of the 1983 referendum.

Outlining his government's proposed course for black political

accommodation, he said local authorities had been established at third-tier level in urban communities.

"Now they are being killed and necklaced by the friends of those shouting at me here."

Mr Botha predicted that after election day another majority, like the one which had been received in the 1983 referendum, would be received by the Government.

When one heckler was finally hustled out of the hall by three burly young men in black suits, after Mr Botha had earlier said he should be allowed to stay because he was enjoying exchanges with the man, the President remarked: "Let's go on, he must have had a telephone call."

Another heckler, a young man who complained NP supporters sitting behind him kept on making him sit down and were pulling his hair, interjected in protest when Mr Botha claimed he had spent a peaceful day with three million black people at Morija, near Pietersburg, two years ago.

"You see, he can't behave like a black man," Mr Botha retorted.

The heckler was also removed soon afterwards by organizers. (Report by Mark van der Velden and K Daniel, 514 Barclays Bank Bldg, Church Square, Pretoria.)

## PFP: Barend du Plessis 'in talks with ANC supporters'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

MR Barend du Plessis — the minister closely involved with drafting the NP's "scurrilous" anti-PFP advertising campaign — had himself negotiated with ANC supporters, the PFP's secretary-general, Mr Robin Carlisle, said last night.

Speaking to 400 people in Fish Hoek Civic Centre, he said Mr Du Plessis was "now squealing like a frightened and indignant political piglet" since reports had appeared that he and 30 other NP candidates were privately in favour of negotiations with the ANC.

However, in a meeting with activist black pupils in a bid to avert school boycotts in 1984, "there can be no doubt whatsoever that some, if not many, would have been supporters of the ANC".

"The conclusion of any reasonable man must be that Barend du Plessis himself has negotiated with ANC supporters."

"Barend du Plessis, by his own words, stands convicted of the

hideous and unpatriotic crime of which he has accused the PFP — negotiating to secure a safe and sensible outcome," he said.

Mr Carlisle also called on Mr Botha "to categorically deny he has had discussions or communication with Dr Denis Worrall about their joint political futures".

Mr Carlisle also challenged a "gallant band" of seven ministers or deputy ministers to say why they, "as so-called patriots", ducked military service in their youth.

Mr Carlisle said there was no record of Mr Barend du Plessis, Mr F W de Klerk, Mr Piet du Plessis, Dr Dawie de Villiers, Mr Sam de Beer, Mr Kent Durr and Mr Ron Miller having done military service.

"I am happy to be corrected but until I am, I ask these 'patriots': Why did they not volunteer for a year of military service as I did? Where were they when sacrifice for South Africa was called for?"

The PFP's candidate for Simon's Town, Mr John Scott, said the National Party had taken

to "looking for Reds under every bed, table and kitchen sink ... even under the mulberry bush".

However, it was the National Party government which had driven black people into the arms of the Marxist and communist, he said.

Mr Scott said that after a "very long" campaign the public were still no wiser about the NP's constitutional intentions.

"The NP's intentions are rolling around and around in the head of a man who could be losing Helderberg on Wednesday."

Mr Scott said that if Naas Botha had decided there was no future in the National Party, "then you must know that they are really on the skids".

Mr Scott said it was an "insult" that Mr P W Botha — the person responsible for "kicking the coloureds out of Simon's Town into the bush" — had been given the freedom of the town by Mr Harry Dilley, the Mayor and his opponent in the election.

(Report by A Johnson, 122 St George's St, CT)



## The election last night

# More showbiz people take stand

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A further 70 of the country's top actors and actresses — many of whom are well-known to TV viewers — yesterday followed the lead taken by 22 other top stage personalities who issued a hard-hitting anti-NP statement at the weekend.

The film and theatre professionals who issued a statement yesterday said they were doing so under no particular political banner or alliance.

Signatories are: Francois Swart, James Borthwick, Jacqui Singer, Aletta Bezuidenhout, Michael McCabe, Dale Cutts, Dandra Duncan, Jeremy Crutchley, Louis van Niekerk, Ben

Kruger, Don Lamprecht, Bill Curry, Andrew Buckland, Neil McCarthy, Fiona Ramsay, Jo-Anna Weinberg, Bess Finney, Rika Sennet, Tony Fridjohn, Norman Coombes, Franz Dobrowsky, John Whitely, Claire Marshall, Tammy Bonell, Chris Pretorius, Melody O'Brien, Dianne Appleby, Anne Curtles, Shirley Johnston, Jennifer Steyn, Terence Reiff, Warwick Greenaway, Gina Benjamin, Claire Stopford, John Matham, Jenny Resnick, David Platworthy, Marin le Maltre, Richard van der Westhuizen, Tjaart Potgieter, Andre Odendaal, Frans Kalp, Kate Edwards, Mitzi Booysen, Percy Pretorius, Guy de Lancey, Mark Fleishman, Jane Gosnell, Peter Ferry, Graham Hopkins, Anthony James, Neville Thomas, Shirleen Hollier, Andrew Donald, Adrian Gallery, Paul Bradshaw, Gaenor Young, Aden Love, Grant Preston, Vera Blacker, Stan Knight, Bruce Alexander, Glen Swart, Susan Danford, Stephen Jennings, Deidre Flemon, Derek Swanepoel, Tim Plewman, Lucille Gillwald and Didi Kriel.

(Report by D Gilbert, 11 Disagonal St, JHB.)



Rika Sennett



Michael McCabe



Sandra Duncan

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terday

PFP shadow Law and Order Minister Helen Suzman yesterday dissociated herself from the "Nat Dirty Trick Department" which attempted to link a picture of her with the "reckless statements" made by Winnie Mandela.

Suzman, a candidate in Houghton, said she was in no way dissociating herself from the picture printed yesterday on front pages of NP-supporting newspapers.

It shows Suzman with her arms around Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader Nelson, and was taken in July last year when Mandela and photographer Peter Magubane had lunch at her home. It was published in the latest issue of Time magazine.

The purpose of the lunch meeting was to discuss the crisis in Soweto schools and the presence of troops on school property, she said.

At the lunch it was decided it would be best if Suzman went to Orlando to see the situation for herself, the veteran civil rights campaigner said. Suzman added she and Winnie Mandela were detained briefly during the visit.

# Suzman speaks out on picture

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

"I am in no doubt whatever that the Houghton electorate is far too intelligent to be influenced in any way by this diversionary tactic of the government, which is unable to explain how it is that after nearly 40 years in power it has reduced SA to the sorry state we are in at present," she said in a statement.

She said she had condemned the "reckless statements" made by Mandela at Munsieville in April last year.

Mandela had publicly referred to the use of the "necklace" in the black liberation struggle, but later denied making the statement.

Suzman said: "The issues which should be addressed by this guilty government are, of course, race relations, unemployment, inflation and SA's growing isolation."

Report by Dominique Gilbert, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.



## SABC doubles coverage of NP

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

THE TIME devoted to the NP on SABC-TV more than doubled during the seventh week of the white election, the Policom survey conducted at Rhodes University shows.

The survey says that while nearly three-and-a-half hours were given to political issues during this week — the highest to date — a motor accident involving the son of the State President was the second item on the news two nights in a row.

NP speakers were directly or indirectly quoted for nearly one-and-a-half hours.

The PFP/NRP alliance also received its highest coverage to date, three-quarters of an hour, while the independents received only just over one minute.

The CP and HNP received half an hour.

Report by Dominique Gilbert, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg

Cape Times 5/5/87 (304A)

# Votes will be barometer — Buthelezi

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said last night that if the white electorate rejects the NRP/PFP Alliance at the polls tomorrow it will be "spitting in the face of the only friends of South Africa in the West".

He was speaking at a packed Progressive Federal Party campaign meeting in Westville.

The Chief Minister of KwaZulu shared the platform with Mr Ray Swart, the Natal leader of the PFP; Mr Roger Burrows, MP for Pinetown; Mr Frank Martin, the New Republic Party's Durban Point candidate, and Dr Chris Saunders, chairman of Tongaat-Hulett.

Chief Buthelezi said the performance of Alliance and independent candidates would be the barometer by which the world and black South Africans would judge whether whites realized the country was in its eleventh hour.

"This will indicate whether we have any prospects for peaceful change."

He said Mr P W Botha was asking for a mandate in the election tomorrow to continue apartheid structures in urban areas.



Chief Buthelezi said many millions of black South Africans wanted the rule of law, a multi-party democracy and the survival of the free enterprise system.

This would necessarily mean there would have to be one sovereign Parliament and universal adult franchise.

"If in this election whites reject their black fellow South Africans by supporting the destruction of South Africa the P W Botha way, they will not be answerable to me, but to their children and their children's children," he said.

(Report by S Flitton, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban.)

## NP leaders 'running scared'

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE leaders of the National Party were starting to panic, the leader of the PFP, Mr Colin Eglin, said last night.

"They are running scared of voters and they are running scared of their own miserable record."

"They are running scared of spelling out their policy for the future, knowing that if they did spell out policy it would split the NP from stem to stern," Mr Eglin told about 250 people in Sea Point.

He said the tide of disillusionment with President P W Botha's government was becoming irreversible.

"Whatever the outcome of the election, the NP will never be the same

again. It is heading for moral and intellectual decay, which has already set in as a prelude for organizational disintegration."

"When is Mr Botha's government going to learn that we will not get South Africa back on to an even keel again until we dismantle apartheid lock, stock and barrel, and negotiate a new democratic constitution through which all South Africans can participate in the democratic process?"

□ Our Durban correspondent reports that Mr Eglin said in Westville last night that tomorrow's election would hopefully be South Africa's last whites-only election.

Mr Eglin's comments were made on a video-taped speech as he was in Cape Town to address two meetings.

(Reports by B Streak, 122 St George's St, CT, and S Flitton, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban.)



# Business silence

'notable'

PFP

MAX DU PREEZ

BUSINESS leaders have been generally notable for their absence from the ranks of other prominent South Africans calling for change, says PFP Secretary-General Robin Carlisle.

"Apart from Zach de Beer and a handful of others, no-one has stood up to be counted," he says.

"All of the top sportsmen and the high-profile actors and actresses, as well as the vast majority of Afrikaner academics, have loudly announced their protest against government policies.

"Yet there has been a sad silence from the business community generally," Carlisle says.

Report by Max du Preez, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg

5/5/87 3/10/87

ANOTHER 70 of the country's top actors and actresses — many are well-known to TV viewers — yesterday followed the lead taken by 22 other top stage personalities who issued a hard-hitting, anti-NP statement at the weekend.

## 70 actors follow lead

304A

The film and theatre professionals who issued a statement yesterday said they were doing so under no particular political banner or alliance.

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

However, they called for the immediate abolition of detention without trial and the "victimisation of children", the Group Areas Act, censorship in all its forms and the state of emergency.

They also demanded the abolition of "all that is being used to maintain the crumbling facade of apartheid, all that denies the right to peaceful protest and other basic human rights".

Signatories are: Francois Swart, James Borthwick, Jacqui Singer, Aletta Bezuidenhout, Michael McCabe, Dale Cutts, Sandra Duncan, Jeremy Crutchley, Louis van Niekerk, Ben Kruger, Don Lamprecht, Bill Curry, Andrew Buckland, Neil McCarthy, Fiona Ramsay, Joanna Weinberg, Beth Finney, Rika Sennett, Anthony Fridjhon, Norman Coombes, Franz Dobrowsky, John Whitely, Claire Marshall, Tammy Bonell, Chris Pretorius, Melody O'Brien, Dianne Appleby, Anne Curties, Shirley Johnston, Jennifer Steyn, Terence Reif, Warwick Greenaway, Gina Benjamin, Claire Stopford, John Maytham, Jenny Reznick, David Platworthy, Martin le Maitre, Richard van der Westhuizen, Tjaart Potgieter, Andre Odendaal, Frans Kalp, Kate Edwards, Mitzi Booysen, Percy Pretorius, Guy de Lancey, Mark Fleishman, Jane Gosnell, Peter Ferry, Graham Hopkins, Anthony James, Neville Thomas, Shireen Hollier, Andrew Donald, Adrian Gallery, Paul Bradshaw, Gaenor Young, Aden Love, Grant Preston, Vera Blacker, Stan Knight, Bruce Alexander, Glen Swart, Susan Danford, Stephen Jennings, Deidre Flemon, Derek Swanepoel, Tim Plewman, Lucille Gillwald and Didi Kriel.

Report by Dominique Gilbert, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.



304A  
B/Day

## SA in mess after 39 NP years — Schwarz

GERALD REILLY

GOVERNMENT's ad hoc patchwork economic planning had landed SA in an unprecedented economic mess, PFP finance spokesman Harry Schwarz said last night.

Speaking at his final election meeting in his Yeoville constituency, Schwarz said government preached free enterprise, but practised socialism through State ownership and control over many of the means of production.

Along the way control boards and bureaucracy had flourished and government had interfered massively in the economy. After 39 years of National Party rule, SA had its highest yet inflation and unemployment rates, greatest number of bankruptcies, its most serious state of unrest and had become isolated from the West.

The PFP's economic blueprint could be activated immediately to drastically reduce unemployment and bring about real economic revival — and raise the quality of life of all South Africans, Schwarz said.

Government had talked about deregulation and privatisation but, in fact, nothing of significance had been achieved, he said. The PFP plan was based on economic democracy, which entailed a maximum withdrawal of government from areas that rightly belonged to the private sector.

Schwarz said the NP's campaign amounted to a smoke-screen aimed at covering up government's inability to adequately govern the country.

The NP had failed to put together a constitutional plan which would eliminate unrest and ensure a return to stability.

He said the PFP had a detailed, workable federal constitutional plan which did not include "one man, one vote" in a unitary state nor majority rule, and which had entrenched safeguards for protecting group rights. Government had failed in its efforts to negotiate with credible black leaders — and the national council was stillborn, Schwarz said.

The PFP had the credibility in SA and abroad to negotiate with black leaders — acknowledged as leaders by blacks — and to restore SA's good name in world financial and trade circles.

Big undecided vote troubles parties

# PFP confident it will increase tally of seats

5/5/87 304A B1 Day

THE PFP was confident it would gain rather than lose seats in tomorrow's election, despite the ruling NP's expensive and intensive propaganda campaign on the security issue, PFP secretary general Robin Carlisle said yesterday.

The strong support of young urban Afrikaans speakers for the PFP more than compensated for the marginal loss of English speakers, he said. Canvassing had confirmed the swing away from the NP by this group could be 22% or more.

In his final report on the election, handed to party leader Colin Eglin yesterday, Carlisle said he was satisfied the PFP would not lose any seats. He added the party was almost certain of gaining the NP-held seats of Simonstown and Durban North, and possibly two to 10 others.

The main parties in tomorrow's election yesterday all expressed extreme confidence about their chances.

A CP spokesman said the party was absolutely certain about 27 seats, and

MAX DU PREEZ  
Political Correspondent

was "in with a chance" in 34 more.

An NP spokesman said the campaign had "swung towards the NP in the last month" and the chances were "very, very good" the party could hold its present number of seats or even gain a few.

An HNP spokesman said the party would definitely win Hercules and Sasolburg, and its strong support could rob the CP of victory in many seats.

But all parties conceded they were troubled by the large undecided vote and the unpredictability of three- and four-cornered contests.

The NP could be hardest hit through defeat for several Cabinet Ministers and Deputy Ministers. Those under threat are Manpower Minister Pietie du Plessis in Lydenburg, Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis in Helderberg, Agriculture Minis-

● To Page 2

## PFP confident of more seats

5/5/87 304A B1 Day

ter Greyling Wentzel in Bethal, Deputy Minister of Development Aid Hendrik Tempel in Ermelo and Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Ben Wilkens in Ventersdorp.

The PFP's campaign in Natal received a boost last night when KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told a PFP rally in Pinetown whites who supported President P W Botha's policies in tomorrow's elections would be heaping political coals of fire on their own heads.

He said black South Africans were appalled by the Nationalist election manifesto and by what Botha and his Cabinet colleagues had been saying to the white electorate.

"If in this election they (the whites) reject their black fellow South Africans by supporting the destruction of SA the P W Botha way, they will not be answerable to me. They will be answerable to their children and their children's children."

PFP MP for Yeoville Harry Schwarz last night sharply attacked the NP's security centred campaign. He said by using a smear technique of guilt by alleged

association, it had sought to portray the enlightened candidates, whether PFP, NRP or independent as associated with the ANC and the SACP and soft on security.

"The price for this technique will be paid by South Africa as a whole in the years to come as it has raised the ANC in status in the eyes of black and overseas opinion, and has in effect virtually relegated moderate black groupings to irrelevance," Schwarz said.

□ In a warm message of support on the eve of the election, Buthelezi told independent candidate Denis Worrall the vast majority of black South Africans would be looking forward to his victory over Heunis in Helderberg.

"Black South Africans are eager for signs of hope that there is a real ferment taking place in the National Party and there is some hope of parliamentary politics remaining relevant to the question of change," Buthelezi said.

Report by Max du Preez, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg



# Election row over PFP advert

CAPE TIMES  
5/5/87

304A

## Election special

TOMORROW'S general election will be comprehensively reported and analysed by the Cape Times.

Besides the ordinary editions of the newspaper, a special extra-late edition will go on sale at 7am on Thursday. This newspaper will be available at most street points and major outlets from Camps Bay to the city and from Milnerton to Plumstead. This edition, with the very latest available results and analysis, plus comment by a special Cape Times panel of political experts, will keep readers fully informed on gains, losses and trends.

In addition, and as part of our plan to keep readers in the election picture, tomorrow's edition of the Cape Times will contain a full-page special election guide

**A guide to the Western Cape seats — Page 11**

with a table of parliamentary seats, candidates and previous results. This bonus page will help readers keep track of the results as they are announced.

Friday's Cape Times will give the fullest account of the final position in the 1987 general election.



The panel of academic experts will assess the election results as they are announced on Wednesday night.

Their running comments will be published on the editorial page in later editions of the Cape Times on Thursday morning.

Professor Andrew Prior and Professor David Welsh of the Department of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town will be joined by Mr Jannie Gagiano of the Department of Political Science at the University of Stellenbosch.

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**POLITICAL parties were yesterday embroiled in a frenzy of last-minute activity in preparation for what could be an election of surprises, as a row broke over a PFP advert.**

At his last election meeting in Johannesburg, the State President, Mr PW Botha, demanded an apology from the leader of the PFP, Mr Colin Eglin, over a newspaper advertisement alleging that Mr Botha said the jailed ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, could "rot in prison until he dies or I die, whichever takes longer".

Mr Botha said the advertisement was a "tasteless attempt to not only belittle me, but also to belittle the image of the country".

He said: "I would have hoped by now that I would have had a message from the Leader of the Opposition apologizing."

Mr Botha accused the PFP of placing the advert knowing that the allegation was false. "How can South Africa place itself in the hands of such people," he asked in his final speech

before voters go to the polls tomorrow.

The secretary-general of the PFP, Mr Robin Carlisle, said yesterday that the compilers of the advert had relied on the Financial Mail of February 13 as the source for the quote and were now aware of the subsequent article on the subject in the FM of February 20.

"The PFP has received a letter from attorneys acting for Mr Botha in his personal capacity and in his capacity as chief leader of the National Party."

"The PFP notes Mr Botha's denial of the statement attributed to him and has no further comment to make at this stage," Mr Carlisle said.

The FM reported that Mr Botha had made the statement to foreign correspondents at an informal reception, but Mr Botha later denied it.

Meanwhile, party

# 1500 top men back Ball

CAT-71215  
5/5/87  
30/47

THE Institute of Directors, which represents 1 500 South African directors of companies, yesterday expressed its support for First National Bank managing director Mr Chris Ball in the wake of the findings of the Munnik commission.

In a statement issued yesterday, the IOD — which said one of its major objectives was to provide the individ-

ual director a voice in his own right — said it was totally supportive of the views expressed by Mr Mervyn King and Mr Peter Wrighton in their letter to First National Bank.

The letter was to have been delivered to FNB yesterday to inform the bank that Mr Ball was held in the highest esteem by his peers despite the findings of the commission.

"The IOD upholds the principle of free speech and — accepting that there is a distinct overlap between business and politics, particularly in South Africa — believes strongly that it would be highly detrimental to the South African economy if directors were obliged to ascertain the political affiliations of other business people prior to conducting any legal business with them," the statement said.

□ Meanwhile, the response from senior executives to a call for the support of Mr Ball is unlikely to be disclosed to the public.

Mr King said the issue was a private one between business and the FNB, whose chairman, Mr Basil Hersov, was at liberty to make it public if he chose. — Staff Reporter and Own Correspondent





# TO THE WHITE COMMUNITY

## A MESSAGE FROM THE INDIAN PEOPLE ON MAY 6 ELECTIONS



MAHATMA GANDHI

Founded the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) in 1903

The Freedom Charter declares that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and no Government can justly claim Authority unless it is based on the will of all the people.

This remains the basic condition for freedom, peace and security in our country.

NOT WHITE MINORITY RULE BASED ON INJUSTICE AND INEQUALITY.

Not racist solutions like the Tricameral Parliament and Bantustans.

## ABANDON APARTHEID! END NAT DICTATORSHIP!

### DON'T SURRENDER...

- ★ To Government by the Police and Military through secret joint management committees and the State Security Council.
- ★ To Detentions, Bannings, Restrictions, the Denial of Press Freedom and Basic Democratic Rights.
- ★ To violence, strife, conflict and growing civil war caused by Nat Policies.

## APARTHEID PARLIAMENTS CANNOT BRING PEACEFUL CHANGE

SUPPORT

## ONE PERSON, ONE VOTE, ONE PARLIAMENT





Party leaders wrap up their political campaigns amid smears and squabbles

# Last call to white electorate

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

Party leaders wrapped up their campaigns at rallies around the country last night with last-minute calls to voters to consider the future of the country.

At the same time, in spite of calls by President Botha to whites to stand united against the "spirit of revolution and outside interference", the contest between the parties has degenerated into a series of personal attacks, smears and claims which have lost sight of the crucial issue of political rights for the black majority.

Last messages to voters from the leaders last night were:

● President Botha at a National Party rally in Johannesburg: "This election is about broadening of democracy and freedom ... Voters must unite on May 6 for a vote of confidence in their security forces."

● Progressive Federal Party leader Mr Colin Eglin at a rally in Cape Town: "The election is about the start of an alternative government to dismantle apartheid."

● Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, at a meeting in Vereeniging: "The National Party is proposing a new system which is a way of enslaving Afrikaners. We want our own government by our own people."

● Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Mr Jaap Marais, at a rally in Pretoria: "The NP Government has deliberately and calculatedly impoverished the Afrikaner in order to sell out to the world's big business."

Dominating the news today, however, was the mudslinging between parties on a number of other issues.

President Botha and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha at their Johannesburg meeting last night gleefully exploited to the hilt a PFP newspaper advertisement which incorrectly quoted the State President as saying Nelson Mandela could rot in jail until he or Mandela died.

## 'Sabotage'

They demanded an apology and called on the voters to compensate for "this sabotage to South Africa" by spurning the PFP tomorrow.

The PFP was understood to be considering the matter today, but for the moment was not adding to an earlier statement that the advertisement had been based on a published report in the *Financial Mail* (which was later retracted).

The PFP is still annoyed at the way the NP incorrectly quoted Mr Ken Andrew in its newspaper advertisement to the effect that the PFP would form an alliance with the ANC.

PFP MP for Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman last night blamed the NP's "dirty tricks department" for a row over a picture of her embracing Mrs Winnie Mandela.

● Dr Treurnicht said last night reports that the CP had tried to get a hairdresser to glean NP secrets from a Nationalist in Springs was a NP smear.

● Mr Jaap Marais said last night he did not like the CP's politics. The CP had spread a lot of gossip around, but every time these were proved to be untrue it had refused to apologise.

(Report by DM Braun, 218 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

● See Pages 3, 4 and 21.



## NP could suffer stinging defeats at hands of CP

MIDDELBURG — The National Party may suffer casualties at the hands of the Conservative Party in the south-eastern Transvaal.

All six of the region's seats — Delmas, Witbank, Middelburg, Ermelo, Bethal and Standerton — appear to be marginal.

Political observers believe only a miracle can save Ermelo's MP, Deputy Minister Mr Hendrik Tempel, from defeat and even NP supporters are nervous about Minister of Agriculture Mr Greyling Wentzel's chances of retaining Bethal.

Middelburg looks a sure bet for the CP, as does Standerton. Delmas and Witbank are in the "too close to call" category.

Affecting all six seats will be the HNP. The HNP has strong support in this region and their

candidates polled well in the 1981 election.

The outcome of most of these seats will depend on whether HNP supporters remain loyal to their party or have been persuaded to vote for the right-wing party with the chance.

In Ermelo Mr Tempel fought off a tough HNP attack in 1981, scraping home by only 500 votes.

Although the local NP office expresses confidence, it seems probable that CP candidate Mr Moolman Menz will be Ermelo's next MP.

And in Bethal, Minister Greyling Wentzel has a whopping 28 000-strong constituency to convince that he should be returned to Parliament.

(Report by T A Anders, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

## NP 'wants a blank cheque'

Vereeniging Bureau

The National Party was seeking a blank cheque in the election as its own spokesmen had admitted that a lot had still to be spelt out about the policies for which they were asking a mandate. Mr Louis Stofberg, MP for Sasolburg, told a Herstigste Nasionale Party meeting in the town last night.

Outlining the HNP's policy, Mr Stofberg said it would allow all race groups their own homelands, except for the Indian population whose leaders had indicated that they would use this "fatherland" as a pawn in India's policy towards Africa.

Race groups would be "forced" to move to their homelands if they did not agree to go, he said. And just as integration was being forced on everyone in South Africa at present, nobody would be asked under an HNP government whether they preferred separate development or not.

Referring to the Regional Services Councils, which come into effect in July, Mr Stofberg said this was the "worst injustice that has ever been committed against the white man in South Africa".

White municipalities would have to put up the most money to finance these councils while they would have the least say in how the funds were used due to whites being outnumbered.

(Report by M McDougall, Barbet St, Three Rivers East, Vereeniging)

# 'NP will never be the same again' Tide has turned against the Nats, forecasts Eglin

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, said last night the tide of disillusion with Mr P W Botha's Government was becoming irreversible and there was a mass movement away from the National Party.

Mr Eglin addressed meetings in Simon's Town and Sea Point and the PFP also held meetings in the Gardens, Constantia and Pinelands.

According to Mr Eglin, the stand taken by Stellenbosch academics and prominent sportsmen and the resignation of prominent Nationalists were symptomatic of the move from the NP.

The National Party would never be the same again. It was heading for moral and intellectual decay and organisational disintegration.

Nationalist leaders were scared to spell out policy because they knew this would split their party on any key issue, Mr Eglin said.

## Rid of apartheid

People who voted to support the alliance of reform-minded moderates would help start an alternative government to get rid of apartheid.

The basic problem was not communism, the ANC or the outside world, but the Nationalists' policy of apartheid, he added.

To the Government, reform did not mean scrapping apartheid but its modernisation. No black leader with a sizeable constituency would enter serious negotiations if the Government's precondition was that he accept enforced racial separation.

Mr Eglin said the PFP saw a society rich in cultural diversity. It saw an economy developing



its full potential, providing jobs, producing goods and generating new wealth.

The party also saw a new political system in which South Africans, irrespective of colour or creed, could participate.

There could be a non-racial, democratic federation not imposed by the Nationalists but negotiated by the leaders of all sections of the people.

It was "arrrant and transparent nonsense" to say the PFP was soft on communism or that it would surrender to the ANC. The party's principles were diametrically opposed to communism.

Mr Tian van der Merwe, PFP candidate in Green Point, challenged Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha to deny that last year he favoured negotiation with the ANC and that there had been major differences on this in the Cabinet.

Mr Ken Andrew, PFP candidate in Gardens, said the outstanding feature of the election was the NP's failure to spell out plans for the future.

Mr Roger Hulley, PFP candidate in Constantia, said the PFP believed that sensible people should deal with inevitable change by the systematic dismantling of apartheid.

Mr Jasper Walsh, PFP candidate in Pinelands, stated NP electoral strategy — "winning votes at the cost of racial harmony" — and warned people not to be misled into believing black aspirations were just part of a communist plot.

(Report by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

By Martin Challenor

Mr Harry Schwarz is suing his National Party opponent in Yeoville, Mr Hein Kruger, for R100 000 over a pamphlet he distributed yesterday.

Mr Schwarz alleges the pamphlet links himself to the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO).

"This is an affront to every Jew in the constituency," Mr Schwarz said at a public meeting last night where he announced that he had "delivered a letter of demand for damages for defamation" hours earlier.

The pamphlet quotes the PFP as seeking the unbanning of the ANC. It then quotes ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo on support for

## Schwarz sues opponent over 'PLO smear'

the PLO and the PLO's Harare representative, Mr Ali Mahimh, saying "it is necessary for the PLO and the liberation movements in southern Africa to work together."

This appears under the headline "Kruger rejects the PFP and the ANC".

One of the greatest enemies of Israel was the PLO and Israel was one of the best friends

## Independents say their initiative will continue

By Frans Esterhuysen, Political Staff

Independent candidates Dr Denis Worrall and Dr Esther Lategan have called on voters to opt for a political solution that could end unrest and violence in South Africa.

They told their final election meeting in Stellenbosch Town Hall last night their initiative for peace, supported by people of all races, would continue after the election.

Despite pouring rain, more than 900 people attended the meeting chaired by Mr D P "Lang Dawid" de Villiers, former managing director of Nasionale Pers.

Also on the platform were two former Nationalist academics of the University of Stellenbosch, professors Willie Esterhuysen and Julius Jeppie.

The candidates were enthusiastically cheered by the audience and their speeches were followed by prolonged applause.

## 'A SIGN OF HOPE' FOR BLACKS

Dr Lategan, a candidate in Stellenbosch, said the only way to achieve stability in South Africa was "to stop forcing blacks to resort to street politics".

The aim should be to let them join forces with all the moderates. Internal political solutions and alliances between whites and blacks were needed to ensure security for all, which could only be achieved if blacks were given "a sign of hope".

Dr Worrall (Helderberg) said the independents had forced the Government to discuss the real issues in the election. Among those sharing the independents' viewpoint were thousands of Nationalists.

Reviewing the election campaign, Dr Worrall said: "We have managed to focus on issues without engaging in personality insults, without innuendoes and without disinformation and half-truths."

## South Africa had, said Mr Schwarz, a personal attack against himself. The pamphlet was intended to create a new racist element in Yeoville, he said.

"I am not prepared to be linked to the PLO or ANC. I choose my own bedfellows. I do not allow him to choose for me. I and independent lawyers consider the pamphlet defamatory."

Besides asking for R100 000 damages, Mr Schwarz demanded that Mr Kruger apologise and withdraw the pamphlet.

(Report by M Challenor, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

## Volatile end to campaigns

PIETERSBURG — Campaigning in Pietersburg ended on a volatile note last night with Transvaal National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk and the leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, both making strong appeals to voters at well-attended rallies in the town.

At the Pietersburg Stadium, Mr TerreBlanche advised supporters: "Buy your firearms, and keep them handy — we will get our volksstaat (people's state) regardless of the result at the polls."

The AWB leader described government leaders as "well-trained circus poodles".

Mr de Klerk ended his tour of three Northern Transvaal constituencies by telling 450 people in the Jack Botes Hall: "Give us a mandate for wider co-operation between reasonable leaders in South Africa, and we will then be able to tackle our real enemy, the forces of anarchy and violence, more resolutely."

(Report by D Nel, Mimosa Arcade, Market Street, Pietersburg)



## Barend's 'New Nat' denial

Political Reporter

The chief information officer of the National Party, Mr Barend du Plessis, last night repeated denials that 30 so-called "New Nats" were in favour of unconditional talks with the ANC.

He issued the denial after the 30 Nat MPs gave sworn affidavits to the NP's federal information committee denying claims that they favoured unconditional talks with the ANC.

The denials followed claims by the Progressive Federal Party that the group had expressed itself in favour of talks.

Conservative Party candidate for Krugersdorp, Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, described the denials as "the New Nats latest egg dance".

(Report by C Ryan, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

## What they say

The State President, Mr Botha, speaking in Johannesburg: "The Press must sit. If the Press sits everything is all right. You came to listen to me. Sit."

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Mr Tian van der Merwe, PFP MP for Green Point, at a meeting in Cape Town: "I think even the most biased Nat will concede that Nelson Mandela represents something in this country, a great number of black people, and that if we want to find a *modus vivendi*, we may have to talk to him one day."

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PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin at a rally in Cape Town: "Considering the mess the country is in after 39 years of Nationalist rule, Mr Botha's government doesn't deserve the support of thinking South Africans."

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Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, chief minister of Kwa-Zulu, in a message of support for Helderberg independent candidate Mr Denis Worrall: "The white voters who support you on Wednesday will go down in history as the unsung heroes who participated in the formidable task of successfully turning the National Party away from leading our country into a horrible future."

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Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche at a meeting in Pietersburg: "Buy your firearms and keep them handy — we will get our volkstaat (people's state) regardless of the result at the polls."

(Compiled by J M Patten, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg.)

## NP leaders are outraged by PFP advertisement quote

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

National Party leaders reacted with outrage last night to a Progressive Federal Party advertisement which, they said, was an attempt to belittle the person of the State President and sabotage the country's image abroad.

The offending advertisement quoted Mr Botha as saying on one occasion he was in favour of releasing Nelson Mandela on humanitarian grounds but on another that Mandela could rot in pris-

on until he died or Mr Mandela died, whichever took longer.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha told a National Party meeting in Johannesburg last night that the last quotation was false: the State President had never made such an utterance.

He had been reported in the *Financial Mail* as making the statement, but in the next issue this had been corrected.

Mr Botha said: "You can imagine if this picture of the State President as a hard, harsh, cruel and crude man is sent out into the world what damage will be done."

President Botha told the meeting the advertisement was an attempt to belittle his person.

"I ask myself how can South Africa put itself in the hands of such people."

● The NP changed advertisements last week linking the PFP with the ANC after it wrongly quoted Mr Ken Andrew saying the party would ally itself with the ANC.

(Report by D M Braun, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

## Swart: it's arrogance

DURBAN — Mr Ray Swart, PFP foreign affairs spokesman, said Mr Pik Botha's "feigned righteous indignation" in regard to the effect he alleged a portion of a PFP advertisement had had on the National Party was an over-reaction "typical of the arrogance of Nat Cabinet Ministers".

Mr Swart was commenting on Mr Botha's reaction to a PFP advertisement published yesterday in several newspapers that quoted the State President, Mr Botha, as saying Nelson Mandela could stay in prison until he rots ... "or until I die, whichever takes longer". Mr Pik Botha said it was not true that the State President had uttered the words.

"After a massive Nat advertising campaign in which they have twisted and distorted PFP attitudes and policies daily, how dare the Nats be so sensitive to PFP retaliation." — Sapa.

(Report by S Flitton, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban.)

Unless otherwise stated, all political comment in this edition is by H W Tyson and R A Gibson, headlines by D Rink and posters by R G Anderson all of 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.

## Nat's bald comparison

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Transvaal Nationalist Mr F W de Klerk laughed off a comparison between himself and Soviet leader Mr Gorbachev.

In an interview with Anthony Robinson of the *Financial Times*, Mr de Klerk pointed to his bald head and said: "All we have in common is this."

In a report of the interview published in the *The Star*, Mr de Klerk was incorrectly quoted as dismissing a suggestion that he differed from traditional Afrikaner leaders:

5/5/87

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# Grasp the opportunity to play a role in shaping the future of the country

By F W de Klerk,  
Transvaal leader of the  
National Party

In the earlier stages of the election campaign the major issues were obscured by extensive theatrical posturing by the PFP and the independents around concepts like "vision", "alliance" and "new spirit".

As the campaign developed, reality fortunately took over. The major issues which crystallised centred on two questions:

● Which constitutional model of reform is preferred, especially with regard to black accommodation?

Would this be the PFP model of one man, one vote on mixed voters' rolls at all levels in a totally desegregated non-racial

society with its consequent real risk of domination of minorities?

Would it be the CP/HNP model of partition with its consequent impractical removal and uprooting of millions of people?

Or would it be the NP model of group-based elections, full self-determination with regard to own affairs and power sharing with regard to matters of common concern, without one group being able to dominate another?

● Who best could be trusted with security in the face of the revolutionary onslaught?

The PFP with its well-known stance on unbanning and its highly critical approach towards strong preventive security measures?

The CP/AWB with its excessive forcefulness?

Or the National Party with its commitment to law and order and its proven track record?

From all sides opposition parties did not attack the NP on the basis of its real policies but rather on the basis of their own warped versions of these policies.

On the very same issues totally conflicting interpretations were given by the PFP on the one hand and the CP on the other. This resulted in what I prefer to call intellectual dishonesty.

As far as their own campaigns were concerned, both sides concentrated on negative tactics against the NP.

The PFP excelled in obscuring the dangerous essence of the

more radical aspects of its policies in reassuring vague generalities, obviously to create a new image of being moderate. I don't think they succeeded in bluffing the electorate.

The independents failed to come forth with a new vision and their opportunistic drive lost its sting.

The CP overplayed its hand with naked racism and lost support by its inability to forge links with its kindred spirits.

● My message to the voters is: The right to vote is a precious asset to all those who believe in democracy. To vote in a watershed election is an opportunity to shape the future.

Not to vote is equivalent to shirking an important responsibility.

(Comment by F W de Klerk, De Bruyn Park Building, Pretoria)

304A

SMC 5/5/87

# Bursting the Nats' mythological bubble

THE most charming characteristic of the National Party is its boundless, almost child-like, ability to overlook its past failures; the most ominous characteristic is its inability to learn from experience.

Like Ian Smith in the Rhodesias of the Sixties, the NP is promising South Africans safety through an intensification of the policies that have made them unsafe. It promises security against the threats which its own policies have created.

The point is deliciously illustrated by the party's claim in its latest propaganda blitz that "the Nats are right when they legislate and regulate to stop (violent people) before they kill, maim or burn somebody".

Really? Have they not been legislating and regulating for nearly 40 years? And is there not more killing, maiming and burning than in the days before they started to legislate and regulate?

They have locked up about 20 000 people without trial, or perhaps more, and yet the killing and maiming and burning continues. The mobs rampage, the limpet mines keep coming.

They banned the ANC in 1961, and the ANC has never been so powerful or so influential. Our army has never been bigger or better equipped, we have never had more police, and we have never been less secure. Taxes have never been higher, and we have seldom received

**QUOTE:** Like Canute, President Botha will order violence to retreat, and perhaps reban the ANC, and there shall be peace.

And if not?

Why, then the police will be called in, and the troopies called up, and our sons will spend their productive years riding shotgun on the trains to Soweto.

## Election comment by KEN OWEN, editor of Business Day

poorer service; government has never been bigger, and we have seldom had as sluggish an economy.

In fact, not since Paul Kruger have we been governed by people less able to manage their environment. Yet the Nationalists still say, with fetching insouciance, that apartheid, sorry folks, was a bit of blunder, a *tygte ou mistykie*, but we're fixing it all up. Trust us.

The trouble is that the

collapse of apartheid as an ideology has left the National Party without any clear sense of direction. Now they say in the rural areas that the Group Areas Act will never be repealed, and in urban areas that they will reform; if they are not actually lying they are schizophrenic.

For a while, President Botha was persuaded by clever people at the Afrikaans universities that the failure of apartheid

required reform, and he did try to reform. He asked the country in 1983 for a mandate to reform — for security, of course — and was given an overwhelming vote of trust.

Less than four years later, he had so bungled reform, so alienated important black leaders like Chief Mangosuthu Buthe-lezi, so humiliated coloured and Indian moderates, so mismanaged the economy, so utterly failed to uphold law and

order, that the country was in uproar from end to end and its international position had collapsed.

In most Western countries such a record would send a leader cringing into obscurity like President Jimmy Carter, in the National Party. President Botha is hailed as the new political messiah with a plan — sort-of-new, sort-of-old — to bring us out of the wilderness into which he has taken us.

This is not, I think,

mere cynicism; the Nationalists actually believe their own mythologies. One quite astonishing example cropped up repeatedly during the election campaign in the claim that the PFP consists of super-rich "Houghtonites" who can "buy their security".

In fact, recent government statistics show that it is the Afrikaners in Verwoerdburg and eastern Pretoria who are super-rich and can afford to "buy safety"; it is in Yeoville and Hillbrow that life has become fear-ridden, crime-ridden, uncertain. Yet the myth of poor, exploited Afrikaners persists, assiduously fed by a political party that cannot manage its environment, and therefore sees itself cast as the perpetual victim.

The idea of government-as-victim was made explicit during the campaign by Finance Minister Barand du Plessis when he said it was "unfair" to hold government itself responsible — after nearly 40 years of

unchallenged power — for the consequences of its own economic policies.

Attachment to mythology shapes the new Nationalist policies, far more so than the realities. Group rights, for example, are to be protected. How? More police, a bigger army? No, by "legislation and regulation". Like Canute, President Botha will order violence to retreat, and perhaps reban the ANC, and there shall be peace.

And if not? Why, then the police will be called in, and the troopies called up, and our sons will spend their productive years riding shotgun on the trains to Soweto. There will be costly, military-scale operations, like the siege of Cosatu House, to arrest a few murderers. There will be a fight.

It always comes back to the army. That is why we have had all the military shows during the election campaign, the new helicopter gunship unveiled six days before polling, the belligerence of Pk Botha and Magnus Malan.

It comes back to the



# to black South Africans

CAPE TOWN — A pamphlet bearing a message from the State President will be distributed in black residential areas countrywide over the next two days regarding the "white election", the Bureau for Information said today.

In the pamphlet Mr P W Botha says he needs the strong support of the white voters for negotiating the participation of blacks at all levels of government.

"Black communities must have their own structures through which to participate," he said.

"The stronger the mandate I get, the better the prospects for peace, progress and stability in South Africa. It will enable me to continue the process of peaceful reform in order to build a better South Africa for all our people."

Together we can work out a plan for the future which will ensure peace and progress for all — and which will ensure that the interests of all groups will be protected.

He said the election was necessary for the process of peaceful reform.

"It is about the future, your future and my future, but most important of all it is about the future of our children. It is about negotiation, power-sharing, democracy and peace."

"But I cannot do this alone. As President I also need the strong support of all South Africans who reject violence, intimidation and terror. We all want peace through negotiation."

(Report by F Krige, 801 Nedbank Centre, Strand Street, Cape Town.) — Sapa

# for NP smear tactics'

## Election roundup

JOHANNESBURG — South Africa would eventually have to pay the price for the National Party's campaign to frighten white voters and making the ANC and the SA Communist Party issues in this election, Mr Harry Schwarz, PFP MP for Yeoville, said last night.

He said that by using a smear technique of guilt by alleged association, it had sought to portray the

enlightened candidates, whether PFP, NRP or Independent as associated with the ANC and the SACP and soft on security.

(Report by Ken Daniels 626 Mutual Building, Harrison Street, Johannesburg.)

STELLENBOSCH — Through its lack of understanding of the nature of the problems facing South Africa, the Government

was continuously "lighting fires", and then claiming only it could put them out, Mr Wynand Malan said in a message read out at the election meeting of fellow-Independent candidates' Dr Denis Worrall and Dr Esther Lategan, at Stellenbosch last night.

(Report by F Neuhoff, 626 Mutual Building, Harrison Street, Johannesburg.)

PRETORIA — The Her- stigte Nasionale Party leader, Mr Jaap Marais, has charged his Conservative Party opponent in Hercules of seeking a court order to obscure an incident in which he was punched for allegedly running a red traffic light.

Mr Marais told almost 600 people at the Pretoria City Hall that Mr S P Barnard (CP) yesterday applied for a court order prohibiting Mr Marais and the HNP from alleging that Mr Barnard rented flats to people who were not whites in Johannesburg.

HNP officials made such an allegation, and said Mr Barnard had sought the order to draw attention from an incident last week when he was stopped in his car in Pretoria and punched.

(Report by Norman Patterson, 514 Barclays Bank Building, Church Square, Pretoria.)

VEREENIGING — The leader of the CP, Dr Andries Treurnicht, last night said the CP had no desire at all to exercise white dominant power.

The CP recognised the right of every nation to have its own government. (Report by Allison MacDonaid, 28 Height Street, Doornfontein.)

DURBAN — The NRP/PFP alliance was in the fast lane and the National Party in the slow lane of the "freeway to black majority rule", Mr Duncan du Bois, Conservative Party candidate in Mooi River, said last

Speaking in Baynesfield, Mr du Bois said the only decision for voters tomorrow was whether they wanted to share power with more than 10 million urban blacks.

"Those opting for power-sharing can choose between the NRP/PFP alliance in the fast lane and the NP in the slow lane." — Sapa (Report by S Filton 12 Dev-

Afrikaner elite has been pointing out with greater and greater urgency, the Nats are now as bereft of political answers as that poor, limited man Ian Smith. They can only dig in.

At Stellenbosch, more than 300 university faculty endorsed the criticism that the NP had no vision, no plan, when a pro-Nationalist counter-statement was circulated around the campuses, only nine academics could be found to sign.

The Afrikaner elite, highly educated and sophisticated now, has seen through the mythology, the best and brightest know that the NP lacks the imagination, the flexibility, the political manoeuvrability to change, and that if it remains in power, the future will be a long, bitter fight for security, ending essentially as Rhodesia's fight ended

It comes back to the army, which failed in Algeria, failed in Vietnam, failed in Rhodesia.

We shall end up fighting — and dying — for security.

(Comment by K Owen, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.)

## 'Back to life'

CAPE TOWN — Mr Barney Cemel, 79, of Muizenberg, has come back to electoral life — 13 years after being declared "dead" and removed from the voters' rolls.

Investigating why he was not receiving election literature, he found that the Department of Home Affairs had removed him from the voters' roll in 1974 in error as "deceased". He is now back on the roll. — Sapa

# THE C.P. LEADERS ARE NOT GIVING YOU ALL THE FACTS!

# WE HAVE ALWAYS BEEN HONEST WITH YOU! VOTE H.N.P.

Algoa	Humansdorp	P.E. North	Sundays River	Uitenhage
G. Swiegers	Gerrie Schultz	P. Wagener	P. Marais	Beauty Greeff

Placed by Mr Gerrie Schultz, P.O. Box 10678, Linton Grange  
Port Elizabeth. Telephone 304263



It is an election that would have been dominated by the right wing, but the *broedertuis* that bedevilled attempts at an election pact saw that focus swing dramatically to the Reform Alliance and the growing groundswell of support it engendered.

It has, however, been the Independent candidates and the growing support they have attracted which has perhaps been the dominant feature.

Sparked by the defection of Randburg MP Mr Wynand Malan from the NP and the subsequent resignation of one of South Africa's key ambassadors, Dr Denis Worrall, there has been a steady trail from the NP since.

The initial rebellion by 28 Stellenbosch academics developed until more than 300 from the very heart of the National Party's think tank had turned their backs on the party.

Then there was Louis Luyt, "Lang" David de Villiers from Nasionale Pers, sportsmen like Gary Player, Naas Botha and Carel du Plessis and a number of top theatrical personalities.

There have been rebellions at Potchefstroom and at Tukkies.

The haven to which these "rebels" have turned is the Reform Alliance — an electoral pact for by the PFP, the NRP and the Independents and hammered out by that architect of alliance poli-

tics, Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the PFP.

At this stage the Alliance is confident that it will retain the 26 seats held by the PFP before the election with the possible exception of Maritzburg North.

Seats the PFP regards as "safe" include the East Cape constituencies of Albany, King William's Town, Port Elizabeth Central and Walmer.

Elsewhere in the country, the Alliance is "bullish" about its chances of breaking new ground in North Rand, Simonstown, Durban North and Umhlatuzana, while other seats where the Alliance must have a chance include Waterkloof, East London City Umlazi and Benoni.

A considerable amount of attention will focus on the East Cape seats of Newton Park and Humansdorp.

The PFP has had a highly professional campaign in Newton Park in a bid to unseat Mr Sakkie Louw, the ultra-*verligte* Nat MP who won the seat in a by-election in May 1985.

The NP is confident and must have the edge in a seat which could well be an accurate barometre of what kind of swing nation-wide there will be to the left.

The wild card in Newton Park

● Turn to Page 2

## The Post supports these five candidates



PADDY BALL, Walmer.



EDDIE TRENT, Newton Park.



JOHN MALCOMESS, PE Central.



ANDREW SAVAGE, Humansdorp.



RICK MCKIEVER, Algoa.

# Election focus

# is on A nce

By PATRICK CULL, Political Correspondent

THE long slog of a 4½-month election campaign comes to a head tomorrow when some three million voters go to the polls in what is perhaps the most crucial election in South Africa's history.

## Alliance as scene crucial election

now, picking up seats from the right and shedding to the left.

And the Independents? Randburg looks to be a win for Mr Wynand Malan, while there is a strong degree of optimism in Stellenbosch that the swing by students and staff can mean victory for Dr Esther Latagan. And Helderberg — the

real prize for the Independents? Despite the hype and the slickness of the campaign launched by Dr Worrall, the NP's constitutional architect, Mr Chris Heunis, is expected to retain the seat. But just how easily is another matter. (News by Patrick Cull, 19 Baakens Street, Port Elizabeth.)

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3044 S/Tom 5/5/87

The  
white  
election

# On the outside looking in PFP

**B**LACK South Africans must be relieved that the all-white election is almost over. Whites themselves probably feel the same way.

One cannot help but sympathise with them. All that pressure. Politicians staring from every lamp-post, begging for votes. The endless round of meetings. Long, boring speeches and debates on TV. Full-page advertisements in the newspapers. (A Sunday paper carried eight full-page adverts plus one or two smaller ones on the eve of the election).

And in the end none of the parties offered any answers for a truly peaceful South Africa.

It's a wonder the *mlungus* haven't called for a general stayaway yesterday to get over it all.

Maybe they ought to get tips on living through elections. I'm sure the Italians and French, who change their leaders as regularly as underwear, would be willing to help.

But it was fun while it lasted. Especially from the outside, looking in.

Politicians were at their best. Doing what they do best — making fools of themselves.

Mind you, they also came up with some memorable quotes.

Who could forget these gems?

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, speaking in Potgietersrus:

"If whites do not pull themselves together they will be looking at the walls of racism set up around them and be unable to see over them to the great vision for South Africa's future."

A black president, perhaps?

The same Botha gave us: "The NP is no longer a political party. It is a people's movement."

His Conservative Party opponent in the Westdene constituency, Brigadier Theunis "Rooi Rus" Swanepoel, be-

lieves: "The Cabinet is full of communists."

So communists are not only found under every bush, after all.

As for "Rooi Rus"? He will only negotiate through the barrel of a gun, he has said.

Mr Frank le Roux, CP spokesman on Manpower: "To connect this day so closely with May 1 — an occasion generally associated with solidarity by leftists, socialists and

communists — is once again proof of the National Party's wishy-

washy kowtowing to these elements."

Herstigte Nationale Party leader, Mr Jaap Marais: "I believe there are just as many black people in this country who support my party's policies as there are those who support other parties."

## Humpty

Deputy Minister of Finance, Mr Kent Durr: "The PFP, which wrecked the old United Party, now wants to create an alliance of moderates, but Humpty Dumpty will not be put together again."

And the cherry on the

top.

PFP candidate in Parktown, Mr Marius Barnard: "I got a call from a man who said: 'I am Mr Peterson and I'm speaking from the National Party office. Can we count on your support?'"

"I asked who the NP candidate was and he had to ask someone else in the office. Finally I said to him, 'I am the PFP MP for Parktown! The NP must be totally bankrupt to use an idiot like you to canvass for it.'"

Even if the Nats have nothing to offer, they sure know how to catch votes.

PW's crowd stole the show by focusing on *rooi gevaar*, *swart gevaar* and just about any other *gevaar* they promised to save whites from in-

return for a vote.

And then, of course, a military adventure in a neighbouring country just to help whites make up their minds.

The Nats steered clear of Rubicons this time. They obviously didn't want to get their feet wet again.

One of the Nats' full-page ads illustrated the dilemma of white voters.

## Dead-end

It said: "On May 6 South Africa stands at a crossroad. Where you make your cross is where we will go."

What they weren't told is that each road is a dead-end.

(Comment by I. J. Fynn, 61 Commando Road, Industria.)



17K645 4/5/87

# Police pull out all stops for election

304A

**The Argus Correspondent**

PRETORIA. — Security forces would be out in full strength and well prepared to handle any attempt to disrupt or discredit the elections on Wednesday, said the Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee, today.

He said the authorities were briefed in detail from a wide range of sources. This intelligence had been evaluated and the police were confident they were fully aware of planned action.

He said: "It is quite obvious there is a great deal of interest in this election, both at home and abroad, and that the turnout at the polls is expected to be very high.

## DIVERSIONS PLANNED

"Our information is that this is frustrating to certain radical organisations and individuals and that plans have been made to divert attention away from the election as much possible.

"It is known the ANC, for example, has instructed that there be a co-ordinated anti-election campaign with political, diplomatic and military dimensions.

"We have already taken steps to foil these actions."

General Coetzee said people need have no fear of going to the polls on election day as every possible measure had been taken to protect voters and officials.

Security forces were in complete control of the situation but, in the final analysis, it was co-operation between the public and the police which would ensure the smooth running of the elections.

(Report by D Braun, 216 Vermuelen Street, Johannesburg)

## Meetings

SIMONSTOWN: Mr Colin Eglin, Mr John Scott and Mr Robin Carlisle, Fish Hoek Civic Centre.

GARDENS: Mr Ken Andrew, Mr Tian van der Merwe, Mr N Osburne, Miss M de Swardt, Van Riebeeck Primary School Hall.

SEA POINT: Mr Eglin, Mr van der Merwe, Mr Andrew and Mr Scott, Weizmann Hall.

CONSTANTIA: Mr Roger Hulle and Mr J van Gend, Christ Church Hall, Constantia Road, Constantia.

PINELANDS: Mr Jasper Walsh and Mr Jan van Gend, Pinelands Community Centre.

STELLENBOSCH: Independents Dr Denis Worrall and Dr Esther Lategan, Stellenbosch Town Hall.

The Stellenbosch meeting starts at 7.30 pm. All the others at 8 pm.

● More election reports on pages 8, 10 and 11.



# PFP, NP likely to gain seats

ARGUS 4/5/87 304A

By TOS WENTZEL  
Political Correspondent

LAST-MINUTE meetings in several key constituencies today mark the final lap of a hard-fought campaign for an election in which both the National Party and the Progressive Federal Party stand to make gains.

President P W Botha speaks in Johannesburg tonight and Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the PFP, speaks in his Sea Point constituency as well as in the Fish Hoek Civic Centre.

The National Party says it has a good chance of regaining some of the seats held by Conservative Party MPs who broke from the NP in 1982.

Estimates of how the rightwing parties could fare differ widely but they are expected to slash Nationalist majorities in a large number of seats, especially in the Transvaal.

The PFP can win between four and six seats from the National Party. It is especially confident of adding Simon's Town and Durban North to its present seats.

## Opposition

It is becoming clear that the PFP will return as the official Opposition.

Only a few months ago some political observers were predicting that the CP could become the official Opposition but the failure of the CP and the Herstigte Nasionale Party to come to an agreement has ruled out this possibility.

The NP is also benefiting from rightwing squabbles.

It appears as if the CP may win only 10 of the 17 elected seats it had in the old Assembly, 15 of which were won under the NP banner before the split.

Nationalist politicians concede that the right wing, especially the CP, can attract several hundred thousand votes.

Among the independents Mr Wynand Malan in Randburg has the best chance of winning.

## Helderberg

While Dr Denis Worrall said he would win in Helderberg, Nationalist workers said Mr Chris Heunis would increase his majority.

The NP is set to win Stellenbosch although workers for independent candidate Dr Esther Lategan say she is doing unexpectedly well.

The New Republic Party may win only four of the five seats it has at present. Some of its supporters have misgivings about the PFP-NRP alliance and could vote for the NP instead.

From claims being made by the parties it is clear that there is a big lie factor among voters and the National Party could suffer from that.

There are also a large number of undecided voters, said to be up to 20 percent in some constituencies.

It is not clear what effect the NP's security propaganda will have or how the PFP and the independents' attacks on the NP's slow or stalled reform measures will have.

Economic matters such as unemployment and the high cost of living may play a crucial role in some urban seats. PFP canvassers have come across intense dissatisfaction about this among some traditionally Nationalist supporters.

Mr Eglin today expressed confidence that the PFP would hold all its present seats and would win some from the National Party.

## Vicious

There has been a groundswell breakaway of younger upwardly-mobile Afrikaners from the National Party, he said.

The NP could find the number of dissatisfied supporters running at an all-time high.

What was not clear was whether this would transfer into votes against the NP or become abstentions.

The Nationalists had fought a vicious campaign on communism and the ANC, but the moderate opposition groups had steered the campaign back to race issues and the need for reform, Mr Eglin said.

(Report by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

## Worrall's campaign balloon grounded

### Staff Reporter

DR DENIS Worrall's campaign balloon will not be making any more flights.

Springbok balloonist André van Wyk had manned the colourful balloon. It towed a banner urging support for Dr Worrall in his campaign against Mr Chris Heunis, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning.

A spokesman for Dr Worrall's office said today that the balloon would not fly again. Mr van Wyk was fired on last week and then grounded by municipal officials.

"You can't fight City Hall," said the spokesman.

### "PRETTY UPSET"

"We understand that the Nationalists were pretty upset that we managed to get Mr van Wyk as part of our campaign. They were after him, but we tied him up well in advance.

"But the main factor is that we don't want to risk his life. It's pretty scary that he has been shot at."

Mr van Wyk made six flights over the Helderberg constituency before a bullet ripped through his balloon on Thursday, causing about R1 000 damage.

He said: "There was no real harm done, but it could have been catastrophic if the bullet had hit the gas cylinders or me."

(Report by Dick Usher, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

CME Times 4/5/87 (304)

'The slate is clean with Ball'

# Top executives asked to sign support pledge

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Executives of large corporations who know and deal with First National Bank (FNB) managing director Mr Chris Ball are rallying to his support after the ruling of the Munnik Commission.

More than 70 executives will today be asked to put their name to a letter pledging continuing support for Mr Ball, said one of the signatories, Tradegro's Mr Mervyn King.

The letter will be handed to FNB chairman Mr Basil Hersov and is intended to show the bank that Mr Ball's peers hold him in esteem and trust, despite the findings of the Munnik Commission.

Support from other executives is being gathered because "we want to put across the message that the slate is clean with Ball, in fact, we regard it as not even being marked".

The letter says: "The bank's legal team feels that the probabilities point to Ball not knowing the destination of the funds. The Commission found that the probabilities pointed to him being aware.

"Probabilities do not create facts.

"We (the executives) know him (Ball) as an honourable man and he will continue to enjoy our trust and confidence in our dealings."

Mr King and Premier's Mr Peter Wrighton have telexed executives whose names would be listed if their support was forthcoming. Mr King and Mr Wrighton will sign the letter in their private capacity.

The names will remain private, but if Mr Hersov wanted to he could make the letter public, said Mr King.

Chris Cairncross reports that many leaders of the country's business community are indicating that they believed the Munnik Commission's conclusions over the funding of the

advert, calling for the unbanning of the ANC, were irrelevant.

Businessmen canvassed for their reactions over the commission's report, released last week, chose not to comment on the merits of Judge President Mr Justice Munnik's findings.

But, they noted, he had not found that Mr Ball had done anything unlawful, he had acted within his rights as a banker in granting the overdraft facility, the UDF was not an illegal organization, and there was nothing illegal about calling for the unbanning of the ANC.

In a statement published as an advertisement in a number of newspapers at the weekend, the full board of FNB supported Mr Ball, affirming that he had at all times acted lawfully and within his authority as managing director.

They rejected Mr Justice Munnik's findings as being unjustified and not substantiated by the evidence placed before the commission.

Generally, business leaders canvassed expressed concern over the events leading up to the appointment of the commission.

Pick n' Pay chairman Mr Raymond Ackerman echoed the views of most of his business colleagues when he again criticized the manner in which the State President, Mr P W Botha, had used the protection of Parliament to make several allegations about Mr Ball.

Others commented that the appointment of the one-man commission also appeared to be a strong-arm tactic by Mr Botha, aimed at warning Mr Ball and other businessmen to stop criticizing his government and stop meddling in politics.

"We will not be cowered by such tactics and will continue express our forthright views over the way the country is being run and push for reform," commented Mr Ackerman.



# Group backs CP over HNP

THE Boerestaat-Beweging (BB), an organisation striving for the reinstatement of Boer republics, has called on its members to vote CP rather than HNP.

The BB takes it for granted none of its members will vote for what it describes as "leftist, unpatriotic liberals" in the NP, PFP and NRP who are "hostile" towards the farming community.

BB leader Robert van Tonder says his organisation had hoped for a united right-wing front in the election.

The BB has been unable to negotiate

with the HNP because, he claims, the HNP has rejected the principle of reintroducing boer republics.

But the BB has had friendly discussions with CP leaders, who have indicated that while the boer-republics principle is not part of CP policy, they are not hostile towards the idea, he says.

He claims the organisation has considerable support among Afrikaners and growing support among English-speakers, particularly in the Transvaal.

Report by Dominique Gilbert, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg

Cape Times 4/5/87 (30K17)

## Degenaar article: a correction

IN the article on this page on Friday by Professor Johan Degenaar, professor of political philosophy at the University of Stellenbosch — headed "Hope for South Africa in negotiation, not reform" — a typographical error obscured the meaning of one of the concluding sentences in which the word "co-

operation" should have read "co-optation."

The sentence should have read: "Negotiation which is based on co-optation has to be rejected in favour of competitive negotiation which allows the relevant parties to co-operate in creating a future which no one group would have chosen on its own."



# Anti-govt protest broadens:

# Surprise for Nats says PFP-Alliance

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**THE PFP and the independent movement — spurred on by the latest wave of anti-government protest from prominent actors, sportsmen and students — last night predicted the National Party was in for a surprise on May 6.**

The strong anti-government stand at the weekend adopted by 23 of the country's top actors, 46 prominent Stellenbosch sports personalities (including Dr Danie Craven and 31 Springboks) and more than a thousand Matie students has given a "considerable boost" to the reform alliance in the run-up to the election.

PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin said the ongoing wave of prominent South Africans who had publicly turned their backs on the government or defected from the NP "are just the tip of the iceberg".

"I have never seen such a wave of anti-Nationalist feeling before a general election — it's an exciting nationwide trend."

The latest groundswell against the government was "bound to boost the chances of reform-minded candidates", he said.

"There is a new adventurous spirit, particularly among relatively young (25-45-year-olds), urbanized, upwardly mobile Afrikaners who takes their politics extremely seriously."

"This generation believes that if you keep hanging on to the status quo there will be no future."

The independent candidate in Stellenbosch, Dr Esther Lategan, said the force of the latest wave of anti-government sentiment, much of it from within her constituency, "is indicative of a change of heart within Afrikanerdom that is being underestimated by the powers that be".

Dr Lategan said a "snowball effect" was taking over "because every time a

**More election reports, page 9**



person speaks out clearly (against the government) it gives courage to others to do so".

"I think the government is in for a shock on election day."

"There is a broad groundswell of dissatisfaction across the country against the direction the government is taking," she said.

Mr Jannie Momberg, campaign manager for Dr Denis Worrall's independent campaign in Helderberg, said the ongoing protest against the NP by prominent South Africans was an indication that "the wave of anti-government feeling is coming to a head".

The public stand by actors and sports personalities like Dr Craven was giving a "tremendous boost" to the independent campaign.

"We are predicting a very, very close result in Helderberg — we can feel the urge for change among people and an upset is definitely on the cards."

The 46 sports personalities, in a statement released in Stellenbosch at the weekend, encouraged voters "to support those in a party political context and independent candidates who

**To page 2**

**From page 1**

are united in the common search for sincere and urgent initiative to ensure a normal and peaceful life for all South Africans".

"We believe that, as has been attempted on the sportsfields, the colour of a skin should never be used as a criterion for any judgment in our society."

The petition was signed by:

Dr Craven, Jan Boland Coetzee, Morné du Plessis, Divan Serfontein, Dawie Snyman, Cari Rose-Innes, Melany Muller, Tessa Granger, Danie Malan, Dicky Broberg, Alta Wessels, Aneen de Jager, Ray Carlson, Roy McCullum, David Reid-Ross, Francois Wahl, Brenda du Plessis, Sigrid Walters, Pieter de Villiers, Thea de Villiers, Rennie Rose-Innes, Leith Stewart, Elvera Ryan, Willie du Plessis, Henning van Aswegen, Schalk Naude, Danie Goosen, Joepie Loots, Theuns Wessel, Johann Dreyer, Adrian Kuiper, Peet le Roux, Rauch van Reenen, Chummy Jankielsohn, Andy van der Watt, John Villet, Flip van der Merwe, Andre Markgraaff, Albie Basson, Dawie Swart, Schalk Burger, Jackie Snyman, Michael du Plessis, Henrie Bekker, Hempies du Toit and Carel du Plessis.

Another Matieland shock for the NP came with the release of a petition signed by more than 1 000 University of Stellenbosch students backing the earlier condemnation of National Party government policies by 356 academics at the university.

And in further nationwide anti-government protest, 23 prominent show-business personalities criticized as "destructive and un-South African detention without trial, the Group Areas Act, censorship and the state of emergency."

Those endorsing the protest were:

Marius Weyers, Sandra Prinsloo, Tobie Cronje, Jana Cilliers, Pieter-Dirk Uys, Gordon Mulholland, Pieter Tourien, Manie van Rensburg, Vanessa Cooke, Elize Cawood, Wilson Dunster, Danny Keough, Jonathan Rands, Bill Flynn, Richard Haines, Mannie Manim, Arnold Vosloo, Grethe Fox, Paul Slabolepszy, Rex Garner, Regardt van den Bergh, and Des and Dawn Lindberg.

The Jews for Social Justice (JSJ) organization yesterday issued an "election statement" which said a vote for the National Party in Wednesday's election could not be justified in the light of the ethics of Judaism.

The JSJ called on all South Africans to work towards a "non-racial, just and democratic society — regardless of the outcome of the election or whether you vote or not".

□ Meanwhile it is reported from Johannesburg that the PFP has claimed in an election pamphlet that taxpayers are now paying 400% more income tax than at the last election in 1981.

It also said the consumer price index had gone up by 138%, food prices administered by control boards by 73% and government spending by 130%.

And, in spite of government promises of a civil service cut-back, the number employed in the public sector rose by 138 000 between 1981 and 1985.

PFP spokesman Mr Brian Goodall said the figures were taken from Reserve Bank statistics.

(Report by A Johnson, 122 St George's Street, CT, and M Collins, 11 Diagonal Street, JHB.)

# NP advertisements: PFP call for inquiry

JOHANNESBURG. — The PFP has called for an inquiry into the financing of the NP's "smear" advertisements against the PFP, which is estimated to have cost well over R3m.

The PFP's Northern Transvaal chairman, Mr Rowen Haarhoff, said the NP advertisement campaign, which began two weeks ago, probably ran at a cost of R200 000 a day. It is to continue until Wednesday morning, NP sources said.

The NP campaign ran into trouble at the weekend when the Grahamstown Supreme Court ruled that adverts implying that the PFP was allied to the ANC will not be published again. PFP legal advisers said the ruling applies throughout the country.

Mr Haarhoff said there was increasing evidence that the NP had been relatively inactive in various constituencies during the election campaign.

"It would appear the R3m-plus ads have been placed to balance out the lack of effort and workers the NP is experiencing," Mr Haarhoff said.

Mr Roger Barrows MP, the PFP Natal Coastal chairman, said: "No other party can hope to compete with this sort of spending. The NP must disclose its source of funding."

Mr Con Botha, MP and director of the NP information office, could not say how much the campaign was costing nor give the source of the funds.

(Report by M du Preez and D Gilbert, 11 Diagonal St, JHB.)



Tax 400% higher than last poll

# SA taxpayer on nightmare ride — PFP

THE government gravy train continues to hurtle along, taking taxpayers for a nightmare ride.

This is highlighted by a PFP claim which says the taxpayer is now paying 400% more income tax since the last election in 1981.

"The consumer price index has gone up by 138%, food prices administered by control boards by 73% and government spending by 130%."

And in spite of government promises of a civil service cut-back, the number employed in the public sector rose by 138 000 between 1981 and 1985.

● See Page 2

PFP spokesman Brian Goodall says the figures were taken from Reserve Bank statistics.

"The figures also show that at the end of 1985 the public sector owned 57,3% of all fixed capital assets in SA."

Viewed against the background of the latest pay demands — 12% to 15% — by

MICK COLLINS

the Public Servants' Association (PSA), the government juggernaut takes on ominous proportions.

Last week, the PSA warned government that if increases were not backdated to April 1, its demand would be raised from 15% to 18%.

The question of housing subsidies was also raised — the present ceiling is R50 000. Government spending on housing subsidies is more than R200m a year.

The more than 400 000 whites working for government, including parastatals such as Sats and the Post Office, form a powerful voting block. Along with voting members of families, they constitute almost one-third of the total electorate.

Government's tardiness in announcing the rises is, say political commentators, a clear indication the increases will be small and maybe retrospective.

Party political observers say the Nat

● To Page 2 ➡

## Call for probe into NP ads

MAX DU PREEZ and  
DOMINIQUE GILBERT

THE PFP has called for a commission of inquiry into the financing of the NP's smear advertisements against the PFP which are estimated to have cost well over R3m — an amount which exceeds what the PFP has spent on its entire campaign.

PFP Northern Transvaal chairman Rowen Haarhoff said the NP advertising campaign — which began two weeks ago — probably cost R200 000 a day. NP sources said it was to continue until Wednesday morning.

The NP campaign ran into trouble at the weekend when the Grahamstown Supreme Court ruled that adverts implying the PFP was allied to the ANC should not be published again.

Mr Justice Kannermeier granted the restraining order despite a challenge by the NP's MP for East London City, Peet de Pontes.

PFP legal advisers said the ruling applied throughout the country.

The NP has not yet answered the PFP challenge that it divulge its source of funding for the multimillion-rand campaign.

Report by Max du Preez and Dominique Gilbert,  
11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.

## Nightmare for taxpayers

caboose has assumed leviathan dimensions. In 1981, the amount collected from individual taxpayers was R2,09bn. In 1984/85 it was budgeted to reach R7,26bn.

When the Nats came to power in 1948, there was a total of 150 MPs with 14 Cabinet and Deputy Ministers.

This has now blossomed to 308 MPs, 50 Cabinet and Deputy Ministers with the promise of 14 Assistant Ministers to come.

Added to this is the duplication of government because of apartheid. SA is the proud possessor of four Health Ministers, five Education Ministers, four Agriculture Ministers and six Ministers dealing with housing, the PFP says.

The homelands have also created a country that finds itself with five Presidents, five Foreign Affairs Ministers, five Finance Ministers and five Defence Ministers.

But the figures do not tell the whole story. Since they do not include the six non-independent homelands, the taxpayer

er must take account of 46 Ministers and the 481 members of their legislative assemblies.

Some of the expensive side benefits of the gravy train include:

□ A chauffeur-driven luxury car and a smaller second car for every Cabinet Minister.

□ A house with a maid and a gardener for a monthly sum of R45, figures released in 1982 show, for every Cabinet and Deputy Minister.

□ A Gold Card which entitles every Cabinet Minister, even when retired, to free, first-class air travel anywhere in SA for the rest of his life.

The taxpayer will now also have to contend with the advent of the regional services councils, which will be duplicated on a racial basis. Every chairman — to be appointed, not elected — will get more than R90 000 a year.

Report by Mick Collins, 11 Diagonal Street Johannesburg



**T**HE MOST charming characteristic of the National Party is its boundless, almost childlike ability to overlook its past failures; the most ominous characteristic is its inability to learn from experience.

Like Ian Smith in the Rhodesias of the Sixties, the NP is promising South Africans safety through an intensification of the policies that have made them unsafe. It promises security against the threats which its own policies have created.

The point is deliciously illustrated by the party's claim in its latest propaganda blitz that "the Nats are right when they legislate and regulate to stop (violent people) before they kill, maim or burn somebody".

Really? Have they not been legislating and regulating for nearly 40 years? And is there not more killing, maiming and burning than in the days before they started to legislate and regulate?

They have locked up about 20 000 people without trial, or perhaps more, and yet the killing and maiming and burning continues. The mobs rampage, the limpet mines keep coming.

**T**hey banned the ANC in 1961, and the ANC has never been so powerful or so influential. Our army has never been bigger or better equipped, we have never had more police, and we have never been less secure. Taxes have never been higher, and we have seldom received poorer service; government has never been bigger, and we have seldom had as sluggish an economy.

In fact, not since Paul Kruger have we been governed by people less able to manage their environment. Yet the Nationalists still say, with fetching insouciance, that apartheid, sorry folks, was a bit of blunder, a *l'gite ou mistyfic*, but we're fixing it all up. Trust us. The trouble is that the collapse



□ BOTHA ... political messiah?

of apartheid as an ideology has left the National Party without any clear sense of direction. Now they say in the rural areas that the Group Areas Act will never be repealed, and in urban areas that they will reform, if they are not actually lying they are schizophrenic.

For a while, President Botha was persuaded by clever people at the Afrikaans universities that the failure of apartheid required reform, and he did try to reform. He asked the country in 1983 for a mandate to reform — for security, of course — and was given an overwhelming vote of trust.

Less than four years later, he had so bungled reform, so alienated important black leaders like Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi, so humiliated coloured and Indian moderates, so mismanaged the eco-

# Vote for security — even if it kills you

KEN OWEN

nommy, so utterly failed to uphold law and order, that the country was in uproar from end to end and its international position had collapsed.

In most Western countries such a record would send a leader cringing into obscurity like President Jimmy Carter, in the National Party, President Botha is hailed as the new political messiah with a plan — sort-of new, sort-of old — to bring us out of the wilderness into which he has taken us.

**T**his is not, I think, mere cynicism; the Nationalists actually believe their own mythologies. One quite astonishing example cropped up repeatedly during the election campaign in the claim that the PFP consists of super-rich

"Houghtonites" who can "buy their security".

In fact, recent government statistics show that it is the Afrikaners in Verwoerdburg and eastern Pretoria who are super-rich and can afford to "buy safety"; it is in Yeoville and Hillbrow that life has become fear-ridden, crime-ridden, uncertain. Yet the myth of poor, exploited Afrikaners persists, as siduously fed by a political party that cannot manage its environment, and therefore sees itself cast as the perpetual victim.

The idea of government-as-victim was made explicit during the campaign by Finance Minister Barred du Plessis when he said it was "unfair" to hold government itself responsible — after nearly 40 years of unchallenged power — for the consequences of its own economic policies. Attachment to mythology

shapes the new Nationalist policies, far more so than the realities Group rights, for example, are to be protected. How? More police, a bigger army? No, by "legislator and regulation". Like Canute President Botha will order violence to retreat, and perhaps rebarr the ANC, and there shall be peace. And if not? Why, then the police will be called in, and the troops called up, and our sons will spend their productive years riding shotgun on the trains to Soweto. There will be costly, military-scale operations, like the siege of Cosatu House, to arrest a few murderers. There will be a fight.

It always comes back to the army. That is why we have had all the military shows during the election campaign, the new helicopter gunship unveiled six days before polling, the belligerence of Pik Botha and Magnus Malan.

It comes back to the army because, as the Afrikaner elite has been pointing out with greater and greater urgency, the Nats are now as bereft of political answers as that poor, limited man Ian Smith. They can only dig in.

**A**t Stellenbosch, more than 300 university faculty endorsed the criticism that the NP had no vision, no plan; when a pro-Nationalist counter-statement was circulated around the campuses, only nine academics could be found to sign.

The Afrikaner elite, highly educated and sophisticated now, has seen through the mythology; the best and brightest know that the NP lacks the imagination, the flexibility, the political manoeuvrability to change, and that if it remains in power, the future will be a long, bitter fight for security, ending essentially as Rhodesia's fight ended.

It comes back to the army, which failed in Algeria, failed in Vietnam, failed in Rhodesia. We shall end up fighting — and dying — for security.



Election excitement reaches fever pitch

# Police ready for bid to disrupt polls

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By David Braun, Political Correspondent

Election excitement was at fever pitch among all the political parties today as politicians started to wind down their campaigns.

The record three million voters eligible to cast their votes on Wednesday are being bombarded by an unprecedented multimillion-rand newspaper advertising blitz while tonight and tomorrow night party leaders are closing their campaigns with major public rallies.

The State President, Mr Botha, closes the National Party campaign with a rally in Johannesburg's City Hall, repeating the Government's tactics in its highly successful 1983 referendum campaign.

PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin closes his party's campaign at a rally in Cape Town tonight while Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht speaks in his Waterberg constituency tomorrow night.

In Pretoria, Commissioner of Police Mr Johan Coetzee said today security forces would be out in full strength ready for any attempt to disrupt or discredit the elections.

He said there was great interest in the election both at home and abroad and that the turnout at the polls was expected to be high.

He said this was frustrating certain radical organisations and that plans had been made to divert attention from the election.

"The purpose is to try to make out the elections are irrelevant, he said. "It is known that the ANC... has instructed there be a co-ordinated anti-election campaign with political, diplomatic and military dimensions."

General Coetzee said the type of action planned by radicals included:

- Busloads of black children being brought to polling stations ostensibly on "educational tours" but really to create confrontation with the police and voters for international propaganda purposes.

- Walk-outs of classes at certain universities while school boycotts were also planned. Students would then be encouraged to go on protest marches specifically to precipitate confrontation.

- Work stoppages and stay-aways through intimidation designed to focus attention away from the elections.

"We are aware of other specific actions which I would not like to mention.

"However, because we are aware of these actions, we have been able to be well prepared to handle any attempt to disrupt or discredit the elections by means of violence and other illegal actions," he said.

(Report by DM Braun, 218 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)



The political parties contesting the election this week have already given their replies to key questions concerning security and economic issues. Here are their views on constitutional and social matters. Parties were asked to confine each reply to a maximum of 150 words.  
(Compiled by C Ryan, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

# Social and constitutional policies

The questions	National Party	Progressive Federal Party	Conservative Party	New Republic Party	Herstigte Nasionale Party
What do you understand by the word reform, and what is your view of it? Is enough being done, and what should be done?	By reform is understood the changes in the political, economic and social systems with a view to the elimination of problem areas in these systems and the creation of conditions under which all citizens can enjoy the maximum peace and prosperity. Reform should be a continuing process in any society but it is common that from time to time specific societies experience times during which more intensive reform is needed. South Africa is at present experiencing such a period in its history. The National Party has, since its inception, been a party of reform and the Government of Mr P W Botha has, over the past few years, done more in the line of reform than any government before it.	"Reform" means constitutional restructuring to enable all South Africans to participate in the political process without domination, the removal of race as a criterion in the exercise of rights and responsibilities, the elimination of all forms of compulsory separation and discrimination, allowing equality of opportunity, protecting the rights of the individual, and allowing the rule of law to prevail. No real reform is possible within the framework of NP policy, its adherence to their "non-negotiables" makes a mockery of reform. Real reform must entail the formulation of a new constitution agreed upon by the representatives of all groupings in our society. As a first step a declaration of intent to bring about such a constitution, as well as the repeal of the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act and the Separate Amenities Act, is essential.	Reform is South Africa's Lorelei — it sounds so sweet and is yet so dangerous. The word "reform" is a misnomer — it is a PR gimmick to cloak the real intentions of a weak government and that is to surrender South Africa piece by piece. Rhodesia reformed and was forced to surrender by her so-called friends. The surrender must be stopped in its tracks. The CP has no objection to change as long as it is not merely for the sake of change and as long as that change improves the position of all the people in South Africa. So far, reform has been a complete disaster. Confirmation of this can be found by asking anyone in South Africa, black or white, whether under today's reform South Africa has given them more security, a better life style and freedom from fear. Let the answers measure the efficacy of reform.	Reform means abolishing apartheid, specifically all the discriminatory legislation enacted since 1948. A commission should be appointed to make recommendations to this effect. Reforms are too few and far between. They are being introduced on an ad hoc basis without thought for the consequences, namely the abolition of the Immorality Act without proper provision for residential and educational facilities for mixed couples. Race classification of their children becomes ridiculous.	The word "reform" is meaningless unless used in such a way as to indicate what is to be reformed and how it is to be reformed. As a statement of political policy it is deceptive, as reform is supposed to stave off revolution, yet is doing precisely the opposite. Reform at an accelerated pace is in fact revolution. Professor Michael Arminem of Wits University and other authors have pointed out that revolutions are started in the name of reform. It brings into operation the law of rising expectations and exacerbates a revolutionary situation. Professor Arminem states that "the two main reasons for pushing ahead with reform are economic greed — the fact that businessmen know they will make more money by advancing blacks — and the belief that it will stave off revolution". This is true. All "reform" should be stopped until law and order have been completely restored in South Africa.
How do you intend to deal with the political aspirations of blacks and should they be given representation in the central Parliament? What will you do to negotiate with other races about the future of South Africa?	It is the policy of the National Party that all communities, including black communities, should participate in the political process up to the highest level in such a way that domination by one group over others would not be possible. The specific system within which the participation of all people will be structured should be the result of intensive negotiations between the leaders of all the various groups. Therefore, it is not possible to specify such structures at the present time. It is likely that such structures will differ markedly from Parliament as we know it today as well as from other Western-type governmental structures. Ongoing talks with a variety of black leaders from all communities and from a variety of walks of life are taking place at a low-profile level with a view to structure more formal talks such as have been envisaged by the Government's proposal for a National Council. These will continue and will be intensified after the election.	There can be no peace in SA as long as blacks are excluded from the political process. As citizens they have an inalienable right to participate. Since Parliament, the sovereign legislative body, determines how the revenue of the State is to be collected and spent and (supposedly) controls the executive, it follows automatically that blacks (as all other people) should be represented in Parliament. The present constitution is untenable, inter alia because it excludes blacks. We need a new constitution. If such a new constitution is to have legitimacy and enjoy the loyal support of all South Africans, it must be the product of negotiation and consensual agreement amongst all South Africans. The accredited and accepted leaders of all communities in South Africa have to meet at the negotiating table to construct a new constitution. The PFP refers to this as a "national convention".	The CP is not prepared under any circumstances to negotiate the future of the whites with any other nation of whatever colour. The CP's policy of partition eliminates parts of the question as the policy leads to a system where each nation governs itself and eradicates any problems of how to negotiate with blacks, how much to give, so-called "minority guarantees" and cultural retention. It is the only policy which eliminates the possibility of political domination by one nation over another.	Blacks should be in Parliament as soon as possible as an interim measure to create a proper climate for negotiating a long-term solution. We have already negotiated successfully with KwaZulu in the Natal Indaba and are taking steps to get negotiations under way at a national level via an alliance of realists of all races. Two successful meetings to launch this alliance have already been convened by Dr Phahudi and Mr Bill Sutton. The intention is to include all political groups working towards a peaceful and recognised solution. Since this includes the vast majority of all South Africans, the political muscle of such a group would be enormous and decisive. As the famous Russian dissident writer, Solzhenitzyn, has pointed out, violent revolutions always lead to greater misery. It is only peaceful revolutions which have led to greater freedom and prosperity.	The political aspirations of blacks should be confined to their own peoples, which should develop their own political institutions in the territories they historically settled. Parliamentary democracy has a limited tolerance for racial and religious dissension. Nowhere and never has there been a successful system of power-sharing between different races and religions. India started off as a single country. Yet within two generations it has disintegrated and in its former territory there are now three independent states. In Zimbabwe the limited representation of whites is threatened with abolition by the black majority and even the black Matabele minority enjoys a precarious state of physical security. The lesson of Africa is clear. Blacks do not want to share power with whites; they want all the power. Once the HNP takes over the reins of power we shall negotiate with representative blacks on the basis of separate development.
What are your views on the concept of black city states and autonomy for black communities? Do you think this concept is acceptable to the majority of blacks?	In accordance with the principle of devolution of power which is a general principle in successful multicultural societies and in federations, cantonal systems, etc., the maximum degree of autonomy should be accorded to all communities which are capable of it. Because this is a principle which is widely accepted in political systems all over the world, it should be acceptable to the majority of people in South Africa if it is structured in the correct way and if this arrangement is the result of negotiation. The concept of city states is merely one alternative for raising the idea of self-determination for specific groups. The National Party has no immutable ideological commitment to the creation of city states.	The concept of black city states (like so many other pipe-dreams of the National Party) as a means to solve our political problems and bring about a political accommodation with blacks, is a total illusion, and has no viability whatsoever. It is nothing but an exercise in escapism. No degree of local autonomy for blacks could possibly compensate for the lack of political representation at the central level, that is, Parliament. Whites will not tolerate such a political system, so why should blacks? The concept, we believe, is totally unacceptable to the urban black community.	The concept of black city states leads to a multitude of tiny principalities. If Soweto, for example, decided on a form of self-government at local level, third-tier political aspirations would have to express themselves in the black homelands according to CP policy. The black city state may or may not be acceptable to blacks. Our question is — who is going to pay for this concept? The regional services councils are good examples of white entrepreneurial capabilities being milked to support these burgeoning black urban satellites. Critics of the CP's policy complain of a division into 13 independent geographical territories yet they are prepared to support the creation of up to 300 so-called cantons or city states.	Although we believe in maximum devolution of power, this concept will fail if it is perceived by blacks to be a substitute for full participation in central government. It should therefore only be promoted in the context of an overall solution to the question of black participation in the political system.	The idea of black city states is unrealistic. If one discounts instances such as the religious centre of Rome, the financial citadel known as the City of London, and Hong Kong it is hard to think of anything approaching a city state. Any black city state in South Africa would be a satellite city bordering on a white-governed city. Such city states cannot be financially self-reliant and it is most unlikely that they would be able to develop industrially and commercially to any considerable extent. They would have to be provided for financially from other sources. How the present Government could work on introducing Regional Services Councils for white, black, coloured, Indian local authorities under second-tier government, yet promote the idea of converting black local governments into city states is incomprehensible. It is hardly likely that such a proposition would appeal to politically minded blacks.
What measures do you think are necessary to protect the democratic rights of individuals and groups?	The National Party does not agree that minority rights can be adequately protected by way of a standard Bill of Rights with its one-sided emphasis on individual rights only. On the other hand, a Bill of Rights would probably form part of such protection and the Government has therefore requested the Law Commission to investigate the possibility of a Bill of Rights that will protect not only individual rights but also group rights. A Bill of Rights can furthermore not be effective unless it is imbedded in the constitution of the country. For adequate protection of minority rights it is essential that each group must maintain an adequate power base and that it should participate effectively in the day-to-day decision-making of the country. This would imply that the decision-making will have to be structured differently from the conventional Westminster-type winner-takes-all model which is based solely on numbers. Again, the specific arrangements will have	Democracy can only be maintained in a country if the constitution is a democratic one. The first essential, therefore, is to have a constitution that is based upon the principles of democracy. Within such a constitution, provision should be made for a fundamental Bill of Human Rights to protect the individual, in the exercise of his rights and to prevent the instruments of the State arbitrarily infringing or abrogating such rights. The basic challenge facing South Africa is to construct a constitution which will provide for the democratic participation of all its people in the political process, but will prevent domination by one group (or combination of groups) over another. Such a guarantee against domination must be inherent in the structure of the constitution itself, so as to put it beyond reach of any group which may happen to have a majority in Parliament.	South Africa is a group-orientated society whether we are prepared to admit it or not. It is only in homogeneous societies that individual rights can truly flower. The CP's policy is based on the realities of separate identifiable peoples and any constitutional dispensation which acknowledges this can work. Not acknowledging this is a recipe for failure, as is the case at present. The world is a perfect example of group identities and group self-determination. Why do we have so many countries and so many secessionist groups in countries where they are not accommodated as a separate group?	Our rich inheritance of Roman-Dutch and Anglo-Saxon common law in normal times, provides adequate protection for individuals. This can be buttressed if necessary by a Bill protecting individual and group rights as in the Natal Indaba which was initiated by the NRP Provincial Administration and the KwaZulu Government.	In Africa, where whites and blacks were integrated in a single constitutional set-up, every device failed to secure the democratic rights of individuals and groups. It is a fallacy that in a multiracial population comprising a black majority, democratic rights of individuals and groups can be protected. Every conceivable constitutional device has been employed by the British in African countries settled by whites under British rule and everyone has failed to secure the political rights of individuals and groups. There is only one way in which to protect democratic rights. That is to have each group confined to a specific territory over which it would have sovereignty. This is the essence of the policy of separate development, which has not failed in South Africa but was betrayed by the successors to Dr Verwoerd. This is the only policy that can provide stability and security for individuals and groups.



Flowing out of your policies, is it possible that in the future there could be a black State President?	In view of the fact that specific structures, including the various posts in the top structures of the Government and the functions attached to such posts, need to be negotiated, it is premature to speculate about the skin colour of any future functionary.	Certainly, since we reject race or colour as a criterion for the exercise of political rights there will be no racial/colour bar in the election of the State President. Merit should be the only criterion in the election of the State President.	Under CP policy, no.	We agree completely with Mr. Pik Botha, before he had to stop "thinking aloud" in this respect. New Republic Party policy is for the presidency to rotate on an annual basis between the four major groups. His role would be ceremonial. Head of State and chairman of the Cabinet without major executive powers.	There could be more than one black president in terms of the HNP's policy, but not a black president for South Africa as a whole because the HNP rejects power sharing between blacks and whites.
What are your views on regional negotiations and solutions, and in particular what is your stand on the kwaZulu-Natal Indaba?	As the situations in the various regions of South Africa vary from one another, it is logical that the regional arrangements for such regions should also vary. It is further logical that the wishes of the communities of a particular region should play an important role in setting up the arrangements for that region. For these reasons the National Party invited regional initiatives and the Government indeed accepted a proposal for a joint executive authority for Natal and kwaZulu. The NP indeed participated in the Indaba as an observer. However, it is also important that in all such regional arrangements the fundamental requirement of adequate protection of minorities should also be observed. It is obvious that certain political parties hijacked the concept of the Indaba for political expediency, thereby jeopardising something which could have had more value. The process of the Indaba is a valid one which is endorsed by the National Party, but then it should be conducted properly and should be continued until a result acceptable to all participating groups is reached.	The PRP endorses and supports the kwaZulu-Natal Indaba, and regards the exercise as an extremely important effort to find an acceptable accommodation by way of negotiation amongst the various groups living in that area. It has illustrated convincingly that people of different races, colours, cultural and religious backgrounds can find common ground if there is a will to compromise and to reach agreement. The PRP's alternative constitutional policy, based upon the concept of a federal state, provides for the maximum degree of devolution and decentralisation of power to the federal and the local level. We welcome and support regional negotiations and solutions, provided that all the groups in the region are involved in the process.	The kwaNatal Indaba is nothing more than a plan for Zulu majority rule over the whole of Natal. The fact that it is being sold in the Press as a recipe for happy multiracialism is credit more to the slick and costly advertising campaign imported from overseas than to its chance of working. One should ask: Who is funding the Saatchi and Saatchi ad campaign and who is behind the whole concept of a kwaNatal?	As co-initiator of the Natal Indaba the New Republic Party is strongly in favour of this approach. The practical experience of 35 widely divergent groups hammering out this agreement over 8 months of arduous negotiations, is a shining example to South Africa of the means by which deep-seated differences can be resolved.	The HNP rejects any negotiations on a regional basis if the idea is to negotiate the term of power sharing between white and black on a regional basis. The kwaZulu-Natal Indaba may have the semblance of a workable arrangement, simply because Natal is a part of white-ruled South Africa, but if the ties between Natal and the rest of South Africa were severed, the outcome would soon be disastrous, as the many examples of such experiments in Africa have shown. The relatively small white population of Natal would have to bear the brunt of financial commitments while blacks would have the political say. White emigration from Natal would surely follow unless, as in Zimbabwe, whites would be prohibited from taking money and assets out of the territory.
What are your views on the Separate Amenities Act and the Group Areas Act? Should either or both be scrapped, maintained or in what way should they be modified?	The principle that people should be enabled to live among people of their own group if they so wish is important to future peace and stability. The Group Areas Act as such is not sacrosanct in the sense that it cannot be reconsidered and amended if necessary. It is in fact the object of a current investigation by the President's Council. The basic principle is again that adequate provision should be made for the rights, the security and a respectable place in the sun for all groups and individuals in South Africa. The concept of own communities within a geographical unit is not exclusive to South Africa and indeed exists in many parts of the world. If better ways in which to achieve this can be found, it will no doubt be seriously considered. One cannot, however, destroy present arrangements before an alternative has been established.	They should be removed without delay from the Statute Book.	The CP believes that neither act should be scrapped and that both acts be applied fearlessly and without exception. The loopholes created by strange judicial decisions must be immediately closed. Particularly strong action should be taken against miscreant landlords who are exploiting the legal loopholes for their own financial gain and with no thought to community life.	They should be rapidly phased out in a planned manner. Local option would be an invaluable mechanism in this respect.	The Separate Amenities Act and the Group Areas Act should be upheld. The agitation for their repeal does not emanate from a desire for adequate facilities but residential areas for the various racial groups but from an urge to break into the social life of the whites. It is evident that, for instance, Mr. Hendrickse of the coloured Labour Party does not want the Group Areas Act repealed to allow Indians and blacks into coloured group areas, but to allow other racial groups into white residential areas. This attack on separate amenities and residential areas is part of the overall idea of doing away with what is called racial discrimination and breaking the social exclusiveness of the whites in promoting the fallacy of a multiracial nation. Once racial integration in white residential areas takes on substantial proportions, the basis for separate voters rolls will be erode. A white husband and a black wife with coloured children would have to be on separate voters rolls, though living at the same address.
What is your policy on race classification, as contained in the Population Registration Act?	The same basic principles apply in the case of the Population Registration Act: it is not immutable and should be adapted to the requirements of the situation. In so far and for so long as this act is necessary to maintain an orderly set of arrangements that enable all groups and individuals to participate in the political system on the one hand, and to provide adequate protection for minorities on the other hand, it will be maintained. A definition of groups is not discriminatory in itself, and indeed is used in many parts of the world for positive purposes. A unit like kwaZulu, for instance, cannot exist without some form of definition.	We reject completely the compulsory system of race classification as contained in the Population Registration Act. We also reject without qualification the system of the compulsory classification of individuals into one or other of the racial categories. The Human Sciences Research Council, in its scholarly work on group relations in South Africa, has indicated clearly that the Population Registration Act and the principle of compulsory race classification is at the root of the racial conflict in South Africa. The PRP believes in the principle of voluntary political association, and believes that the Act should be scrapped without delay.	We believe this act must be maintained as part of the overall policy of political partition.	The Population Registration Act should be scrapped and members of the groups identified on a basis of voluntary association as provided for in the proposals of the kwaZulu-Natal Indaba.	Race classification is essential for the implementation of a policy of separate development. Resistance to racial integration must be maintained and strengthened to provide the urge for separate nationhoods in separate territories. Persons of whatever race or nation must be filled with pride in his or her identity and strive towards self-fulfilment within his group. We should be reminded of the timeless wisdom of the words of Abraham Lincoln spoken to black leaders in 1862. "You and we," he said, "are of different races. We have between us a broader difference than exists between almost any other two races. Whether this is right or wrong I need not discuss, but this physical difference is a great disadvantage to us both and I think your race suffers very greatly, many of them living among us, while ours suffers from your presence. In a word, we suffer on each side. If this is admitted, it affords a reason at least why we should be separated."
What are your views on health care? Should the country be moving to integrated hospital facilities or continue to segregate them?	There is no reason why the present arrangements regarding health care should be drastically changed. Adaptations in order to meet the requirements of society in a better way are always possible.	We believe that much more should be done to promote health care amongst all the people of SA. It is an established fact that medical care amongst the disadvantaged communities, particularly the rural black people, is distantly inadequate. We believe that in health care whether it is in public hospitals, clinics or in other respects, there should be no separation purely for the sake of race or colour. There should not be any form of forced apartheid. We are particularly concerned about the escalating inflationary costs of medical care, hospitalisation and of medicines, which have affected especially the poor. We believe that a proper national health scheme is absolutely essential.	We believe in segregated hospital facilities.	South Africa should be moving towards integrated facilities. As regards Aids, representatives of all groups should be urgently required to formulate a national strategy.	Hospitals should be run on a segregated basis as race consciousness is unalterable and sick people are exposed to tension if treated in multiracial hospitals. This is not conducive to good health administration. Racial friction is easily aroused and a hospital is the last place where the risk of racial friction should be invited. In the USA, Australia, New Zealand and Britain there are regular outbreaks of racial violence, although non-segregation or desegregation is the policy in those countries. Racial friction and violence are more prevalent and unavoidable in situations of racial integration than racial separation.



# The choice is power or no rights — Treurnicht

By David Braun,  
Political Correspondent

Voters have a choice on election day between real power for the white man in his own country or majority rule in terms of which whites have no rights, according to Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht.

In an interview with The Star he summed up the election campaign and gave his last-minute message.

● How Dr Treurnicht saw the main issue:

"The main issue is the mandate asked by the State President to give him the authority

to negotiate with blacks for their inclusion in the executive and legislative structures of the country.

"For a while the campaign focused on Mr Pik Botha's reference to terrorists on their way to South Africa.

"But the main issue has remained the inclusion of blacks in Parliament.

"Other issues have been the economy, unemployment, inflation and the debt of farmers. But it comes down to power-sharing and who is going to

have the final say in running the country.

"The whole approach of the NP has been vague and uncertain. They talk of negotiation but they have no guarantees for minority groups, unless they mean to enforce the position with the police and security forces.

"If we want to retain a democratic system then we have to guarantee the rights of minority groups and their self-determination.

"If we have majority rule

then the rights of whites won't be guaranteed. That is why we say we must have partition."

● On the campaign performance of the other parties:

"The performance of the Government must even to themselves have been unsatisfactory.

"As I see it the message they have been getting from the electorate is that they are no longer to be trusted. They give no real vision for the future. They want to negotiate but they have no guarantee for

white self-determination.

"My impression is that large numbers of Nationalists are looking for a new political home.

"I cannot comment on the performance of the PFP as they have not been a factor in our electorate. Besides, the NP in so many ways embodies the policies of the PFP, it is just a matter of time before they coincide completely.

"I think the HNP has become less and less of a factor. I believe people have made a

choice and many of the HNP's supporters now want to vote for a party that can win seats.

"According to our information they are going to come third, even in Sasolburg."

● On the major criticism against the CP in the campaign, that its policy of partition would mean the forced removal of seven million people:

"The CP does not intend shifting seven million people but we will redraw the lines of

the different national states so as to include as many blacks as possible in their own areas. In other words we will go for meaningful consolidation by means of swaps or purchases of more land.

"Blacks living in townships in white areas will have to be linked to the homelands, which in turn would get certain functions so as to assist in the administration of those townships."

● Dr Treurnicht's message to

the voters:

"The voters now realise the gravity of the choice they will make on May 6.

"We must now decide whether we want to foster self-determination of the white nation and whether we want to retain the right to be governed by our own people in our own country.

"The real choice is integration and power-sharing with the loss of political power, or separate freedoms, self-determination and real power for the white man in his own country."

(Report by DM Braun, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

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# 'Outsiders' form a new dimension in whites' poll

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By Jo-Anne Collinge

May 6 was ringed on the calendar earlier this year simply as "election day" for the House of Assembly, but omens suggest that the political forces lining up on that day will extend well beyond the parties whose names have been splashed on posters across the land.

May 6 has gained the additional titles recently of "Day of National Protest" and "Day of Intercession" as the country's largest trade union group, its widest non-racial political front and the mainstream "English" church groups, Protestant and Roman Catholic, have declared their responses to the election.

The flurry of calls for action around May 6 represents unprecedented non-party political interest in a whites-only poll.

Most of this interest centres on demonstrating total rejection of the continued concentration of central political might in the hands of a racial minority.

Employers are waiting to see whether their black workers, denied access to the ballot box, will be voting with their feet, whether the days of national protest declared by the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the United Democratic Front will mean major work stayaways tomorrow and Wednesday.

Cosatu and the UDF, under the constraint of emergency regulations, have not indicated publicly what form they mean popular protest to take but police in Pretoria said last week they were aware stayaway plans were being made.

Should the Cosatu-UDF protest days take shape as a stayaway it will be the first such action tied to a white election since 1958, when the then-legal African National Congress and the South African Congress of Trade Unions led a partial stay-at-home.

## Fear of 'violent confrontations'

The Council of Churches and the Catholic Bishops' Conference pledged solidarity last week "with all those who wish to throw off the shackles of those forces which keep human beings in bondage", and insisted:

"People have the right to demand justice and democracy and to work to achieve those goals."

The SACC and the SACBC fear that the determination of extra-parliamentary groups to show their feelings about the election will end in violence.

"We are deeply concerned by the possibility of eruptions of violent confrontations in the next days," they stated. "We urge the Government and the security forces to desist from breaking up meetings organised by workers or by community and youth organisations."

The church organisations named yesterday and Wednesday as "days of special intercession". The Five Freedoms Forum has supported the

Cosatu/UDF protest call and has asked whites to associate themselves symbolically with the action by wearing black armbands.

The mainly white Johannesburg-based Forum includes the Black Sash, the National Union of South African Students, the Detainees Parents' Support Committee, Jews for Social Justice, the National Education Union and the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee.

None of the extra-parliamentary groups has made an explicit "don't vote" call to whites. Their position has been that if people choose to use their privileged vote they should refrain from casting a vote for apartheid or a vote which denies basic civil liberties.

Cosatu and the UDF have made it clear their national protest goes well beyond pricking the conscience of the white electorate. The demands they list in announcing the protest overlap and are clearly addressed as much to their members as to outsiders.

The UDF speaks of "the scrapping of this racist parliament" and "one person, one vote in a united South Africa".

Cosatu refers to "creating a climate for democracy" by unbanning organisations, releasing political prisoners and respecting the rights to free association and expression. It sees this as a means to an end, to solving such basic workers' problems as mass unemployment and the housing crisis.

And both speak at length of State repression, making the demands "End the emergency now" and "Hands off Cosatu".

An all-white election coming in the gloom of a state of emergency in which people have been detained in their thousands and in which civil liberties have been destroyed was bound to attract opposition but it could not at short notice actually create such opposition, which has its roots in:

- The re-emergence of mass political organisation in the townships since the early '80s, based on local level groupings, co-ordinated into national structures and drawn into a common front under the UDF.

- The consolidation of nearly 20 years of independent trade union organisation with the formation of Cosatu in late 1985.

- The simultaneous existence of non-racial trade unions and political movements on a national scale for the first time since the banning of the ANC and the crippling of Sactu in the early '60s.

- White democrats burying some of their "liberal" and "left" ideological differences in common opposition to apartheid.

With mass detentions, repeated raids on premises, organisers forced into hiding and major areas of activism declared subversive topics of discussion, it is difficult to predict the degree to which announced protests will be converted into action.

But their very possibility has made this election different from all others held since South Africa became a republic.



# Consensus a farce, says Kleynhans

Political Correspondent

The Government was fraudulently asking the electorate for a mandate in the election — or else making a mockery of the tricameral system of Parliament, a leading political analyst said last night.

Professor Willem Kleynhans, former head of the politics department at the University of South Africa, said there was no way the voters could bind the Government to a manifesto when whatever the Government did in Parliament was supposedly subject to consensus bargaining with the majority parties in the other two Houses.

If the Government did feel bound by the voters, as it had implied in its election manifesto, then it meant it could not allow the two other Houses to have any input with regard to those policies.

He said: "This is the consequence of the radical break with practice in South Africa since 1910 when, in terms of the Westminster system, the Government received a mandate from the voters to do certain things every time there was a general election.

"In terms of the so-called consensus-style system, the Government will now have to bargain with its mandate to find compromises to issues and actions with the other parties."

"If the Government tries to suggest its mandate is binding then it is also saying the tricameral system is a farce and a fraud because the NP's mandate, as endorsed by the electorate, is going to prevail.

"If on the other hand the consensus system is going to prevail this means the political parties in segregated electorates have become merely organisations to organise electoral support. The voters have become voting fodder with no pre-



Professor Willem Kleynhans says voters are becoming election fodder.

scriptive powers because the party they vote for has to respect the other parties' views.

"The white voters, for example, have no authority to call the other parties in the system to account."

Professor Kleynhans said a practical example of this confusion was the Government's emphatic statement that Group Areas were not going to be scrapped. This was its election promise.

Yet the governing parties in the other two Houses had promised their voters Group Areas would be scrapped.

If consensus was to prevail, this could only mean that these promises were subject to negotiation and that they could be changed.

On the other hand, if the NP's promise prevailed, then consensus was a farce.

(Report by D M Braun, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

## Election of a different kind proves plain sailing for Pik

By Bart Marinovich

Pik Botha knows from experience what elections are REALLY about — shaking hands and kissing babies.

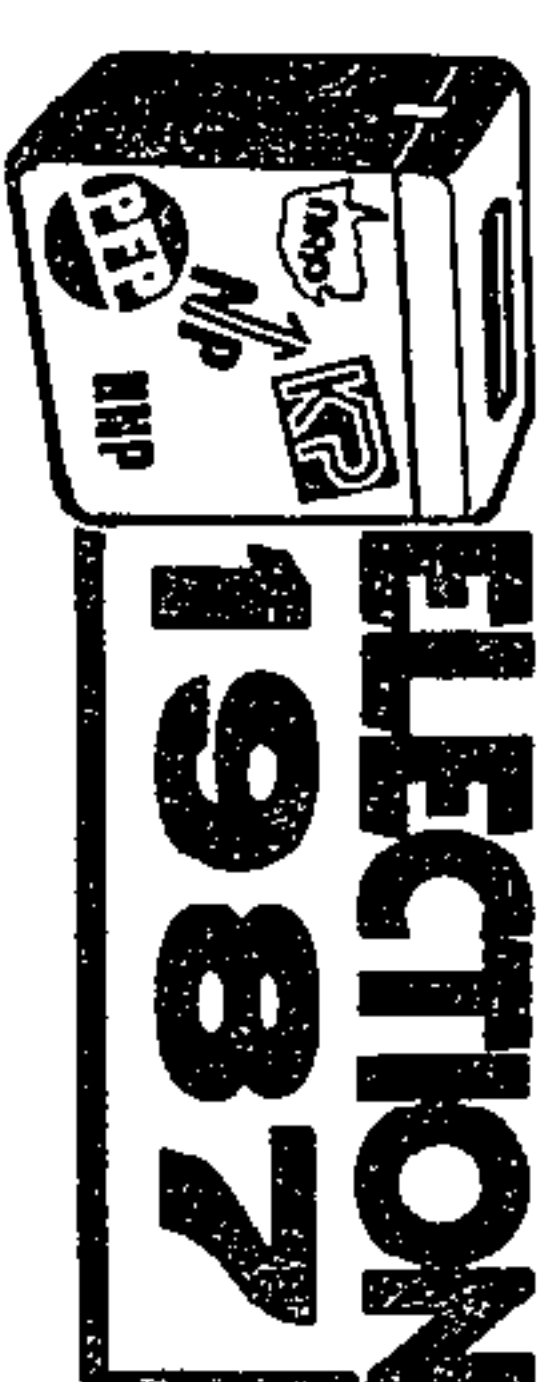
The Minister of Foreign Affairs took time off yesterday to dabble in an election of another kind — he had to choose winners in the children's "Make a Mother's Day Card" competition at a Norwood shopping centre.

### NO HECKLERS

Mr Botha, standing for re-election as MP for Westdene in Wednesday's election, said afterwards: "This was far more pleasant than speaking at a political meeting — there were no hecklers!"

He deliberated for a long time before choosing winners in the under four, under six, under eight and under 10 age groups.

Margaret Reynolds, publicity officer for the event, said: "It's been a huge success. We should have more of these unusual events."



## Suzman wraps up campaign

Mrs Helen Suzman wraps up her Houghton constituency campaign with a meeting in the Houghton Primary School hall tonight.

On the platform with her will be Mr Tony Bloom.

(Report by G van Staden, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)



Decisions, decisions... Mr Pik Botha deliberates before choosing the winners in the Make a Mother's Day Card competition.

Picture by Ken Oosterbroek.

# 'Real P W' will appear after poll says UK paper

The Star Bureau

LONDON — In the aftermath of the general election on Wednesday, South Africans will discover the real P W Botha — the reformist who is temporarily talking tough or the bully who will not allow any further relaxation of apartheid, says a British newspaper.

The Economist says in an editorial there are two schools of thought about the intentions of the State President.

● That he is deliberately putting on a hard-nosed stand to placate the extreme Right and prove he is no "sissy". He will then revert to the role of reformist if the Nationalists win hands down.

● That he is currently talking and acting like a bully because he really is one and that there will be no moves toward majority rule and no black chamber of Parliament.

A simple test to establish the real Mr Botha after the election would be to see whether or not he scrapped the Group Areas Act.

"South Africa's true friends hope that the pessimists are wrong. It does matter which is the real Mr Botha. The country's whites still include people willing to face reality honestly," the editorial said.

"Witness the Supreme Court's double overruling of Government measures in the past few days. Imagine that in Russia.

"If Mr Botha is serious about change, he will have to fight Afrikanerdom's right wing, not appease it. That will lead to the bigger fight — to close the gap between what the blacks want and what the whites are prepared to give.

"When the National Party



# F W de Klerk seen as perfect heir apparent

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Mr F W de Klerk looks the perfect man to reassure nervous, politically unsophisticated, middle-of-the-roads to head off the right-wing challenge.

So says Anthony Robinson, southern Africa correspondent of the *Financial Times* in a lengthy article on Saturday about the man described here as the State President, Mr Botha's, heir.

"If he succeeds in consolidating his Transvaal power base the eventual leadership will be firmly within his grasp," says Robinson, "but whether this archetypal product of the system will be capable of giving a new sense of purpose and hope not only to whites but to all races remains in doubt.

## INTELLIGENT PRAGMATIST

"At present he still looks more like an intelligent pragmatist determined to make the entrenched ideological system work better than a man with a new vision of a modern, non-racial future for South Africa."

Robinson says Mr de Klerk laughed when he was compared with traditional Afrikaner leaders. "All we have in common is this," he said, patting his prematurely bald head.

Yet the parallels are there, says Robinson.

He quotes Mr de Klerk as saying the main task ahead is "to reconcile the two great and seemingly contradictory realities of South Africa — the reality of diversity and the reality of inter-dependence between the black, white, coloured and Indian nationalities and cultures".

He added: "We in the National Party want to stop dominating others: that is the ultimate goal of our reform policy but we have to find a way so that we in turn will not be dominated by others."

## Posters get a pasting from professor

Political Staff

DURBAN — The little blonde girl still stares sweetly down from the oak trees and lampposts but now she's been joined by her mother.

The dilemma facing voters on May 6 is even greater: Will they flush both their futures down the drain?

It's election time and the political poster show is on the road again but in the main all the parties' posters are boring, according to political analyst Professor Willem Kleynhans of Unisa.

There are, he says, certainly no election winners.

Even so the HNP is proud of the one with the faces of Dr Andries Treurnicht, John Vorster and President Botha. Looking them in the eye is HNP leader Jaap Marais.

The slogan is: Just one was right and is right.

(Report by D Capel, 85 Field Street, Durban)

## Pre-election ad war reaches fever pitch

By Pat Devereaux

Sunday newspapers bulged with political advertisements yesterday as the election "advertising war" reached a climax.

There was strong criticism of the advertising campaigns from some quarters, which described them as "an expensive slanging match between the National Party and the Progressive Federal Party".

Conservative Party candidate for Krugersdorp Mr Clive Derby-Lewis said the advertisements were a waste of funds and indicated "a bun fight" between the NP and the PFP. He said the CP had placed only one half-page advertisement "to counteract NP allegations about CP lies".

A spokesman for the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (Jodac), an affiliate of the United Democratic Front, said: "The ANC is the central body missing from these elections but it has been the focus of the advertising war between the PFP and the NP."

"The NP's phrase 'over my dead body would I vote for the ANC' indicates their policy is to continue to create a climate of confrontation."

He criticised PP leader Mr Colin Eglin's vision as "emulating Emperor Bokassa's habits" in his advertised threat to "eat the communists for breakfast".

Herstigte Nasionale Party head committee member in Meyerton, Mr Fred Peters, said: "Although the NP and the PFP spent a fortune in advertising I don't think it makes much difference."

Defending the PFP's advertising strategy Mr Peter Soal, PFP candidate for Johannesburg North, said: "The NP launched a massive smear campaign because of their lack of policy and ineffective vision. We have been forced to respond."

(Report by P Devereaux, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

## Ferreira severs ties to join NP

Northern Transvaal Bureau

NABOOMSPRUIT — Mr Fanie Ferreira, former Conservative Party MPC for Waterberg, announced at the weekend that he was joining the NP.

Mr Ferreira, chairman of the Transvaal Municipal Association and Mayor of Naboomspruit for the past eight years, announced his decision in a letter to Northern Transvaal NP leader Mr Piet du Plessis.

The letter was read at a public meeting in Naboomspruit addressed by the leader of the National Party in the Transvaal, Mr F W de Klerk.

Mr Ferreira's letter said he was convinced the Government was sincere in

its moves to encourage more effective local government by the devolution of power and the creation of regional services councils.

He arrived at this conclusion after studying the new system thoroughly and having comprehensive discussions with ministers and deputy ministers.

Mr Ferreira resigned from the Conservative Party last year after differences with its leaders over regional services councils.

"I am now in a position to say that I will be supporting the NP on election day and that I have finally severed all my ties with the CP," Mr Ferreira told Mr du Plessis.

(Report by D Nel, 70 Van Zyl Slabbert Street, Pietersburg)

talks of reform it has in mind the removal of pieces of racial discrimination and maybe the creation of black municipalities and advisory bodies.

"The blacks want much more than that. They want equality at the polling booths. The bloodier the path they have to tread to that prize, the slimmer the chance that they will then let their white fellow-countrymen preserve a life worth living in South Africa."

The *Economist* says that at present South African whites remain securely in control of their country's military might and only a little less securely in control of its economy.

"They can dictate the course of events for the foreseeable future. The problem is how to persuade them — fearful, but still strong — that changing now is in their own long-term interest."

## Vlok warns of broad onslaught

DURBAN — Accusations that the Government was exploiting the security situation to win votes were rejected by Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok at the weekend.

At a meeting at which there was a considerable police presence, Mr Vlok told the 200-strong audience that the National Party was warning of the reality of the situation.

There was a multi-dimensional onslaught being launched against South Africa from the level of sport through to the churches, the economy, the constitution and the security forces.

(Report by B Cameron, 85 Field Street, Durban)

# Apartheid very much alive

304A S/Tam 4/5787

By SOWETAN REPORTER

THE Government has continued to enforce its policies of apartheid against blacks in a variety of spheres, despite promises by the State President, Mr P W Botha, that it was committed to equal justice.

This is one of the findings of the *Quarterly Countdown*, the latest report published by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

The report says among the apartheid policies still enforced by the Government are:

- The forced removals, despite promises to the contrary; 64 000 Africans were resettled last year,

compared with 40 000 the previous year;

- The Mines and Works Act, barring blacks from key jobs on the mines, remains in force, although the Government has repeatedly promised its repeal;
- Most citizens of independent homelands continue to be denied South African citizenship rights;
- Nearly 100 000 Africans were arrested for trespass last year;
- The white own affairs education minister said State

schools could not be opened to all races.

The report says the Government's constitutional thinking on African political rights has shifted and the Government has admitted the failure of its earlier policies.

It says the Government has acknowledged the failure of the earlier policy of trying to divert all black political demands to the "homelands".

"We note that the Government has recently conceded from election platforms that violators of the Group Areas Act will be difficult to evict," the report says.

The report says lawyers have launched six Supreme Court actions against the Department of Home Affairs to fight for the restoration of South African citizenship to citizens of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.



304A S11 3/5/87

## Worrall's balloonist under fire and then banned

By SYBRAND MOSTERT

A HOT-AIR balloonist who flew his balloon in support of independent Helderberg candidate Dr Denis Worrall caught flak from two sides this week.

Springbok balloon pilot Andre van Wyk — whose colourful hot-air balloon carries a huge banner in support of Dr Worrall — was first shot at as he hovered above Somerset West, and then told by municipal officials that he was grounded.

Mr van Wyk has been piloting the balloon, which has been part of a high profile campaign for the independent candidate attempting to win the seat from Nationalist Cabinet Minister Chris Heunis.

The determined pilot later shared a reconciliatory pot of tea with the man who sent a bullet ripping through his balloon on Thursday.

"It was scary — and irritating," said Mr van Wyk of his traumatic day in the air.

"I was flying at about 1 000 feet when I heard the shot."

"The bullet hit the balloon and ripped through the canvas."

### Apologised

"There was no real harm done, but it could have been catastrophic if the bullet had hit the gas cylinders or myself."

"The man, who is a prominent local resident, visited me the next day and apologised."

"He said he had realised that it was wrong when he read Press reports about the incident."

Mr van Wyk said they shared a pot of tea, and the man — whom the pilot declined to identify — offered to pay for the damage, which would amount to about R1 000.

Mr van Wyk then promised



ANDRE VAN WYK  
Taking flak

not to lay any charges against him.

"He told me the balloon hovering overhead had sent his wife's parrot crazy."

"He and his wife had an argument in which she urged him to do something about the balloon."

"He said he had shouted at her: 'What do you want me to do — shoot it down?'"

"In the heat of the moment he had fetched his rifle and shot at the balloon."

Mr van Wyk said he thought the man was a National Party supporter.

"Reading between the lines, I still feel it was more a political shot that was fired," he said.

After he landed, he was told by municipal officials that he could no longer fly over the town.

He had flown six times before carrying an enormous banner urging people to vote for Worrall.

The officials told him that before more flights could be authorised he would have to inform the municipality of exactly where he was taking off and landing every time.

"But that is impossible as I can never say where I will land because of constant wind shifts."

### Slammed

The temporary grounding was slammed by Worrall campaign workers as a politically-inspired ban.

Angry workers said "certain people have leant heavily" on the town clerk, Mr Gert Human, to impose the ban.

Mr Human denied that "there was anything political to the ban".

He said members of the public had complained.

The grounded pilot declined to speculate whether the move was a political one.

"I have clearance from Civil Aviation to fly over the town, but it's possible that the sponsor — who is paying for the use of the balloon — did not show the authorisation to the municipality."

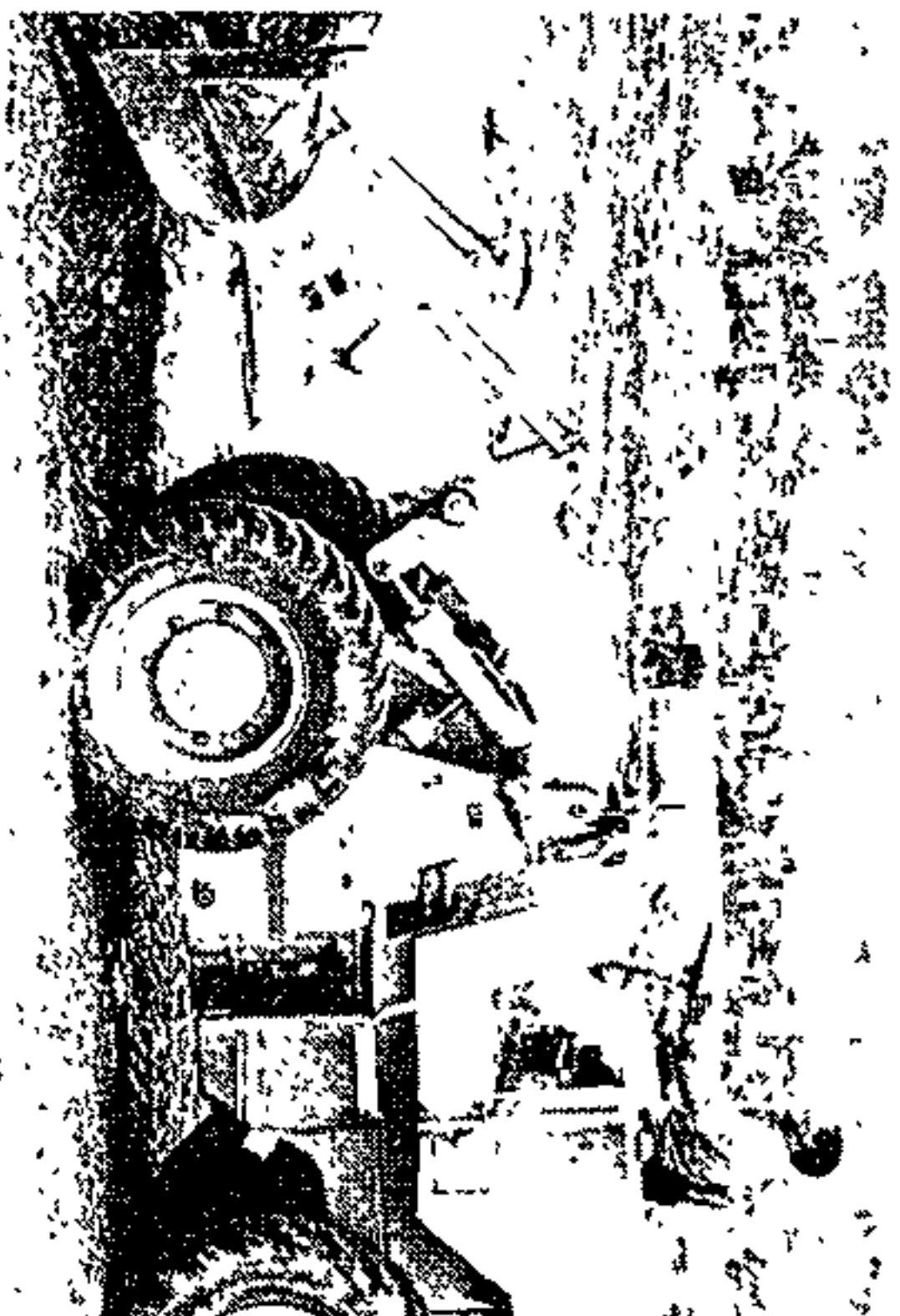
But, he added: "It looks like everything is settled. I will be flying again on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday."

(News by Sybrand Mostert, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).



# TO DISASTER

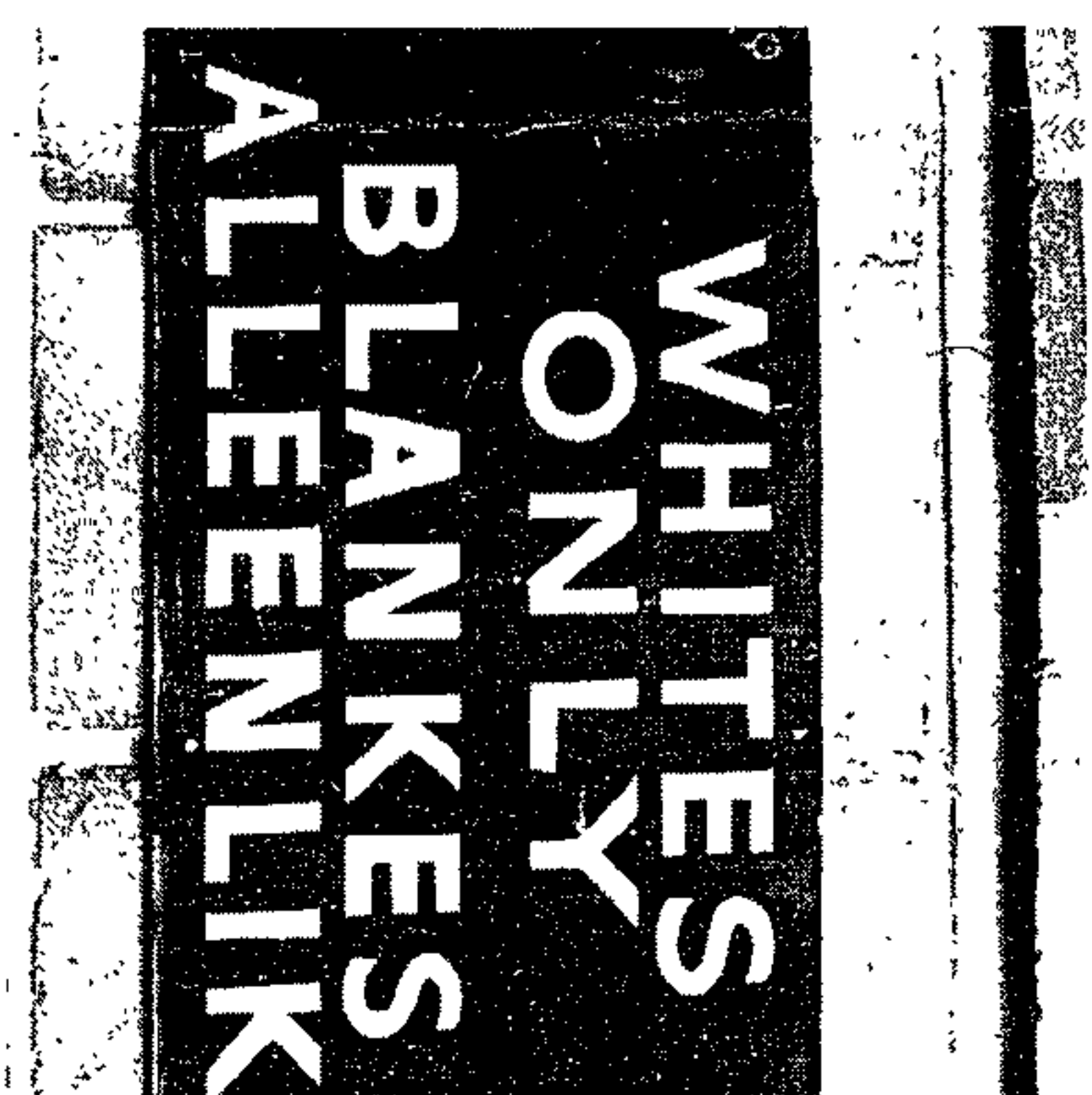
Party rule since 1948.



**1951** The Prevention of Illegal Squatters Act gives officials the right to remove 'surplus natives' to emergency camps. The forced removal of 6 million people starts.



**1952** Every black man outside the rural reserves has to carry a "pass book" at all times.



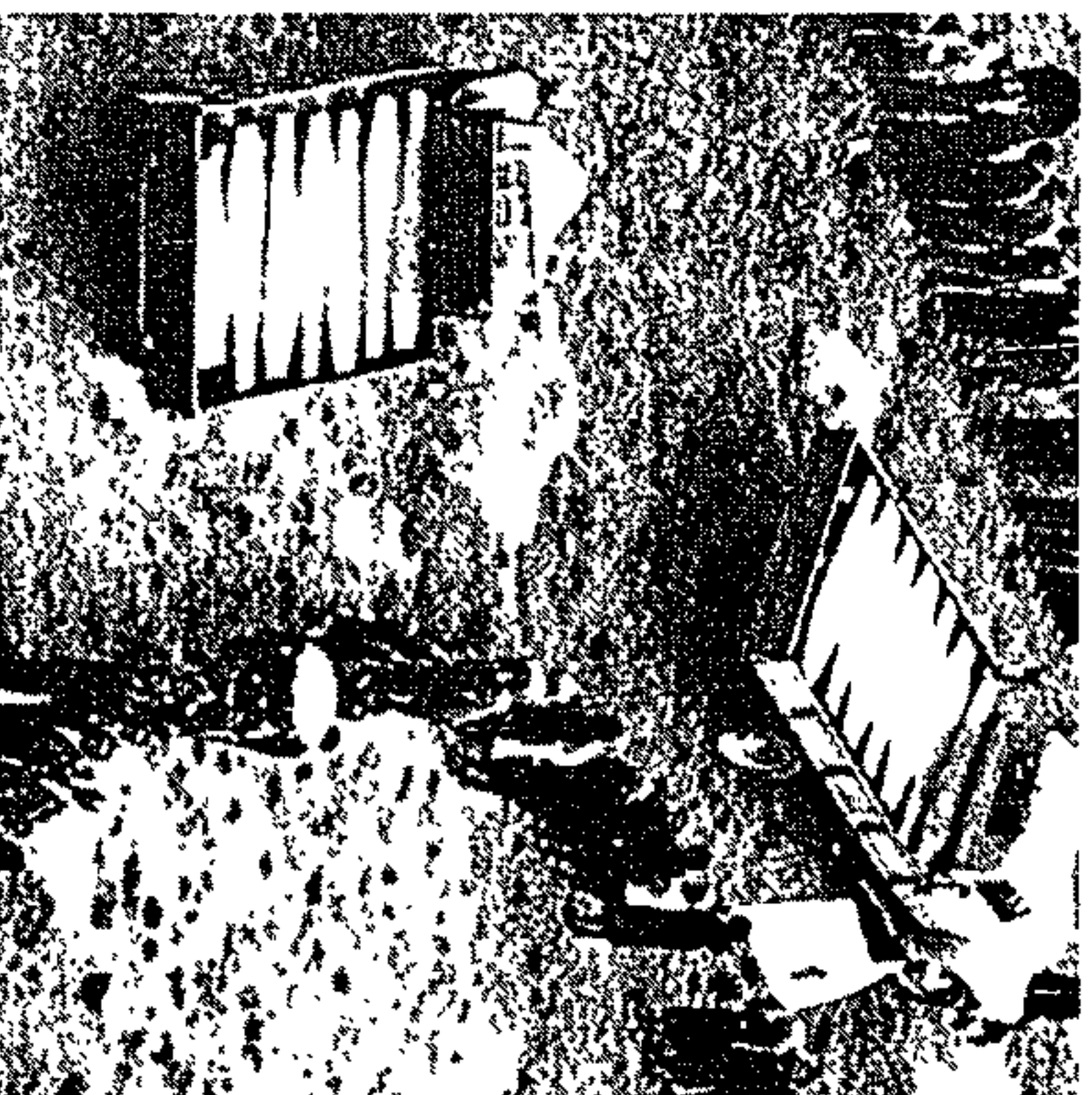
**1952** The then lawful ANC begins a peaceful campaign with the aim of disobeying the racial laws enforced by the National Party. Between June 1952 and July 1953 over eight thousand blacks are arrested when they enter white only cafes, churches and parks.



**1953** Hendrik Verwoerd introduces a Bill on black education: "I will reform it so that natives will be taught from childhood to realize that equality with Europeans is not for them." He added "What is the use of teaching a Bantu child mathematics when he cannot use it in practice?"



**1960** British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan drives in Cape Town. He is the first British leader to visit South Africa since 1948.



**1960** The enforcement of the pass laws leads to mass protests - the first of many.



**1960** Days after Sharpeville the ANC and PAC are banned.

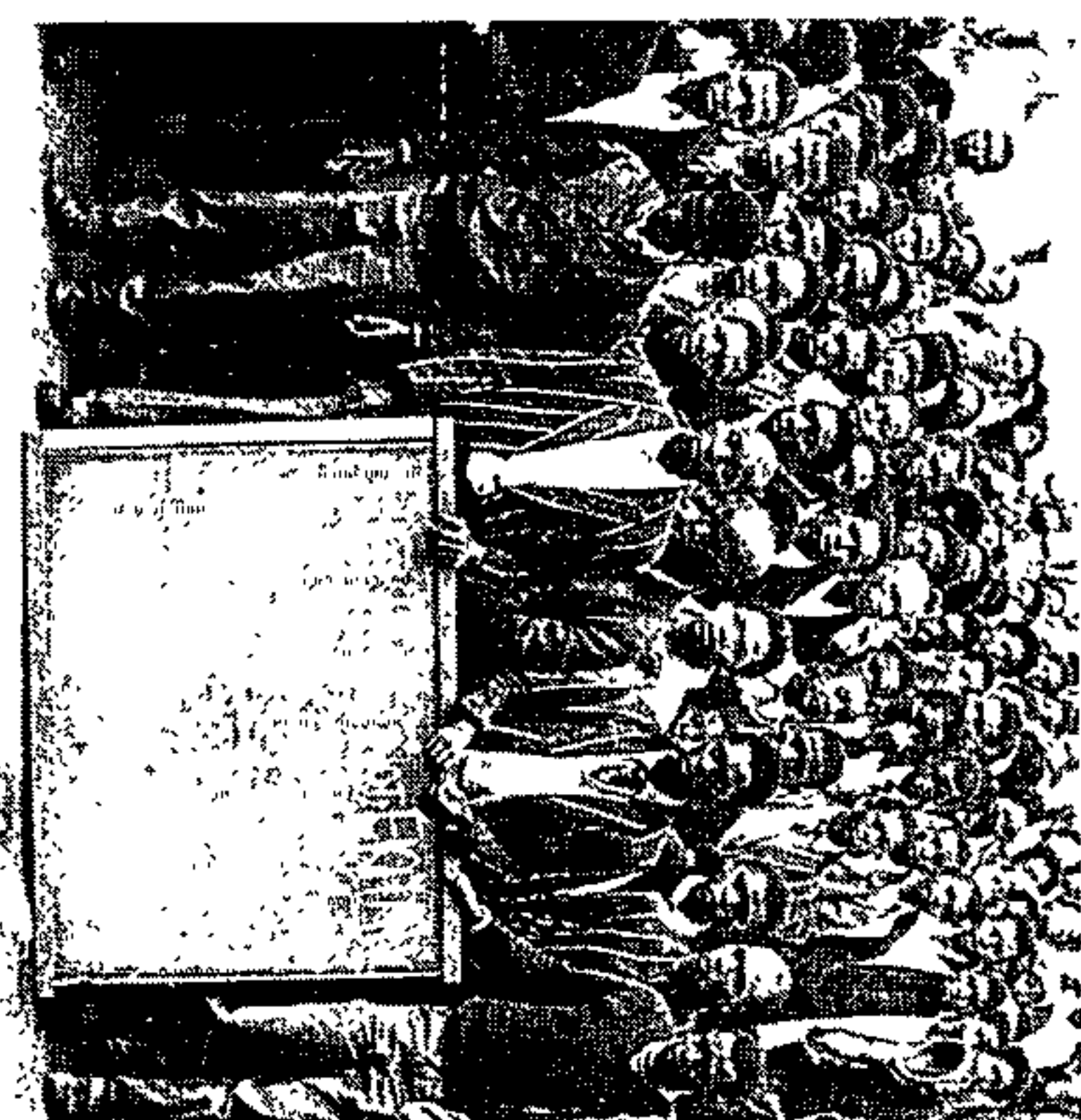


**1961** After nearly 50 years of non-violent protest the ANC turns to armed struggle.

Whole  
304A  
could be free



rather than crushing opposition, strengthens it. Mandela, jailed, becomes a martyr worldwide.



**1976** Soweto erupts when black school children refuse Verwoerdian "Bantu" Education. School boycotts and work stoppages spread throughout the country. Hundreds of people are killed.

**1976** Soweto erupts when black school children refuse Verwoerdian "Bantu" Education. School boycotts and work stoppages spread throughout the country. Hundreds of people are killed.



# 1987

Newspapermen, publishers and journalists break their ties with P.W. Botha's government. Hundreds of academics in Stellenbosch, Potchefstroom and Pretoria align themselves with the Independents. Springbok sportsmen by the score declare their support for a new South Africa. Nine academics come out on the government's side.

**1977** Steve Biko dies in detention.  
Minister Jimmy Kruger says:  
"Dit laait my koud."



**1978** The 'Info Scandal'. The Auditor General reveals that R40 million of public money has been spent illegally. Subsequently, State President Vorster resigns.



## SO WHY VOTE PPP?

[illegible]

**1987** After 39 years the National Party has no policy, no solutions. Only wild and untruthful accusations against others.

What happens next is up to you...



# LET'S VOTE OUR COUNTRY PROUD.

On Wednesday 6 May, every voting South African has a powerful opportunity:

To turn our backs on these past disastrous years, and to vote our country into a new, prosperous, dynamic future. Already in this beautiful country we have so much to be grateful for.

We have vast natural wealth. Energetic, hardworking people.

We have a sophisticated infrastructure in mining, commerce, industry, transport and agriculture.

**We have a chance, now, to vote our country proud.**

To vote us back into the international community. To vote our sportsmen and women back into world sport. To vote our economy out of



sanctions, our people out of violence, our society out of fear. To vote for security, not just for ourselves, for now, but for our children, tomorrow and 100 years from now.

## **Your vote is precious.**

Do you cast it for the National Party? A party that in the last 6 years has not come one step closer to solving the problems it helped create these past 39 years?

A party which has no plan, no policy for the future?

Or do you vote for a new South Africa, for a new future, where every South African can live in dignity, and prosper. If you believe the time is right for a new South Africa, your vote must be for the PFP, the NRP or the Independents. Your vote is powerful. Use it.

**"Imagine what we  
could achieve if all  
South Africans could  
get together in a  
spirit of unity to build  
a future of racial  
harmony."**      **Colin Eglin**  
Leader PFP, Architect of Alliance Politics.

**I'm going to vote PFP.**





This is how they did it: they committed themselves to compulsory race-affiliation in political struc-

Analysis LESTER VENTER  
Graphics WEYNI DEYSEL

(News by L. Venier, 122 St Georges Street, Cape Town

**VENTER**  
Sunday Times  
Political  
Correspondent

seats for that shift.

electoral districts.

sults.

and any delayed re

seats for that shift.

election against the Opposition PFP, the Conservative Party, the NRP and the new independents, the SABC news staff have aimed their live TV coverage at the 22 "hottest" constituencies. They are: Stellenbosch, Heidelberg, Sea Point, Wynand, East London North and West, Clarendonville, Durban North, Port Natal, Bloemfontein West, Sasolburg, Waternburg, Pietersburg, Southpansburg, Rissik, Sunnyside, Hercules, Germiston District, Randburg, North Rand, Jeppe and Verdenburg.

All party chiefs' seats are covered, except for the NRP's Mr Bill Sutton in Cape Town.

The red-hot battles of Independent Dr Denis Worrall (Heidelberg), Wynand Malan (Randburg) and Dr Estêe Lategan (Stellenbosch) are covered live.

So are the critical votes of Dr Aron Heisterkamp (Stellenbosch) and Dr Aron Heisterkamp (Stellenbosch) and Dr Aron Heisterkamp (Stellenbosch).

DEAD IN UNKNOWN AIR-SEA CRASH

as usual from farm:



there underpinned by a Population Registration Act and Separate Amenities Act. To top this system off, Mr Botha revived the once-scorning idea of black city states whereby the Soweto, Mamelodi, Gugulethu and Alexandra of South Africa would become independent republics in which their citizens would enjoy one-man-one-vote.

## Settled

Presidential aspirant and Transvaal NP leader Mr F W de Klerk underlined Mr Botha's proposal. Once the question of the urban black was settled, he said, South Africa's political problems would be over.

Through the duration of the campaign, an early question kept recurring, why, aside from Mr Botha's

Government replied it was asking the electorate for a mandate to enter negotiations with black leaders. But in defending an accusation from the left that it would never get any credible black leader to talk to it, Government speakers said they had been negotiating with "hundreds" of black leaders for some years.

As the examination of Government's meaning of reform intensified, Mr Botha highlighted another NP non-negotiable — the fundamental principles of the Group Areas Act. They would remain intact as long as he was leader... and that would be at least until 1999, he told a Stellenbosch audience.

And, in defending the Group Areas Act to both the left and the right, Govern-

## Symbolic

But it was on the central issue of reform through negotiation — and who could best put it into practice — that the election came to rest. At the end of the campaign, and it was here that the opposition alliance scored a symbolic victory by being able to demonstrate they already had the goodwill of important future negotiating partners.

In a speech read for him

## Historic

Most observers — and the politicians themselves — agree that while this election has thrown up his- toric indicators that could herald the end of the apartheid era, there will be little difference in the NP's dominance of Parliament.

The significance of the election will be read by analysts and the Government in terms of the total votes cast for each group. In effect this means that many seats the Government has traditionally won with large majorities will now be won with smaller vote margins.

The precise extent of this will measure the expected shift of the electorate towards more enlightened candidates and policies.

(News by I. Venter, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

## OTHER PARTIES LAG FAR BEHIND IN SHOCK SURVEY OF NEWS COVERAGE

Y the run-up to the election the Government and National Party's dominance television news bulletins and Network has reached

planning levels. The sixth week of an analysis conducted by the Department of Journalism and Media Studies at Rhodes

University reveals that there are reached 75 percent of the total time allocated to all the political groups.

The survey is incomplete in the words of project leader Professor Gavin Stewart. The coverage to date "has definitely favoured the National Party".

In the sixth week, from April 20 to 26, the amount of time allocated to the NP and Government more than doubled compared to the first

week. By contrast, coverage of two parties on the right of the political spectrum and of an alliance on the left has been drastically less. The election campaign has pro-

gressed a group, the Progressive Federal Party/New Republic Party alliance, topped with the three independent for whom they d aside were seen for one until the time span occurred by NP candidates and government spokesmen.

## Fluctuations

There was a steady decline a high in the first week 2 percent of the actual allocated to political os, to 9.5 percent in the all was well despite the same-

But these, he said, tended to buttress the view that the Government was coping, that all was well despite the same-

Even if the NP is separated from Government (a fine distinction when Foreign Minister P. W. Botha is lumped in with Government) when

# Natspeak gets 75 percent of SABC time in run-up to poll

By BILL KRIGE

their spokesmen and their activities fluctuated between a low of nine percent and a high of 22.3 percent in the fifth week.

But in the sixth week their share plunged to 4.8 percent — about one-fifth of the exposure time of the NP and the Government.

Professor Stewart cautions that the category "Government" included Network features which had nothing to do with electorating as such — programmes about the Mossel Bay gas project and the Orange-Erste River

irrigation scheme. But these, he said, tended to buttress the view that the Government was coping, that all was well despite the same-

Even if the NP is separated from Government (a fine distinction when Foreign Minister P. W. Botha is lumped in with Government) when

## Extremist

When the PFP share is isolated from the alliance total of 9.5 percent, it took only 3.7 percent of the news bulletin and network time.

But skewed election coverage does not end with news loaded with NP and Government spokesmen.

"Quite clearly for television the world ends with the PFP," said Professor Stewart. "The homelands are in some kind of an orbit, but that is the known universe. Beyond that there are beasts and dragons.

"Only party politics are acceptable politics. The NP is placed at the centre and everything else, in a sense, is extremist — right or left.

Certainly there has been an attempt to present things impartially, but the political time on TV in week six was 20.2 percent. This was more than double the share of the alliance.

"Firstly, NP speakers have, almost without exception, been given more time than their opponents.

"Secondly, except where an opposition speaker endorses NP policy, the NP is almost always given the last word."

The researchers have called this the "Goldilocks effect" — the last option tending to leave the impression that it is "just right."

The third area where the SABC can be faulted, said Professor Stewart, is that they have let the NP and the Government set their coverage agenda.

"Major themes have been — see Page 29.

## Similarity

The current election showed an obvious similarity between the themes of the NP campaign and those of the SABC. They had also been dragged into present things factually, impartially, and without distortion, as the SABC licence states, but they have fallen down in three major areas.

"Firstly, NP speakers have, almost without exception, been given more time than their opponents.

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"Major themes have been — see Page 29.

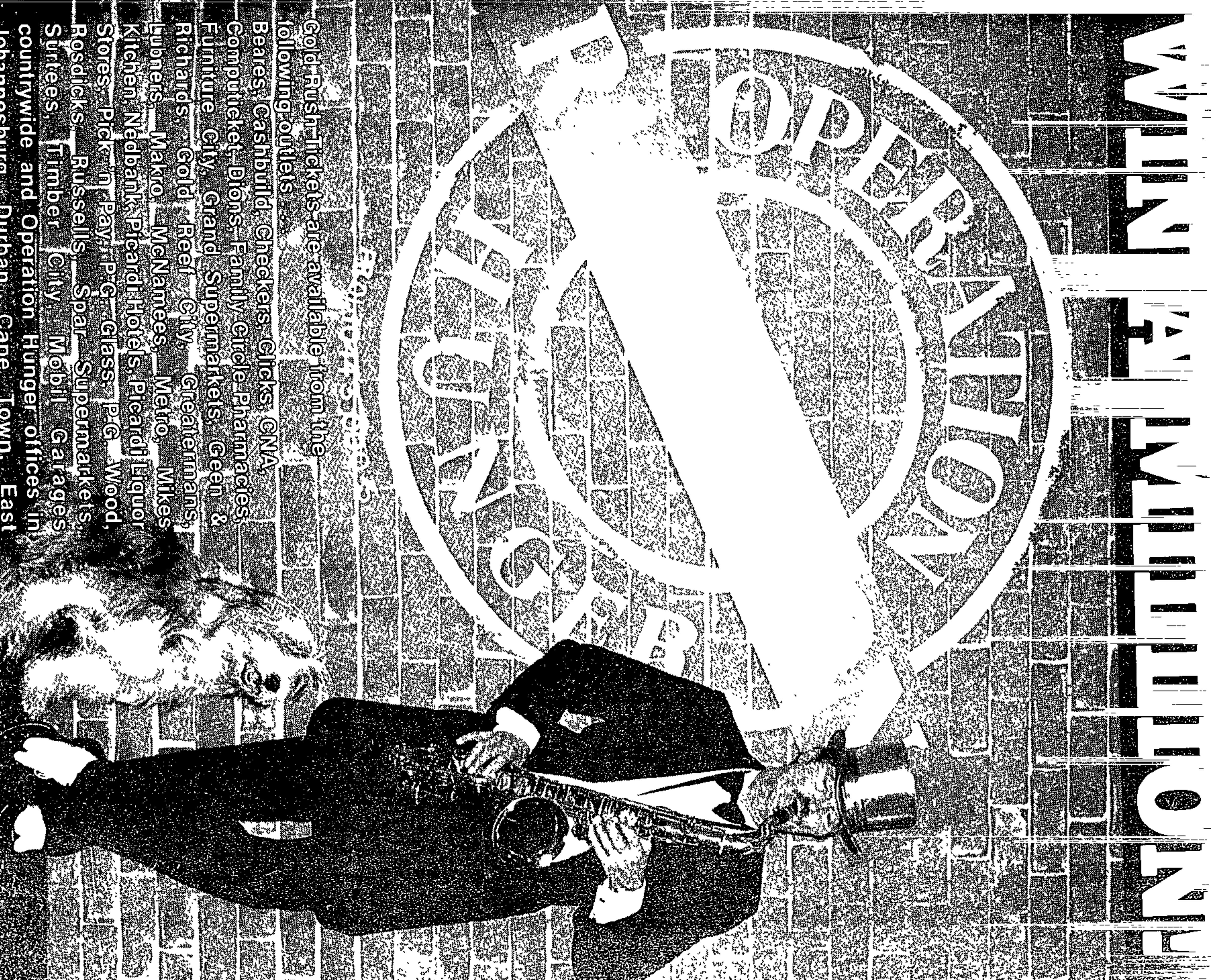
# WIN WITH US

## OPERATION GOLD RUSH

Gold Rush tickets are available from the following outlets:

Beaues, Cashbuild, Checkers, Clicks, CNA, Computicket, Dions, Family Circle, Pharmacies, Furniture City, Grand Supermarkets, Green & Richards, Gold Reel City, Greentemans, Lunnors, Makro, McNamees, Metro, Mikes, Kleinen, Nedbank, Picardi, Hotels, Picardi, Liquor Stores, Pick'n Pay, P.G. Glass, P.G. Wood, Rosdicks, Russells, Spar, Supermarkets, Sutees, Timber City, Mobil Garages, countryside and Operation Hunger offices in Johannesburg, Durban, Cape Town, East London and Port Elizabeth.

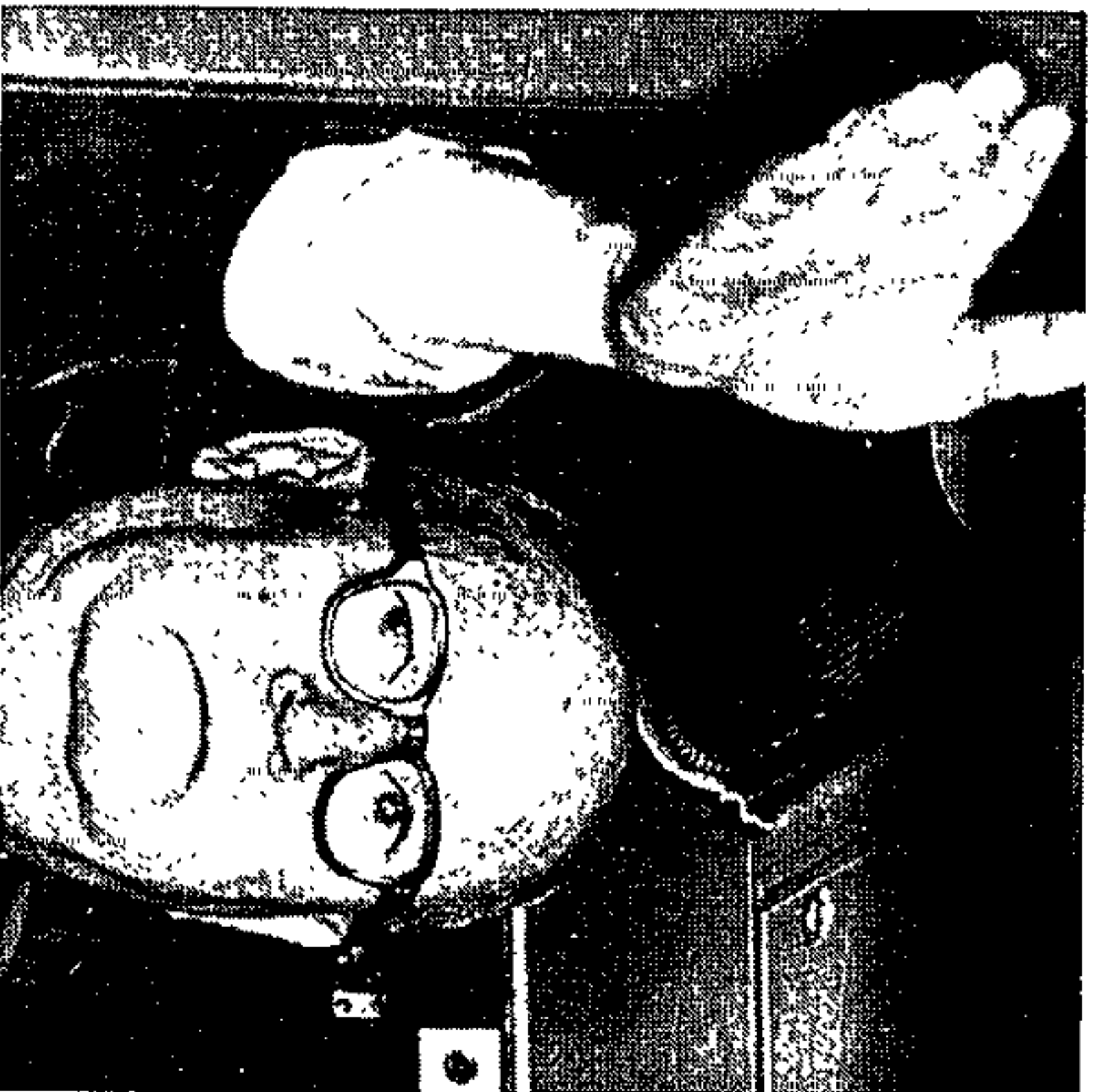
# GOLD RUSH II



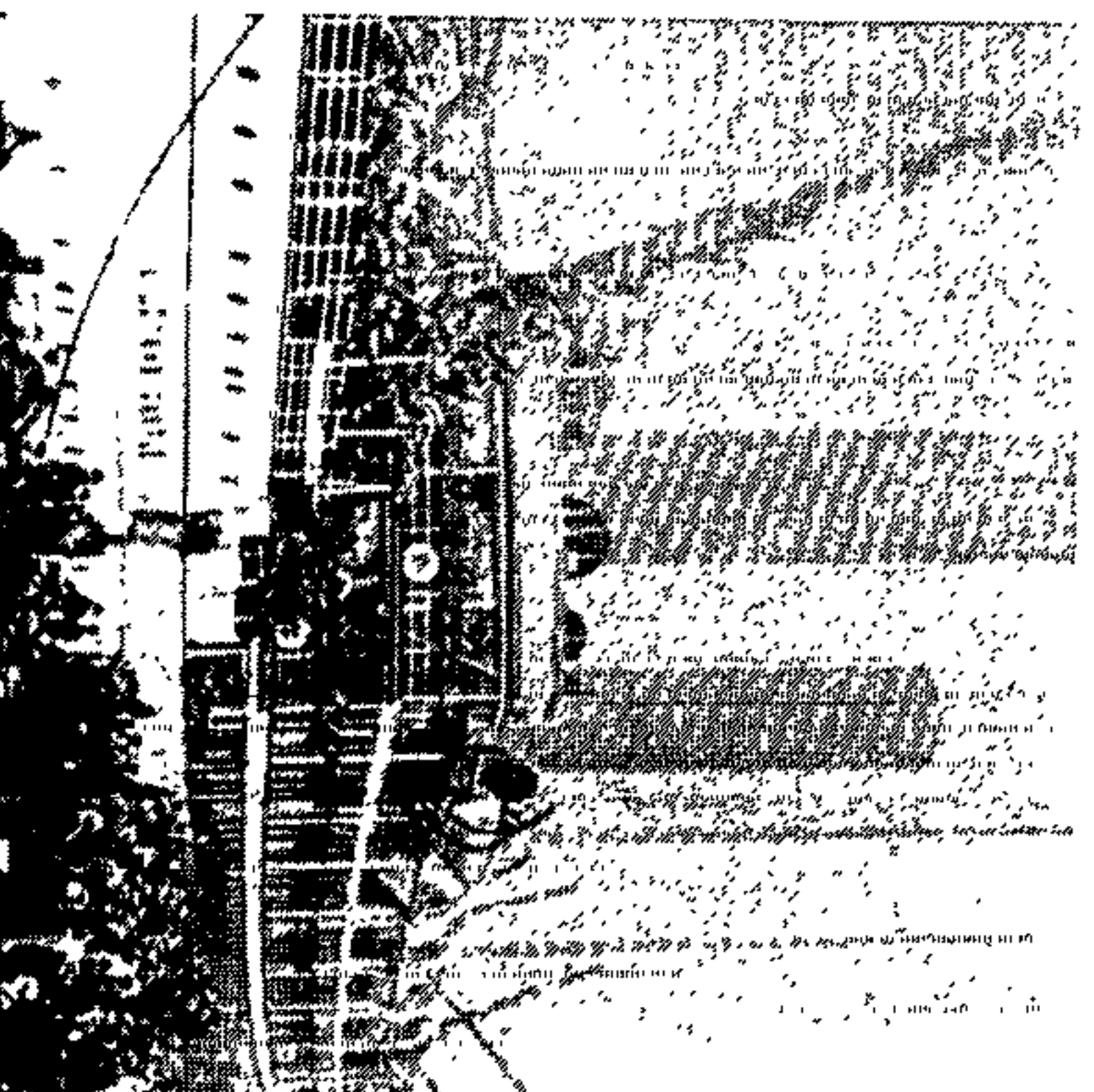


# THE ROAD

The social engineering begins.



**1948** The National Party wins the 1948 general election promising 'apartheid', the total separation of white and black in politics, education and home territory.



**1949** The National Party halts General Smut's plan of large scale immigration from the U.K. and Europe, in order to preserve its majority in the electorate.

Act No. 55 of 1949.

ACT

To prohibit marriages between Europeans and non-Europeans, and to provide for matters incidental thereto.

(English Text signed by the Governor-General.)

(Assented to 1st July, 1949)

BE IT ENACTED by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, the Senate and the House of Assembly of the Union of South Africa, as follows:—

Act No. 55 of 1949.

1. (1) As from the date of commencement of this Act a marriage between a European and a non-European may not be solemnized, and any such marriage solemnized in contravention of the provisions of this section shall be void and of no effect: Provided that—

(a) any such marriage shall be deemed to be valid, if—

(i) it has been solemnized in good faith by a marriage officer, and neither of the parties concerned, or either of them, had made any false statement relating to the said marriage amounting to a contravention of section 9(a), and

(ii) any party to such marriage professing to be a European or a non-European, as the case may be, is in appearance obviously what he professes to be, or is able to show, in the case of a party professing to be a European, that he habitually

**1949** The prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act becomes law. The Immorality Act follows a year later.



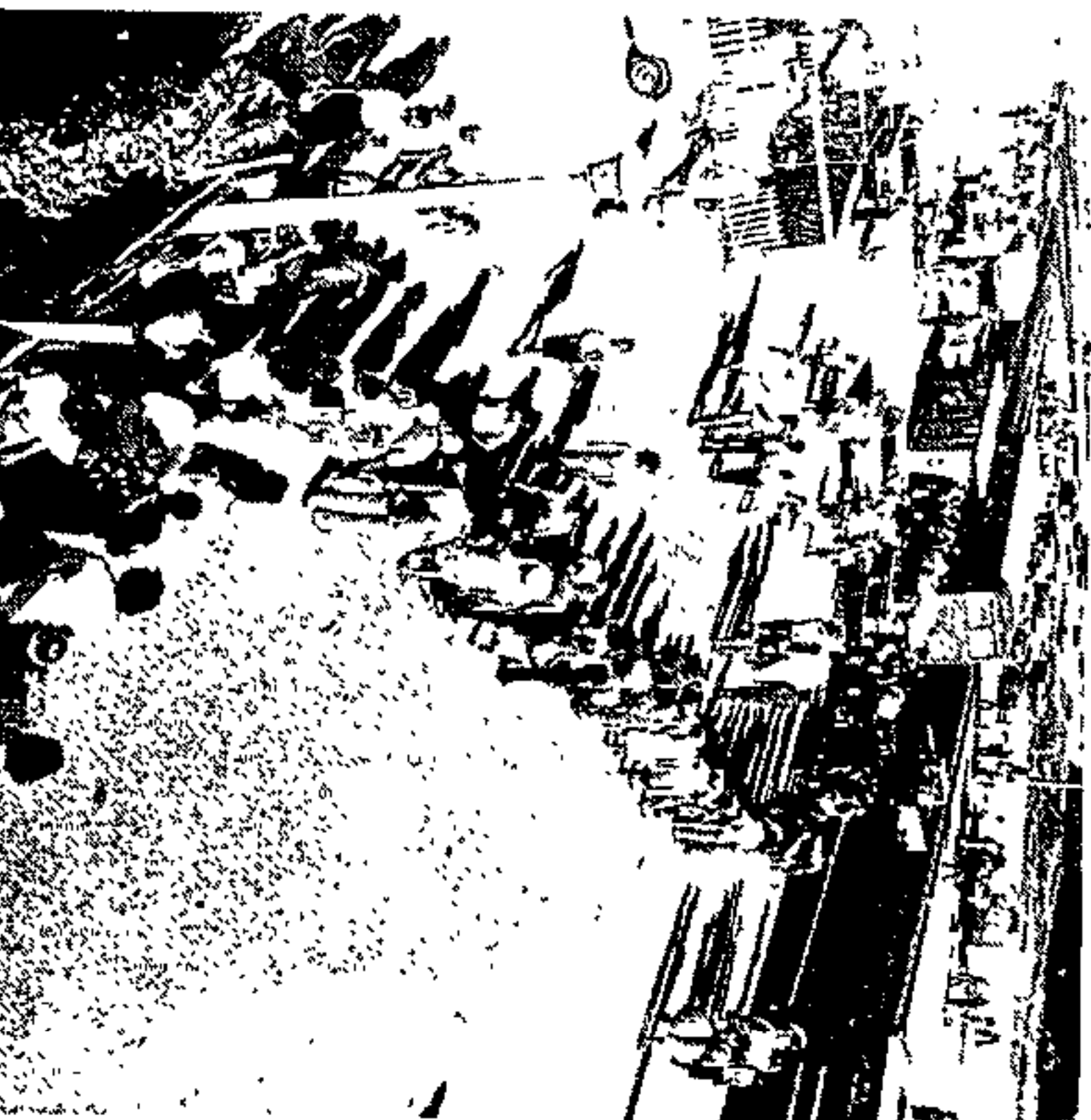
**1950** The Population Registration Act classifies every individual in South Africa by race. The Group Areas Act gives government officials the power to declare rural and urban areas by race.



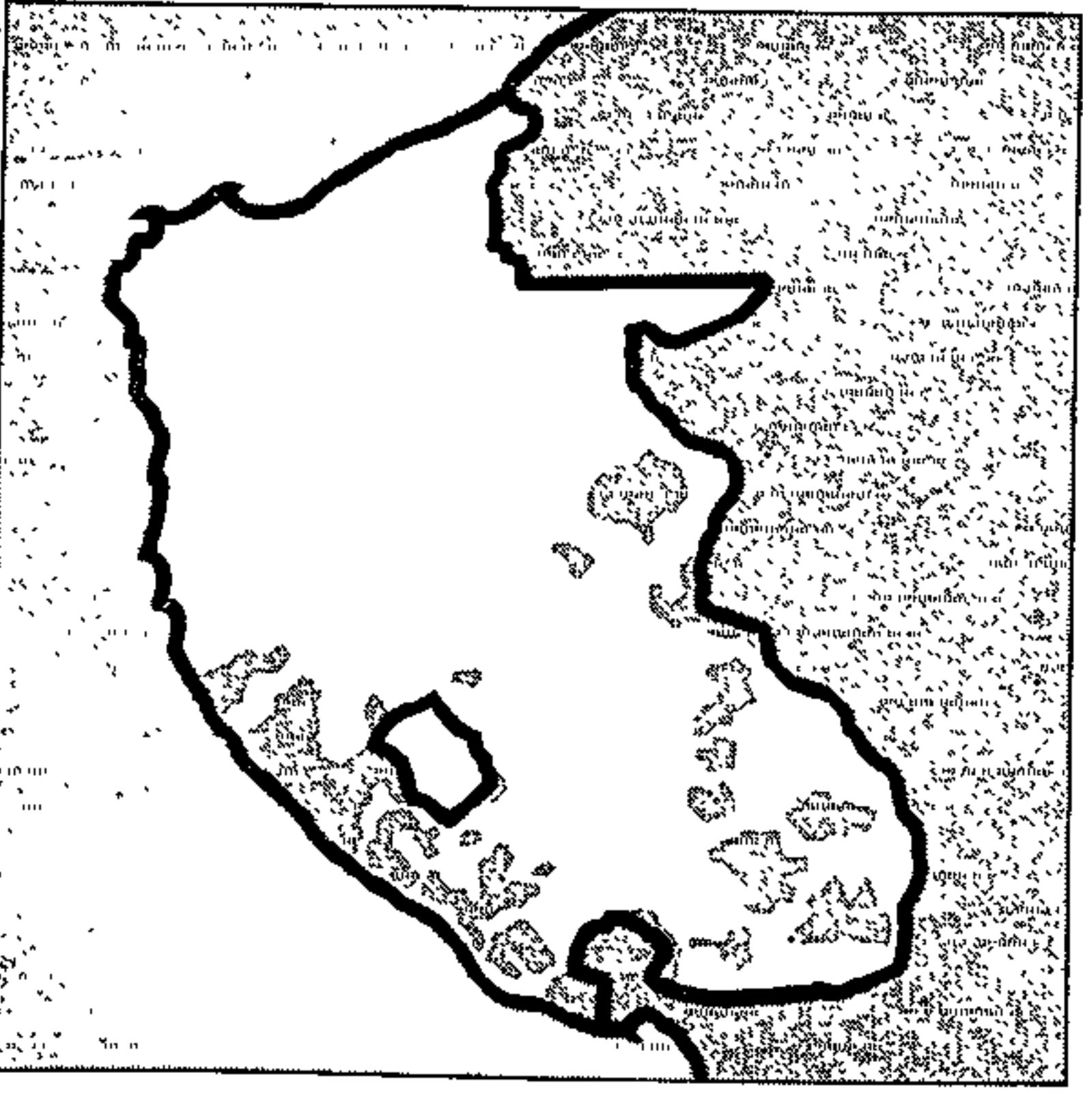
**1954** After 94 years of representation, coloured



**1954** Black home-owners are forcibly removed from their



**1955** Soweto is laid out as a large grid of linear/sec. roads. Buses



**1959** South Africa is carved into



voters' roll.

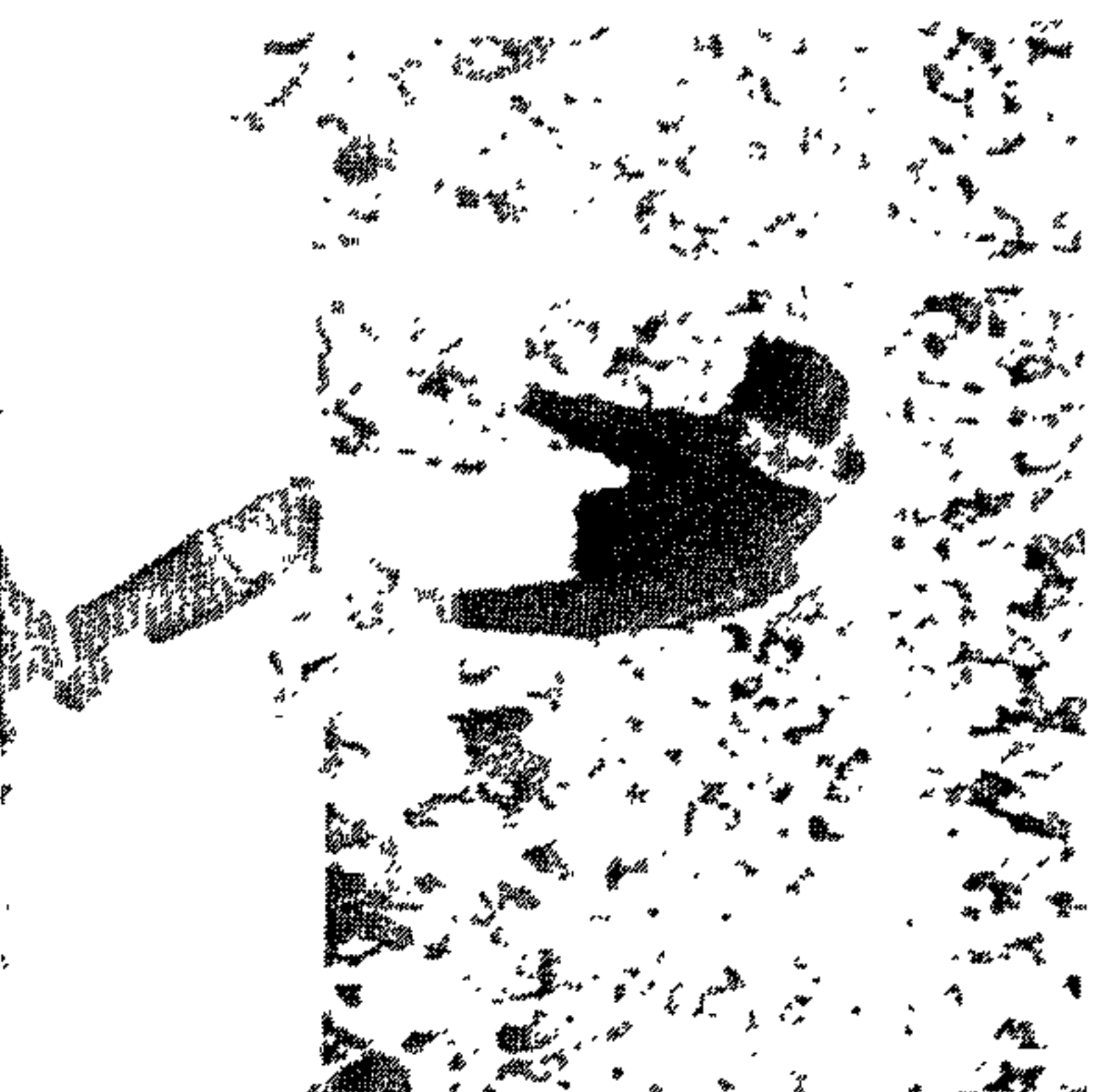
resettled in Soweto. Sophiatown is renamed "Triomf".

White areas early in the morning and return them to townships late at night.

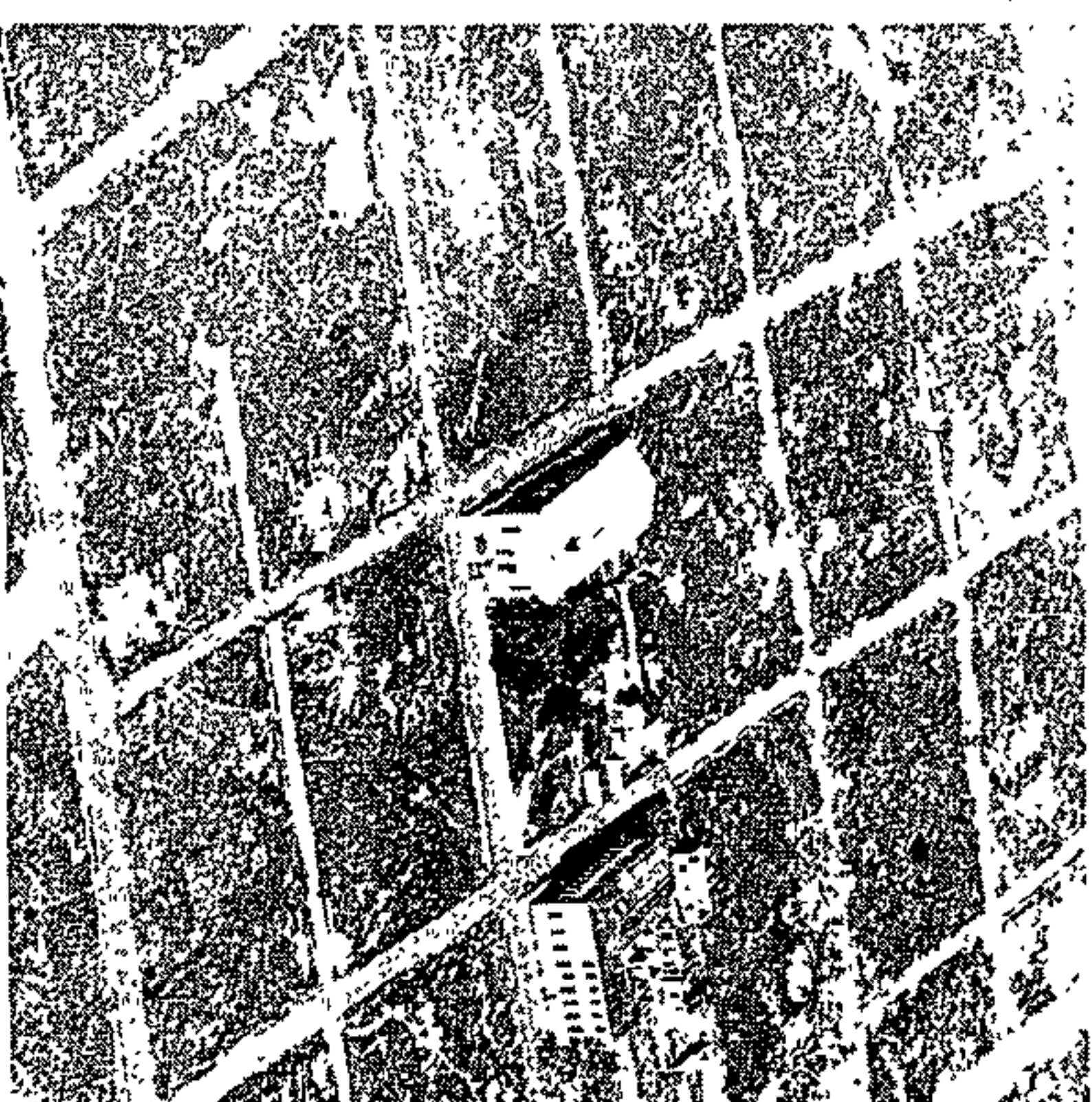
become a citizen of one of these states. "One day there will be no black South Africans."



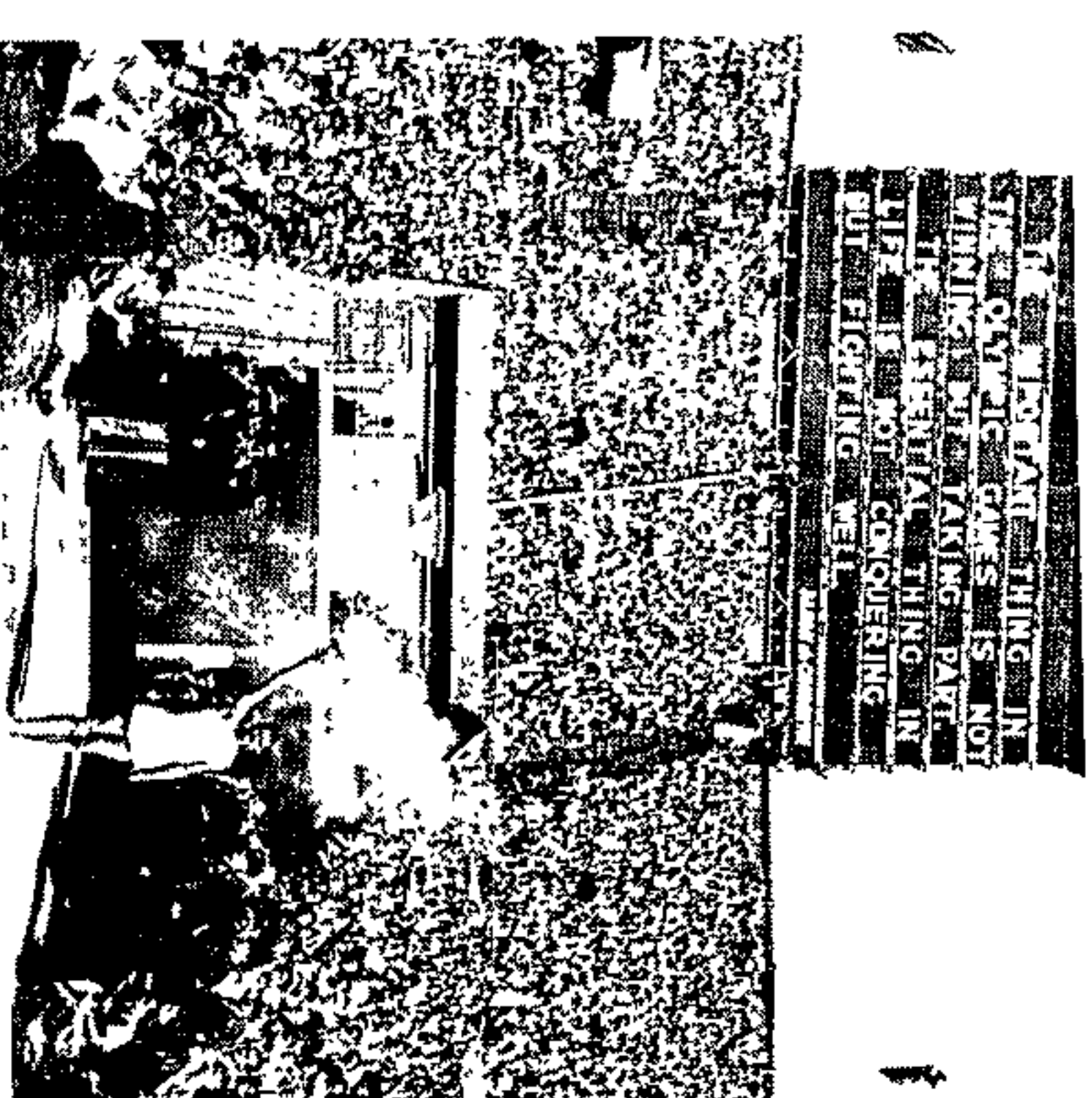
**1963** Then Minister of Justice BJ Vorster is given the right to detain any individual without trial, in solitary confinement for up to 90 days, without having to give reason to the public for doing so.



**1965** Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd refuses to allow the All Blacks to tour if their team includes Maori's.



**1966** Coloureds are evicted from District 6 when the area is declared 'white' by then Minister of Coloured Affairs P.W. Botha. 40 000 people are removed and relocated to the Cape Flats and other areas at a cost of R55 million. The land stands mostly empty today.

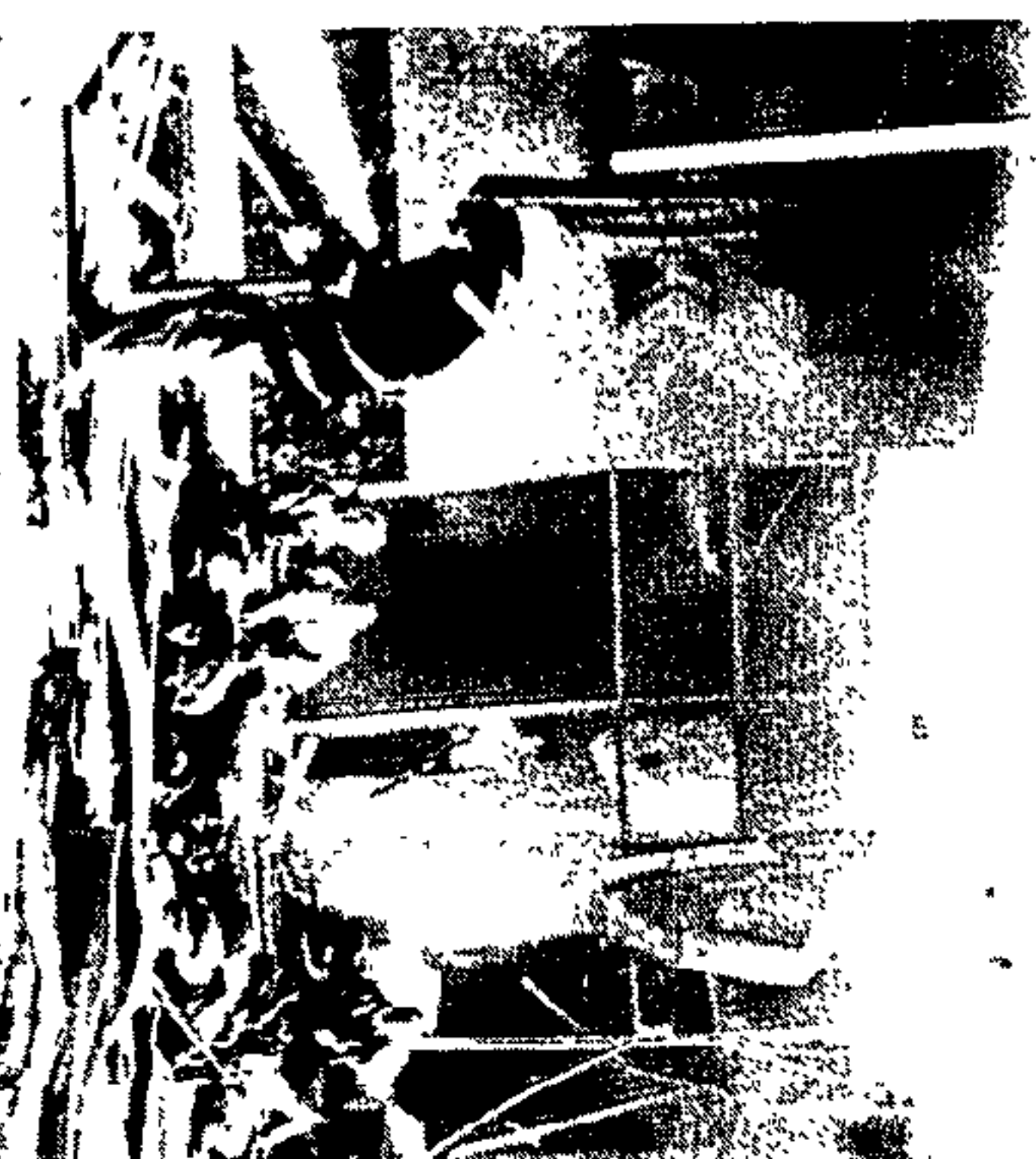


**1967** Prime Minister Vorster refuses to allow coloured MCC cricketer Basil D'Oliviera to play in South Africa. South Africa is expelled from the 1968 Mexico Olympic Games.

## The economy nose-dives.



**1981** Minister of Health Dr LAPA Munnik tells hard pressed pensioners they can live on R20 per month.



**1983** A bomb explodes in Pretoria killing 19 people. 200 more are wounded.

## Recession: SA's misery index likely to worsen, expert warns

by DIETER TOMMEY

present was 6.1 percent, lower than the 6.8 percent in the previous quarter.

THE term "economic downturn" is being used by South Africa's present statistician, "severe recession" is more appropriate, says Dr O.J. Stuenkel, lecturer of Economics at the University of Stellenbosch.

He says the economy has been contracting at a rapid rate since the start of the year and warns that South Africa's misery index — a composite of values out of work, inflation, unemployment, and payment rate — is likely to further increase in the present quarter.

But the fall in total demand caused a sharp increase in unemployment, which rose from 23.5% in July 1984 to 35 percent in August 1984. Significant portions of the economy have been subject to a sharp decline in output. These include the manufac-

**1985** Against a backdrop of serious unrest and fears of economic stagnation, Chase Manhattan Bank calls in its South African loans, plunging South Africa into its gravest ever financial crisis. The value of the rand sags.



**1985** With the eyes of the world watching, P.W. Botha gives his finger-wagging Rubicon speech. According to one commentator, "he did more damage to South Africa's reputation in half an hour than the entire press had done in a decade. The rand plummeted and the stock exchange closes the next day.



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Election, YOU can win  
**R180 000**  
See Page 3 and Inside Back Page, Business Times

# Sunday Times

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FOR THE 1987 MISS SA  
500 Page 23

## Worrall and Heunis neck and neck in crunch election battle

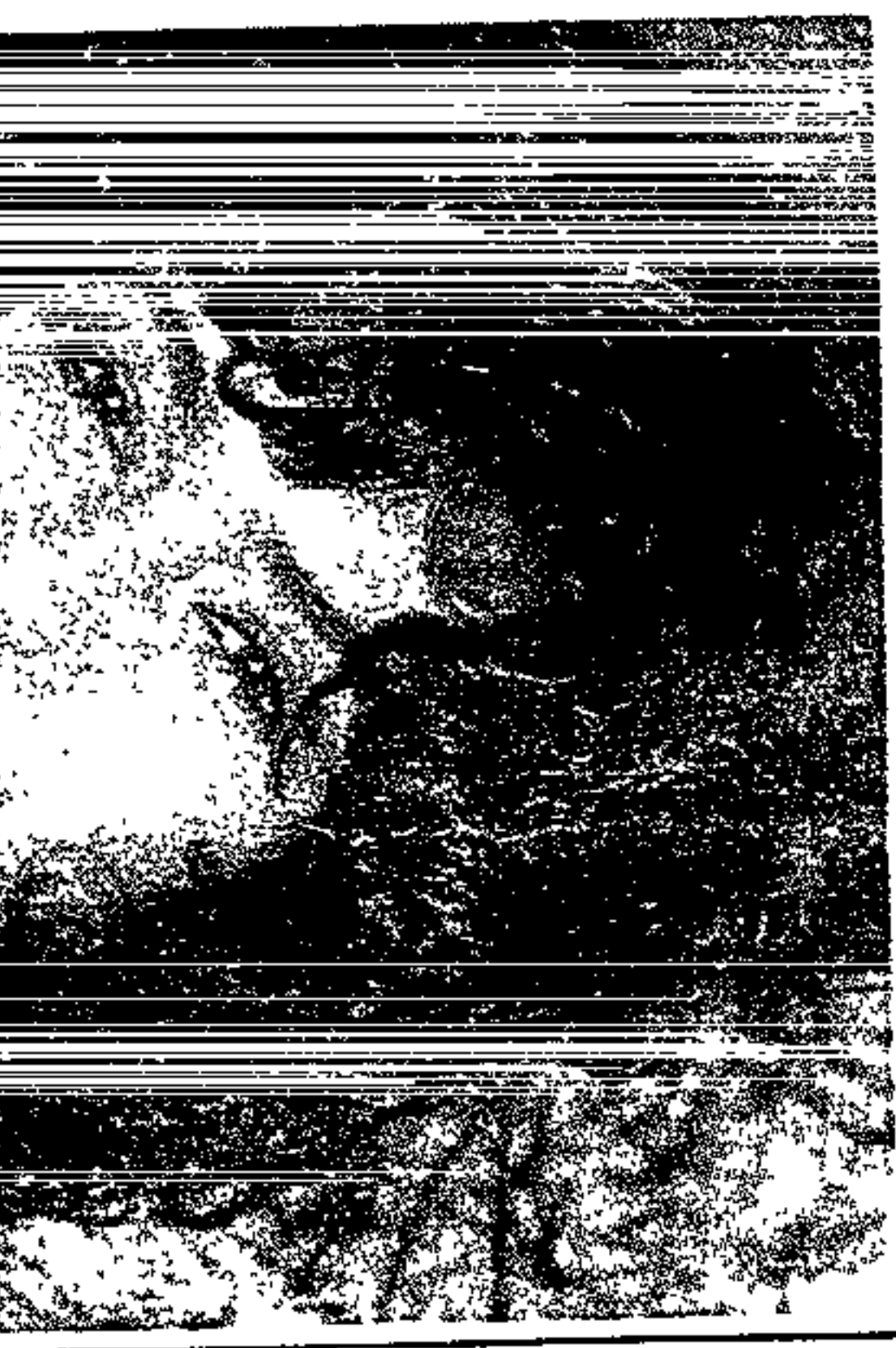
# IT A STUPID NIGHT FOR HEUNIS?



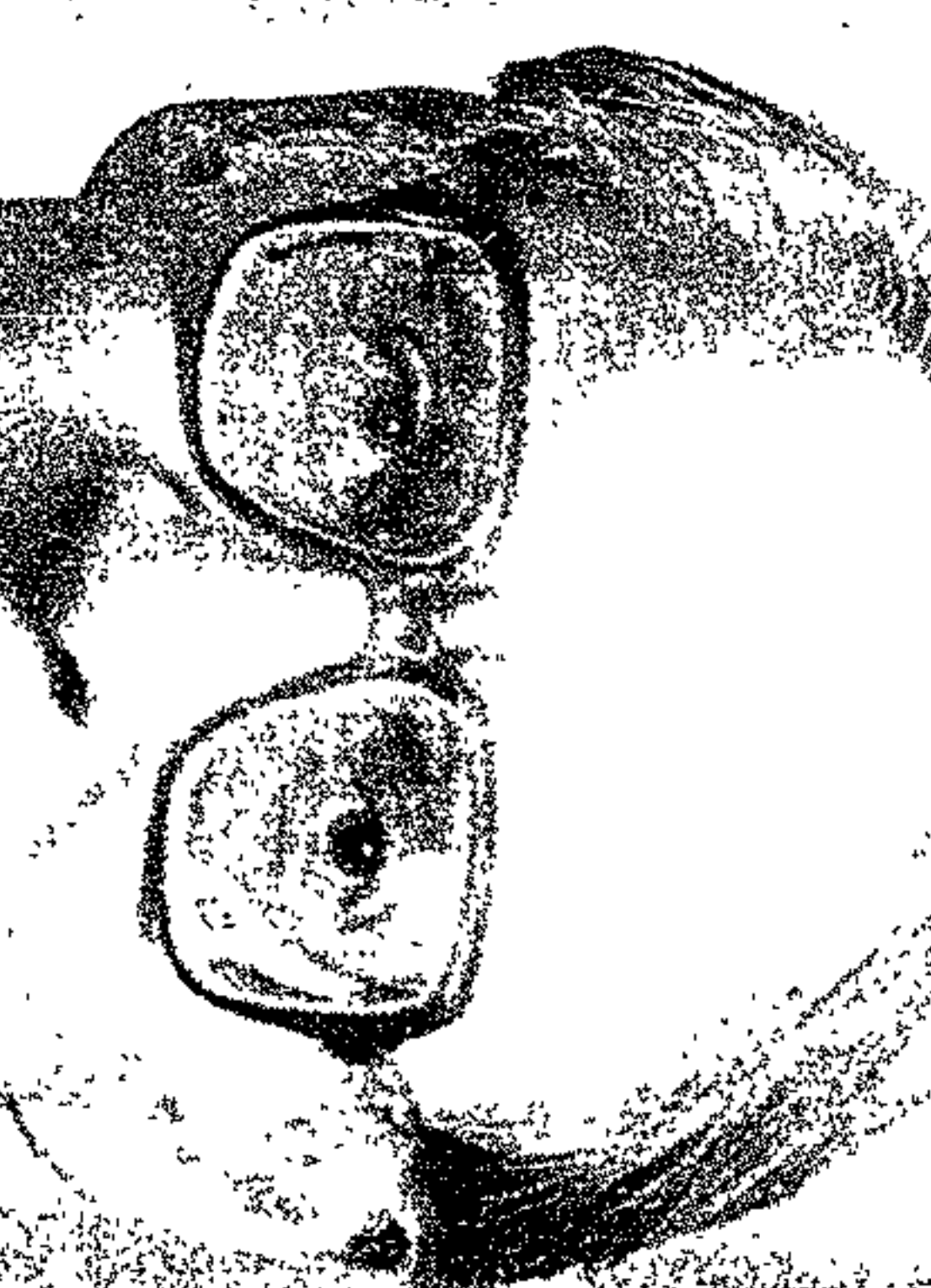
MR CHRIS HEUNIS  
The NP's guru

**THE STARS FOR CHANGE... and the minute-by-minute all-night election grin!**

**Let's  
move  
ahead**



**I back  
reform  
alliance**



**A SINGLE Cape seat has become the flashpoint of the 1987 election.**

With only 72 hours to polling day, the fiercely contested battle between Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Chris Heunis in Helderberg has come to symbolise the key issue to emerge in the campaign: the style, pace and nature of reform.

Nationwide interest has focused on the wineland constituency, and foreign journalists and TV crews are making it the centre of their election coverage.

In foreign capitals, government leaders are watching the seat for signs of progress in South Africa's stalemated politics.

Party workers admit that the race is neck-and-neck — with both Independent and NP sources claiming a slight edge for their candidates. The stakes for both men are high.

Mr Heunis is Minister of Constitutional Development, Cape leader of the National Party and one of the heirs-apparent to the State Presidency. His defeat would have a shattering effect on white politics.

Many observers believe it would lead to an even faster realisation of moderate change outside — and even inside — the NP. It would speed up moves for the for-

ward.

**By LESTER VENTER**

who have already broken with President Botha. In addition, the tally of M-the academic defectors from the NP yesterday grew to 365.

In another development, Dr Danie Craven and 46 sports stars yesterday came out in support of the Independents.

### Pledges

They follow other top sportsmen and women — from Neas Botha and Morné du Plessis to Graeme Pollock and Clive Rice — who have already pledged support.

Yesterday Dr Worrall issued a categorical denial of charges made by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pk Botha, this week that the

### COMMENT

**It's time to send a clear signal**

**ON** Wednesday, white voters have their chance. For two years they have endured the painfully unsettling effects of unrest and the depressing spectacle of a confused Government that is stuck on the wrong side of the Rubicon.

Which is why it is time to send out a signal.

Every vote that is cast in favour of change — the real kind, not the threadbare imitation that has been belatedly promised by fearful NP leaders in the dying days of a campaign in which they discovered the full extent of public disaffection with their complacency — will help to drive the point home.

For something truly stirring in South Africa.

Many thousands of people — sensible, patriotic South Africans who can by no means be typed as mad and reckless radicals — have recognised that there must be a better way of peacefully steering their country towards its new future.

This unstoppable movement — and that is what it has become — is best exemplified by the defection in droves of so many of the best minds in the National Party. Public figures like Denis Worrall, Wynand Malan and David de Villiers, top academics, business leaders, sports stars, actors, young people... Afrikanerdom's intellectual heart has simply walked away from the NP.

It has joined with other moderates who are fed up with the old voices and old ideas of an NP that is notable more for its desire to cling to power than its ability to address fundamental problems.







BEYOND

MAY 6

## 'Lang Dawid' de Villiers Vision of future

by DALE LAUTENBACH, Political Staff

**L**ANG Dawid de Villiers QC speaks of a new nation ... folding his long legs and gazing across the stretch of water beneath his Oranjezicht home, through the line of trees, over the city's profile and into the blue beyond the bay ...

But he doesn't gaze for long.

As Queen's Counsel, he's spent too many hours on those legs in the law courts for the look to be anything more than one of simply taking in the pleasure of the view. When he speaks of vision and new nation the image is not lost in the mists of distance.

"The independent movement begins in the white political arena but by its very definition its base broadens immediately to include anyone whose fundamental values are those of a just end, a new just dispensation."

Mr de Villiers has spoken already of the formation of a new party after the May 6 election. There are no names mentioned and as yet no concrete in the thinking but he believes it will happen "sooner rather than later".

"Until the next election due in 1989 the law remains the law but in that time one can broaden the formation of new While groups of all different shades are being forced into niches and "reformed" systems by the NP mind, more functional groupings exist and grow quite organically to form the power base without which political parties are ineffectual.

The history of the National Party is the best example of how unifying sentiment and the quest for self-determination established a power base ... and, further, how that power base grew into Afrikaner hegemony with its own religious, academic, business and media backing. Less hegemonous but a force too, is a liberal English grouping with its politics, Press, church, intellectual backing and business interests.

So what is the power base of the new nation concept; the emergent force that began with a small flurry and a worrail and has grown into a chorus of like-minded voices?

"The power base is not confined to a white ethnic context," says Mr de Villiers. "Already the new nation concept is spreading and exists more broadly."

**T**HAT Afrikaner church leaders and academics are no longer providing explicit support for the NP is the beginning of that power base. Closer common ground too now, between Afrikaans and English intellectuals and spiritual leaders, rubs away the barriers between the classic NP and English groupings that have existed historically.

"With his message of reconciliation, the independent movement thinking is the natural place for someone like Archbishop Tutu," says De Villiers.

"It's a movement of reconciliation and that's what the churches are saying. It's the end of an era of exclusiveness and the beginning of an inclusive movement.

The political



"Logically, the Afrikaner's need for a unified folk and the spirit of nationalism fell away when the republic was achieved and then the overwhelming issue became race relations as a sort of second string to the bow.

"Apartheid then meant different things to different people. To some it meant white supremacy and to others it was a path to a just end result by partition and separation. When, in the 1970s, it became clear that partition was not going to achieve this just end result, a new path had to be found which the old separate development and apartheid philosophy could not provide."

He talks of a conversion of the people politically: "A conversion to a one-nation concept of those who have been honestly looking for a solution along the lines of separate nations."

And as the independent movement is still in its nascent form, the silent support for its thinking is as significant as the loud voice of those who have been willing to take a public stand.

"I can only make inferences from what is happening but there is as much significance in what's not happened so far as there is in what's happened," says Mr de Villiers.

He gives the example of the attempt made by the nationalist Press to foreshadow a pro-NP



# Quest for a new political alliance . . .

2/5/87 W/E Argus 304A

"Until the next election due in 1989 the law remains the law but in that time one can broaden the formation of new-nation thinking." And, as an experienced man of South African law, he provides the reservation: "... as long as you're not stopped."

stand by academics with the hint that the State President would deliver this weighty petition at his meeting in Stellenbosch the week before last.

"It fell flat and Professor S A S Strauss collected only a handful of signatures. There is a great significance in this silence. There are many saying we really agree in substance with what the independent movement is saying but we still believe it's best to try and move from inside the NP."

**M**R De Villiers sees the silence becoming clamour after the election, though: "There will be a strong tendency to shift out of the NP if people who agree with us but remain on the inside see they've backed the wrong horse and have given the NP the benefit of the doubt."

"What is very significant though is that the existence of the doubt is very clear. This is not like a final acquittal as in a court of law but an ongoing judgement."

Mr de Villiers anticipates a power base in business circles too: "Ours is the kind of thinking that has existed in business circles for some time ... and with little difference now between English and Afrikaans business leadership. They share, though, a reticence to be too high-profile about it."

To use their language, he sees business disinvesting in old ideas and investing in an inclusive, unitary new-nation force.

Mr de Villiers' new nation begins at a negotiating table where there are no pre-conditions, no dogma ... a debate which swells up and involves the whole nation and not an order imposed from the top. The only groups in his thinking are those that flow functionally and bond naturally from the inner convictions of like-minded individuals.

He quotes Dr D F Malan, although ironically, as Malan was talking volk and republic here: "Bring together those that belong together out of inner conviction."

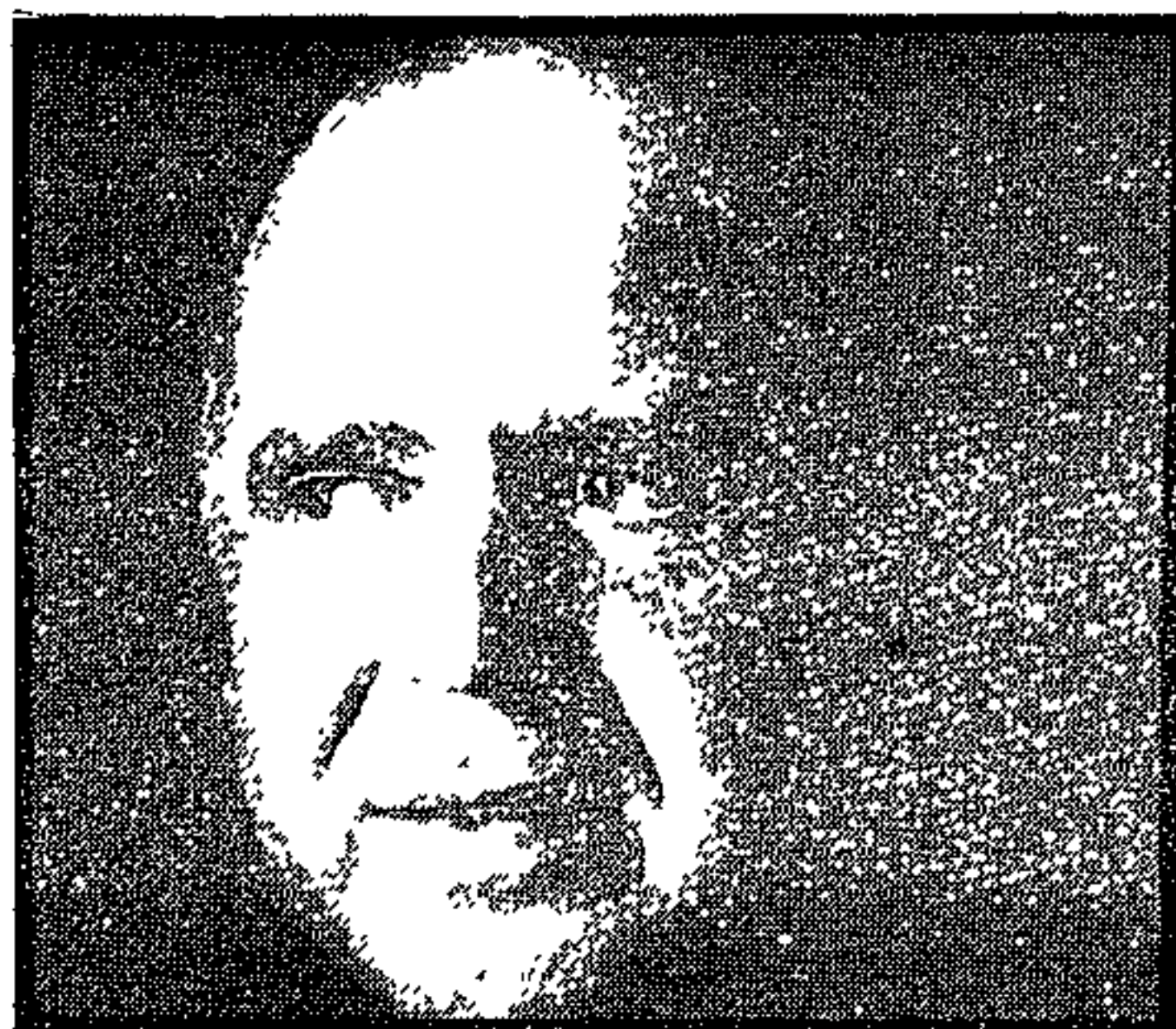
"The inner conviction I'm talking about is the concept of a new nation with an end to white domination and the creation of a just system which can endure ... and the people who think that way will group together. You no longer have black and white politics, just politics. And here, given South Africa's white minority, the question of group rights versus individual rights and freedom of association is likely to play a great part at the negotiating table. But there have been a lot of strong exhortations from whites in other African countries that the insistence on minority protection was a mistake, made too stark the issue of black majority, white minority."

**T**HE party most visible by its banished absence in this election, the African National Congress, is also part of the debate. "In the interests of a new dispensation you have to have everyone talking. The only qualification for the ANC is that, like everyone else, they mustn't set preconditions and must at least agree to a truce while you talk. But to go to the extreme of saying in advance that they must forswear violence is asking them to give up their sole bargaining power."

How then does one put a stop to the ANC spook stories with which NP politicians are probably convincing a large part of their electorate?

De Villiers smiles, glances at the long view again: "The logic is so much on the side of us who say you've got to talk that it's got to win through. And it's a logic present in the best Afrikaner thinking now, not only non-Afrikaner."

(Report by D. Lautenbach, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)



## Raymond Ackerman Deafening roar

By IRVING STEYN, Weekend Argus News Editor

**T**OP South African businessmen, accused of a "deafening silence" over their political affiliations in Wednesday's election, were not supporting any particular party or alliance because none can solve the country's problems.

Instead, after years of behind-the-scenes activity since President P W Botha's Rubicon speech, their conclusion is that a solution can only come from:

- An international declaration of the eradication of apartheid;

- The formation of a coalition of all moderate people of all races who wish to see peace by peaceful means.

This, said international supermarket supremo Raymond Ackerman in an interview this week, was the only solution that would bring the country's true leaders to the negotiating table to thrash out a new constitution.

"I don't believe the man in the street wants communism or a right-wing siege. I do believe that we as a business community have the ear of the people, and we are the people who must be motivated to invest or we won't solve our problems.

"We are a very important group of people, without over-estimating our importance."

**M**R Ackerman said South African big business has been extremely active behind the scenes, which had gone a long way in turning the tide of sanctions through their international influence.

"Is that a deafening silence? No."

Regarding black leadership, Mr Ackerman said top business was acting as a bridge. They had been meeting with black leaders in Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban "at a very high level" to discuss the future of South Africa.

"This has been going on consistently since Rubicon, and we respect the fact that they are prepared to even meet with us."

He had been encouraged by the fact they also realised that this country needs negotiation politics and needs apartheid to be dismantled in its entirety.

"Is that a deafening silence? Business, from the top Afrikaans and English business leaders — I think the figure is 98 percent of top public company chairmen — have said with a deafening roar that they want discrimination to go."

Mr Ackerman believes the black leaders he has spoken to would go to the negotiating table and this was the key to everything.

Business was planning for a peaceful settlement and it was universally accepted by the business community that this would not come about without a declaration on the elimination of apartheid.

"I believe that if, after the election, a coalition of forces could say apartheid had to be eliminated, you would have the key to our future."

"Black leadership is prepared to compromise. They know they won't get all they want, but there are so many forces at work at the moment, and I believe the real force is the need for a complete coalition of those in this country who want peaceful change," he said.

(Report by I. Steyn, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)





# The final

by TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

**A**LL the political parties claim they will be making progress in Wednesday's whites only election!

The contradiction in their predictions points to a big lie factor and a considerable undecided vote in many areas of the country, making it one of the most unpredictable outcomes in years.

The Nationalists are confident they will do particularly well in their tough fights against the right-wing in the Cape, Free State and the Transvaal platteland.

They are benefitting well from the Conservative-HNP right which is dividing the right-wing vote, to the point that in some three-cornered contests in Transvaal rural constituencies they might emerge the winner without gaining an overall majority of votes.

The Progressive Federal Party stands a chance of winning four to six seats, the Conservatives hope to win more than 25 seats, and the HNP are hoping for up to five.

But right-wing claims, especially, appear hugely exaggerated. The Conservatives may well lose up to seven of their present 17 elected seats, and their Nationalist opponents calculate they might win only ten seats.

It is the CP's first general election fight, having won only two seats in by-elections under its own banner. Its other MPs were elected as Nationalists before their split from the ruling party in 1982.

The HNP is in danger of losing its only seat, Sasolburg, in a three-cornered fight with the Nationalists and the Conservatives, although it claims to be doing well in the constituency.

But the right-wing parties are bound to win a few hundred thousand votes throughout the country. In the 1981 general election the HNP was the only rightwing party in the field, and though it failed to win a single seat it managed to draw nearly 200 000 votes.

**T**HE national director of the PFP, Mr Neil Ross, believes his party will definitely win some seats without



Neil Ross

Believes his party will definitely win some seats without sacrificing any of those it holds at present. Particularly hopeful of winning Simon's Town and Durban North, and a lot more.

sacrificing any of those it holds at present.

The PFP is particularly hopeful of winning Simon's Town and Durban North, and in addition to the 26 elected seats it already holds, it stands a good chance in the Natal constituencies of Umhlanga, Umlazi and Umhlathuze, North Rand in Transvaal, and East London North and East London City.

There may be close calls in Pietermaritzburg and Albany because of a threatened student stay-away, and tight contests in Johannesburg West and Helderkrui.

The PFP's chances of winning in Maitland have receded.

**I**N the Cape Province, the Nationalists are confident of doing well, according to its acting provincial secretary, Mr Sakkie Pretorius.

The party has a good chance of regaining Kuruman and De Aar, the two Cape seats they lost through the CP

## OF PALMER NIGHTS, AND THAT'S TH!

A PERSONAL VIEW by DALE LAUTENBACH, Political Staff

**T**HERE'S the election meeting report, and then there's the election meeting story. The report is the one published, chronicling what was said by whom to how many. To the reporter it means mighty concentration back at the office at midnight.

Rules of the report allow contradictions to speak for themselves (and they do — the Group Areas Folies providing the best Act) and the speakers to dig their own graves (as they do, but here one treads lightly over the ground of personal opinion, this being disallowed in the report).

The story is what you save for early morning coffee with your colleagues and a laugh that stifles the yawn of long hours. You regale bored friends with those little and precious observations that keep you sane at election meetings night after night after night.

"Where does one buy a ticket for this fiasco anyway, Mike?" shouts a burly guy who could be classic CP or a PFP rugger bugger (who knows, although usually you can tell at a glance) at the entrance to John Wiley's campaign launch in Muizenberg.

On an NP platform in Kraaifontein, the usual flower arrangement in the colours of the flag has excelled itself. This one has a palm frond manipulated into a curving graphic sweep which descends out of the mass of oranje, blanje, blou. The floral arrangements on official NP breasts thankfully omit this touch of Ikebana.

Finance Minister, variously Onrusharend or Barend die Arend, takes the stage. "AVB," shouts the right wing sending up the GST that hasn't gone down. "Alles Vir Barend."

**T**HE chairman (and you're always so terribly proud to have a real cabinet minister, you chairmen, arranging them like rare blooms among your floral clippings and behind the kruithorings and always, always the Agbare minister has broken into a crippling schedule to attend oh so especially this one special meeting) introduces AVB with a summary of his career.

This job, that job, then he did this wonderful thing and that and the other and...

defection. But in Kuruman the fight is tough.

Contrary to PFP claims, Mr Pretorius is confident of the Nationalists not only holding the opposition party at bay in East London City and East London North but also of taking King William's Town from the NRP and Albany from the PFP. And he

has high hopes of the Nationalists gaining Walmer, Gardens, Green Point, Wynberg, Port Elizabeth Central and Pinelands, all seats presently held by the PFP.

In the fight against the independents, Mr Pretorius is confident the Nationalists can hold both Helderberg and Stellenbosch. In both constituencies the Nationalist can-



FOCUS

# ountdown

## INDS, LONG SANITY... LECTION

"Hy't baie jobs gehad," comes a heckler in a crude flat voice, and even the Eagle laughs but he's pretty heavy with his hecklers. Mind you, a brain can warp if over-exposed and those right-wing hecklers are so heavy that Barend starts sounding reasonable.

**T**HINGS are a little quieter at the Vredehoek Bowling Club while David Graaff is talking about the PFP bringing "pestilence and plague" (no, no, I'm serious, I exaggerate not, I quote verbatim) to the face of South Africa. "Orchestrated cacophony" he says, picking just one of the many gevare to go on about. Little cacophony at the meeting though with only 40 or so people in the hall, and I'm bored because the big old flag which is indelibly NP now and could never be South African ever again looks just the same and the flowers look just the same and the speeches etc... there's nothing to keep me sane tonight.

What's bugging me though is the tablecloth — in patriotic flag blue — draped over the Press table and catching my nails as the hand moves. Why, it's the most patriotic statement of all... it's made of Crimpele (enough, please let me go home now).

**T**HINGS are looking hopeful down Simon's Town way.

John Scott has a meeting and all the good grannies have arrived with trays of bak en brou. Food, anything, anything to anaesthetise the mind... but I never saw those goodies again and at probably another five meetings I got what I came to call Scott's Chariot, his favourite bit of electioneering when he tells you that a shopping trolley circa 19-something filled up for forty bucks and now takes 100 to do same.

Pik promotes Salusa 45 for hecklers and fascinates feminism with a yarn about the sea being like a woman (I don't have to tell you, stormy, unpredictable etc, but then he's on the platform in Fish Hoek and he obviously thinks this sea-going stuff appropriate).

Irreverence grows a little uneasy sometimes, though. Like when some dominee opened a meeting with a prayer. "Please bless all South Africa's groups," he said.

Trying to pass off the New Constitution as the Bible kills the lights on an otherwise fine farce.

(Comment by D. Lautenbach, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

vassing figures point at convincing victories.

But the independent candidate in Helderberg, Dr Denis Worrall, has been drawing huge audiences to his meetings, and he predicts he will win. In Stellenbosch, Dr Esther Lategan's supporters maintain she is doing well. They say they have had more success in tracing missing

voters than they had expected.

The independents' best chance still appears to be in Randburg where the sitting MP, Mr Wynand Malan, is standing against the National Party.

In the Eastern Cape the right-wing assault against the National Party appears to



Louis Stofberg

Is buoyant about his chances as sitting MP in Sasolburg. He claims that his canvassing shows him to be 15 to 20 percent ahead of the NP, with the CP coming a bad third.

have crumbled. But there have been indications that some NRP supporters in this and the Border area have misgivings about the NRP-PFP alliance.

**I**N Simon's Town there is a tough fight between the NP and the PFP, with the PFP now confident of winning. Mr Pretorius maintains his party can retain it, but some other top Nationalist politicians are beginning to concede that the party may lose Simon's Town by about 500 votes.

The National Party's provincial secretary in the Transvaal, Dr Lucas Nel, says it is not unrealistic to predict that the Conservatives will win only ten seats, not only because only their fight with the HNP is dividing the rightwing vote but also because their squabbles are having a sobering effect on some conservative voters who are returning to the NP.

Especially seats such as Lydenburg, where the Minis-

ter of Manpower, Mr Pietie du Plessis, is involved in a tough three-cornered fight, now appears to be safer for the NP. But Ermelo, the seat of the Deputy Minister of Development Aid, Mr H J Temple, appears to be in danger.

One of the NP's top verligtes, Mr Leon Wessels, is also involved in a tough fight against the CP in his Krugersdorp seat. The Conservatives may also score in Carletonville, a mining constituency where Mr Arrie Paulus, leader of the whiter mineworkers, is their candidate.

**T**HE 12 seats in and around Pretoria are the scene of one of the biggest battles in the north, with the Nationalists hoping to win at least Sunnyside and Rissik from the CP.

It appears as if the NRP may win only four seats, Mooi River, Durban Point, Amanzimtoti and Umbilo, against the five it holds at present. The Nationalists are confidently predicting that they will take King William's Town, the party's only seat in the Cape.

The National Party's Free State leader, Mr Kobie Coetsee, predicts that it will make a clean sweep there. But rightwing spokesmen dispute the Nationalist claims.

Mr Koos van der Merwe, one of the CP's chief strategists, who has been MP for Jeppe and is now standing in Overvaal, says he is doing very well and he expects the party as whole to do well.

He predicts that it will win more than 25 seats and draw 500 000 or more votes, which will provide a strong basis for its fight in the next general election.

He says the HNP is hardly any factor and that 80 of its 86 candidates are likely to lose their deposits by drawing less than one fifth of the number of votes of the winning candidates.

Mr Louis Stofberg, general secretary of the HNP, is extremely buoyant about his chances as sitting MP in Sasolburg. He claims that his extensive canvassing shows him to be 15 to 20 percent ahead of the NP, with the CP coming a bad third.

He also feels that the rift in the rightwing will not be such a serious factor as a lot of "best candidate" voting will take place among conservative voters.

(Report by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)



# Black leaders react to swing to the Right by white electorate

## It's the dawning of SA's darkest age, says Tutu

The "darkest age" in South African history has dawned with the landslide election victory by the National Party and the Most Rev Desmond Tutu.

He was joined at a Press conference at his Bishopscourt home yesterday by Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches. Both men are also patrons of the United Democratic Front.

The front itself, through its acting publicity secretary home conflict and a further polarisation of South Africa.

Archbishop Tutu said even a slightly different result would have signalled some hope.

"Now we have a right-wing government that has been confirmed in its right-wing views, with a possibility of an extreme right-wing opposition. I believe we are going to see increased oppression and intolerance of any dissent."

To the Progressive Federal Party he said: "I repeat the plea I made to the PFP donkeys years ago. Get out of Parliament because you have given the world the impression that we have a multiparty democracy when now it is quite clear we have a total charade."

Archbishop Tutu called on the international community to intensify pressure on the South African Government.

Dr Boesak said: "The election result is hardly a surprise to many people. When you have had a government that employs all the tactics of a fascist police state for a number of years then it is quite natural that the (voting) swing would be towards the same tendency."

"White voters have made their position clear. They support the

state of emergency, they support the detention of more than 30 000 people; they support the actions of thousands of children without trial and they support the actions of the security forces."

Dr Boesak said Government opponents had no choice but to continue to resist "as strongly as we can" to ensure the future of the country would be shaped by the majority.

The UDF's Mr Morobe blamed the right-wing shift on "outrageous and false 'swart gevaar' propaganda".

"As the election heat and dust settles the right-wing shift on 'outrageous and false 'swart gevaar' propaganda'."

Conflict has intensified and there will be less comfort for all to take home."

### Renewed repression

Mr Morobe said the UDF remained determined to fight for a country free of racism.

"Sooner or later whites will have to realise that the oppressed majority and their organisations — like the UDF, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the banned African National Congress — cannot be wished away."

Cosatu — whose Johannesburg headquarters were badly damaged by two massive blasts hours after polling stations closed — is bracing itself for renewed repression.

"During the election (campaigns) there were predictions that May 6 would be followed by more concerted and determined repression of democratic organisations — and in particular the labour movement," said a Cosatu statement.

"Government rhetoric against Cosatu effectively prepared the ground for a big clampdown against us. Cosatu fears that this bomb

blast and the elections have ushered in a period of unprecedented repression against democratic forces."

The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, had predicted that whites' decisions on Wednesday would prove in years to come to have further radicalised black politics.

"I fear for the future. The white electorate has given more justification to the arguments of those who say that only more justified violence can bring whites to their senses," he said.

Even those of us who are committed to non-violence must rather die than accept the National Party's prescription of a sugar-coated apartheid pill."

In apparent reference to the State President's prescription of a sugar-coated apartheid pill, he said.

The State President has all but destroyed prospects of real policy and budget speech delivered in KwaNyamazane that we must picture the ANC as blood-thirsty ogres controlled by the South African Communist Party and manipulated by Moscow.

"Without the ANC being given an opportunity to state its case and reply to the accusations levelled against it, selective and out of context statements were dishd out to the hostage-held South African public," Mr Mabuza said.

The election may have given whites a sense of respite but it would not solve the current turbulence. The most important development in the country during the past two-and-a-half years had not been government reform but the country-wide protests.

Describing apartheid as legalised racism, Mr Mabuza said: "We shall not rest until its walls, roof and pillars crumble into rubble."

Staff Reporters and Sapa.

NP	123
CP	22
PFP	19
NRP	1
Ind	1
HNP	0



# Worrall in crusade for united SA

304A WLOST  
9/5/87

CAPE TOWN — Dr Denis Worrall and his fellow Independents plan to be at the forefront of a movement leading to a new, united South African nation. Their plans will be announced in the next few weeks.

"Our showing in Helderberg, Stellenbosch and Randburg was the first manifestation of the new spirit of hope in South Africa. It will not be the last," Dr Worrall said yesterday.

"Ultimately we believe this spirit will transcend all the barriers of language, colour and confrontation. We are determined to be in the forefront of a movement leading to a new, united South Africa.

"How it can be practically achieved and implemented will be decided and announced soon."

Dr Worrall failed by only 39 votes to unseat the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, in Helderberg in Wednesday's election. Mr Wynand Malan won Randburg against the National Party and their colleague, Dr Esther Lategan, put up a strong showing in Stellenbosch.

In the wake of the "bleak and disturbing" election results, the Independent movement was now the only sign of hope for concerned South Africans, Dr Worrall said.

He had made the statement in response to what he said was a flood of inquiries from people in all parts of the country about the future of the movement.

The National Party, through SABC-TV, had been partly successful in stampeding voters away from the PFP/NRP alliance with its "dubious" scare tactics.

"But they succeeded to the extent that they in fact also drove many voters into

## Message of hope



Dr DENIS WORRALL

the Conservative camp.

"We now have a situation developing where white politics are bound to be dominated by intra-African fighting.

"And with the National Party still firmly committed to rigidly enforced racial segregation in schools and residential areas, as well as in its 'own affairs' structures and the proposed

Black Statutory Council, it is doubtful whether it will regain credibility among blacks and with governments abroad.

"These depressing prospects are already causing grave concern in business and professional circles and to many thinking South Africans.

"Against this background the Independent movement is now the only sign of hope for concerned South Africans."

Not only had the movement enjoyed the support of more than 20 000 white voters at the polls, but many thousands of South Africans from other constituencies had indicated their support before the election.

"Some of this country's best academic brains, especially at Afrikaans universities, openly endorsed our policies. They have been joined by hundreds of young people, businessmen, sportsmen, artists, coloured leaders and moderate black leaders like Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of Kwazulu and Chief Minister Enoch Mabuza of Kangwane.

"We feel we now have a major responsibility to all South Africans, including the millions who could not vote and for whom there is so little hope in the new political dispensation." — Sapa

## 35 Helderberg postal votes come to light

Weekend Post Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Dr Denis Worrall may have come even closer to taking the Helderberg seat from the Cape National Party leader, Mr Chris Heunis, in Wednesday's election than the final count showed.

A batch of 35 postal votes mysteriously found their way to the Somerset West Magistrate's Court only on Thursday afternoon, long after the official result had been announced that Mr Heunis had retained his seat by 39 votes.

The matter has been discussed by Dr Worrall and his campaign manager, Mr Jannie Momberg, and a decision will be made next week on what possible steps to take, according to Dr Worrall's brother, Mr Neil Worrall, who was also closely connected with the campaign.

"We don't know what the voting in the batch was. They came from all over the constituency," he said.

"While Denis and Mr Momberg will investigate the position, I don't think they are going to make an issue of it," he said.

"We won a moral victory anyway."

Neither Dr Worrall nor Mr Momberg was available for comment this afternoon.

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# 'False' to claim that SA is democratic, says lawyer

By KIN BENTLEY

SOUTH AFRICA'S claim to being a democratic society was "demonstrably false", Mr Arthur Chaskelson, national director of the Legal Resources Centre, said in Port Elizabeth today.

Speaking on "Democracy and Law" at the Idasa national conference today, Mr Chaskelson said within SA "neither of the fundamental requirements of democracy are satisfied".

"The sovereign power of government does not vest in the people as a whole and the people living in SA do not have equal rights."

SA's legal system had not met the aspirations of the vast majority of its population.

"For centuries SA has been ruled by its white population, who institutionalised racial discrimination and organised the country in a way which ensured that political power was vested in them."

"Attempts made within SA to mobilise resistance against white domination were repeatedly broken up and this in turn led to violent resistance."

"The laws in the country

reflect the policies which have been pursued by white governments over the years in their attempt to impose and retain white domination. Those laws do not have the consent of the vast majority of people who are governed by them and this is the cause of the instability in the country.

"Until this cause is remedied, the instability is likely to continue. All this is obvious. It is recognised even by the Government itself."

Mr Chaskelson spelt out the long list of laws passed in this country restricting "the right of the vast majority of its people to participate fully in the political process, to own and occupy property, to move about the country freely, to seek employment and to obtain proper education".

The cumulative effect, particularly of the security

laws, was to enable the banning of political opposition, to break up organisations gaining popular support, to "pick off" leaders and render them ineffective by detention and to "instil fear in ordinary persons who might otherwise feel inclined to voice their opposition to the Government", he said.

Turning to the type of legal system and laws he would like to see, Mr Chaskelson said a system which recognised and protected fundamental freedoms was more likely to produce a just society and promote justice than a legal system and laws which ignored such protection.

Such freedoms included:

- Freedom from arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

- Freedom of movement and residence within the borders of the state.

- Freedom of opinion

and expression.

- Freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

Associated with and an essential part of these freedoms, he said, would be:

- The right to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal at any criminal trial or in the determination of one's rights and obligations.

- The right to the protection of the law against any arbitrary interference with privacy, family, home or correspondence.

- The right not to be deprived arbitrarily of one's nationality.

These rights, he said, were included in the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

"One of the very few countries which has not recognised this declaration and has refused to subscribe to it is the Republic of South Africa."



City Times 9/5/87  
**Boesak lauds  
'varsity poll**

Staff Reporter 30 CA

THE outcome of a Nusas and South African National Students' Council (Sansco) poll on the principle of one person, one vote showed the kind of creativity and political commitment which bodes well for the future, Dr Allan Boesak said last night at UCT, where the poll results were announced.

The non-racial poll asked students whether they supported the principle of "one person, one vote in a unitary South Africa".

Of the 13 835 votes by students and staff at six universities — the Maritzburg campus of the University of Natal, Durban, Wits, UCT, Stellenbosch and Rhodes — 11 291 (85,2%) voted yes and 1 674 (12,6%) no.

CAR TILLS 9/5/87 304A

# Heunis: Career at the crossroads?

By CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

THE political career of Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Affairs, must be at the crossroads after his slim victory in Helderberg.

He won against Dr Denis Worrall by only 39 votes, with the Conservative Party's Mr Len de Wet trailing third.

The result may have sunk his ambitions of being heir to the presidency.

It must also place strains on his position as Cape leader of the NP, for he is now the only standing Nat MP in the province who has effectively been deserted by his constituency. Dr Worrall and Mr De Wet together won more votes than Mr Heunis and Mr De Wet won a surprising 1 181 votes.

Mr Heunis was ashen-faced when the results were read out on the steps of Somerset West's town hall.

He was unable to respond to questions put to him live by SATV reporter Louis de Villiers.

The situation was not lost on his many supporters. After an initial burst of cheering on hearing that their candidate had retained the seat, the full import of the results reduced most to silence.

Mr Heunis slipped out of the empty hall through a darkened rear entrance, accompanied only by his wife and three or four other obviously subdued confidants.

He clasped one of them round the neck and I heard him ask "Ek is nog in?" before he drove off into the night.

It was a very different Heunis who early on in the election campaign confidently asserted that he would substantially increase his majority.

In the final analysis, there seems to be little doubt that Mr Heunis's political opponents, within the NP and outside it, are going to make capital of that narrow 39-vote support base he is desperately holding on to.

## Witdoek leader is new mayor of Crossroads

By CLARE HARPER

WITDOEK leader Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana has been made the new mayor of Crossroads, the Office for Community Services (OCS) confirmed yesterday.

Mr Ngxobongwana was elected chairman of the first interim Old Crossroad committee on April 12 by about 1 000 supporters, before the declaration of the area as a local authority on April 29.

Mr Ngxobongwana has said that none of the squatter refugees, who are currently demanding a meeting with the OCS to discuss returning to their land, is welcome back.

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE National Party's "mandate" in this week's election was given by about one-third of eligible white voters — and about one in 30 of all South Africans.

The NP obtained just over half — 52,3% — of the 2 057 811 votes cast on Wednesday.

This means that about one million of about 30 million people in South Africa supported the government in the election.

Almost a million of the 3,03 million registered voters, which the Department of Home Affairs estimates to be 98% of the eligible white voting population, did not vote in the election.

Although the NP won just over

half of the popular vote, it won an overwhelming 74,1% — 123 — of the elected seats in the House of Assembly. The two right-wing parties, who won 29,3% of the popular vote, obtained only 13,3% of the elected seats, 22 in all.

And the Progressive Federal Party/New Republic Party alliance which obtained 16,2% of the popular vote, won only 12% of the elected seats, 20 in all.

The Conservative Party won the support of 542 703 voters and the Herstigte Nasionale Party 64 517 voters, giving a combined popular vote for the right wing of 607 220.

The PFP won the support of 290 274 voters and the NRP 39 587 voters, giving a combined popular vote for the alliance of 329 861 voters. The independents were

supported by 27 149 voters.

These figures show that despite the NP having almost three-quarters of the seats in the House of Assembly, its popular base is not nearly as strong among white voters.

This imbalance between actual support and the number of seats won is partly caused by South Africa's single-constituency system which, as in Britain, means that votes cast for losing candidates do not count at all, and by urban/rural loading system, in terms of which many urban constituencies have twice and even three times as many voters as rural seats.

If a proportional representation system were operating in South Africa, the NP would barely have a majority in the House of Assembly.

# Half the votes, most of the seats



304A  
9/5/87 CT

The squatters, who lost their homes when Witdoek vigilantes — allegedly supported by police — razed their shacks last year, have repeatedly expressed fears that the OCS was negotiating a "secret deal" with Mr Ngxobongwana to exclude them from the land, which is ready for reoccupation.

This week 200 squatter women marched to the OCS in Nyanga carrying placards saying: "We want the land back the Witdoeke took away".

Mr Ngxobongwana has made numerous court appearances on charges ranging from murder, public violence and sedition to offences under the Firearms and Ammunition Act, but has never been found guilty.

Yesterday Mr Ngxobongwana was reported as saying of the election outcome that it gave him "hope that the time would come when the State President (Mr P W Botha) would reach out his hands to us, to help him to become even stronger".

He said that he and his 15-member committee were "very excited about the solid victory gained by the National Party" and invited Mr Botha to visit Crossroads as soon as possible.

## Botha thanks Nasionale Pers for 'patriotism'

Political Staff

NASIONALE Pers newspapers had been fellow-fighters ("medestryders") of the National Party from the earliest times but they were not slaves of the NP, President P W Botha has said in an interview.

President Botha told the Burger, the official mouthpiece of the NP in the Cape, the relationships between the NP and Nasionale Pers had been raised during the election campaign.

"My view, in the best traditions of the Cape party, is that the party should not see itself as being in a controlling position over Nasionale (Pers) newspapers.

"My view has always been that the newspapers and the party had been fellow-fighters from the earliest times.

"It is known that I have a very high regard for the contribution which has been given by the Nasionale newspapers.

"Once again, I would like to thank them for the voluntary contribution.

"The newspapers of Nasionale Pers — Die Burger, Beeld, Die Volksblad and Oosterlig — and also other national newspapers are not slaves of the NP.

"They deserve thanks for their patriotic co-operation," Mr Botha said.

## Scant hope for peaceful SA solution, say foreign papers

LONDON. — President P W Botha's sweeping return to power in this week's election spells little hope for a peaceful solution to the country's racial conflicts, foreign newspapers noted yesterday.

The Daily Mirror said the whites had "voted for their own eventual destruction" and strengthened apartheid.

The Times predicted a hardening of attitudes among South Africa's black majority and an increasing number of highly qualified whites leaving.

The Guardian said the vote had stripped all justification for any remaining Western confidence in white benevolence towards the blacks.

The Daily Mail blamed "international hostility" for the outcome.

The Financial Times said hopes had been dampened that the independents could become the focal point of a strong reformist movement.

The New York Times said the swing to the right was bad for all, especially the winners.

Italy's top-circulation La Repubblica said in an editorial that successes by the Conservative Party and the Nats' big victory would mean that reforms in future would be slight.

The influential Corriere della Sera said white voters had followed "a myopic instinct for self-preservation". — Sapa-Reuter



# TOP OF THE TOWERS

BUSINESS FAMILY FINANCE PROPERTY MOTORING RACING FASHION TRAVEL ENTERTAINMENT LEISURE

## Financiers adopt wait-and-see attitude over SA

BUSINESS in South Africa should not hold its breath for the reaction of overseas markets to the electorate's shift to the right, but the verdict will be crucial.

Initial indications are that the economy has some breathing space.

Foreign commercial reaction will not be rushed, and it may not be too harsh. Prospects of enhanced stability, if only in the short term, hold the key.

Local businessmen and economists believe overseas bankers and investors will wait to see whether meaningful reform will be carried out — and, in particular, if the Group Areas Act is abolished.

Leon Campher, director of managed assets at Syfrets, has already conducted a snap telephone survey of London businessmen. He is relaxed: "I think the result of this election will not have an immediate major impact on the economy one way or another."

"The popular press in Britain and the US have been negative, but businessmen want stability."

"And if stability in the short term is what you want, the National Party will give it."

*After the election, what does the future hold for business?  
Finance Editor AUDREY D'ANGELO asked the experts.*

Campher sees the situation as fluid. It was significant that some of the successful National Party candidates interviewed after the election emphasized they had been elected with a mandate for reform.

The Nats were now much more broadly based than before and it might emerge that many of the younger MPs had ideas of reform differing from those of the older generation. Campher maintains the much of the new crop shares the opinions of the independents, but have been financially unable to stand as independent candidates.

Pointing out that the swing to the right might have been exaggerated, Campher says: "The Conservative Party has fewer seats than the PFP had before the election and their gains were all in one part of the country."

"The Wall Street Journal has pointed out that the Conservative Party gained only in specific areas and that the independent candi-

dates made a good showing.

"I think the overseas financial markets will wait to digest what is happening. So far they have barely reacted."

"Everybody is being very cautious and saying: 'Let's analyse what has happened and what is going to happen.' I think they will sit and watch. The crunch will come on the Group Areas Act because there are firm views on that in the NP on both sides of the spectrum."

Campher expects the election results to strengthen the hands of activists and lead to increased industrial unrest. On the other hand, labour troubles would be ameliorated if the economic upturn continued.

He thinks, however, that it was vital for deregulation of small business to be speeded up because the formal sector cannot provide sufficient jobs.

Kate Jowell, senior lecturer at the UCT Graduate School of Business, also doubts the

election will have any short-term impact on the economy.

"If gold remains in what looks like a long-term bull market, if we can maintain our current account in enough of a surplus to cover our international debt without stifling growth, if we can get control of inflation and ease the burden of fiscal drag on individuals so that they can help to spend us out of recession — these are some of the things we need to sustain a revival."

"In the longer term of course we need external and internal confidence in our stability and the political changes that will get sanctions lifted and foreign investment back."

This, Jowell maintains, would depend on "whether the National Party interprets its mandate to be to accelerate reform and whether that reform goes far enough to get most people on board and pulling together."

"The ending of the Group Areas Act and of separate education would bring major boosts to the economy in the form of housing development and rational use of our human and physical resources."



cream sauces.

Of the latter, my mom chose the Veal Zurcher

Each of the dishes borne in by the German chef and owner Wolf Kienast would have fed a lumberjack and

GST, without a service charge.

JANE ARBOUS

# Watch Johannesburg Council

4th Time 95/87 304A

SO Denis Worrall didn't make it. You can think about this for a few hours, but what it means is this: If 20 people in the Helderberg constituency had voted the other way, Chris Heunis would be out of Parliament. But they didn't and he isn't, and so is history made. I doubt that the independents will ever attract such interest again.

Judging by the coverage of the election results, on TV and in the liberal opposition newspapers, a 39-vote deficit might as well have been 3 000. Wynand Malan did win in Randburg, but that was expected; up north, our attention has been concentrated on the general swing to the right in the Transvaal.

The geography is what fascinates me. If you colour in the Prog constituencies on the map, they form a tight little knot, with very clear boundaries of wealth and class. North of the ridge — the Witwatersrand — the PFP has Yeoville, Parktown, Houghton, Johannesburg North, Sandton and Bryanston. If you include Randburg, attached to this group in the east, that's the lot for the liberals.

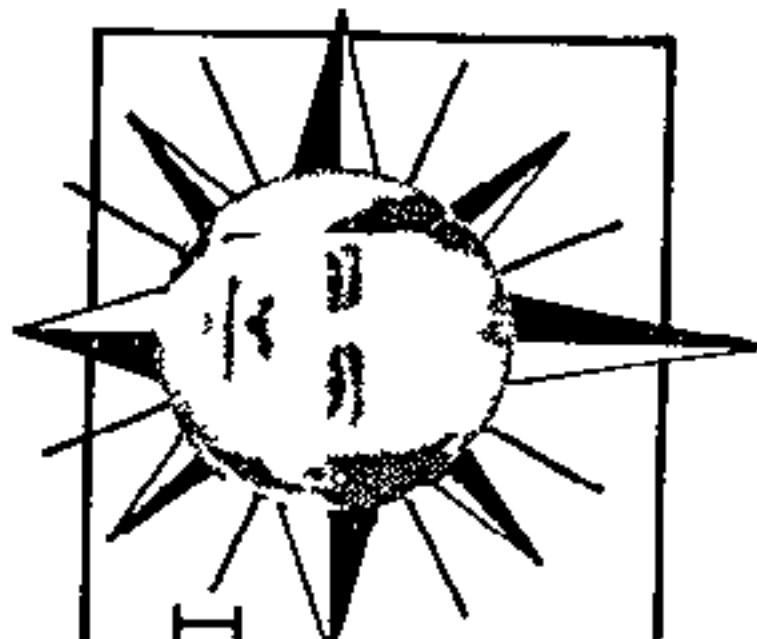
At the southern edge, the Nats have now shaved off Edenburg, Bezuidenhout and Hillbrow; at the northern end they took North Rand, which had been regarded as a safe PFP gain. The areas immediately south, east and west of Johannesburg are now solidly Nat. Moving out to the mining areas, you hit what is now solid CP country — Roodepoort, Randfontein, Carletonville and

Ventersdorp in the west, and Delmas, Middelbank and Witbank in the east. Going north, Pretoria remains Nat; after that it's almost entirely CP to the Limpopo, the Kruger National Park and Botswana. Moving south, to the industrial Vaal Triangle, the CP is very strong, although the Nats generally managed to maintain their position.

It turns out to be a circle. The core is solidly liberal; tracing along a radius from the centre, in any direction, the political complexion becomes steadily more conservative. Vast areas of the Transvaal are now represented by people who desire nothing less than a return to the good old days of Vorster and Verwoerd. On the map at least, these areas seem to surround and lay siege to the industrial and financial heart of the country.

While all this was going on, something very strange happened. What with all the fuss about Worrall and Lategan and the startling results in Wynberg and Green Point, few have taken note of it.

Against even their own expectations, the PFP has won control of the Johannesburg City Council. For years now, the Nats (with a few sympathetic independents) have enjoyed a one-seat council majority over the PFP, and the running of the city has been decidedly conservative. Now the PFP's Pat Rogers, the former TV interviewer, has narrowly won the Parks ward (part of which falls into Pik Botha's Westdene con-



**UP NORTH**  
with  
**DAVID WILLIAMS**

situency) in a by-election. So the Progs have a majority of one — but, after the general election gains in Johannesburg by the Nats, this is decidedly anomalous.

It will be interesting to see how and to what extent Prog policy will be implemented. We have no beaches, but all the municipal swimming pools are segregated. Will the PFP now throw them open? A nice irony immediately presents itself — The areas where Prog support is strongest are precisely those which contain no municipal pools, because just about every household has its own.

Segregation on Johannesburg buses has crumbled to some extent: Indians and coloureds now seem to be treated as whites unofficially. As an experiment, certain routes (through the Prog strongholds, of course) have been partially integrated.

These, then, are the weighty matters to which Johannesburg's new Prog administration will address itself. How they manage the city could affect a lot of people. Has anyone's life been changed by Worrall's 39-vote defeat?



# Govt to crack down on leaders

CAPE TIMES

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From page 1

local problems, thereby "largely neutralizing the impact the National Party (through SATV) had on voters with their scare tactics and red herrings".

Dr Worrall added: "I think one must face the fact that the NP with these dubious tactics was partly successful in stampeding voters away from the PFP/NRP alliance.

"But they succeeded to the extent that they drove even more voters into the CP camp. Now they have a situation developing where white politics is bound to be dominated by an intra-Afrikaner fight."

The leader of the CP, Dr Andries Treurnicht, who will be the new Leader of the Opposition in the white House when Parliament reconvenes on May 18, said he believed his party would be "in a stronger position than ever to change government thinking".

"We are on the right," he emphasized. "We will consider them (the NP) as part of the left."

However, Dr Treurnicht made it clear that the CP's goal was not so much to "move" the government but to "remove" it.

The leader of the NRP, Mr Bill Sutton, whose party lost all but one of its seats in the election, yesterday indicated that the NRP might disband next week following a meeting in Durban.

Mr Sutton said the NRP, which formed a reformist alliance with the PFP during the election, "does not have the social or political energy to continue — it is not worth it trying to keep a pressure group rather than a fully fledged party going".

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**WHITE opposition leaders believe accelerated racial polarization and security crackdowns will become dominant features of the South African political scene in the wake of the lurch to right in this week's election.**

Leaders canvassed yesterday also agreed that hopes for meaningful reform or negotiation had taken a nosedive and warned that the "dubious" scare tactics used by the government to "stampede" voters away from reformist parties were driving whites towards the ultra-rightist Conservative Party.

Diplomats and extra-parliamentary groups were also concerned about President Botha's renewed promise of action against organizations and their foreign sponsors.

Interpreting the mandate the government had received from white voters, Mr Botha also emphasized that he saw security as his government's primary objective.

The leader of the PFP, Mr Colin Eglin, said that following the election security was set to become the "dominant factor in white political perceptions and in the harsh realities facing the disenfranchised masses outside Parliament".

## Propaganda and patronage

Mr Eglin said South Africans could expect "greater polarization" and the rejection of government-sponsored negotiation even by moderate blacks because of the NP's racially based "reform programme".

Following its electoral setback, the PFP would soon undergo a "dispassionate and brutal reassessment" of its role. But it was possible that the stage had been reached that "any party going for fundamental reform may be too vulnerable to counter the government's onslaught of propaganda and patronage".

Mr Eglin said the NP should take "no consolation" from the election results. "By denigrating the PFP in its propaganda onslaught the government has bodily shifted the electorate towards the right.

"The shift is not towards the NP but the CP, with the NP merely picking up as a half-way house. The process has been set in motion and will be difficult to arrest.

"The tactic applied to the PFP will boomerang against the NP because it will become much more difficult in future for the government to achieve even its own limited reform plans," Mr Eglin said.

Dr Denis Worrall — who came within an ace of beating the Cape leader of the NP, Mr Chris Heunis — agreed with Mr Eglin's assessment.

He ascribed the relative success of the independent campaign in the election to a focus on urgent



Mr Jimmy Kruger

## Jimmy Kruger dies, aged 69

JOHANNESBURG. — A former Minister of Police, Justice and Prisons, Mr Jimmy Kruger, has died at his home at Irene near Pretoria at the age of 69.

A SABC radio news report said he had recently undergone heart surgery.

Mr Kruger, who was minister from 1974 till 1979, achieved international notoriety after he said of black consciousness leader Mr Steve Biko's death in detention in 1977: "I am not glad and I am not sorry about Mr Biko. He leaves me cold."

Mr Kruger was removed from the cabinet in 1979 and served as the last president of the now-defunct Senate till 1980.

Since retiring from politics he was a director of Iscor.

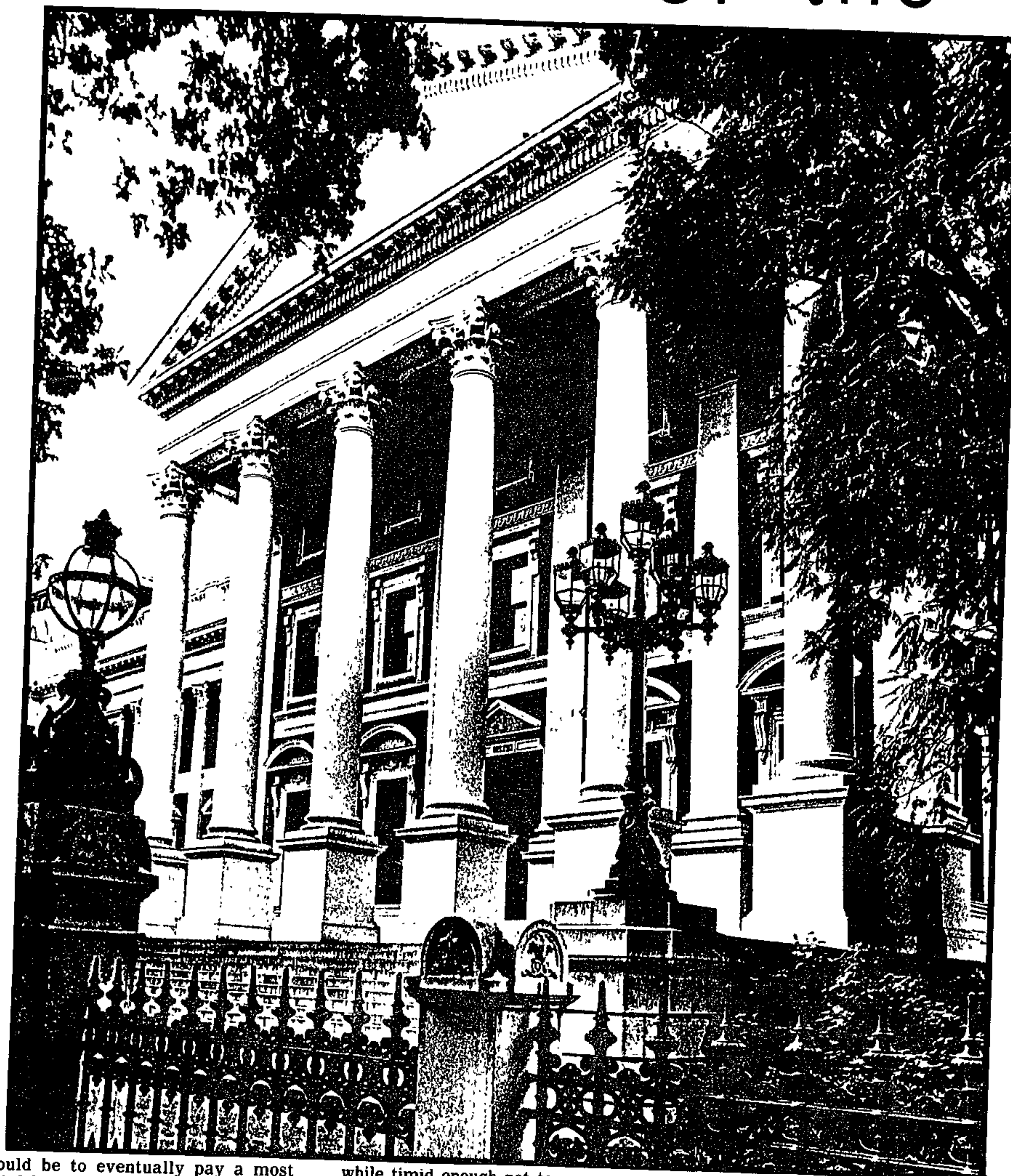
Mr Kruger leaves his wife, Susan, and two sons, Eugene and Itel. — Sapa

To page 2



# How the new line-up will affect each of the parties

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W. Brown



would be to eventually pay a most painful price back at the polling booth.

While having gained handsomely in support from a broad cross-section of white South Africans, it has already sacrificed the confidence of many academics in both its willingness and its ability to bring about meaningful reform.

All these factors amount to a vast complication of its ability to devise a cohesive plan for change that will be bold enough to awaken black interest

while timid enough not to scare more security- and racially-minded whites into the growing rightwing camp.

Yet, facing it from outside Parliament will be a growing force of black opinion whose response to harsher security measures is patently the opposite of the white reaction, and whose conditions for negotiation are becoming more and not less demanding.

**T**HE PFP has suffered the worst of two worlds in the election. It went

into it evidently expecting to strengthen its role and image as a bridge between (white) Parliamentary politics and (black) extra-parliamentary politics, and it ended up virtually collapsed between the two.

It will enter the new Parliament in the considerably weakened role of just an opposition party, with its black-white mediating image severely tarnished. White voters have shown they hold little tract with a party to whom

suppressive action and change are mutually exclusive concepts, and black people have already started wondering aloud whether there is any sense for a party like the PFP to continue serving in the present Parliament.

The PFP/NRP alliance, or what is left of it, is now faced with the firm knowledge that whites, on the one hand, want security against violence and the political and socio-economic demands of an overwhelming black majority, and on the other hand, a black society to whom the election outcome would have confirmed a growing belief that persuasion is not the answer.

It holds a position in South African politics which is probably the most unenviable of all. What makes it even more so is that the setbacks it suffered are the consequences not so much of miscalculation as of fate. It faces tough options in trying to work out its future role.

**T**HE Conservatives are the rampant party, the one which, like the ANC, must now believe that time is on its side.

The election '87 must have stirred images in their minds of a previous election, almost 40 years ago, when racial segregation was the slogan and white people responded.

They will react gleefully to any indication that the Nationalist caucus is leaning towards changes that threaten white exclusivity and privilege, like amendments to the Group Areas Act and political models that might lead to a black political majority.

Whereas the debate between the Government and its former official opposition had generally tended to focus on the means and methods of power-sharing, it will now swing towards apartheid versus some pale shade of power-sharing.

**I**NDEPENDENT Mr Wynand Malan's lone voice will add an interesting touch to the new Parliament, but much will, of course, depend on how he plays his cards.

For the moment his position represents that area of white politics where the concerns are vested of some of the foremost academics who formerly supported the National Party.

His power in Parliament is that he will be addressing himself directly to colleagues in the Nationalist caucus whom he knows share his concerns about the pace and quality of change.

His performance, as well as the strategies outside Parliament of his fellow independents and their supporting academics, will determine whether the independent movement could become a catalyst for a new political force which, perhaps in conjunction with the PFP, could provide a future avenue for attempts at properly negotiated solutions.



**T**HE white general election '87 has drastically changed the rules and options of South-African politics.

It has left the general and ominous spectre of a widening gulf between the country's Parliamentary and extra-parliamentary political forces, the most likely consequence of which could be growing intolerance and intransigence on both sides.

For interracial politics of moderation the immediate prospects are of rough times ahead in which proponents of workable negotiation might find themselves increasingly buffeted between the forces of insurrection and state security.

And for white politics in general as for each of the white parties as they are now ranged in the new Parliament, the implications are enormous and intriguing.

The election outcome has put the opposition to the left on a precipitous downwards slide, the opposition to the right on the upwards grade, and a powerful ruling party in-between which commands the overwhelming faith of white voters but lacks any perceivable trust from black society.

It has shown a white society that believes above all in firm and tough security. While a willingness to reform could be read into the voters' verdict, there is no ideological cohesion behind this vague sentiment. It has been left to the ruling National Party to sort out the details.

How the new line-up will affect each of the parties and how they will respond to their new situations are now the key question.

**T**HE Nationalist Government knows it has been re-elected overwhelmingly on its ability to stand up to insurrectionists, its stand against foreign intervention and its promise of reforms that will not endanger white security.

It demonstrated the effectiveness of its election machine not only on election day but also in assessing the white political mood and adapting its strategies accordingly.

In the process it has, as President PW Botha says, become a (white) "national party". Like the old United Party its caucus now takes in virtually all elements, ranging from racial hardliners who believe in white domination to quite enlightened members who believe in equitable power-sharing.

Already the difficulty of a caucus like that, as the UP has shown till its death, is a constant tendency to want to go in opposite directions at the same time.

The difficulty and danger are compounded by this *national caucus* now being faced in Parliament not by an official opposition cautioning it towards democracy and justice, and change and negotiation, but by a rightwing party constantly reminding it of its *Nationalist* roots and egging it on to tougher security action and to stick with racial segregation.

It is a caucus a considerable section of which will be only too aware that to ignore the official opposition's urgings

RE-ELECTED  
1987

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W. Argus



# Nats nab box bandwagon

THE National Party received over 50 percent of SABC TV's coverage of the white election during the news and Network in the seven weeks leading up to the election.

This was revealed by a survey conducted by the Department of Journalism and Media Studies at Rhodes university in Grahamstown.

The PFP commissioned a survey was conducted on a weekly basis by senior students in the department.

They monitored the 8pm news bulletin and Network.

In its findings for the last week from April 27 to May 3, the survey states that the National Party broadcast time more than doubled.

Party speakers were directly or indirectly quoted for 1 hour, 26 minutes and

## Rhodes students protest the vote

OVER 1 000 Rhodes University students decided to boycott lectures to protest against the whites-only general election.

Students had earlier called on the administration to protest against the detentions and as a result the vice-

chancellor issued a statement on behalf of the executive of the senate expressing its vigorous opposition to detentions.

And at a mass meeting on Tuesday they also decided to demand that the vice-chancellor, Dr Derek Henderson,

and other members of the university administration, demand the release of Rhodes University detainees. A sociology lecturer, Ashwin Desai, was detained under the Internal Security Act last week. Three other Rhodes students are currently in detention. — Albany News Agency.

10/5/87 11:00 AM  
The total time given to them was 1 hour 48 minutes and 58 seconds.

The PFP only received 44 minutes, and 8 seconds.

Independents received only one minute and 10 seconds.

The monitoring group also mentions that a motor accident involving the son of the State President was the second lead on the news two nights in a row.

Both nights included live 27 seconds.

With government, security forces and other National Party supporters, footage of the accident scene and footage of the President and his wife going to visit their son in hospital.

The co-ordinator of the survey, Professor Gavin Stewart, head of the Journalism Department, said that the most alarming fac-

13/5/87 11:00 AM  
The survey was that blacks were given no time on SATV.

"This is very alarming but not at all surprising. Black people are most vitally affected by the election but they had no opportunity of expressing their opinion on it."

"The interviewers also did not press the National Party speakers to elaborate on the reform they were supposedly engaged in. They were given enough

time to talk about the acts which have been replaced, such as the immorality act, but they were not asked what laws they wanted to scrap next."

"The PFP, on the other hand, were particularly pressed on all aspects of their policy."

"Interviewers especially wanted to know about their policy on negotiations with the ANC."

"This tied up very neatly with the security issue

which the National Party has tried to make the most important issue of the election," he said.

Opposition spokesman on media, Dave Dalling, said that the findings of the survey confirmed allegations made by his party against the SABC.

"The survey confirms the allegations made by the PFP over many months that the SABC has become nothing more or less than part of the propaganda arm of the National Party."

"It is clear that the SABC is run by the National Party for the National Party and not for the people of South Africa," he said.

"If the PFP comes to power, or has a say in the next government, the current Board of governors of the SABC will not last 10 minutes. I will deal with the matter personally," he said. — Albany News Agency.



except adverb page

Article

3044

WE AWAKE this sabbath morning as we did on the last, with the National Party securely in office as the government of our republic. Many people may not much like the idea, but it is one which we must, realistically, accept.

The water of the election, much of it very clean, has now flowed under the bridge and we have the reality of a ruling party that displays remarkable vigour after an astonishing 39 years in office.

It is truly astounding that an invidious government so lacking in pliancy, so clothed in undemocratic over, so unquestionably reliant on repressive force, and so unable to meet the first test of good government — sound management — should be so mightily swept back into office.

In a stampede that surpasses all understanding, while folk crossed language and cultural barriers in huge numbers to endorse the varying desires of pigment politics on offer by the NP and, in its most crude form, the CP.

### Lagers

Those two lagers are now bulging with people who place protection of the coup above the idea of free association and civil liberty, and who respond defensively to pressure from abroad.

Still, life must go on. We have been reminded anew that white South Africans are essentially unservative. When they go to bed at night, many may recognise that the old joke of South African history has been

# We may have to wait for reform. Does anyone have a better idea?

## TERTIUS MYBURGH sees no reason to lose hope after the NP's election triumph



closed and that fundamental adaptation is essential if we are to stem the slide into calamity. But, they say, it must be reform accompanied by security.

First and foremost, the average white South African wants crime off the streets and peace in the townships — and, politically, he has shown his willingness to march ever rightwards in search of it.

There are 123 NP-held seats and the newly-swollen legions of the CP that testify to that inescapable truth.

Yet, once the first flush of euphoria has worn off, the more thoughtful ones among the triumphant Nationalists must come to recognise yet another truth. It is not too deeply hidden beneath the physical indices of Wednesday's election.

And that truth is simple: for the NP, all retreat back into the olden days of uncomplicated, unadorned apartheid has been cut off. That terrain — as an analysis elsewhere on this page of the election results points out — is now se-

curely occupied by the Conservatives.

Which means that Nationalists can stand pat and (temporarily) continue to enjoy the spoils of victory while their power base is further eroded from below by the CP. Why — your fearful, incipient bigot will ask — put up with cheap imitations when you can get the real thing from Dr Andries?

### Transition

Or they can follow the only path that is still open to them — the steep and rocky one leading to real change and some prospect of a measured, relatively bloodless transition to a new, shared society.

An editorial writer in Beeld has sensibly observed that the only real risk for the Government lies in the danger that Nationalist leaders will overestimate the CP's performance and, as a result, squander its newly won support among city dwellers.

NP leaders, he wrote, would be better rewarded by taking account of

what he conceded was "the formidable performance" of the three Independents.

It is, of course, true that the reputations of these three candidates are among the few things to remain intact amid the debris of an election that wrought havoc in the ranks of opposition to the left of the NP.

Because they remained semi-detached from the NP, they represented a possibility of change without too much obvious risk.

It was a strategy that did not go unsanctioned in Randburg, Heidelberg and Stellenbosch.

Theirs is an idea with growth potential, and it must surely be attractive to all who do not relish the prospect of life in a permanent garrison state or — even worse — the apocalyptic idea of a kind of white Massada which is defended by force until it can be held no longer and we are all called to fall upon our swords as the revolutionary hordes march through the gates.

It is not fanciful to predict that the ideas so tentatively floated by the Independents will become the ones around which a new opposition movement will form.

One of the most prominent Independent supporters, Mr David de Villiers, SC, believes (in my view, correctly) that there is an iceberg aspect to the movement and a huge portion of its potential lies below the surface, even within the NP itself.

### Doomed

The extent to which there is a coalescence around this idea will depend on how fast — or even whether — the present NP leadership pursues the reform to which it claims a commitment, but of which there was so little evidence in the election campaign.

The signs are not propitious when the extent of that reform is limited to RSCs that seem doomed to failure from birth, and a national council that is being rejected by virtually every

black leader who can claim a serious following.

True, support for the ideas of the Independents may — as the editor of Business Day implied on Friday — be confined to "sophisticated Afrikaner yuppies, coming with their wealth to resemble their upper-class English counterparts in enclaves like Sandton, Constanita and Berea."

But as the futility of the NP's opaque waffle about reform and the inadequacy of its actions become more widely apparent, support must surely grow.

Apart from anything else, does anyone have a better idea to keep alive the idea of fundamental structural reform, indaba politics and a swift move away from apartheid?

Or must true reformists simply put on their hairshirts and rail fruitlessly against rulers that have assembled lots of votes but few new ideas?

Last week this newspaper said in a leading article that there was a yearning, across language and colour lines,

for new faces and new, pragmatic initiatives.

The results of the election have not changed this view. Indeed, it has been reinforced by events in Randburg, Heidelberg and Stellenbosch.

If these three seats are seen simply as samples of opinion, test boreholes to sample the quartz of true verities below the surface of our politics, it is possible to conclude that similar support — as yet unassessed because there were no candidates to mobilise it — exists elsewhere.

### Struggle

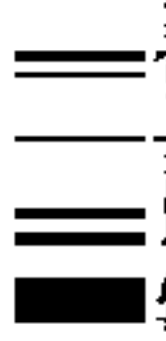
As another writer recently observed in propitious, smiling times, when nation is rich and powerful and seemingly growing more so, then its affairs may be conducted by men of quite ordinary abilities. Big decisions can be taken without immediate or irreversible retribution.

But in darker times — and these, indubitably, are what we face now — men of the highest capacity and judgment, of noble, even heroic, character and far-sighted perception, must struggle against what may seem like overwhelming waves of misfortune that threaten us at home and from abroad.

Such men, and women, exist in South Africa, outside and even inside the National Party.

We dare not lose faith that they will emerge to nurture the small flowers of hope that sprouted this week amid the winelands of the Cape and the split-levels of suburban Randburg.

## HOW DOES THE ELECTION REALLY ADD UP FOR SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICS?





Looking at 45 seats seriously up for grabs by the far right in the next election.

## Turnaround 16/5/83

Neither would it be geographically containable. A map of South Africa would show this trail of secure or would-be far-right seats stretching from the northern Transvaal, through the blue-collar Reef constituencies, dipping briefly into northern Natal, plodding sturdily through the once-most-loyal Free State with vote tallies of three to four thousand, and even sending tendrils snaking out into the sacrosanct Cape to places like Kuruman and Vryburg, and even Oudtshoorn (NP majority 1 296).

Aggregate votes also would not provide much encouragement. From 1982, when the Conservative Party first split from the National Party, right until this general election the overall percentage support among the population for the far right hovered uneasily below the 20 percent mark: uncomfortable but not alarming.

And now? The Conservative Party accounted for 26 percent of the votes cast and the HNP another three per-

In short, it all adds up to considerable problems for the NP on its right flank which will require in the future enormous party resources to contain. Whether the far right will be able further to expand from its traditional strongholds depends on the circumstances in which the next elections are held: less bread and more civil violence would help them.

*But if contemplation of the slowly advancing flanks of the far right are too grim for the NP, it can take comfort from the vista to its left.*

It was here the PRP got the drubbing and the New Republic Party the bullet. The PRP lost six seats to the National Party, though four of these can now be considered marginal. It gained Durban North (thus despatching a Deputy Minister) and regained Bryanston from a rebel Independent.

In three other constituencies its majorities were pariously cut: Gardens (486), Port Elizabeth Central (596) and Green Point (the 39-vote lead is to be challenged in court).

For the New Republic Party it was even worse. It came to the election with five seats and was left with one (a rural Natal seat), while the NP hungri-

government economic and political mismanagement would have brought the most favourable response to the PRP?

## Complacency

The answer is partly to be found in the disreputable but masterfully executed smear that support for the PRP implied capitulation to the revolutionaries.

The National Party and its propaganda agencies like the SABC ensured that the central issue put to white voters was whether to vote for the NP or the ANC. Support of the reform alliance (and even the far right) was presented as serving the ANC's interests.

It worked exceedingly well on the left: the traditional English-speaking voter (as he did in 1977) trotted forward to support the Government against what he saw as foreign interference and impending revolution.

The PRP, meanwhile, wrapped in what can only be described as an astonishing cocoon of complacency, missed the signals altogether, and was still babbling on about "certain" gains in three constituencies when it was about to lose six and suffer derisory majori-

ties in three others.

This was not just a technical problem in canvass returns: the PRP simply failed to detect a national mood.

Ironically, the tactic may have backfired on the Government on the far right. Having defined the issue during the election as security it suitably scared the white electorate, with the result that many conservative whites then argued that the most effective antidote was not the NP but the Conservative Party.

By pushing the national debate rightwards to lure the lurking left, the National Party pushed a lot of people off the table into the laps of the CP.

None of this, however, is to suggest that all is lost to opposition politics on the left. The emergence of the Independents has drawn great attention and, to an extent, unfair expectations.

But it is worth considering this: in only three months of campaigning, independent opinion polls showed that the Independents had won seven percent of popular support, thus outstripping the HNP and NRP combined.

Although Independents stood in only six constituencies, they drew 1,32 per-

cent of the vote (most of it in Randburg, Stellenbosch and Helderberg), and in these three contests the one victorious candidate won by 2 737 votes. The Stellenbosch poll reduced a National Party majority from 5 622 to 1 678 and the third candidate came within a nail-biting 39 votes of depositing a National Party crown prince whose majority in 1981 was 2 942.

## Security

The average number of votes received by each Independent candidate (this includes even those who were not part of the trio and drew low polls) was 3 393 compared with the 3 539 of the PRP.

What does this tell us?

Not that the Independents are about to bring millennial change tomorrow, but that a sizeable number of white South Africans do care about constitutional reform but are not prepared to entrust it to an opposition party they suspect is not able to guarantee their security.

That, surely, is as much a lesson for the PRP as the Independents.

# THE RAZZMATAZZ OF HELDERBERG

By LESTER VENTER  
Political Correspondent

THE camera platforms have been dismantled, the arc-lights are gone, the outside broadcast units have trundled off, the hustings are down, and Somerset West is again relaxing in the vine-carpeted slopes of the Helderberg to catch its breath after the razzmatazz of one of the most dramatic elections seen in South Africa.

When Dr Denis Worrall's decision to come home and take on the Government's constitutional supremacy, Mr

Chris Heunis, in his "safe" seat splashed onto international news pages, the normally resitful town had little idea what it was in for.

It rapidly became clear that the dapper and earnest ambassador was going to be no paper tiger. Dr Worrall brought home with him the know-how and whipped up the big-money resources to

fight a campaign that caused many of the small army of foreign journalists to draw parallels with an American presidential primary.

If the National Party was caught unawares, it didn't take long for its enormous electoral machine to grind into top gear.

In their campaign offices both parties mounted heavy-

weight teams of organisers — 250 working shifts in Dr Worrall's campaign alone.

By the time election day dawned the battle had bedeviled the battle had become as much a display of political showmanship as of political support.

Somerset West's town hall, the main polling station, was bedecked with banners from its austere parapets down to placards on parking meters.

The glitz belied an earnest purpose. Each candidate out-reached himself to show that,

when it came to organising, he was the man.

One voter phoned Dr Worrall's office on voting day to report a last-minute switch of allegiance — because, the voter said, his wife had convinced him Dr Worrall was the one with "panache".

Dr Worrall had caused thousands of voters to look to the sky with a hot air balloon that floated over the constituency advertising his candidacy. Not to be outdone, Mr

Heunis had a helicopter standing by on voting day to whip him off to last-minute pockets of doubtful balloters.

The weather proved yet another contingency the Worrall camp had prepared for. As the first drops of unwell-come rain fell, Worrall workers appeared in weather-proof ponchos bearing his name.

By the time results were read at 3am on Thursday at the town hall door, tension

had reached snapping point under the television lights. A visibly disappointed but restrained Dr Worrall heard he had lost by 39 votes.

An emotional and brusque Mr Heunis heard his prophesied majority of between 4 000 and 5 000 was, in fact, fewer than 40.

Several campaign workers on both sides burst into tears. And, to add a final poignancy to the "battle of the berg", 35 special votes arrived the next day — too late to be opened and counted.



# Softly softly reform



## Election euphoria

SOMERSET WEST: 3AM: MAY 7 1987. The picture that shows the tension, the relief and the anxiety of one of South Africa's more famous election contests.

Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development, and his wife, Alida, acknowledge the crowds while Dr Denis Worrall assures an SATV interviewer that his 39-vote defeat is merely the lead-up to a bigger victory.

## State backs down on pension freeze

THE GOVERNMENT has backed off imposing a freeze on the payment of pension fund contributions — a move that once before led to massive strikes and violence.

A committee set up to investigate the issue reported this week on a broad framework within which a new pension system could

By ALAN DUGGAN

Mr van Niekerk said Old Mutual believed an essential prerequisite for any new programme was that it should in no way act as a brake on the economy — especially where

THE Government is expected to move cautiously in implementing its reform plans when Parliament assembles in Cape Town on Monday week.

Government leaders are said to taking serious note of the sizeable step to the right taken by white voters at Wednesday's election.

When Parliament meets the traditional motion of no confidence in the Government will be introduced by Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht — the first time a Government has been officially opposed from the right since the NP itself was in opposition nearly 40 years ago.

### Shake-up

In the wake of the sudden shake-up in parliamentary politics.

● The former official Opposition, the Progressive Federal Party, meet at the end of this week to take a hard look at itself — and its failure to get support for the idea of alliance politics as a means of creating an alternative government.

● The so-called "New Nats" — verligte MPs said to be attracted to the idea of a moderate, non-racial alliance — have now been decisively corralled in the NP fold.

● The CP, its confidence high since the election, will promote the taste of 30 per-

Top Nats say Botha committed to effect reform mandate

By LESTER VENTER  
Political Correspondent

in Parliament of 123 is not threatened.

The NP also believes that lack of clarity on South Africa's constitutional destination contributed to the rise of the right — and that it was a phenomenon that would be reversed as plans clarified.



..... party jacks, relaxing this weekend from recent strenuous activity, might be forgiven a moment's reflection: what, after all, did this election really reveal?

The simple answer is that it showed new legions of supporters for the far-right parties and an acute burst of party fickleness, spurred by concern for their safety, from many traditional opposition voters.

But that tells only part of the story. The full one might best be seen from the vantage point of the National Party and its strategists who laboured so hard to ensure the party's triumphal march to a majority now increased by seven seats.

First, then, the view to the right. At first glance it is a pleasing one for the NP. It can take pleasure in having snatched back Sasolburg from the HNP's Louis Stofberg, whose by-election victory in September 1985 had in any case been the result of a rightwing pact which, by the opening phases of this week's election, had served its purpose.

It was not a significant gesture, the NP would argue, but it was symbolic of the devastating collapse of the HNP itself where majorities of 2 000 or 3 000 in 1981 were cut to a derisory few hundred.

The NP can also take pleasure in the recapture from the CP of Langlaagte, Rissik, Koedoespoort, Jeppe, Kuruman, North Rand, Sunnyside and Meyerion. It would also be comforting that, of the 22 seats seized by the CP, a dozen of them could be classified marginal in the sense that the CP's majorities were less than 1 500 votes.

## Retired

In the case of Carletonville it was only 98 votes and in Delmas (where former Minister of Transport Hendrik Schoeman saw the writing on the wall and wisely retired last year) it was 275. And, the NP can snugly point out, not a single NP candidate lost his R400 deposit, unlike 115 less-fortunate opposition hopefuls.

But that's about where the comfort ends. If the NP is truthful with itself, it will have to admit that a less-encouraging scenario is playing itself out on the right flank.

It is not just that the CP pushed its representations from 16 "borrowed" seats on May 5 to 22 genuinely conquered redoubts on May 6.

There are another eight seats which would undoubtedly have fallen to the far right had there been an election pact. Hercules, Lydenburg (thus despatching a Cabinet Minister currently hanging on with a 143-vote majority), Pretoria West, Rustenburg, Sasolburg, Shilohstein and Wonderboom.

Add to this another 15 seats in which the National Party's majorities have been cut below 1 500 and yet another which would have been marginal if there had been a rightwing pact, and

# SAFETY FIRST



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**ASSESSMENT by**  
**BRIAN POTTINGER**

## The fact is, South African voters DO care about reform but they wouldn't trust Progs with it

cent — 29 percent in toto. If one considers that the CP was reasonably selective in its choice of seats and that a wider spread of candidates would have ensured a greater share of the vote, it is not unreasonable to suggest that as many as 30 to 35 percent of the electorate would vote for the far right.

A question now arises. For five years the CP and HNP fed from the same 20 percent trough of far-right sentiment. How could this suddenly jump to as much as 35 percent, which in the Transvaal plateau represents a swing of as much as 27 percent away from the NP?

### Problems

The answer is diffuse: a belief that the Government is "soft" on law and order (three former top policemen among the CP candidates never tired of propounding this theme), frustration with the economic recession, confusion about government constitutional plans, suspicions about motives and an impatience with the fat-cat sleekness of the

ly ate up Durban Point, Umhlanga, Umbilo and King William's Town.

At the end of that exercise the PFP was left in no doubt about the hollowness of the so-called Reform Pact. The leaders who signed the pact were not only unable to win their seats with PFP support, but their voters deserted the reform alliance in droves — 75 percent of them voting for the National Party.

The election, put shortly, has been a disaster for the PFP and again seriously calls into question its role as an effective vehicle for leading a reform initiative.

Whereas in 1981 the PFP came out a few percentage points ahead of the HNP in total votes, this time round its support was half that of the far right combined.

Put another way, if the PFP insisted in applying its favoured proportional-representation model to the current white chamber of Parliament, it would qualify for 23 seats, while the far right would draw about 50.

Why the desertion of supporters at a





work, but stopped short of proposing compulsory freezing of pension payouts when a worker leaves a job.

Now the committee, under Deputy Minister J W Meiring, recommends that a new committee comprising a range of interested parties should be established to deal with the thorny problem of devising a national pension scheme.

The report's release went largely unnoticed in the election flurry.

Originally appointed in 1984, the committee represented the third effort by government during the past 25 years to find an acceptable solution to one of the country's major social problems — the lack of provision by millions of South Africans for their old age.

Mr Gerhard van Niekerk, general manager, pensions, at Old Mutual, said this week that the committee had wisely refrained from proposing any arbitrary solutions to what was "an immensely complicated problem."

## Experts

A major recommendation of the committee is the appointment of a committee consisting of pensions experts and representatives from employee and employer bodies as well as from the State.

This committee would work out the details of a suitable pensions dispensation for the country, based on the framework provided in the present report.

Said Mr van Niekerk: "What is particularly heartening is the committee's belief that the private sector's role in implementing such a programme should be expanded to the maximum, while the State should restrict its involvement to providing a climate within which this can happen."

the development of the small business sector was concerned.

He explained: "At present there are millions of people outside the pensions net, a high percentage of them unemployed. They can be brought into the net only if they have jobs."

## Growth

But the creation of enough new jobs was dependent on a far higher level of sustained economic growth than had been achieved in recent decades, warned Mr van Niekerk.

"A frightening thought is that if we are not able to improve on the two percent annual growth rate averaged in the period between 1975 and 1984, only 45 percent of the economically active workers in South Africa will be in fulltime employment by the year 2000."

In 1981 the Government, with support from some employers, attempted to impose a freeze on pension pay-outs but the violent reaction from black workers, who regard their pensions as a short-term savings device, forced them to back down.

cent of white voters for strict racial partition.

● The HNP may disappear completely from the political scene.

● Extra-parliamentary organisations like the UDF — and even moderate ones like Inkatha — will reassess their strategies. Their cautious hopes that whites might be moving to a more conciliatory stance have been dashed.

At week's end senior Nationalists were playing down the rise of the right. They said Government was committed to giving effect to the reform mandate.

## Credentials

"We must prove our reform credentials and can't do that by running after verkrampies," said a top man.

Another said Government was not overly concerned at the new level of rightwing representation. The CP gained 22 seats, the combined CP-HNP vote exceeded that of the NP in eight more, and about eight to 10 others could be considered marginal.

With a perceived potential of 40 seats, the NP majority

will centre on the creation of a consultative National Council where a power-sharing formula will be evolved with black participants.

## Headache

However, given Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's stated refusal to even consider participation, the NP headache will be to find credible blacks to take seats in the council.

A badly demoralised PFP will face renewed calls — even from within its own ranks — to withdraw from Parliament.

Mr Ken Andrew, chairman of its federal executive, said of the scope of the self-examination scheduled for Saturday: "Within the bounds of peaceful action no options are excluded."

Whatever the outcome, it seems unavoidable that the PFP will have to scale down some of its ambitions, activities and structures.

The Independents — Mr Wynand Malan, Dr Denis Worrall and Dr Esther Lategan — will also meet this week to examine ways of keeping the momentum of their movement going.

# Fragile PFP majority

## Sunday Times Reporters

THE Progressive Federal Party's surprise victory in a key Johannesburg city council ward on Thursday does not necessarily mean an easy takeover for the PFP as the majority party in the country's biggest city.

Two of the PFP councillors are abroad and one, it is suggested, may not return to South Africa.

On top of this, one of the booming conservative strongholds in the south of the city might be divided into two wards this year — thus offsetting the PFP's narrow majority secured by the victory in the Parks ward of TV personality Pat Rogers.

The PFP now has 24 seats on the council and the NP/IR (Independent Ratepayers) coalition 23 — a fragile majority — but the PFP will have to bide its time before it can take effective control of the council.

The party's leader on the council, Mr Sam Moss, said two PFP councillors were out of the country and until they returned no move to take over the management committee would be made.

Mr Moss denied that one of the absent councillors, Mr Mike Sutherland, was emi-

grating to Australia.

"Mr Sutherland is coming back to South Africa. He has been travelling around Australia and we had some difficulty tracking him down.

"Having succeeded, the problem is now to get him on to a flight. We have also succeeded in reaching Geoff Stark, who is also overseas at present. He is also returning."



# Until majority rule, SA is unstable — lawyer

Dispatch Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — Instability was likely to continue in South Africa until government by the consent of the majority of its citizens became a reality, the Idasa conference in Port Elizabeth heard at the weekend.

The national director of the Legal Resources Centre, Mr Arthur Chaskalson said, "The laws in the country reflect policies which have been pursued by governments over the years in their attempt to impose and retain white domination."

"Those laws do not have the consent of the vast majority of people who are governed by them and this is the cause of instability."

He said South Africa's claim to being a democratic society was "demonstrably false," because; "the sovereign

power of government does not vest in the people as a whole and the people living in South Africa do not have equal rights."

South Africa's legal system had not met the aspirations of the majority of its population.

"Attempts made within South Africa to mobilise resistance against white domination were broken up and this in turn led to violent resistance."

Mr Chaskalson spelled out the long list of laws passed in this country restricting "the right of the vast majority of its people to participate fully in the political process, to own and occupy property, to move about the country freely, to seek employment and to obtain proper education".

The cumulative effect, particularly of the se-

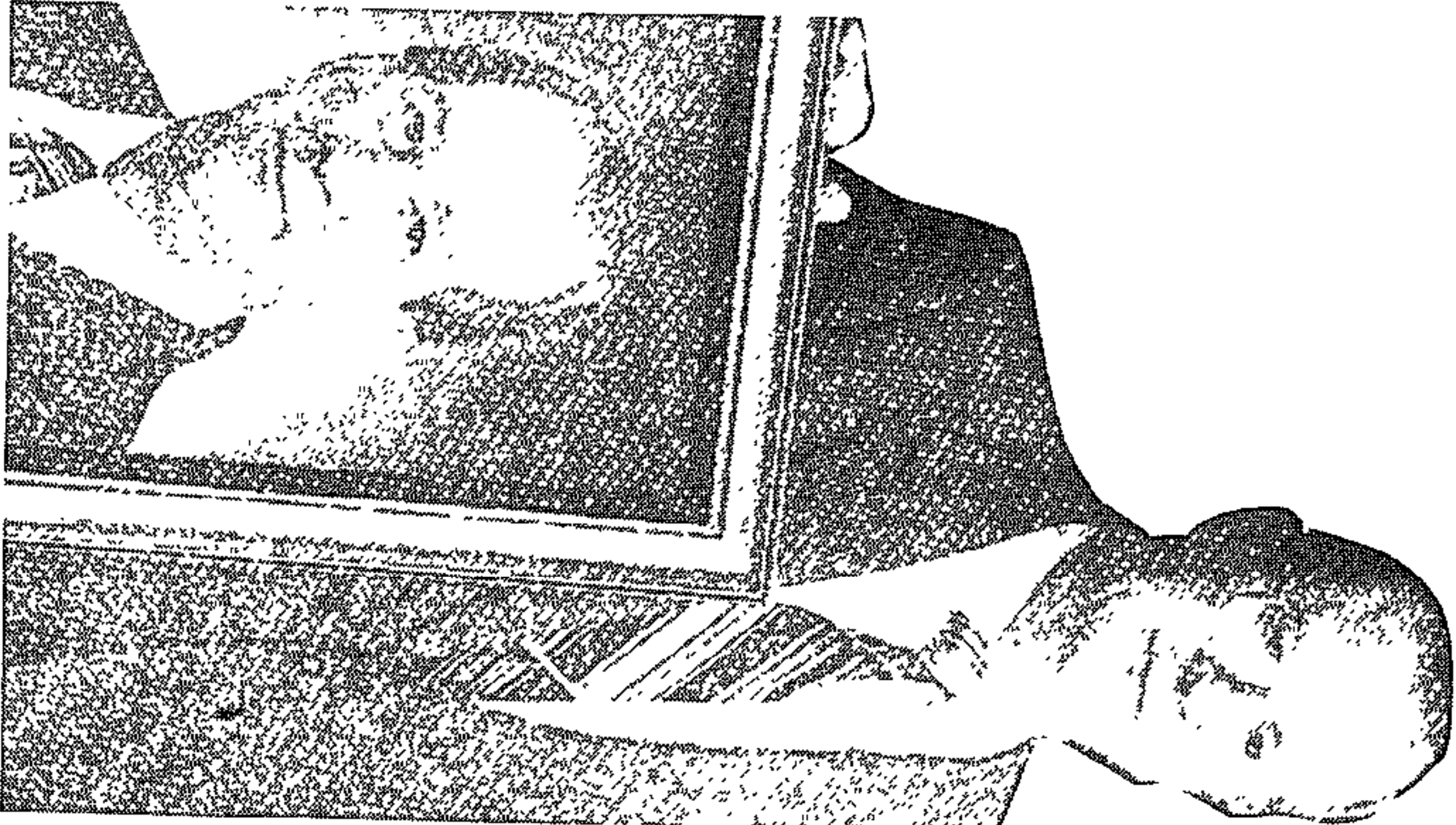
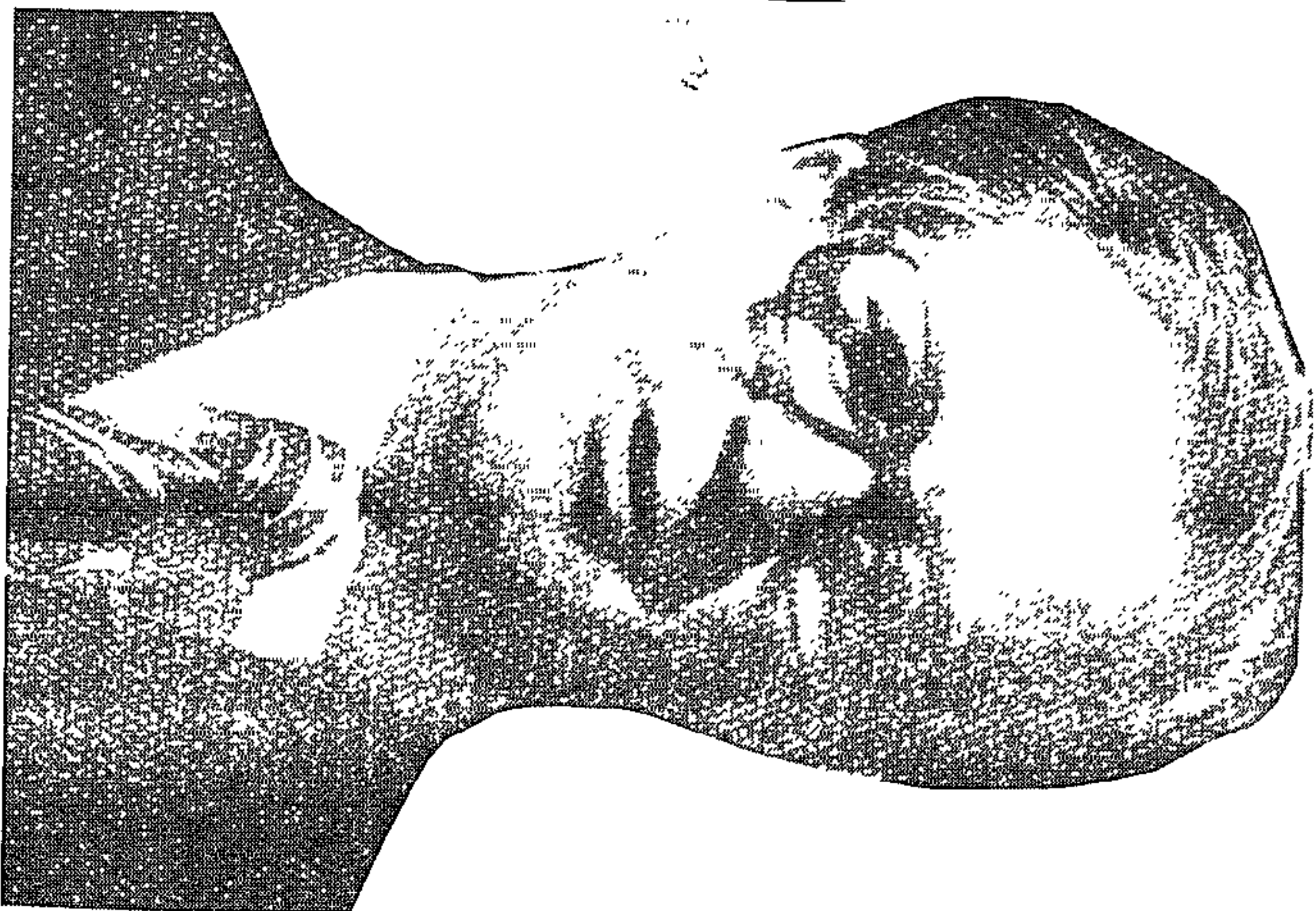
curity laws, was to enable the banning of political opposition, to break up organisations gaining popular support, to "pick off" leaders and render them ineffective by detention and to "instil fear in people who might otherwise feel inclined to voice their opposition to the Government," he said.

Turning to the type of legal system and laws he would like to see, Mr Chaskalson said a system which recognised and protected fundamental freedoms was more likely to produce a just society and promote justice, than a legal system and laws which ignored such protection.

"One of the very few countries which has not recognised the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights and has refused to subscribe to it is the Republic of South Africa," he said.

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Dr Andries Treurnicht as Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration (left), whipping up support in 1982, and offering a R3 000 portrait to raise funds for the CP

# Massive <sup>CPA</sup> Res for Dr NO



# Heady days now for the former dominee and journalist who now leads the official Opposition

CAPE TOWN — After serving in parliament for 16 years — first as a National Party member and later as leader of the Conservative Party — the controversial Dr Andries Treurnicht is the man who now leads the official Opposition.

The Piketberg minister of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk forsook the church for journalism in 1960, first as editor of *Die Kerkbode* and then as editor of *Hoofstad*.

The politician nicknamed "Dr No" made his debut as NP candidate in the Waterberg constituency and was made a Deputy Minister by the then Prime Minister.

ister, Mr John Vorster.

He played a key role in getting the NGK synods to repudiate the Cottesloe declaration after the Sharpeville massacre. He became chairman of the Broederbond in 1972.

The same year Mr Jaap Marais, then deputy leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, successfully sued Dr Treurnicht and the NP for R2 000 in the Pretoria Supreme Court for defamation following the distribution of certain pamphlets.

## For the record:

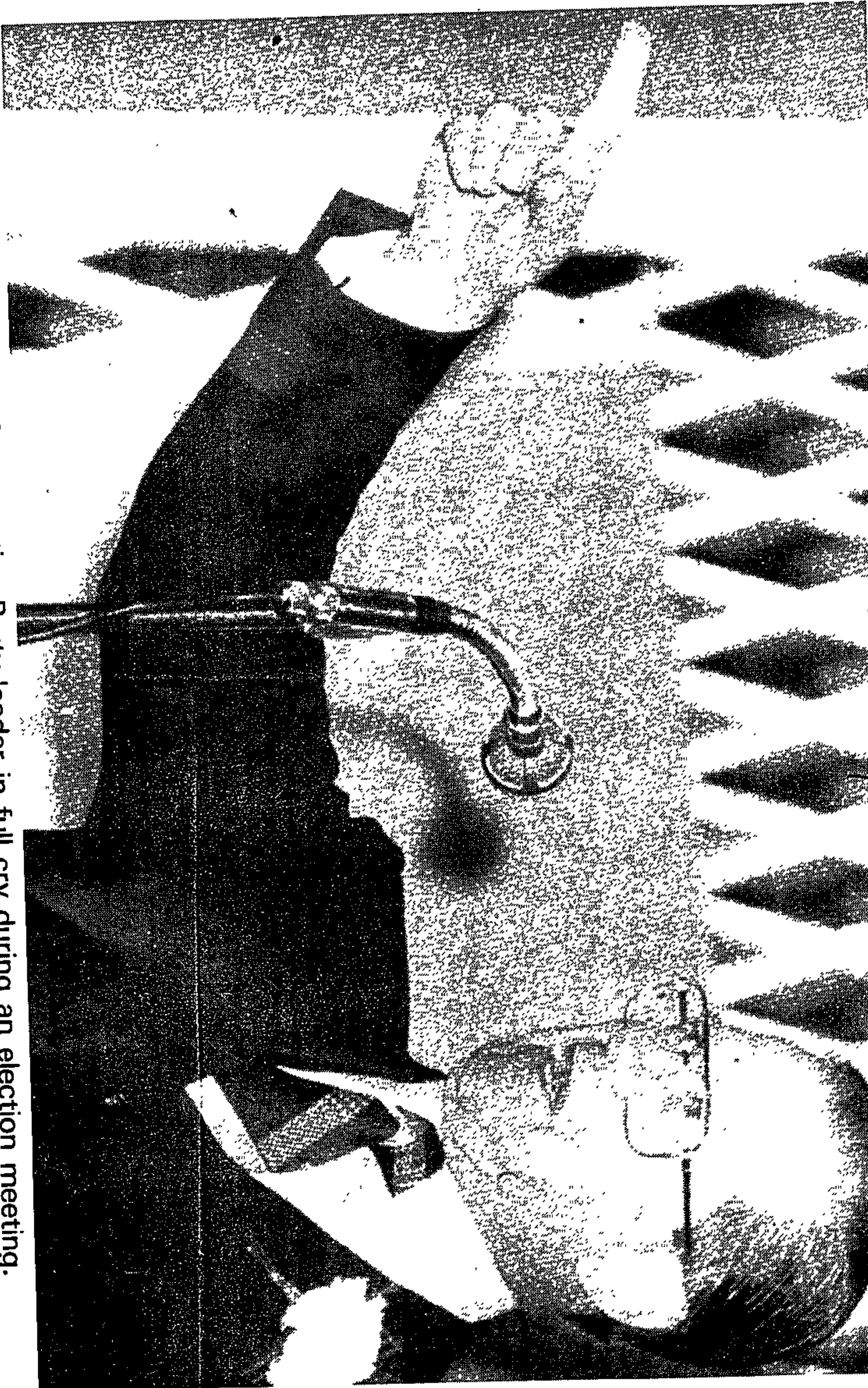
THE final state of the parties:

National Party	123
Conservative Party	22
Progressive Federal Party	19
New Republic Party	1
Independents	1
Herstigte Nasionale Party	0

Province-by-province details:

CAPE	TVL	QFS	NATAL	Total
NP	337 338	528 456	83 497	1 19 299 1 078 490
CP	86 821	370 002	60 758	21 059 538 640
PFP	95 367	132 385	2 612	66 879 297 243
HNP	15 698	36 912	10 505	4 446 67 561
NRP	11 365	4 895	0	23 327 39 587
Ind	13 417	11 201	0	2 531 27 149
Spoilt papers	3 999	7 791	909	1 398 14 088
Voters	563 894 1 091 642	168 281	238 939 2 062 756	
cast	850 276 1 585 511	233 895	360 866 3 030 488	
% poll	66,32	68,85	71,95	66,21 68,33

Of the total votes cast, the NP received 52,28%, the PFP 14,26%, the CP 26,11%, the NRP 1,9%, the HNP 3,2% and the Independent candidates 1,31%. Spoilt papers accounted for 0,6%. — Sapa



EYES RIGHT: The Conservative Party leader in full cry during an election meeting.

Schweizer Reneke and Ventersdorp — all from the National Party.

However it lost Langlaagte, Meyerton, Sunnyside, North Rand, Kuruman, Koedoespoort, Germiston District, Rissik, De Aar and Jeppe to the NP.

This meant the CP had a net gain of five seats.

The voters' swing to the right set up the Conservative Party as an exclusively Transvaal-based official Opposition, bloodied the PFP and eradicated the NRP and HNP.

The election results also showed that the HNP had deprived the CP of victory in nine more seats — and that an election in

1989 could increase its representation to more than 40 seats following the crippling of the HNP as a political force.

This possibility may now rule out such an election. The NP gains could serve as an adequate reason for Mr Botha to motivate a constitutional amendment to postpone a

white election in 1989 as he undeniably received a strong mandate.

The election, the first to have followed a full five-year term since the National Party came to power in 1948, was one of the most intense contests in the NP's history, facing opponents to the left and right.

This was also reflected in the unprecedented variety of parties and issues involved.

Barring the CP, the poll was most damaging to opposition parties, leaving the NRP and HNP effectively destroyed and the PFP dethroned as official opposition and severely mauled as a viable political force.

The only gains have favoured the Right and centre with the most significant swing going in favour of the Right. Today the CP has a psychological edge which will make it almost impossible for the HNP to make a realistic stand against it in future.



# Detentions hamper Idasa meeting

Dispatch Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — Detentions prevented three black leaders from delivering papers at the first national conference of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), held in Port Elizabeth at the weekend.

At the opening of the conference on Friday, Idasa's policy director, Dr Alex Boraine, said two leaders whom Idasa invited four or five months ago to speak at the conference, could not do so because they had subsequently been detained.

He said they were the editor of the New Nation, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, and the chairman of the National Education Crisis Committee, Mr Vusi Khamyile, who was recently appointed assistant to the principal of the University of Cape Town, Mr Stuart Saunders.

Mr Sisulu, a Niewman fellow

from Harvard, is the son of jailed African National Congress (ANC) leader, Mr Walter Sisulu and a United Democratic Front (UDF) patron, Mrs Albertina Sisulu.

Both men were detained in December.

Dr Boraine said: "It is a matter of deep regret that their detention without trial continues and that two great South Africans can't contribute to the conference."

Comments by Dr Boraine concerning their continued detention may not be reported under the emergency regulations.

An executive member of the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress, Mr Africa Maqolo, who was scheduled to deliver a paper for the UDF on Saturday, was detained on Friday morning, a lawyer said yesterday.

He said that he accompanied a delegation, including Idasa policy director, Dr Frederik

van Zyl Slabbert, Dr Boraine, and members of Mr Maqolo's family, to Louis le Grange Square yesterday morning to make inquiries concerning the detention.

The lawyer said that police confirmed to Dr Slabbert that Mr Maqolo was being held and told him his lawyer and members of his family could visit him today.

Mr Maqolo should have delivered a paper, Democracy and Government, by the acting publicity secretary of the UDF, Mr Murphy Morobe. It was read instead by an executive member of the UDF in the Western Cape, Mr Andrew Boraine.

The weekend duty officer for the South African Police in the Eastern Cape, Captain Piet Greyling, said yesterday he could not confirm the detention and suggested the duty officer be contacted today.

See Also P5

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**CAPE TOWN** —Government opponents yesterday lashed out against the crack-down on people contravening the Group Areas Act, describing the move as "retrogressive", "racist" and "un-Christian".

Progressive Federal Party spokesmen expressed fears that the process, which has already begun in Durban and at Uitenhage in the Eastern Cape, would be further implemented in Cape Town's "grey areas".

The PFP's spokesman on constitutional affairs, Professor Nic Olivier, said he was "very much afraid that the government saw its "so-called mandate as a carte blanche to ruthlessly enforce the Group Areas Act".

The Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Piet Badenhorst, last night denied a "recent crackdown" but said he had issued a warning at the National Party's congress in May last year that the government would act against transgressions of the Group Areas Act.

"If people live in a white group area, and if my department receives a complaint, we will investigate the matter and people have three months to rectify the situation," he said.

A director of the Department of Development Planning, Mr John Fourie, said: "This is not a witch-hunt against mixed couples. We are acting against everyone violating the Group Areas Act."

The National Party MP for Maitland, Mr Kent Durr — who, during his election campaign, conceded that the Group Areas Act caused "misery", was "out of date" and "doesn't work" — said: "The law is clear and I am all for upholding the law."

The PFP MP for Green Point, Mr Tian van der Merwe, said the government's latest move to force mixed couples to sell their homes "is about as close as one can get to legalised theft".

"This action by the government is racist, un-Christian and immoral. How we can hope to establish a peaceful future for ourselves in this country if we treat our fellow citizens in this way is unimaginable."

Mr Van der Merwe said it was a "tragedy" that mixed couples who, after living in fear and embarrassment for years, were now married but unable "to live where they belong".

Dr Denis Worrall, the independent candidate who narrowly lost the Helderberg seat to the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, yesterday described the crackdown as "a retrogressive and thoroughly deplorable move".

He said that "in many instances" people voted for the government for the wrong reasons.

"Now they must face the consequences of that vote and a government that is trying to turn the clock back."

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Suzman seeths P9

# Outrage at group areas crackdown

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# Buthelezi fears junta in SA

Caricatures 11/5/87



Chief Buthelezi

ULUNDI. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday questioned whether South Africa was now heading towards a military junta in which even the pretence of democracy was suspended.

He described the result of the white South African general election as "the devil's hour of glory" and said whites had increased the anger of moderate, peace-loving blacks by rejecting an opportunity of breaking the upward spiral of violence.

And he undertook now to use black anger to sentence whites to "life imprisonment in a democracy".

The KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president said whites had apparently not learnt how big a part the introduction of the tricameral parliament had played in increasing violence.

He told a KwaZulu day-of-prayer

gathering near Ulundi that he was "appalled" by the fact that the Conservative Party was now the official Opposition.

He refused, however, to squander the increased anger of his people on street corners and to turn it loose to "mutilate" other blacks and to unleash it against whites.

When he saw a group of 10 whites and knew that, according to overall election statistics, seven of them voted against what he stood for, his anger became a calculating one which demanded that "we out-strategize those who are opposed to us" and that this was done in the name of God.

It was not a vindictive, retributive anger, but a corrective one which had led him and his people to sentence white South Africa to a life in a democracy.

"We shall sentence them to life confinement in an open democracy where

all shall be free and, whether they like it or not, they shall live in a democracy because we shall keep them imprisoned in it," Chief Buthelezi said.

"They shall not escape our vigilance and they shall not escape the love that they reject."

The KwaZulu leader warned also of a "moral liberal sickness in whites" but emphasized that he was not referring to the "sons and daughters of the great liberal traditions", but to what he called those who wanted absolute power on the cheap.

These were the kind of whites who were always found in black radicalism because they needed to protest their innocence. They gained "their own peculiar kind of moral dividend" by associating with blacks just because they were black.

He likened this "sick white liberalism" to a crowd standing in front of a

tall building and chanting "jump, jump, jump" to a black high up and contemplating suicide.

Chief Buthelezi warned that "after this massive movement to the right" in the general election there would be a renewed white input into black radicalism.

White theologians would renew attempts to justify the Kaaros Document and would try harder to stimulate the international community into further punitive isolating activity against South Africa.

White political action often "traded with the coinage of black anger". But such inroads into black choices could not be tolerated.

"We therefore pray today for the best and most constructive use of black anger and ... it will be made into the kind of anger which we can lay at Christ's feet with humility," Chief Buthelezi said. — Sapa



# Worrall team seeks advice on late votes

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C.M. T. 11/5/87

Staff Reporter

DR Denis Worrall's campaign team are seeking legal advice following the discovery that 35 special votes in the Helderberg constituency arrived too late to be counted.

And they are also examining 14 votes which campaign manager Mr Jannie Momberg claims were obtained from voters who "were unaware of how they were voting" because they were very sick or senile.

The Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, won the constituency on Wednesday by 39 votes.

Because of the slim majority "the campaign management felt that they owed it to Dr Worrall supporters in the constituency and independent supporters throughout this country to examine the validity of all votes cast in the election.

"That includes a batch of 35 special votes which arrived late as well as a number of votes which are queried," Dr Worrall's campaign management said in a statement yesterday.

"Legal opinion was therefore sought at the weekend in connection with these votes. Although the matter is still being investigated, at this stage it is unlikely that further action will be taken."

Mr Momberg said from Stellenbosch yesterday: "This is not a case of taking legal action, at this stage we are just taking legal advice.

"The outcome is still pending, but I am not sure anything will come of it. We are exploring various options.

## Nothing mysterious

"I do not think there is anything mysterious about the 35 special votes arriving too late, this is just one of those election hard-luck stories.

"Also, we have no idea whose votes they were, those 35 could have been cast for Mr Heunis.

"But we are also unhappy about 14 special votes cast, where we feel the voters were unaware of how they were voting, they were people who were very sick, one could say senile."

Mr Momberg said: "I was at the counting, and on the surface I thought it was done very professionally by a very able magistrate and his team."



# SA society in new 'birth' — Slabbert

Call 711 15 11/5/87  
Own Correspondent

30417

PORT ELIZABETH. — South African society was going through a very painful period with terrible injustice, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said at the weekend.

But, he added: "I really believe it is not the pain of death, but the pain of the birth of a new society."

Closing the national congress of Idasa — the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa — Dr Slabbert said there would be many victims, but that the commitment to non-racialism would not be dropped.

Dr Slabbert said a non-racial democracy was not going to be brought about by constitutional experts at conferences. They would have a role, but would have to make their models relate to the evolving non-racial democracy in South Africa.

The future of South Africa, as envisioned by the extra-parliamentary movement — and the UDF in particular, was outlined by the UDF's acting publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, who rejected the existing parliamentary structures as being illegitimate.

In a paper entitled "Towards a People's Democracy" read on his behalf by Mr Andrew Boraine, a Western Cape executive member of the UDF, Mr Morobe said: "Millions of South Africans have for decades not only been denied political representation, but have also been oppressed and exploited."

"When we speak of majority rule, we do not mean that black faces must simply replace white faces in Parliament. A democratic solution in South Africa involves all South Africans, and in particular the working class, having control over all areas of daily existence."

Mr Morobe rejected the existing parliament and its related structures because of their "illegitimacy" and "lack of real political power".



ARGUS 11/5/87 (304A)

## Parties get ready to dissect election results

### Political Staff

POLITICAL parties will be dissecting the results of last week's white general election this week as MPs start streaming to Cape Town for the resumed session of Parliament.

The Progressive Federal Party (PFP) and the Conservative Party (CP) will hold caucus meetings on Thursday — the Conservatives as the new official Opposition in the PFP's old caucus room.

The New Republic Party (NRP) meets on Friday and Saturday and the National Party (NP) caucus gathers on Saturday.

There is much unhappiness in the ranks of the PFP over the party's performance in the election, so Thursday's meeting should be lively.

### ENORMOUS

But party sources said today there was no serious talk of replacing leader Mr Colin Eglin, if only because there was no obvious candidate to succeed him.

PFP members say the party will be under enormous pressure to put up a good showing in Parliament now, particularly in no confidence debates, to make up for the battering its image has taken.

A primary task for all the opposition parties will be to choose new portfolio spokesmen and whips.

The Cabinet met today for the first time since the election.

The meeting was expected to be followed by a gathering of National Party Ministers to discuss the election.

### LOST SEAT

It was not clear today what the State President, Mr P W Botha, was going to do about the Minister of Agricultural Economics, Mr Greyling Wentzel, who lost his Bethal seat to the CP.

If Mr Wentzel is keen to resume his career Mr Botha is likely to give him a nominated seat in Parliament.

Or Mr Wentzel may be indirectly elected to the Assembly by the party's Transvaal MPs.

● The election's independent candidates, Mr Wynand Malan, Dr Dennis Worrall and Dr Esther Lategan, had planned to meet this week to consider their plans.

But Mr Malan is in hospital recovering from an operation so the meeting, due to have been held in Johannesburg on Wednesday, may have to be postponed.

Some supporters feel the group should be given a more definite organisational structure.

Meanwhile, Dr Worrall is unlikely to do anything about the 35 special votes which arrived in the constituency the day after the election.

In terms of the Electoral Act, votes which come in after the polls have closed cannot be counted.

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IT WAS quite obvious government had not interpreted its mandate as one of reform, PFP law and order spokesman Helen Suzman said yesterday.

Suzman, MP for Houghton, rejected official statements that the crackdown on Group Areas Act contraventions last week was purely coincidental.

"It is quite obvious the government has interpreted the mandate given to it as not for reform, but, if anything, to reverse the process," she said.

Meanwhile, the PFP's MP for Green Point, Tian van der Merwe, described

● See Comment Page 6

government's latest moves to force mixed couples to sell their homes as "about as close as one can get to legalised theft".

A spokesman for the Department of Development and Planning last week confirmed that notices had been served on mixed couples living in white areas instructing them to sell their homes and move out.

In a Press report yesterday, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Piet Badenhorst was quoted as saying notices were served last week on the owners of premises in white areas that

# PW 'backs off reform'

11/5/87 (304A) B1 Day

SUSAN RUSSELL

were being occupied by blacks.

The owners had been warned they had three months to rectify the situation.

In the report, Badenhorst was quoted as saying it was purely coincidental that the notices had been served in the week of the election.

Suzman described that as a "tall story".

"Really," she said, "the Department cannot expect anyone to believe that."

She said some months before the election the State President had said the Group Areas Act was not a holy cow.

"During the election it suddenly became sanctified. Now we see the results," she said.

Suzman described government's toughening up as "absolutely abominable".

"It is almost unbelievable that the

● To Page 2 ➡

## PW 'turning back' on reform

government, without taking steps to provide alternative accommodation in segregated areas, should be ejecting people from their present accommodation.

"You will find them in garages, doubling up, trebling up or leading the lives of hunted fugitives.

"What else can they do?"

Suzman said the PFP intended raising the matter at the first opportunity.

Residents in Hillbrow reported seeing many more policemen than usual on the streets this weekend.

A police spokesman, however, said there had been no extra police action planned for the area over the weekend.

Van der Merwe said government's crackdown on mixed couples was "racist, unchristian and immoral".

"How we hope to establish a peaceful future for ourselves in this country if we treat our fellow citizens in this way is unimaginable," he said.

"Such threats represent one of the worst excesses perpetrated in terms of

← ● From Page 1

the Group Areas Act since its inception."

On Friday, the Port Natal Divisional Commissioner of the SAP, Johan van Niekerk, denied police had visited black families living in white areas and warned them to sell up and move out, Business Day's correspondent in Durban reported.

He said the police investigated only if they received a complaint. In such a case a docket was sent to the Attorney-General who decided whether to prosecute.

Deputy-Attorney General Les Roberts said it was not the AG's policy to divulge information on the number of complaints and cases prosecuted.

Department of Development Planning director John Fourie said actions against black families in white residential areas had been stepped up recently because the number of complaints had increased greatly in the last year or two.



# The 'Boer Republic' is CP's seat of power

SOUTH AFRICA'S new white Official Opposition represents mainly sparsely-populated rural constituencies along SA's northern borders with Botswana, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Swaziland, and a few predominantly working class and Afrikaans-speaking urban seats.

All the Conservative Party's 22 seats are in the Transvaal — and already CP supporters are saying that they are in the process of creating their own "volkstaat" or "Boer Republic," the ideal of CP affiliated movements such as the AWB, Boerenasie and the Oranje Werkersvereniging.

CP-held seats now cover roughly three-quarters of the surface of Transvaal. The CP's rural seats are: Barberton, Bethal, Brits, Delmas, Ermelo, Middelburg, Losberg, Potgietersrus, Pietersburg, Schweizer-Reneke, Soutpansberg, Standerton, Lichtenburg, Ventersdorp, Waterberg and Witbank.

Its urban seats are Brakpan, Roodepoort, Carletonville and Randfontein, with Overvaal and Nigel a combination of urban and rural voters. Its growth potential follows the same pattern of rural seats or those with mainly Afrikaans-speaking white and blue-collar workers.

In eight such seats the NP victory was due to a split right-wing vote: Hercules, Lydenburg, Parys, Pretoria-West, Rustenburg, Sasolburg, Stilfontein and Wonderboom. And in several other seats with a similar voter profile the NP won with a small majority: Krugersdorp (majority 55), Maraisburg (717), Springs (884), Heilbron (680) and Ladybrand (842).

The CP failed to capture seven of the 10 Transvaal seats where members elected on a Nationalist ticket crossed to the CP after the 1982 split. They are Germiston District, Jeppe, Koedoespoort, Langlaagte, North Rand, Rissik and Sunnyside.

## MAX DU PREEZ Political Correspondent

The right wing lost the one seat it held in the Free State — Sasolburg, won by the HNP in a by-election — but the CP could not win the two Cape seats where NP members crossed to the CP, Kuruman and De Aar.

With Clive Derby-Lewis being narrowly defeated by the NP in Krugersdorp, all the CP MPs are Afrikaans speaking. Most of them — 13 — will go to Parliament for the first time.

SA will have to get used to a whole new range of Opposition spokesman on various government portfolios — and many new shadow ministers will be learning the parliamentary ropes while they familiarise themselves with the complexities of the departments with which they have to deal.

## Delimitation may restore PFP as Opposition

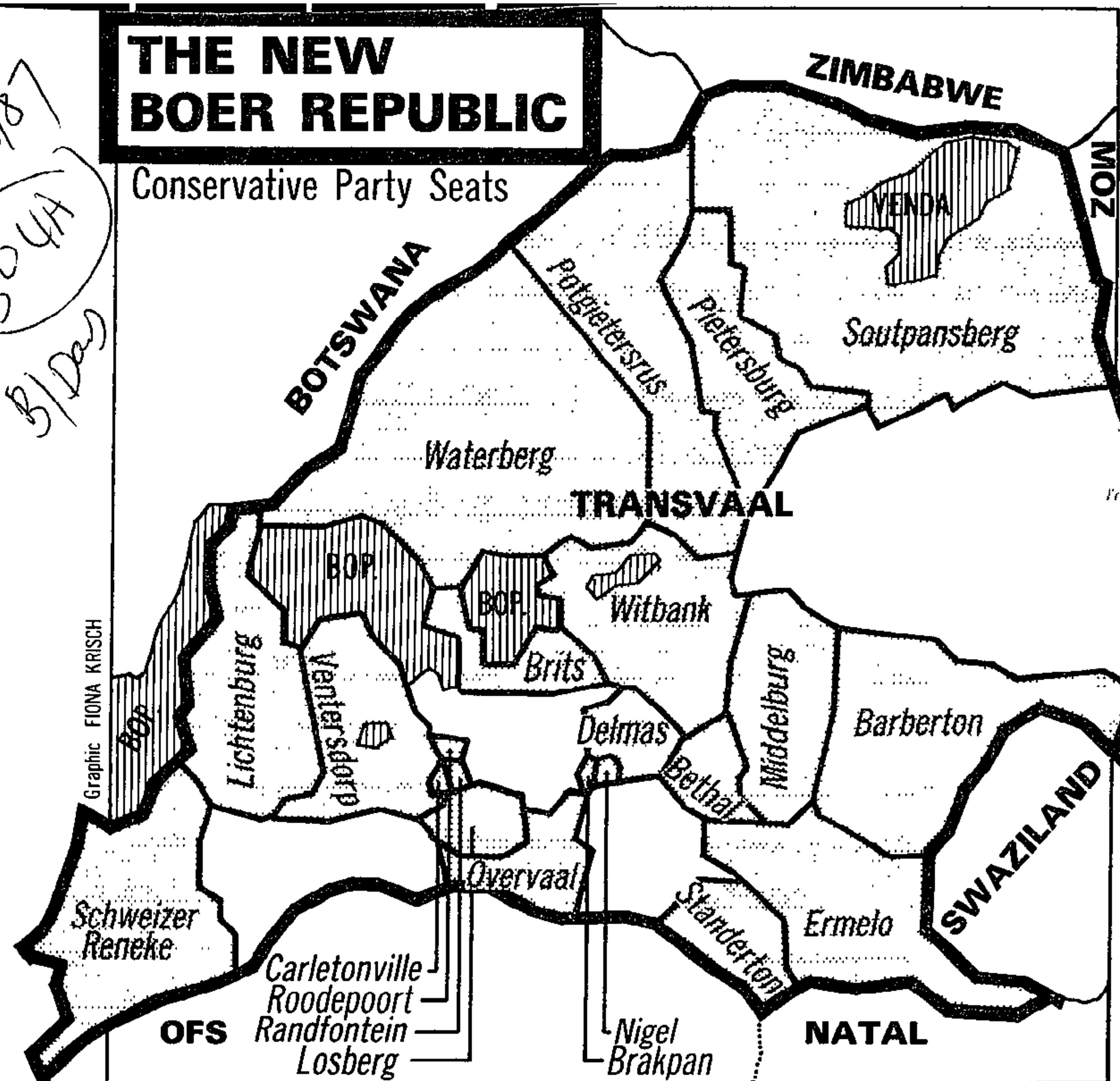
IF POLITICAL attitudes remain constant, next year's expected new delimitation of white constituencies could restore the PFP as Official Opposition in the House of Assembly at the 1989 general election. A new delimitation would redress the severe imbalance between rural and urban seats. The result would be an increase in the number of urban seats where the PFP would have a strong chance and the elimination of several rural seats the CP has won or hopes to win.

Government indicated early this year that it saw a new delimitation as an urgent necessity and that it would appoint a Delimitation Commission later this year. The last delimitation was done in 1980, and in the past seven years there has been large changes in population movements and urbanisation has accelerated. The over-representation of rural voters is part of the reason why the NP drew 52% of last week's votes, but won 74% of the seats in Parliament.

Because of the geographical sizes of some constituencies, a system has been used of "unloading" the number of voters in rural seats and "loading" ur-

## THE NEW BOER REPUBLIC

Conservative Party Seats



## MAX DU PREEZ

ban seats. Since 1948 this always been in the NP's favour, because of the support of farmers and small town dwellers. This market, however, has now been cornered by the CP.

According to the voters' roll for last week's election, the average number of voters per constituency in SA is 18 262. The average for the Transvaal is 18 262, for the Cape 14 972, Natal 17 853 and the Free State 16 535.

Of the CP's 21 seats, only seven have more voters than the Transvaal average. Examples of CP seats with a low number of voters are: Ermelo (17 826), Schweizer-Reneke (14 637), Ventersdorp (15 996), Soutpansberg (17 690), Lichtenburg (16 618), Barberton (17 847) and Waterberg (17 741). In contrast, Transvaal urban seats have much larger numbers. For example, North Rand has 33 783 voters, Modderfontein 26 546, Sandton 24 160 and Helderkrui-

27 526. The smallest seats in SA, excluding Walvis Bay's 4 592, are in the Cape and the Free State. Prieska has 8 946, Beaufort-West has 9 440, Graaff-Reinet has 9 819, Namaqualand has 9 945 and Aliwal 10 263. Therefore, a Prieska voter's vote is worth almost four times more than a North Rand voter's vote. A new delimitation would have to include a new allocation of seats for the four provinces. Unless the number of elected seats is increased from the present 166, many NP-held rural seats in the Cape could disappear.

The number of seats for every province was stipulated in 1973, and according to the Constitution it can be changed after 10 years. At present, Transvaal — with 76 seats — has 52.9% of the voters but only 46% of the seats. The Cape — with 56 seats — has 27.6% of the voters but 33.7% of the seats. Natal has 11.7% of the voters and 12% of the seats, and the Free State 7.6% of the voters and 8.4% of the seats.

The Transvaal will thus get another 11 seats, with the Cape losing nine and Natal and the Free State one each, making the division: Transvaal 87, Cape 47, Natal 19 and Free State 13.



NINE WEEKS before the

election, this column observed that English South Africa had been reduced to political irrelevance, penned back into five small enclaves in Cape Town, Simonstown, Durban, Maritzburg and Johannesburg-Sandton where their language remained dominant.

Simonstown and Maritzburg have now thrown in their lot with President Botha, and the remnants of the PFP, humbled by defeat, are just about ready to abandon the myth that an English minority — less than 5% of the nation — bears any special responsibility to shape the country's future.

The wholesale flight of English voters from the PFP to the National Party completes, to all intents, the destruction of the institutions and social structures that have distinguished English South Africans from, say, the Portuguese or German communities. Even the PFP is no longer a binding structure.

A phenomenon at the polls in Johannesburg in this election was the absence of "Young Progs," in part a reflection that northern Johannesburg's major export is children, and in part a reaction to the pressures on the Wits campus which has, through the conscious admission of other races, ceased to be an English cultural stronghold.

At Wits, as at Cape Town and Rhodes and sometimes even in Natal (and increasingly at the private schools), the demands of the Third World have ousted the fading convictions of the Anglophone First World.

The syllabuses, the academic standards, the demonstrations and clashes with the police, the disciplinary procedures, even the lecture rosters, tend these days to serve the demands of the Third World rather than the needs of an internationalist English community. Hardly anybody gets "sent down" from Wits, whether for violent behaviour or for academic failure.

Wits is a place that welcomes Winnie Mandela to speak, and bans Helen Suzman. There may be a strong

# The bit-players of SA politics

KEN OWEN

case to be made for such selective freedom of speech, but it is a sentimental and cultural loss to the spiritual heirs of Shakespeare, Burke and John Adams.

The church, too, has ceased to express the spiritual longings, such as they were, of its English congregants. The congregants have fled to the National Party, and the church's attitude, pronounced by Archbishop Desmond Tutu on behalf of the overwhelming majority of its members, is that we have reverted to the Dark Ages. The clergy offer no comfort.

The Westminster system, that eccentric parliamentary machine with its deliberate bias against sudden, destabilising swings of allegiance, has given way to an authoritarian presidential system which combines the worst of the American with the worst of European constitutional models.

It gives the State President (an office unknown to the English language) the power to override the commons, misuse the public service, control the broadcasters, appoint judicial commissions to settle his political arguments, and to dominate both the agenda of public debate and the legislative process.

English television is in alien hands, and the English Press, weakened by the cultural decline of its readership and by external controls that sapped its credibility, has lost its authority. It made the same mistake as the political parties, struggling to fill a national role, like a little girl in her mother's shoes.

The language itself, everybody's second tongue, is rapidly becoming a pidgin in which diverse peoples misunderstand each other — better than fanagalo, but still an acquired skill.

Church, state, language, education and Press — none has retained the power to bind the English community, to uphold its values, or to preserve its traditions and its manners. The glue has gone, and the English have scattered in all directions, without common purpose.

Some cling to the skirts of Mrs Mandela, and accept the leadership of the UDF or the Black Students Society; others think the ambitious Worrall or the gentle Wynand Malan can lead them out of their crisis of identity. Many wander in a spiritual wilderness.

The richest educate their children for emigration — one of the obstacles encountered by Helen Suzman's canvassers, in Houghton was the number of voters who had gone

abroad — but most simply flock for safety to the NP. And there they serve a purpose.

They conceal the awful truth that, under the surface of Afrikaner politics, the separatist ideal is resurgent. In the Free State, where few English voters clutter the landscape, the Nationalists won about 100 000 votes and took 13 seats, the CP and the HNP won about 75 000 votes and no seats.

A switch in the next election of 12 500 votes could, in theory, give the CP the entire Free State. The pattern is precisely the same as in the rural Transvaal a few years earlier (and in Hans Strijdom's Transvaal 50 years ago).

The National Party itself has become a coalition, not unlike the old United Party. If it is assumed that 65% of all voters are Afrikaans, and that 600 000 voted HNP or CP, then the National Party now has a maximum of 700 000 Afrikaans voters, bolstered by nearly 400 000 non-Afrikaans.

The future, if you believe (as the PFP does) that President Botha's policies cannot work over any long period, is easy to read. The incorporation of large numbers of non-Afrikaans voters, while they may be

junior partners, will weaken the cohesion of the National Party and subject it to some moderating influences. When reform flags, these votes will become restive; if reform is pursued with vigour, the party risks the loss of the Free State seats, and many others, to the right.

The PFP, in reviewing its mistakes and planning its future, will do well to listen to its voters more carefully, and lecture them less.

This election has confirmed the view that there is no future for a party whose leading members export their children, whose remaining children cheer Mrs Mandela and jeer Mrs Suzman, and who expect a sheltered English community to retain the habits of thought and the traditions of Europe.

But there may, indeed, be a tactical role for a party that positioned itself intelligently, nurtured its heartland, cosseted its voters and waited for the day when the Nationalist coalition needed fresh allies to hold off the CP.

The first step towards such a strategy would be to tuck neatly into the slipstream of Wynand Malan and his fellow-independents. Both Denis Worrall and Wynand Malan do, after all, owe something of their present glamour to Colin Eglin's decision to give them room to survive. Had he let the PFP fight Helderberg and Randburg, the best of the Independents might well have been Esther Lategan.

Colin Eglin's alliance strategy was sound but he, like the rest of us, failed to take into account the decay of the liberal-parliamentary tradition that has followed the English community's loss of all cultural institutions that might have nurtured that tradition. Now it is clear that the rudderless English community, its members scattered between the Mandelas, the Bothas and Wynand Malan, offer nobody a power base.

Those who still cling to the liberal tradition need a Big Daddy, and Wynand Malan is at least preferable to the kind of people who banish Helen Suzman from the Wits Campus.



# The democratic alternative

11/5/87 3048

Staff Reporter PAT CANDIDO reports on the first national conference of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa held in Port Elizabeth at the weekend.

ONE of the chief aims of the state of emergency was to smash alternative forms of mass representation given the challenge they posed to the "unrepresentative and undemocratic institution of apartheid" a United Democratic Front executive member said.

At the Idasa conference here at the weekend Mr Andrew Boraine, treasurer of the Western Cape region of the UDF, read a paper entitled *Towards A People's Democracy* prepared by Mr Murphy Morobe, national publicity secretary of the UDF.

Mr Morobe said the difficulties of organising democratically at gunpoint under the state of emergency were obvious.

"Most of our meetings are banned, many of our officials are in jail, on trial or in hiding and the need for tight security and secrecy obviously puts a strain on the development of a thoroughgoing, expanding mass-based democratic practice."

He said it was clear that 300 years of minority rule had created growth inequalities at all levels of society — not just at the level of political power but also in terms of land, natural resources, income distribution, ownership and control of economic production and in areas of education, housing, transport, health, sport and culture.

The democratic programmes of demands by the UDF could not be solely concerned with government alone.

Both the dismantling of apartheid legislation and the effects of minority rule had to be addressed.

A democratic system that did not recognise the need to right the historical injustices of apartheid could not hope to succeed.

For many in the UDF the Freedom Charter was a democratic document that began to answer some of the questions...



Among speakers at the Idasa conference were, from left, Mr Eric Mntongo, regional director of Idasa in East London, Dr Alex Boraine, executive director, Professor John de Gruchy, department of religious studies, UCT, Mr Mvuyo Ralawe, chairman of the National Education Union of South Africa, and Mr Leon Louw, executive director of the Free Market Foundation of South Africa.

There had been a number of debates in a variety of journals as to whether the charter was a socialist document and while some of its economic clauses might seem to some white South Africans to be fairly radical they were not in fact socialist demands but reflected the undemocratic realities of apartheid.

The charter recognised that national oppression and capitalist economic production were inexplicably intertwined.

In combination, they had ensured one of the highest rates of profit in the world and one of the most skewed distributions of income and resources.

The demands for the nationalisation of key monopolies and for the transfer of land to those who worked it needed to be seen in this light.

"The charter is asserting that a democratic solution for South Africa goes beyond the inclusion of black people in existing white structures.

"It calls for a new education system for all South Africans, with new priorities and emphasis, rather than the upgrading of black education to match its white counterpart and, I may add, that in calling for a democratic system of tertiary education, we are not merely calling for the opening of our universities, but posing a more fundamental question of what is being taught and whose interests it serves."

He said democracy in South Africa could only survive if it tackled the existing and equal relations of power and privilege as well as the issue of political representation and individual freedom.

To ensure that the democratic process which had already begun at a mass level within the extra parliamentary movement continued, the UDF had, with organisations such as Cosatu and the NECC,

identified several of the key barriers to democracy.

What was necessary included lifting the state of emergency, the removal of troops and vigilantes from townships, the release of detainees, the unbanning of organisations such as the ANC and the South African Communist Party, the release from prison of leaders and the return of exiles.

"In addition the expansion of the democratic process can only occur with the repeal of all existing security legislation and the reigning-in of the SADF and SAP."

Mr Morobe said the realisation of these conditions seemed like an impossible dream in the face of a rampant National Party.

Against these odds it was important to remember that Davids had defeated Goliaths before and would do so again. Few weapons were more powerful than mass partici-

pation and unity in action against the common enemy.

He said Parliament was no longer the source of de facto political power in South Africa, which was faced with a combination of executive and absolute powers vested in the State President and backed by a national security system of joint management committees under the State Security Council.

This meant that lives were being controlled by the commanders of the SADF, the SAP and the security police whose powers had been increased tenfold under the state of emergency.

The security forces with vigilantes and imps at their disposal were unelected, unmandated and unaccountable and represented the biggest hurdle in the road to a democratic South Africa.

There could be no democratic alternatives as long as these forces existed.

## 'Laws more and more repressive'

The Argus Bureau

Dateline: PORT ELIZABETH

THE South African legal system had not met the aspirations of most of the population, Mr Arthur Chaskelson, national director of the Legal Resources Centre, said.

He was speaking on democracy and law at the conference of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa.

He said that for centuries South Africa had been ruled by its white population who institutionalised racial discrimination and organised the country in a way which ensured that political power remained vested in them.

Attempts to mobilise resistance were repeatedly broken up and this in turn led to violent resistance.

### Laws reflected policies of govt

The laws of South Africa reflected the policies pursued by white governments over the years in their attempt to retain white domination. Because these laws did not have the consent of most people they were the cause of instability.

He said the laws of the country had become increasingly more repressive and those opposed to white domination had sought allies outside the country and found them.

"If we are to talk about law in a democratic South Africa we need first to decide what sort of democracy we have in mind. The shape of any society is determined by its laws and legal system."

He said a society which accepted fundamental freedoms and relied on courts to protect them was less likely to become the victim of an autocratic government than a society which did not have such protections. Most autocratic regimes achieved their position and power in such



# Democracy: The struggle for freedom

**T**HERE was a wide diversity of opinion about what constituted democracy, Mr Leon Louw, director of the Free Market Foundation, told delegates to the Idasa conference.

About 350 delegates from South Africa and overseas attended the institute's first national conference here at the weekend. Mr Louw said democracy was not the struggle for power but the struggle for freedom and that many people had a simplistic and crude notion of what democracy was all about.

In South Africa, whites were resisting the idea of democracy, because they believed a black take-over would mean an omnipotent, coercive state.

"If we did have a popular notion of what democracy was, we could be much further down the road to having one," he said.

Democracy and economic freedom went hand-in-hand and he could not comprehend a society where other freedoms

# Idasa: A forum for debate

**T**HE key question in South Africa today was whether a meeting of minds was possible between democratic whites and democratic blacks, at the weekend.

Closing the first national congress of Idasa he said: "I believe it is, but if it is not there is going to be much senseless bloodshed."

He said the country with its terrible injustices was going through a very painful period. The pain was not the pain of death but the pain of the birth of a new society.

He said there would be many victims but the commitment to non-racism would not be dropped.

Though a non-racial democracy was not going to be brought about by constitutional experts and conferences, they would have a role.

Debate was not taking place in a vacuum but against the background of a government that was profoundly undemocratic and feared the alternative to its system.

The Government, he said, feared a non-racial democracy and would create structures and institutions to co-opt people into administering their own system.

Dr Slabbert said Idasa had created a forum to get debate going between blacks and whites.

By creating a forum for this purpose it was hoped to shorten the period between now and a non-racial government.

The Government could take away Idasa funds but there would be many other forums to replace it as Idasa was not a movement.

At the start of the congress, Dr Alex Boraine, executive director, referred to the detention of three black leaders who were to have delivered papers at the conference.

The editor of New Nation, Mr Zweleakhe Sisulu, and Mr Busi Khanyile, chairman of the National Education Crisis Committee, invited by Idasa months ago, were in detention.



Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert

An executive member of the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress, Mr Africa Magolo, who was to deliver a paper for the United Democratic Front on Saturday, was detained on Friday morning.

## Some black magistrates

He said that if a movement to denounce fundamental freedoms was blocked by the courts at an early stage autonomy was less likely to come into existence.

The legal profession in South Africa was made up overwhelmingly of white people though this was changing rapidly and more black lawyers were entering the profession. It was vital that this process should continue and be encouraged.

He said the courts were presided over almost exclusively by whites which was certainly the case in the Supreme Court though there were some black magistrates.

While apartheid existed black lawyers would be reluctant to accept judicial appointments, but in a truly democratic South Africa there should be no such reluctance.

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existed without economic freedom. South Africa would not be liberated until there was business and political freedom. This entailed principles such as one voters' roll, a bill of rights and freedom of speech and movement.

Mr Louw said voters in South Africa believed their leaders would miraculously get together and sort out their problems, suddenly creating a paradise for everyone.

This was not going to happen and it was necessary for people to get together at grassroots level so that the groundswell could permeate through to the top.

Mr Mvuyo Ralawe, regional chairman of the National Educational Union for South Africa, said progressive forces were committed to the fight for non-racial and democratic education.

Trade unions were yet another form of democracy, according to Mr Eric Mtonga, Idasa Border regional director and former trade unionist.

Mr Mtonga said blacks could not change the system which they did not like by going to the polls. They therefore had to resort to peaceful demonstrations of protest such as the stayaway during the general election.

He said the struggle of the black people had two main aims — to get rid of racial oppression and of class exploitation.

Professor John de Gruchy, head of religious studies at the University of Cape Town, said the divisions which divided South Africa also permeated and divided the church.

While part of the church was in the vanguard of the struggle for a democratic future, other parts defended white power and privilege.

Those to the right tended to regard Christianity as the basis for "free world democracy" and therefore anti-communist in principle, while those to the left saw Christianity as compatible with the "Freedom Charter or some form of socialism", Professor de Gruchy said.



# Analyst warns of growing 'derecognition'

Chief Reporter

INTERNATIONALLY, the outcome of last week's general election was likely to mean a "growing derecognition and delegitimation" of the South African state, rather than mandatory economic sanctions, a prominent Canadian political analyst warned yesterday.

Professor Heribert Adam of Vancouver, author of "South Africa Without Apartheid" who is on a year's sabbatical as director of the Centre for Inter-Group Studies at the University of Cape Town, said at a Cape Town Press Club lunch:

"This would include a break-off of diplomatic relations with SA by some Western states, official diplomatic status for the ANC and a refusal to recognize SA passports unless endorsed by the ANC.

"It could also mean refusal of landing rights for SA Airways in Europe, a total cutting of postal and telecommunications with SA by some Western states and a demand that firms still operating in SA also pay taxes to a *de jure* ANC government."

## 'Silenced phantom'

Professor Adam, acknowledged as a leading analyst of South African affairs, said one major winner of the election was the ANC.

"It participated like a silenced phantom. Pretoria elevated the ANC to its major threat. It thereby made the Congress the only alternative to NP rule, eliminating attempts to create a credible middle-ground.

"The more Pretoria criminalizes the movement, the more does its symbolic appeal spread.

"The election results also amount to a setback for Buthelezi, who publicly endorsed the PFP/NRP platform."

Professor Adam said the political crisis had unfortunately yet to worsen before it got better in SA.

"Only when a shared perception of stalemate exists will both sides negotiate in good faith. As long as each side feels in the ascendancy, the violence without victory will continue."

□ He said that while television had become the main weapon of the government, the "liberal English-language press" had badly overestimated its influence, as well as the appeal of the PFP/NRP alliance.

"By uncritically supporting the PFP and the independents to the hilt, papers like the Cape Times lost credibility with both their conservative as well as their left-wing readership.

"The English papers generally failed to give adequate coverage of the extra-parliamentary opposition. The crude attempts to create a bandwagon effect for the PFP-independents backfired.

"Given the suspicion of English support by Afrikaner traditionalists, the Cape Times's enthusiastic support may well have lost Worrall votes, while a critical assessment of the candidate may perhaps have gained him the few dozen votes he needed to win the Helderberg seat."



# Poll persuades Prog to <sup>CAPC 7/12/85</sup> stay in Aussie <sup>12/15/87</sup>

30411  
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Mike Sutherland, the man who has dashed the Progressive Federal Party's hopes of controlling the Johannesburg City Council, says it was the loss of the Hillbrow seat to the National Party that forced his decision to emigrate.

Mr Sutherland's announcement yesterday that he would resign as a PFP city councillor to live in Australia lost the party its newly won majority of one — and ended its chances of taking over the management committee, following the victory in Parks last week of Mr Pat Rogers.

In a telephone interview yesterday from Sydney, Australia, Mr Sutherland said: "The PFP win in Parks served no purpose as I foresee a clash between government and a PFP-controlled city council. They may even decide to disband the council."

Mr Sutherland said he had been despondent over the Hillbrow residential question but the PFP leadership had requested him to delay any decision to quit pending the election outcome.

"The loss of the Hillbrow constituency to the NP shattered whatever hope I had of improving the situation in the area. I had put in a lot of work trying to resolve the situation, pleading and reasoning with the police, but now I feel it's pointless to go on. People like me have no hope in the struggle against the Group Areas Act."

"I am leaving with a clear conscience and the people of Hillbrow must decide for themselves what they want."

The PFP leader in the council, Mr Sam Moss — who was told by Mr Sutherland of his decision yesterday, said all was not lost because the party would work hard to win the by-election for the vacant seat.

Saying the light had been temporarily dimmed, he added: "The election had an impact on the people and now they will rally around us. They realize now that we have a political role to play in SA."

The outcome of a by-election in Ward 25 — once Mr Sutherland has officially resigned — will decide who will control Johannesburg.



*Cape Times 12/5/87*

## Botha asks Wentzel to remain in cabinet

Staff Reporter *3048*

PRESIDENT P W Botha yesterday asked the Minister of Agriculture, Mr Greyling Wentzel, who lost his seat to the Conservative Party in last week's election, to stay on in the cabinet, but announced the resignation of the three deputy ministers who also lost their seats.

The three deputy ministers are Mr B J Wilkens, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Land Affairs, Mr H J Tempel, Deputy Minister of Development Aid, and Mr R B Miller, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

□ Parliament will be formally opened next Tuesday with an address by the State President.

High on the new Parliament's order of business will be the swearing-in of the 60 new members elected to the House of Assembly last week, as well as the election of a Speaker for the House and the choosing of eight indirectly elected members.





Dr Denis Worrall

Mr Wynand Malan

# Worrall investigates, but no action

*Cape Times 12/5/82 3049*

Staff Reporter

**NO ACTION** to challenge the outcome of last week's election in Helderberg, where Mr Chris Heunis narrowly retained his seat by 39 votes in the face of a determined bid by Dr Denis Worrall, is likely.

Dr Worrall told the Cape Times last night that the number of late special votes which had arrived in the constituency by yesterday had climbed to about 70 — “and since we did very well on special votes, we suspect the majority of these are ours, posing the possibility that we could have won”.

“We thought that we owed it to the voters in Helderberg to look thoroughly into the result in view of Mr Heunis's slim majority.

“I personally have no doubt about the correctness of the procedures or the impartiality of the electoral officials, but given that some 19 000 votes were cast, we thought we should investigate all possibilities. That process is nearing completion.

“Although we are still investigating all avenues, it is now very unlikely that we will do anything — after all, special votes have arrived late in every constituency in the country and there has to be a definite cut-off point, so there is no purpose in taking the matter any further.”

On the issue of a small number of votes — about 14 — cast by elderly voters alleged to be incompetent, Dr Worrall said the process of checking on their validity was “very complex” and not yet completed, but action on these votes was also unlikely.

Dr Worrall declined to discuss either his personal plans or those connected with his independent colleagues, Dr Esther Lategan and Mr Wynand Malan.



**E**IGHTY percent of South Africans who voted last Wednesday opted for regression or, at best, highly defensive gradualism towards a future they dared not think about.

State President P W Botha received a mandate for Gotterdammerung (Twilight of the gods), and the only question was whether he would have the political guts not to use it.

In the United States, the Reverend Jesse Jackson became the frontrunner for the Democratic Party's 1988 presidential nomination.

Two worlds, already close enough to have a destructive gravitational effect on each others' politics, are about to collide.

Those Americans who genuinely care about SA for its own sake, and not in the pursuit of some alien agenda, have been devastated by the election result.

Many had staked their credibility on the theory that a good proportion of white South Africans, if not the bulk, genuinely wanted change — and wanted it far more quickly than Pretoria was prepared to accept. The South African electorate has mocked their optimism.

Look at the Nationalist breakaways, said the optimists, look at what is going on in the interstices: white politics is in ferment, the monolith is crumbling.

**T**he evidence adduced in support of hope — Denis Worrall, Wynand Malan, the anti-conscription movement, the protests at Wits and the University of Cape Town, the rebellious Natal Supreme Court, the flouting of the Group Areas Act in places like Hillbrow — all has been proved grossly and misleadingly anecdotal by one-and-a-half-million South Africans who went to their polling places and said "enough!"

The irony, of course, is that the sanctioners helped bring this about. It would be interesting to rewind history, remove the US Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act and play the elections back — with sanctions featuring as a threat not a reality.

Logically, voters might have taken a more realistic look at themselves, blaming the grimness of their future on government rather than the outside world.

But there is no rewind button, not even an intellectual one. There will be more sanctions, if they can be devised, because American politics lives exclusively and remorselessly in the present tense.

The vote's most damaging impact, however, will lie not so much in further Congressional action as in the hastened withdrawal of US investment, especially the enlightened kind.

American businessmen repre-



□ SAMPSON ... "positive support"

# America and P W Botha's mandate

## for Gotterdammerung

SIMON BARBER in Washington



□ SULLIVAN ... bricked in

sending companies at the cutting edge of social, educational and human rights expenditure are unanimously despairing. None had expected the result.

The conventional wisdom that they had been only too willing to accept had convinced them there would be a shift, albeit a marginal one, away from the brutal stagnancy of the laager.

All they wanted was a sign, some bit of evidence, to show the divestment lobby that they were a significant part of an evolving process. They received none. Instead they heard P W Botha threatening "a very strong stand on extra-parliamentary actions" of the kind mandated by the Reverend Leon Sullivan in his call for "corporate disobedience".

**S**aid one executive who has been at the forefront of the battle to keep US firms in SA: "Government has already been getting tough with us — now I am afraid they are going to tell us to stuff it, they don't want us around any more."

Several agreed that the real tragedy was that black South Africans now needed constructive outside help and support more than ever.

The white electorate, having shown itself profoundly deaf to even the most moderate black aspirations, it would be a cruel irony for those few corporations genuinely committed to black advancement to have to leave.

Yet, even if government does not

live up to Botha's threats, staying on will now be inordinately more difficult. In just over a fortnight, Sullivan must decide whether to keep his promise to call for total divestment if apartheid has not been completely dissolved.

**I**t was a promise made in the heat of the domestic furore over "constructive engagement" that the Philadelphia pastor has come privately to regret. In recent months he has been casting around for an out.

Had it occurred, the positive realignment in Afrikaner politics touted prior to the election might have offered at least the outlines of an escape hatch. Now he is bricked in as never before.

If he does find a route, it will likely be along the lines suggested by British writer Anthony Sampson, who has established his credentials for the debate with "Black and Gold," his recent study of the corporate role in SA.

In last Friday's New York Times, Sampson argued somewhat backhandedly that US companies, however much they had "connived" with apartheid in the past, should stay because withdrawal would lead to US "indifference".

"The advocates of disinvestment, as against sanctions, need to rethink their policies ... Western governments and corporations need to maintain their own interests in a future democratic SA that can all too easily become not only anti-capitalist but anti-Western.

"This means that, while cutting their links with Pretoria, they must also give positive support to the black opposition in the escalating civil war."

In other words, more sanctions but keep the corporations in place as agents of Western influence. This is a formulation Sullivan might be tempted to buy, but it has several serious flaws.

To begin with, the next round of US sanctions is almost certain to extend the existing ban on new investment which already effectively condemns American-owned businesses in SA to uncompetitive obsolescence.

Investment may even be banned entirely, obliterating whatever distinction remains between sanctions and disinvestment.

**S**econd, and as noted above, Pretoria has already stated its intention to stop foreigners meddling and it is hard to see how else P W Botha would interpret foreign companies giving "positive support" to his opposition, especially when the departures have thus far proved less a burden than an economic boon.

Angola may be able to live with the idea of the US government backing its enemies while US oil companies pump its oil, but this is because the companies are not politically obtrusive and are a vital part of the economy. Neither even begins to apply in the South African case.

Sampson is afraid that "once American companies withdraw their investments, the American public will lose interest in SA generally." In this he is quite probably correct.

Once sanctions and disinvestment have reduced American leverage in SA to zero, there will be nothing left to do but sit and watch the night descend. This being a potentially embarrassing experience, the great American polity will wring its hands and go in search of some other mayhem to wreak.

**U**nfortunately, last Wednesday's election has brought this a step closer to happening, and the imperatives of electoral politics over here are doing nothing to help.

By year's end, Democratic presidential candidates will be falling over each other to appease Jackson as cheaply and painlessly as they know how. Jackson wants a mix of more sanctions and massive economic aid to the Frontline States.

The latter is painful, because it is expensive, and promising to give money to foreigners has never won anyone the presidency. Boer-bashing, on the other hand, is cheap and goes down a treat with the kind of activists who vote in Democratic primaries.

So perhaps it is just as well that Botha got his mandate for Gotterdammerung. The way things are going, he'll need it.

304A  
12/15/87 B/Day



12/5/87  
304A

# 'Brutal' self-probe for PFP after poll setback

Political Correspondent

THE overall leadership of the Progressive Federal Party would be under scrutiny as part of a "brutal self-examination" of the general election result, party leader Mr Colin Eglin said today.

A series of post-mortem examinations of the setbacks to the party last week start on Thursday at a parliamentary caucus meeting and continue on Saturday at a meeting of the expanded federal executive of the PFP.

There may at some stage also be a meeting of the party's federal council, its highest body outside its congress.

Mr Eglin today declined to say how he saw his position as leader. He said he had always regarded himself as an instrument at the disposal of the party. The party itself had to decide.

## APPRECIATION

Among PFP supporters there is some criticism of aspects of organisation and strategy during the election.

Some are critical of Mr Ken Andrew, chairman of the federal executive, and Mr Robin Carlisle, secretary-general. There is criticism of lack of liaison between these two leaders and some regions outside the Cape.

There is, however, appreciation for the role Mr Eglin has played since he was recalled as leader after the sudden departure of Dr Fréderik van Zyl Slabbert early last year.

PFP members say he kept the party together under difficult circumstances and maintain that the moderate alliance strategy in the election campaign was right in the light the leadership had at the time.



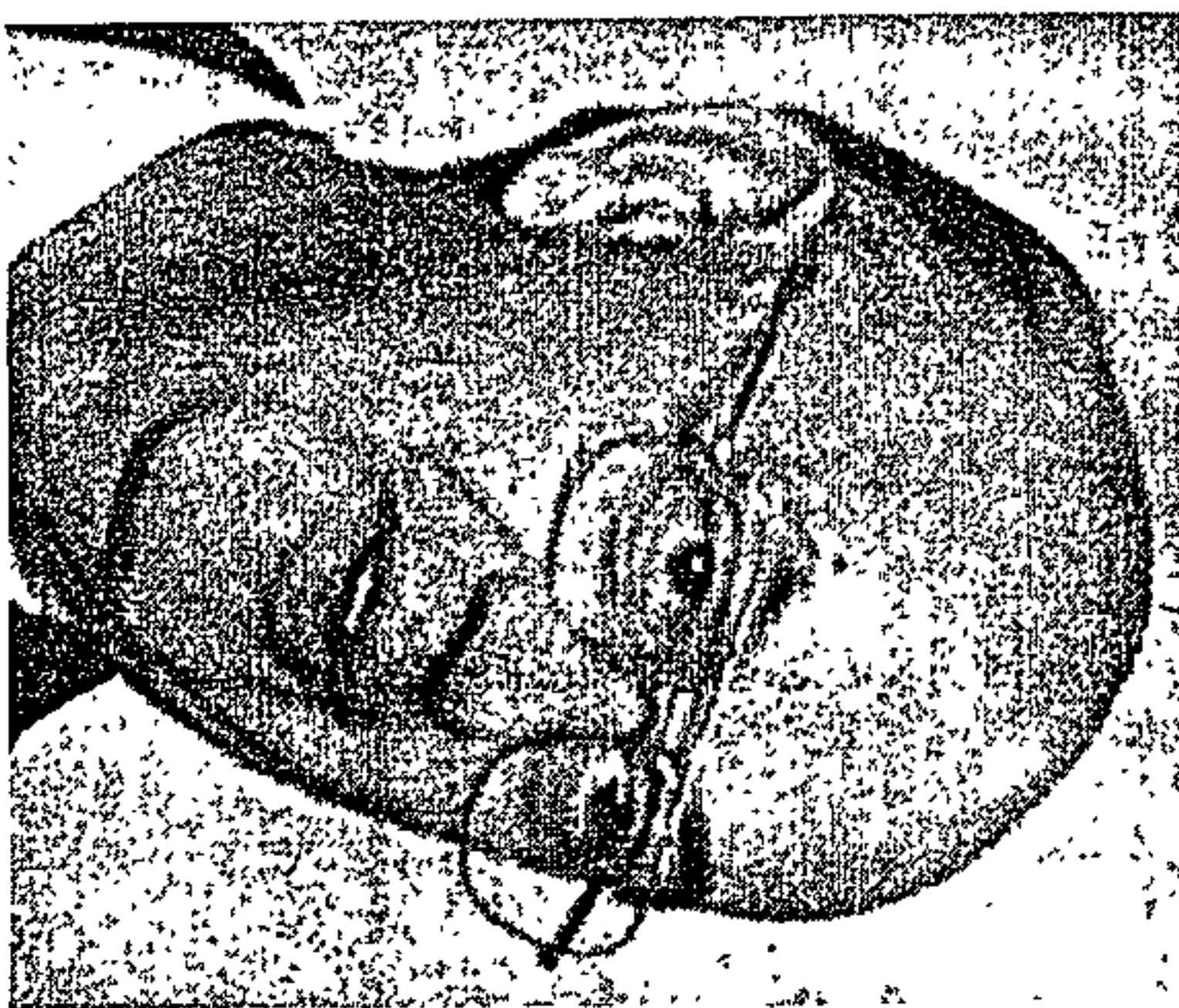
# Botha and US heading for collision

Eighty per cent of South Africans who voted last Wednesday opted for regression or, at best, highly defensive gradualism towards a future they dared not think about.

The State President, Mr P. W. Botha, received a mandate for Götterdämmerung, and the only question was whether he would have the political guts not to use it. In the United States, the Reverend Jesse Jackson became the frontrunner for the Democratic Party's 1988 presidential nomination. Two worlds, already close enough to have a destructive gravitational effect on each others' politics, are about to collide.

Those Americans who genuinely care about South Africa for its own sake, and not in the pursuit of some alien agenda, have been devastated by the election result. Many had staked their credibility on the theory that a good proportion of white South Africans, if not the bulk, genuinely wanted change, and wanted it far more quickly than Pretoria was prepared to accept. The South African electorate has mocked their optimism.

Look at the Nationalist breakaways, said the optimists, look at what is going on in the cracks and crevices: white politics is in foment, the monolith is crumbling. The evidence adduced in support of hope—Dr Dennis Worrall, Mr Wyand Malan, the anti-conscription movement, the protests at Wits and the University of Cape Town, the rebellious Natal Supreme Court, the



MR P. W. BOTHA

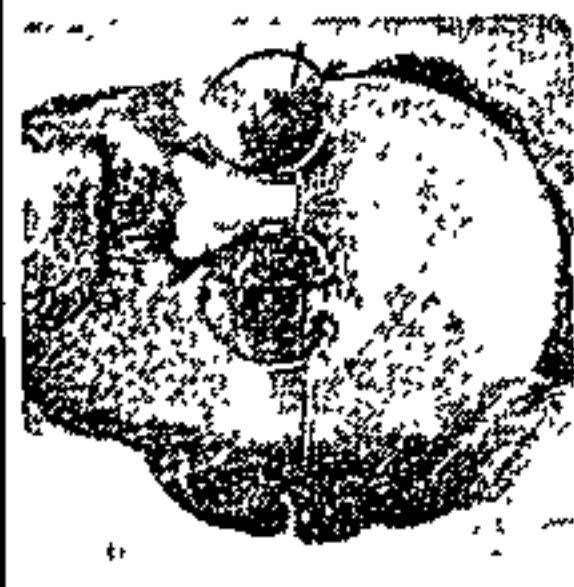
flouting of the Group Areas Act in places like Hillbrow—all has been proved grossly and misleadingly anecdotal by one and a half million South Africans who went to their polling places and said "enough".

The irony, of course, is that the sanctioners helped bring this about. It would be interesting to rewind history, remove the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act and play the elections back with sanctions featuring as a threat not a reality.

Logically, voters might have taken a more realistic look at themselves, blaming the grimness of their future on the government rather than the outside world. But there is no reward button, not even an intellectual one. There will be more sanctions, if they can be

## WASHINGTON LETTER

From  
SIMON  
BARBER



estment lobby that they were a significant part of an evolving process.

Instead they heard Mr. Botha threatening "a very strong stand on extraparliamentary actions" of the kind mandated by the Reverend Leon Sullivan in his call for "corporate disengagement".

Said one executive who has been at the forefront of the battle to keep US firms in South Africa: "The government has already been getting tough with us—now I am afraid they are going to tell us to stuff it, they don't want us around any more."

Several agreed that the real tragedy was that black South Africa now needed constructive outside help and support more than ever. The white electorate having shown itself profoundly deaf to even the most moderate black aspirations, it would be a cruel irony for those few corporations genuinely committed to black advancement to have to leave.

Yet, even if the government does not live up to Mr Botha's threats, staying on will now be inordinately more difficult. In just over a fortnight, Mr Sullivan must decide whether to keep his promise to call for total divestment if apartheid has not been completely dissolved. It was a promise made in the heat of the domestic furor over "constructive engagement" that the Philadelphia pastor has come privately to regret.

In recent months he has been casting around for an out. Had it occurred, the positive realignment in Afrikaner politics touted prior to the election might have offered at least the outlines of an escape hatch. Now he is bricked in as never before.

If he does find a route, it will likely be along the lines suggested by the British writer, Anthony Sampson, who has established his credentials for the debate with Black and Gold, his recent study of the corporate role in South Africa.

In Friday's New York Times, Sampson argued somewhat backhandedly that US companies, however much they had "connived" with apartheid in the past, should stay because withdrawal would lead to US "indifference".

"The advocates of dis-



THE REV JESSE JACKSON

investment, as against sanctions, need to rethink their policies... Western governments and corporations need to maintain their own interests in a future democratic South Africa that can all too easily become not only anti-capitalist but anti-Western.

"This means that while cutting their links with Pretoria, they must also give positive support to the black opposition in the escalating civil war."

In other words, more sanctions but keep the corporations in place as agents of Western influence. This is a formula that Mr Sullivan might be tempted to buy, but it has several serious flaws. To begin with, the next round of US sanctions are almost certain to extend the existing ban on new investment which already effec-

economy. Neither even begins to apply in the South African case. Sampson is afraid that "once American companies withdraw their investments, the American public will lose interest in South Africa generally". In this he is quite probably correct.

Once sanctions and disinvestment have reduced American leverage in the Republic to zero, there will be nothing left to do but sit and watch the night descend. This being a potentially embarrassing experience, the great American policy will wring its hands and go in search of some other mayhem to wreak.

Unfortunately, Wednesday's election has brought this a step closer to happening, and the imperatives of electoral politics over here are doing nothing to help.

By year's end, Democratic presidential candidates will be falling over each other to appease Mr Jackson as cheaply and painlessly as they know how. Mr Jackson wants a mix of more sanctions and massive economic aid to the frontline states.

The latter is painful because it is expensive and promising to give money to foreigners has never won anyone the presidency. Boer-bashing on the other hand is cheap and goes down a treat with the kind of activists who vote in Democratic primaries.

So perhaps it is just as well Mr Botha got his mandate for Götterdämmerung. The way things are going, hell, need it.



*Care Times 13/5/87*  
**NP offices vandalized** *3067*

MARITZBURG. — Vandals caused about R7 000 damage when they broke into the National Party offices here and smashed office equipment. Police said the vandals appeared to have entered through a hole in the roof.



# Independents 'won't form a party yet'

ONE TIME'S 13/5/87 304A

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — An announcement by the independents of the formation of a political party is highly unlikely at today's crucial strategy meeting of the three independents who stood in the election.

This was confirmed yesterday by Mr Harald Pakendorf, political commentator and spokesman for Randburg's independent MP, Mr Wynand Malan.

"I don't think a political party will be formed immediately. The independents will go their own way and no deals will be made," he told the German Chamber of Commerce here.

Scotching rumour of an independent alliance with the Pro-

gressive Federal Party, Mr Pakendorf said: "You cannot win a race by saddling a dead horse."

And in a scathing attack on the PFP, he predicted that several MPs would defect to the independents over the next 18 months.

But "blood members" such as Mrs Helen Suzman would remain loyal to the party, while younger PFP supporters would drift to the UDF, he added.

In an election post-mortem, Mr Pakendorf challenged the popular view that voters had swung sharply to the right.

"The results showed an opening to the left," he said.

This was because the NP had created a "fickle base" by broadening its traditional support from Afikaners to include immigrants and English-speaking South Africans.

Also, the party's "confrontational" policies would cause tension in the NP caucus.

Mr Pakendorf predicted that over the next month the government would outlaw foreign funding of non-parliamentary groups, step up detentions, clamp down on the unions and continue to restrict the freedom of assembly.

The message of the election, he said, was that the South African electorate was saying no to foreign interference, violence and lack of security.

But three-quarters of the electorate had voted to include blacks into the political system.

The independents — Mr Malan, Dr Denis Worrall and Dr Esther Lategan — had shown "reason" to be a growth industry, Mr Pakendorf said.



## Pik on councillor's emigration

Cape Times 13/5/87 (3064)

Political Correspondent

MR Mike Sutherland's decision to resign as PFP city councillor in Johannesburg and emigrate to Australia had "nothing to do with the election result", Mr Pik Botha said last night.

Mr Sutherland this week dashed the Progressive Federal Party's hopes of controlling Johannesburg City Council when he announced that the loss of

the Hillbrow seat in the general election to the National Party had forced his decision to emigrate.

However, the Minister of Foreign Affairs said last night that Mr Sutherland "had already applied for permanent residence in Australia some time ago" and that his move to Australia "has nothing to do with the election result".



MR. T. 13/5/87  
NRP  
(304A)  
**'cannot  
carry on  
as now'**

DURBAN. — For the New Republic Party to carry on as it is now, "would be a futility".

NRP Natal leader Mr D W Watterson said this about the party's future only a few days before the NRP federal council meets here to decide whether it should continue or fold up.

Mr Watterson said the federal council meeting would begin on Friday afternoon, carry on that evening and end on Saturday morning.

Asked about his own political future in the event of the NRP being wound up, Mr Watterson said he was "interested in Denis Worrall's independent movement".

"They are just about in line with NRP policy, anyway," he said.

"Of course I cannot comment on what the main body of federal council may feel."

□ Meanwhile, the three political parties in the House of Assembly will hold caucus meetings this week to decide on their nominations for indirectly elected MPs.

The NP can nominate six (two Transvaal, two Cape and one each for Natal and the OFS) of the eight nominated members, with the CP and the PFP one each. — Sapa







CAL Times 13/5/87 (44) (3042)

# Politics' 'growing role' in economy

By JANE ARBOUS

POLITICS would play an increasing role in the economy and investors needed to make far more use of political factors in making investment decisions, MP Harry Schwarz said yesterday.

The finance spokesman for the Progressive Federal Party was addressing the Fintel investment strategy conference on the influence of politics on financial markets.

Schwarz said investors did not only want to see share prices go up, but also looked at the potential of a company in the economy as a whole.

Political factors to watch included the general level of political stability, industrial peace,

sanctions and disinvestment, the impact of confidence on domestic savings which affected capital formation, the ability to attract foreign investment, and the degree of violence affecting businesses and everyday life.

Violence, he said, was endemic to South Africa and because people were used to it, it had far less effect on investment decisions than in the past. Strikes were also perceived as being part of the scene.

Commenting on election implications, he said the nature and pace of reform would determine the level of stability. However, pressure from the Conservative Party as the new opposition would be counter-productive to reform and there was now a real

risk that there could be a right-wing government within five years.

There was also no real long-term constitutional plan on the drawing board and no meaningful plan to deal with overseas pressure and unemployment.

□ Roger Gidlow, an advisor to the Reserve Bank, told the conference that in his opinion there were three main factors which had led to increased world anxiety and the consequent rise in the gold price.

These were the state of Third World debt and the intensifying trend towards unilateral reschedulings, the dollar position and growing threats posed by protectionism.



# Nat poll strategy 'in tune with electorate'

Voters favoured reform but expressed anxiety about security. The Argus Political Staff reports

THE National Party's Reform, Yes — Surrender, No election strategy was perfectly in tune with the needs of the electorate, an analysis of the pre-election poll, conducted by Marketing and Media Research, has found.

Mrs Jos Kuper, managing director of MMR, says that while respondents in the poll, which correctly forecast the outcome in six key constituencies, generally favoured the principle of reform, most also expressed anxiety about security.

The poll was commissioned by The Argus and sister newspapers and correctly forecast the results in Bezuidenhout, Germiston District, Randburg, Waterkloof, Port Natal and Helderberg.

At the time of the poll findings being published those parties which it was said would lose strongly denied the accuracy of the predictions.

Actual percentage votes predicted in the constituencies were also very close to the final outcome of the elections.

"Several issues were polled as well as the voting patterns and these have relevance for the post election situation," says Mrs Kuper.

"It must be borne in mind in interpreting the



## Two crucial seats

**HELDERBERG:** Heunis likely to withstand Worrall's challenge

**RANDBURG:** Victory forecast for Wynand Malan

**FLASHBACK:** The Argus election poll correctly forecast the results in key constituencies

findings, however, that these six constituencies are not necessarily representative of the national situation.

"In all, 2 151 people were polled, of whom 1 147 said they were Nationalists, 225 were Conservative Party or Herstigte Nasionale Party supporters, 442 Progressive Federal Party or New Republic Party supporters and the remainder claimed no party identification or identified with a non-parliamentary party."

The poll found that 44 percent of the Nationalists were in favour of abolishing the Group Areas Act, 34 percent felt that apartheid was to blame for the country's economic problems, 33 percent felt that the tricameral parliamentary system had not been a success and 30 percent believed that reform promises had not been met.

"There was clear endorsement of the 'Reform, Yes' statement. On the security issue, 'Surrender, No' strategy clearly paid off since 82 percent of the Nationalists polled felt the African National Congress should stay banned.

"Looking more closely at this issue, however, the poll revealed that 54 percent of the Nationalist sympathisers felt the government should negotiate with the ANC if it renounced or suspended violence, while 36 percent felt no negotiation should take place

and five percent felt the negotiation should be unconditional.

"A further five percent had no real views on this.

"Similarly, a closer look at the significance of attitudes to the Group Areas Act reveals that 45 percent of the Nationalists polled believed that people should live where they could afford and a further 19 percent felt that some areas should be for all races while other areas should be segregated — the so-called grey areas option.

"However, a third felt that the Group Areas Act should remain in force. Only three percent had no real opinion on this issue.

### 'Substantially more liberal'

"As far as PFP or NRP supporters were concerned, their views were substantially more liberal on all issues but what was clear was their anxiety about the security situation, particularly among women.

"The CP supporters, on the other hand, were strongly and solidly against any reform moves.

"In a question relating to the types of government respondents would prefer, 71 percent of the NP sympathisers favoured the NP's reform programme, 19 percent an all-race, all-party coalition of moderates, seven percent a conservative government

which entrenches separation of races and three percent had no view on this.

"While this 'government preference' was not enough to entice entrenched and traditional NP sympathisers away from the NP on election day, it does indicate a readiness in the minds of these people for the party to move sharply in the direction of reform.

"The NP emphasis in the days just before the election on the 'ANC gevaar' seems to have been a clever strategy since it dovetailed with the attitudes not only of their own supporters but also with those of the PFP/NRP supporters polled and, of course, with those of the rightwing.

"Fully 67 percent of the leftwingers believed the government should only negotiate with the ANC if it renounced or suspended violence and a further 12 percent felt no negotiation should take place at all.

"It seems then that the results confirm that the NP was closely in tune with the needs of the electorate as far as their election strategy was concerned — 'Reform, Yes — Surrender, No' — crystallising the party position in a way that clearly met the needs of the white voter in general.

"They must, however, not ignore the strength of the reform-minded viewpoint polled when formulating their policy for the future."



# Wiley inquest

11645  
14/5/87

3044

● Two telephone calls the night before he shot himself

● Mrs Wiley heard bangings; she didn't know he had a gun

● 'It's too late' — 'it's all over' — as she phoned for help

By JOHN YEID and DICK USHER, Staff Reporters

MR. John Wiley, the former Minister of Environment Affairs, took two telephone calls in his bedroom the night before he shot himself in his Noordhoek home, a Simon's Town inquest heard today.

A police constable on guard duty at the Minister's house said in an affidavit that Mr Wiley appeared to be normal when he arrived home about 8pm.

Mrs Jeanne Wiley said she poured him a drink, they watched some television and later went to their separate bedrooms.

Mr Wiley went to bed and she lay and read. They had separate bedrooms and everyone was happy with the arrangement, she said.

The inquest found that Mr Wiley died of a self-inflicted firearm wound and that his death had not been caused by any act or omission or offence by another person.

## Telephone calls

Mr E. W. Rothwell, deputy Attorney-General, read and summarised affidavits and documents at the inquest before Mr Willem van Zyl, chief Magistrate of Cape Town.

Constable Stefanus Coetzee said he had been on duty at the Wiley home from about 6pm on March 28. Mr Wiley arrived home about 8pm when he appeared to be normal.

From 9pm Constable Coetzee was on duty alone and about 10pm the phone in Mr Wiley's bedroom rang and he heard Mr Wiley speak. A short while later the phone rang again and Mr Wiley answered it. The officer said he could not hear what was said.

Mr Wiley's widow, Mrs Jeanne Wiley, said in an affidavit that she had been married to Mr Wiley for six years.

On the day before the death she returned home and Mr Wiley was out. She thought he was canvassing for the election.

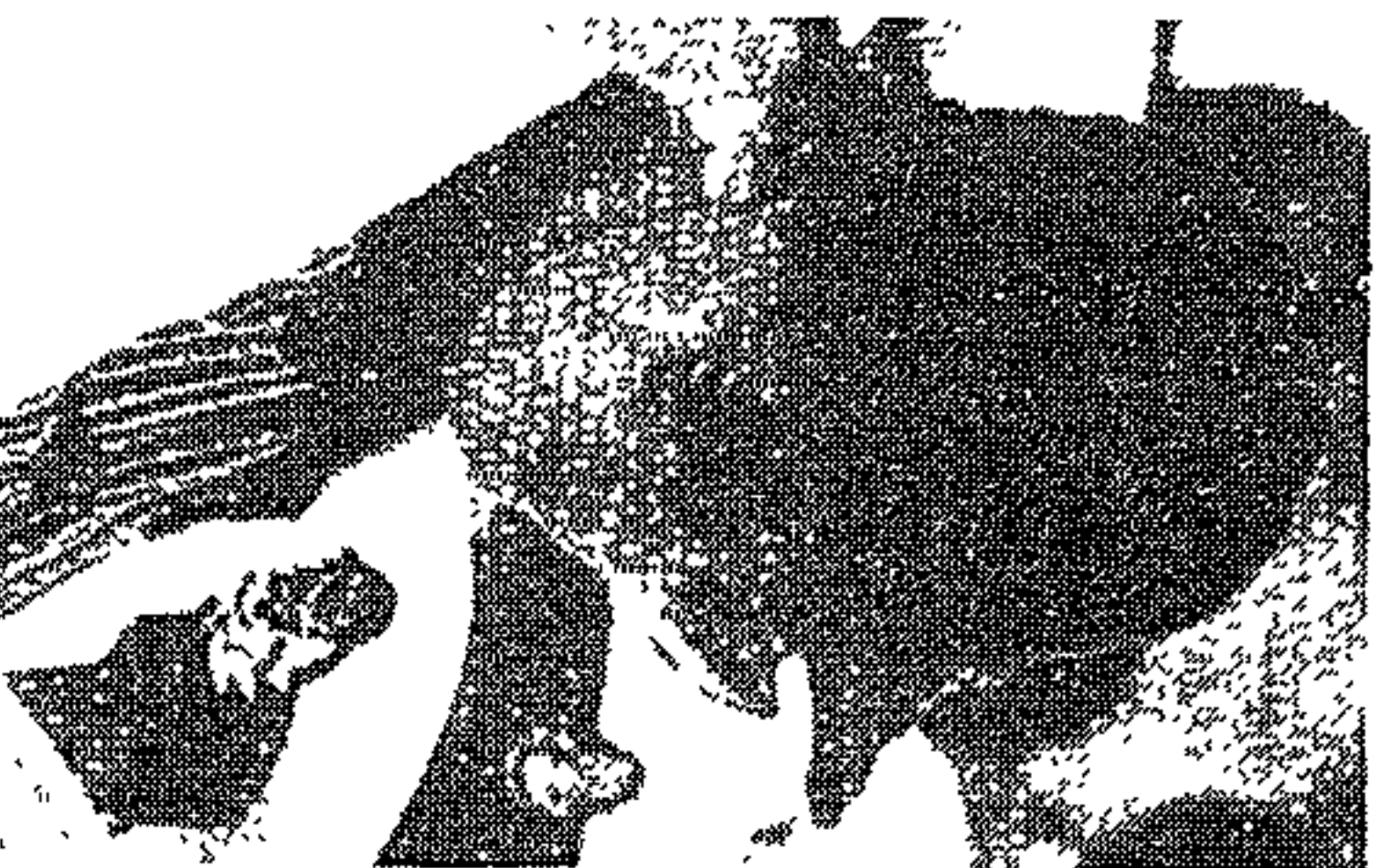
Mr Wiley arrived home at about 7.50pm. She poured him a drink and found out he had seen his son Mark about canvassing.

## Separate bedrooms

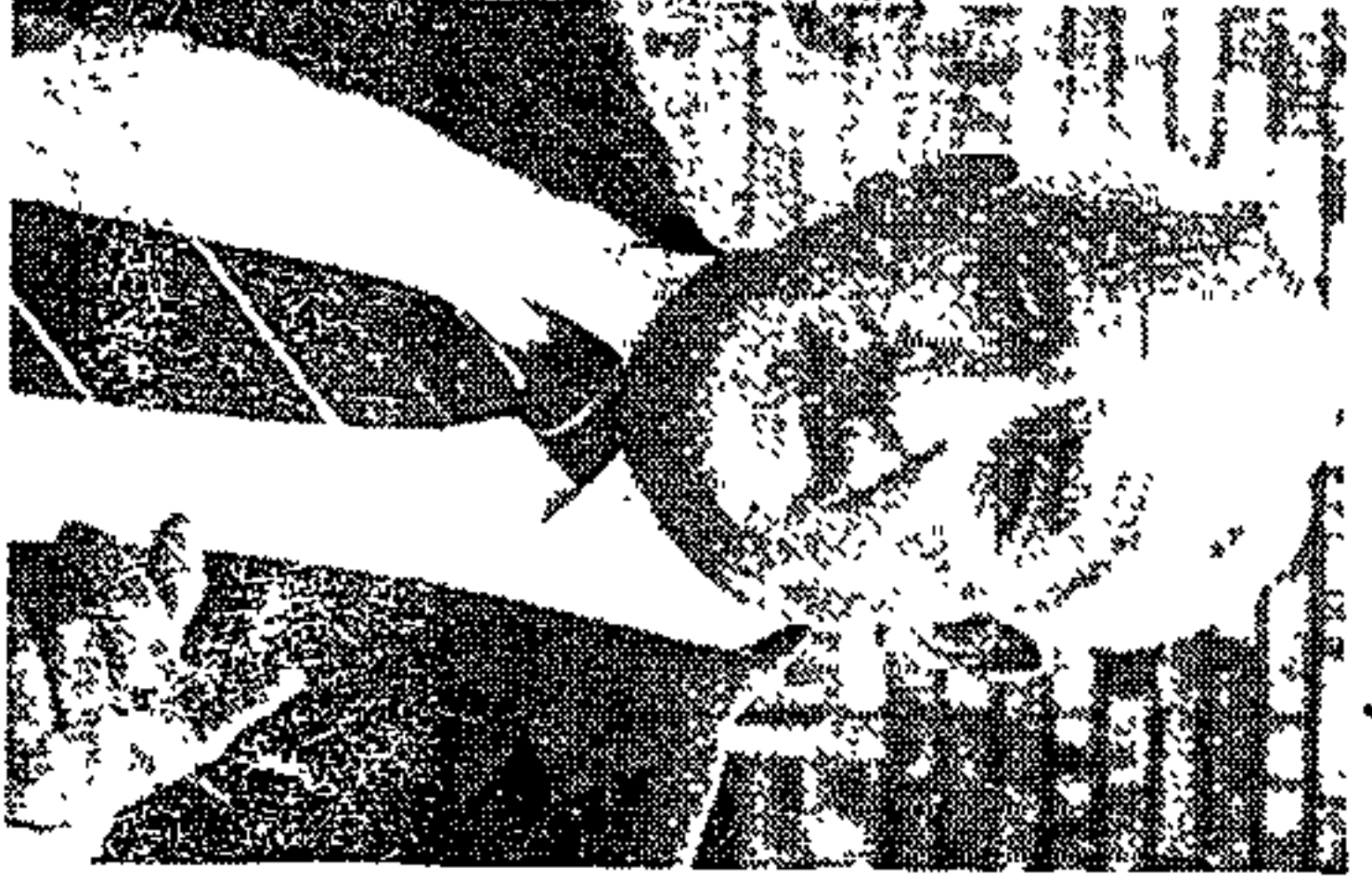
They watched some of television and later went to their separate bedrooms. Mr Wiley went to bed while she lay and read.

They had separate bedrooms and everyone was happy with the arrangement, she said.

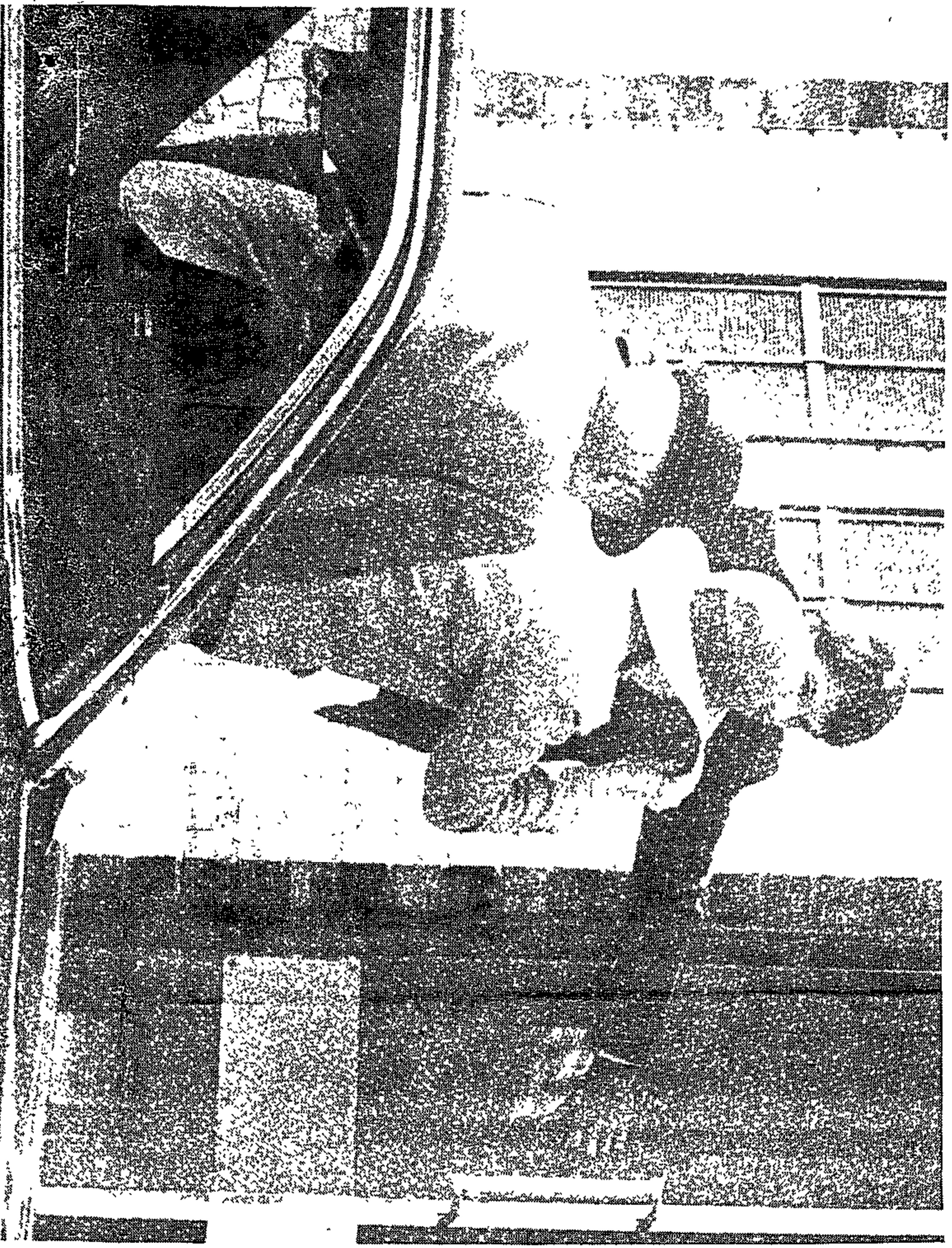
Mr Wiley had an official telephone in his study with an extension in his bedroom.



Mrs Jeanne Wiley



W/O Christiaan Raath  
... investigating the death.



FAMILY: Mr Wiley's widow, Mrs Jeanne Wiley, enters the Simon's Town Magistrate's Court today, with her father Mr Percy Niehaus, left, and son Mark.

Pictures: DANA LE ROUX, The Argus



NEWS 14/5/7

## Wiley inquest

(Cont. from Page 1)

marks such as "it is too late" and "it's all over".

Mrs Wiley said she thought her husband would not have tackled the election if he had not thought he was going to win. There was some concern over finances but she did not think it was either that or the election which brought him to shoot himself.

She said she had heard bangings during the night but her room was round a corner and the two bedrooms were separated by cupboards.

She had taken a sleeping pill and slept well that night.

### BEER

She had her own firearm but was unaware that Mr Wiley had one.

Mr Mark Wiley said he had seen his father on the afternoon of March 28 while he was canvassing in Fish Hoek. Mr Wiley had joined him in their caravan about 7.30pm and they had a beer. His father appeared normal and left about 7.45pm.

About 11.15am the next day he received a telephone call as a result of which he went to his father's home. He found Mrs Wiley who appeared agitated.

He checked the bedroom door and went to a stoep window which was ajar, peered through and saw his father on the bed. There was a substantial amount of blood on his head and he was lying in a natural sleeping position.

He opened the window and climbed in. He said he found blood on the bed and saw the silver glint of an old .32 revolver in Mr Wiley's hand.

### UNLOCKED

The body was cold and he could not feel a pulse.

He unlocked the door and told Mrs Wiley that Mr Wiley had shot himself. She asked: "Is he dead?"

He replied: "Yes, I think so."

According to Mr Mark Wiley's affidavit, he had been working with his father on the election campaign. His father had been looking tired and drained but, from canvassing and postal votes, he had every reason to be confident.

Mr Wiley said his father had been "bitter and disillusioned" in recent months and wished people would recognise his efforts for the sincere spirit in which they were made.

He said his father's direct involvement in the San Michelle Estate had ended some time previously.



ARGUS 14/5/87 254

TH. — The Defence Force's main  
up a political system based on  
political rights for the majority  
conscientious objector Philip  
Magistrate's Court here.  
onvicted yesterday of failing to  
service after changing his plea  
guilty  
rt: "Until this Government rea-  
deprive South Africans of these  
ll live in a state of civil war.  
refuse to fight in the SADF is  
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#### ING TOWNSHIPS

attending non-racial Catholic  
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for prejudiced bosses had led  
position.

ere comes a point when we can  
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to justify conscription and has  
l public debate on the subject."

#### CHRISTIAN

was a Christian committed to  
for a better future for all South

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and the teachings of the Catho-  
n him to identify with the suf-  
fessed.  
ies.



Mr John Wiley

**BRUSH CUTTERS  
and TRIMMERS**



# 'Things are going to get harder'

224A

By SAHM VENTER

"PHAROAH'S heart has been hardened," said United Democratic Front former Western Cape chairperson Wilfred Rhodes after his release from detention last Friday. Commenting on the recent white election, he said: "We have got to the stage where things are going to be much harder."

Rhodes, the father of two teenage daughters, had been in emergency detention for nearly 11 months without being charged.

Part of a group of 109 detainees at Victor Verster Prison who went on hunger strike on March 12, Rhodes said he was "physically, mentally and psychologically fit".

His release came at the time of a pending Supreme Court application partly on the grounds of his wife's ill-health. Mrs Magdalena Rhodes has cancer.

Rhodes' attorneys confirmed that they had withdrawn the court application. Both parties are to pay their own costs.

While he was told he was being released on "humanitarian grounds", his application for release on those grounds last year

was turned down by the Minister of Law and Order Adrian Vlok. "Where did they come to this work 'humanitarian' all of a sudden?" he said.

Mrs Rhodes, who was under tremendous strain from her health and her husband's detention, was far more relaxed within a day of his release. It was a surprise for her even though her daughter, Glynis, had been informed. Seeing her husband at the gate was "a real surprise", she said.

"I just had to run to him."

The day after his release, Rhodes was eagerly catching up on the news and events since his detention on June 12 last year. "I'm still in 1986," he said.

"Maybe, like in the days of the pharaohs, with death and destruction we will get freedom. But do we really want South Africa scorched so that in the end there is nothing for anybody?"

Rhodes now faces the daunting prospect of job hunting. Since 1984 when he lost his job due to his political involvement, he has been in and out of work.

While he has never committed a crime, he is refused jobs on the grounds of "a police record" because of detention.



Mr Rhodes after his release last Friday

Picture: RASHID LOMBARD



*CALC. Tink 14/5/87*  
**RAU job for De Klerk** *2047*

JOHANNESBURG. — Former Rapport editor Dr Willem de Klerk has accepted a full-time position as professor of communications at the Rand Afrikaans University.



# Botha not man for reform Nickel

8/10 Day 14/5/87  
30th

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — CP gains in last week's elections had "disposed" of any hope that SA's political deadlock could be broken and had reduced US influence to "an all-time low", a former American envoy to Pretoria, Herman Nickel, said yesterday.

He told the Heritage Foundation much of the blame could be placed on the comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act.

Nickel said: "The outcome of the May 6 elections have confirmed the worst fears of those of us who have argued that the imposition of sanctions would strengthen the right wing.

"There is no doubt at all that the action of Congress helped to strengthen the defiant and xenophobic streak that has been part of the Afrikaner psyche."

He ruled out "an Armageddon kind of scenario" for SA's future, predicting an open-ended period of "violent evolution" combining "moves toward accommodation and continued violence.

"Under pressure from a powerful right-wing opposition, which it will have to face again in general elections, and locked into its dogmatic commitment to a race-based system, it seems unlikely a government headed by P W Botha will offer a framework for negotiation which even moderate black leaders like Chief Mangosothu Buthelezi will find acceptable."

Nickel made it clear he was convinced Botha was not the man to lead SA towards reform.



# Stalemate is needed before govt and ANC will negotiate

Cape Times 14/5/87 (304A)



By HERIBERT ADAM  
Extract from an address  
to the Cape Town Press Club

**T**HERE is a likely possibility that the current three parliaments will neither be re-elected nor have their terms extended in 1989 when new elections for all three houses are due constitutionally.

The power holders may deem this necessary not because their re-election would be threatened by either the ultra-right or the liberals but because of the politicizing upheaval which a renewed campaign for illegitimate racial houses would cause, particularly in the coloured and Indian groups. This year would have seen the last racial election indeed.

The democratic veneer for a pure executive state would be provided by periodic referenda on issues carefully selected and pretested. The new element of these plebiscites is most likely to be a one-person-one-vote system of all South African citizens, including blacks.

The executive, endorsed by these referenda, would also be a multiracial one, including recognized African leaders willing to be co-opted.

It would include an offer of an important portfolio to a released Mandela, Buthelezi and other credible opposition figures, which is likely to be rejected by the ANC/UDF representatives but not necessarily by other black factions.

However, government planners calculate that under such a non-racial system of periodic plebiscites they would:

- (a) meet the demand for universal franchise on a common voters role ("broadening democracy");
- (b) regain some domestic and international legitimacy because of African inclusion and visibility on the executive ("highest level");
- (c) yet ensure "controlled and ordered change" under NP tutelage.

**R**ESISTANCE to a suspension of the present constitution would mainly come from the ultra-right. But since the CP has no chance of replacing the NP at the polls, NP planners hope to pacify CP objections through patronage appointments in the expanded executive state. It would be marketed under the label of re-unifying Afrikanerdom/whites and leaders of goodwill from other groups in an emergency coalition of all moderates.

If need be, such an "interim government" would then seriously negotiate with the ANC.

Since it will be a non-racial executive with a broader base of conservatives from all groups, including business support, the ANC will not reject negotiations with such a formation. A straight seizure of power is now considered impossible by the majority of the ANC executive, including the SACP leadership. Negotiations would be mainly about the terms of ANC inclusion and the restoration of a new parliamentary system rather than about the transfer of power.

Negotiations would not falter on the

question of socialism and nationalization. The ANC, including the SACP, now advocates a mixed economy where the major corporations would be taxed rather than taken over.

However, on four issues a substantial restructuring of existing economic relations is the likely outcome of such negotiations:

- (1) a redistribution of under-utilized land to African farmers;
- (2) a far-reaching industrial democracy with statutory union participation in major management decisions along the German co-determination model;
- (3) a rapid Africanization of the civil service, particularly the parastatals and;
- (4) a nationalization of banks, as in France. ("First National" would become the "First Nationalized"). A reformed social-democratic welfare capitalism could find an acceptable compromise on all four issues with Congress.

**A**FTER the Chris Ball case, Pretoria has successfully cowed corporate heads to avoid being labelled "friends of the enemy" for the time being. Business has largely failed to educate its own organization for non-racial alternatives and negotiations outside government parameters.

A conservative in-house constituency and lack of support among associates constrains even the handful of far-sighted entrepreneurs. The "enemy-image" also harms profits when prejudiced customers and public institutions withhold orders or transfer their accounts, as happened with certain financial institutions.

The often-diagnosed crisis has not yet arrived in the perception of the majority of whites, despite a simmering civil war. Sanctions so far remain symbolic and have not really hurt.

The 50% decline in the value of the currency in 1985 has benefited the export sector. The Johannesburg stock market is booming as never before. Cash-saturated local conglomerates are happy to buy out abconding foreign companies at bargain prices.

Few politicians and privileged voters anticipate the long-term costs of a delegitimated state with a siege economy but rely on the short-term boom of import substitution and inflation.

The growing structural unemployment and soaring crime rate has hardly yet made life intolerable in the secluded white enclaves of affluence.

Unfortunately, the political crisis has yet to worsen before it gets better in South Africa. Only when a shared perception of stalemate exists will both sides negotiate in good faith. As long as each side feels in the ascendancy, the violence without victory will continue.

*[Heribert Adam is Professor of Sociology at Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, British Columbia, and the author of major studies on South African politics.]*



# AFTERMATH OF THE VOTE

W/Mail (384A)  
8-14/87

## As the night wears on, the Progs face a bitter truth: 'We've been hammered!'

By PATRICK LAURENCE

COLIN EGLIN'S cherished vision of his Progressive Federal Party as an embryonic alternative government was shattered as the general election results poured in yesterday.

Eglin conceded as much when he said: "I cannot deny that the results pose a major setback for the PFP and the concept of a reform alliance developing into an alternative government for South Africa."

His belief that the election was an opportunity to build a government-in-waiting, rather than merely to establish a stronger opposition, was exposed as a myth as the PFP suffered a nett loss of six seats to the ruling National Party and was left vulnerable in several more.

The decisive shift to the right of the white electorate constituted conclusive proof of a fundamental truth about South Africa's parliamentary politics: governments of the day have only been ousted by parties to their right.

The movement to the right, with the NP gaining seats from the PFP but shedding supporters to the Conservative Party, raises fundamental questions about the role and future of parliamentary parties seeking to nudge South Africa toward a non-racial society.

The opposition by white voters at the polls on Wednesday has to be compared with the opposition of blacks on the factory floor.

Where fewer than 350 000 voters cast their votes for the PFP, the New Republic Party and the trio of independents, about one million black workers are conservatively estimated by the Labour Monitoring Group to have risked their jobs by staying at home in protest against the whites-only election. An additional one million students and scholars stayed away from their classes.

Can the liberal parliamentary parties ever achieve enough leverage to fulfil their declared aim or do they merely add a facade of democratic respectability to a racially-based system designed to perpetuate white paramouncy?

These questions were asked by the former PFP leader, Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, last year when he resigned in disgust from parliament. They have been given new urgency by the poll results.

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu minced no words on the issue yesterday. "Get out of parliament," he urged the PFP. "You have given the world the impression that we have a multi-party democracy when it is now quite clear we have a total charade."

● To PAGE 2



PFP election workers in Bezuidenhout hear of their party's overwhelming defeat in Hillbrow. Minutes later they were told of the PFP's surprise loss in their own constituency  
Picture: ERIC MILLER, Afrapix

THE CONTENTS OF THIS NEWSPAPER HAVE BEEN RESTRICTED IN TERMS OF THOSE EMERGENCY REGULATIONS WHICH CONTINUE TO APPLY

P.T.O.

767



# Progs urged: Get out of parliament

304A

●From PAGE 1

The catalogue of disaster for the PFP was unrelied in Natal, where the PFP-NRP alliance failed to make headway. While many observers anticipated that the pro-Indaba stance would win votes for the alliance, it did not do so.

Instead it was the anti-Indaba NP which gained five Natal seats, three from the moribund NRP and two from the not so robust PFP.

It is hard to avoid the conclusion that whites in Natal saw the NP's rejection of the Indaba as a comforting bulwark against black rule — even by well-disciplined and pro-capitalist cadres of Inkatha — and not as a missed opportunity to do a deal with "moderates".

The disaster for the PFP and its allies was faintly mitigated by the independent Nationalists. Wynand Malan won in Randburg, Esther Lategan put up a credible performance in Stellenbosch and the articulate Denis Worrall came within a whisker of unseating President PW Botha's loyal lieutenant, Chris Heunis, at Helderberg.

But these results are dwarfed by the shift to the right. They remain, for the moment, anomalies rather than — as Malan and Worrall proclaimed boldly at the polling booths — evidence of a "new spirit" and a "new vision".

The shift to the right was starkly manifest in the final election results. The NP improved its tally of seats from 116 at the dissolution of parliament to more than 120. Its gains were largely at the expense of the PFP.

While the NP captured seats from the CP, they were seats which were favourable to the NP. The sitting CP MPs won them originally under NP

STATE OF THE PARTIES	
NP	123
PFP	19
CP	21
NRP	1
HNP	0
IND	1

\* With 1 result unknown

colours in the 1981 general election before they broke away from the NP under Andries Treurnicht a year later to form the CP.

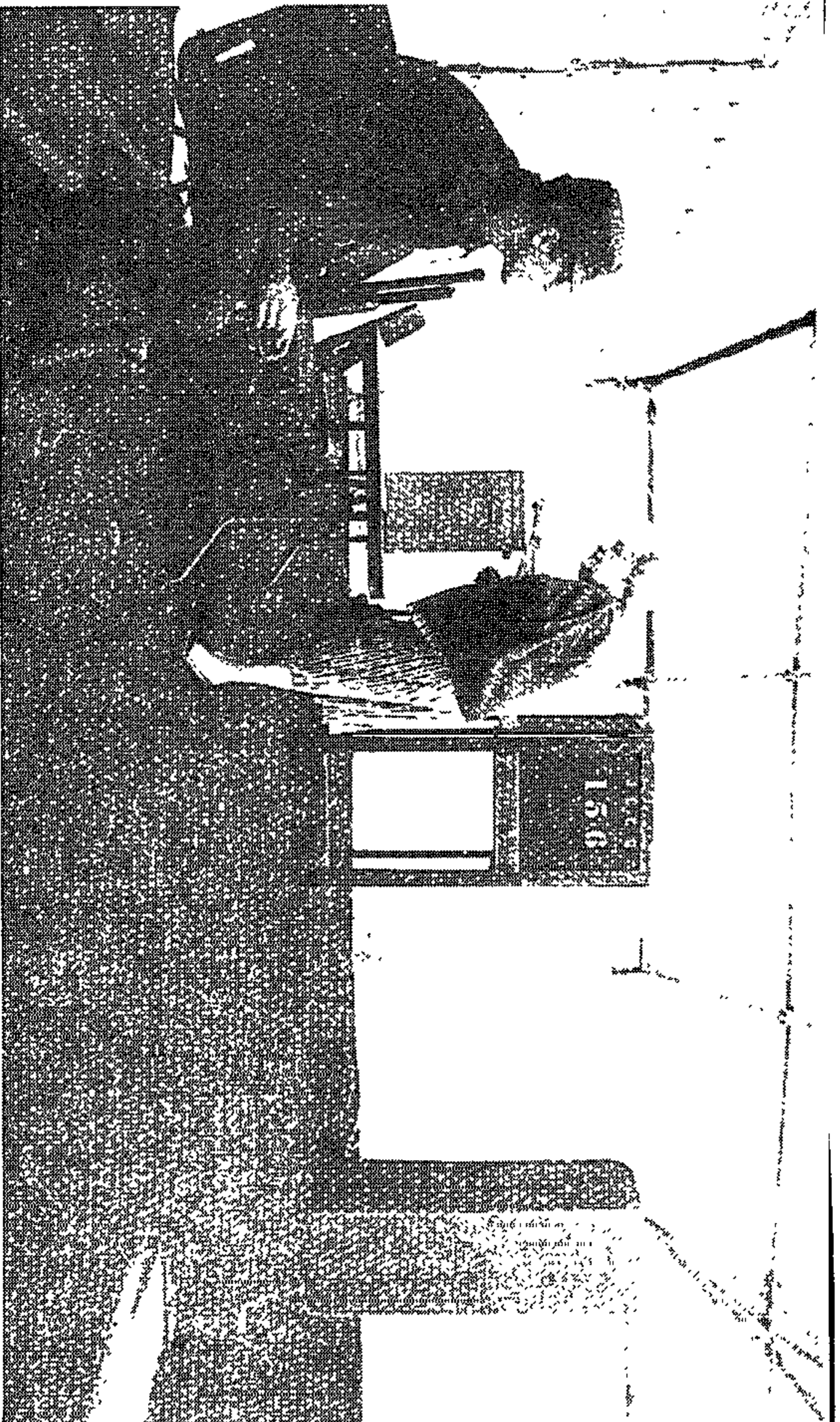
The rise of the ultra-right as a looming force in white parliamentary politics was manifest in two facts: the CP made a net gain of at least four seats at the expense of the NP and ousted the PFP to become the official opposition.

The CP's post-election status as the official opposition (unless the PFP can form an alliance with both the NRP and Wynand Malan) means that for the first time since the 1948 election, the majority opposition is a party to the right of the government.

That is an ominous development for the NP, given the precedents of right-wing parties taking over as the government.

Two further points should be noted about the overall shift to the right of

Security ... present as an issue in the election and physically at the polls as a woman casts her ballot in the Bezuidenhout constituency.



the white electorate.

First, the NP made inroads into largely English-speaking urban seats which were considered to be virtually unassailable. Even the redoubtable Helen Suzman, South Africa's longest-serving MP and doyenne of South African liberalism, had to suffer the indignity of a reduced majority.

In the Johannesburg area the NP captured Hillbrow, Bezuidenhout and Edenvale. In Pietermaritzburg it captured two more supposedly "safe" PFP seats.

Second, the CP won in poorer, Afrikaner-dominated urban seats, disproving a popular — and comforting — view that its support base is largely confined to predominantly Afrikaner rural areas in the Transvaal.

In middle sized Transvaal towns, the CP attracted many votes, unseating the

Minister of Agriculture, Greyling Wentzel, in Bethal, Deputy Minister Hendrik Tempel in Ermelo, and giving the former Minister of Law and Order, Louis le Grange, a bad fright in Potchefstroom.

But it won seats, too, in the heavily populated Witwatersrand, which, as the NP noted in the days of Smuts, is the key to power in South Africa. Seats won by the CP on the Rand included Roodepoort, Randfontein (where ex-Info Minister, Connie Mulder, won a long fight to return to parliament) and Nigel.

The CP, formed by dissident right-wing rebels in the NP in 1982, might have won several more seats if it had reached an pact with the smaller ultra-rightist Herstigte Nasionale Party. In at least eight seats the combined ultra-right vote was larger than that of the victorious NP.

But the demise of the HNP is clearly

foreshadowed in its disastrous showing at the polls. Consequently, at the election, due in 1989 (if the NP has the stomach for it), the ultra-right will not be divided. There will be only one ultra-right party: the CP.

The CP's strong surge in the Transvaal, where it won all its seats, turned many "safe" NP seats into marginal seats. The scheduled reallocation of seats from the Cape to the Transvaal will make matters worse for the NP in the 1989 election.

Nat MPs in these marginal seats will be nervous of further reform and almost certainly try to slow it down. Even before the CP gains, Botha was constantly looking nervously over his right shoulder whenever he contemplated substantive reform measures to placate the angry, disenfranchised black majority. He is unlikely to be less conscious of the CP now.

Picture: ERIC MILLER, Atrapix



CAPE TIMES

14/5/87

3047

# Independents set up 'movement'



Dr Worrall, Dr Lategan and Mr Jannie Momberg (Dr Worrall's campaign manager) shortly after a meeting with Mr Malan, who is ill in bed at his Randburg home, yesterday.

## Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The three independents have formed an informal Continuity Committee on which people from all over the country will be invited to serve to mobilize support for a non-racial "independent movement".

The committee will provide a means of political expression for those seeking a peaceful, negotiated future for South Africa, the three candidates in the election — Mr Wynand Malan, MP, Dr Esther Lategan and Dr Denis Worrall — said in a statement yesterday.

The announcement came in the wake of the election defeats of Dr Lategan and Dr Worrall.

They pledged to continue the independent movement.

"During the election campaign it became clear that the spirit which emerged in Randburg, Helderberg and Stellenbosch reflects a nation-wide yearning — far beyond the three constituencies — for a fresh approach and new processes to deal with South Africa's pressing political problems."

They said the committee had been set up after several consultations yesterday with principal supporters.

Their statement said: "Rejecting all foreign interference and violence, the Movement will pursue its aims by all lawful and peaceful means."

"This includes participation in the present parliamentary system and the initiation of and participation in negotiation, contact and bridge-building between all South Africa's people."

Mr Malan, who defeated the NP's Mr Olaus van Zyl in Randburg, vowed in his victory speech that the independents' performance in the elections was only the beginning of a new movement that would lead a new era in South African politics.



THE three Independents have formed an informal Continuity Committee on which people from around SA will be invited to serve to mobilise support for a non-racial Independent movement.

The committee would provide a means of political expression for those seeking a peaceful, negotiated future for SA.

In a statement issued yesterday the three — MP Wynand Malan, Esther Lategan and Denis Worrall — pledged to continue the independent movement begun by the three candidates in the election.

"During the election campaign it became clear that the spirit which emerged in Randburg, Helderberg, and Stellenbosch, reflects a nationwide yearning — far beyond the three constituencies — for a fresh approach and new processes to deal with SA's pressing political problems".

They said the committee was decided on after several consultations yesterday with a variety of principal supporters.

# Independents' new movement

Business Day Reporter

Their statement said: "Rejecting all foreign interference and violence the movement will pursue its aims by all lawful and peaceful means.

"This includes participation in the present Parliamentary system and the initiation of and participation in negotiation, contact and bridge-building between all SA's people."

The announcement comes after the election defeat of Lategan in Stellenbosch and Worrall in Helderberg.

Winner Wynand Malan, who defeated the NP's Olaus Van Zyl in Randburg, vowed in his victory speech that the Independents' performance in the elections was only the beginning of a new movement that would lead a new era in South African politics.



# Wiley depressed, inquest told

304A  
00  
15183 Dispatch Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A picture of "a very bitter and disillusioned" Mr John Wiley was drawn by his son, Mark, in one of more than 20 sworn affidavits before an inquest court at Simonstown yesterday.

Mr Mark Wiley said in his affidavit that his father, the former Minister of Environmental Affairs, had been depressed about a property deal at the time of his death.

He said Mr John Wiley had for a long time expressed a desire to live in the De Goede Hoop manor house and to make extensive use of the fynbos reserve that he had created on the estate.

However, his father's bankers had pressurised his parents over the deal, which had the effect of their accepting an unexpected offer to buy the manor house, Mr Mark Wiley said.

The negotiations had proved to be long and frustrating in the extreme, he said.

Finality in a transaction for the sale was to have been reached in the week of March 30, the day after his father's death, Mr Mark Wiley said.

The Chief Magistrate of Cape Town, Mr W. G. M. van Zyl, who presided at the inquest, found that Mr Wiley's death had been caused "by a firearm wound, and the consequences thereof" and that the written evidence before him indicated that no-one could be held criminally responsible, through any act or omission, for the minister's death.

Full report, page 3



3048

00 16/5/82

# Wiley was bitter over deal — son

**Dispatch Correspondent**  
**CAPE TOWN** — Mr John Wiley, former Minister of Environment and Water Affairs, had been "bitter" and disillusioned over a property matter before his death, and the minister was heard answering two telephone calls late on the eve of his death, an inquest court at Simons-town heard yesterday.

It was also revealed he had been taking prescribed tranquilizing tablets in the past year.

The Chief Magistrate of Cape Town, Mr W.G. M. van Zyl, who presided at the inquest, found that Mr Wiley's death was caused by "a firearm wound and the consequences thereof".

He found no-one could be held responsible for Mr Wiley's death.

Medical evidence was that Mr Wiley probably died between 9 am and 10 am on Sunday, March 29, at his home "Lushof" in Noordhoek.

The inquest was attended by Mr Wiley's widow, Jeanne, his sons Jeremy and Mark, and friends and family.

Over 20 affidavits were read out at the inquest.

Mrs Jeanne Wiley, 45, said in her statement that she had been married to Mr Wiley for six years. At about 3.30 pm on March 28, when she

returned home, Mr Wiley was not there. She was told he was visiting people at Scarborough in connection with postal votes.

Mr Wiley arrived home after 7.30 pm, listened to the news, read a newspaper and then watched a film on TV.

Mrs Wiley said her husband had decided to go to bed early, and they had then gone to their separate bedrooms. She had taken a bath in her own bathroom, after which she joined Mr Wiley in his bedroom, where they had a conversation before she returned to her bedroom.

The next morning, said Mrs Wiley, she was woken by the alarm at 9 am. At about 9.30 am she went down to the shop and visited two friends.

At 11.30 am she arrived home. She knocked on Mr Wiley's door but there was no response.

"I found the door was locked from the inside — something that had not happened before. So I went round to an out-

side window, and as the curtains were not completely drawn, I could see into the room. However, I could not see onto the bed because the footboard was in the way."

Mrs Wiley said she went back into the house and tried to get through to her husband's bedroom on the telephone, only to find it was "engaged".

She became anxious and immediately telephoned Mark.

Mark arrived soon afterwards, went round to a partly opened window and managed to gain access to Mr Wiley's bedroom.

A doctor was summoned. In her stunned state she could only remember a few of the things that had been said, including "it's all over!", and "don't go in there!".

"I knew my husband had some financial worries," she said in her affidavit, "but I do not think this or the coming election would have been the reason for what happened".

Mrs Wiley said about March 8 her husband had told her he had had certain pills prescribed by a Dr King — "a doctor not known to me" — "but he had said he was going to stop taking them because they made him depressed".

In an affidavit dated March 22, Mr Mark Wiley, 33, described as estate manager of the Goede Hoop Estate at Noordhoek, and as a resident on the estate, said there were three directors of the De Goede Hoop Development Company — his brother Jeremy, himself and a financial director.

His father, he added, had a keen interest in the estate as he was originally involved in it.

Mr Wiley said he found his father's body the next morning, after receiving a call from Mrs Jeanne Wiley.

"My first impression was that he had had a massive brain haemorrhage, and had bled from his ear, as he was lying in a natural sleep-

ing position".

He said his eye had been caught by a silver glint on the bed, which turned out to be a .32 mm antique revolver. "This was a firearm I had known for many years. It was an arm my father inherited many years ago".

Mr John Wiley, Mark said, had for a long time wanted to live in the manor house on the Goede Hoop estate, and to make extensive use of the fynbos reserve he had created on the estate, which he had bought in 1983.

"However, in recent times our bankers who are also our partners have exerted exceptional pressure on us despite the obvious viability of the project.

"This pressure had the direct result in our accepting an unexpected offer to buy the manor house. These negotiations proved to be long and frustrating, in the extreme. However, finally of the sale was to be reached in the week of March 30.

"This sale would have included either partial ownership or outright ownership of the fynbos reserve. These two points in particular had made my father very bitter and disillusioned in recent months".

Constable S.J. Coetzee, one of the security guards at Mr John Wiley's home at the time of his death, said he had spoken to Mr Wiley at 8 pm that day.

At about 10 pm he heard Mr Wiley go into his study.

"I heard him speaking on the phone. Shortly afterwards the phone rang again, and the minister replied. I could naturally not hear what was said".

In other written evidence before the court it was stated that no alcohol had been found in Mr Wiley's blood.

Mr Gary Black, a Cape Town chemist, said over a period of 11 months he had supplied 140 Ativan tablets — usually issued to people as tranquilizers — to Mr Wiley, in terms of doctors' prescriptions.

He formed the impression that Mr Wiley was a person who did not often take medicine, and that when he did so it was with discretion.





Legal Resources Centre director Arthur Chaskalson — a real democracy would need a new legal system

Picture: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Afrapix

## A legal system that protects the poor

A REAL democracy in South Africa would need a new legal system more responsive to the basic needs of the poor, according to Arthur Chaskalson SC, national director of the Legal Resources Centre.

Addressing the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa conference in Port Elizabeth last weekend, Chaskalson outlined the features he believed should be contained in a fairer legal system.

● The composition of the courts should be altered to reflect the composition of society. At present although there were some black magistrates, all Supreme Court judges were white.

● While apartheid exists black lawyers will be reluctant to accept judicial appointments. But in a truly democratic South Africa there should be no such reluctance, Chaskalson said.

● Black people could act as lay assessors to address the historical problem of a disproportionate number of white judicial officers. The reintroduction of juries in serious criminal trials could be considered. Simplified, possibly informal procedures could be used for small civil claims and minor criminal charges.

● The present influx of black lawyers into the overwhelmingly white legal profession should continue and be encouraged.

● Legal aid would be essential to ensure equal access to the courts. Funds would have to be provided for legal services on a wider basis than is available now, especially in criminal cases.

● Informal structures which would enable the legal profession to provide effective services to all sectors of the population could also be considered. For example, de-professionalisation — educating communities to decide for themselves when and how to take recourse to the law.

● But the court system, administered by trained, independent and competent lawyers, should not in my view be tampered with, Chaskalson stressed.

● It is the ultimate protection against a denial of freedom; it is the ultimate protection against bad government or overbearing bureaucrats. It is the most effective institution for the resolution of conflict within society, and it should be given the status and the

By JO-ANN BEKKER

power to perform these functions effectively.

He stressed, however, that there could be no perfect justice. "The conflicting interests of those living in a modern society are such that it is not possible to reconcile these interests through laws which will satisfy all who are subject to them. The limited resources particularly of underdeveloped countries impose additional constraints upon what can be achieved by governments."

Chaskalson said the claim sometimes made that South Africa was a democratic country was "demonstrably false. Neither of the fundamental requirements of democracy are satisfied. The sovereign power of government does not vest in the people as a whole, and the people living in South Africa do not have equal rights."

"The laws of South Africa reflect the policies which have been pursued by white governments over the years in their attempt to impose and retain white domination. Those laws do not have the consent of the vast majority of people who are governed by them and this is the cause of the instability in the country."

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Courts would act as a bulwark between the individual and the state — regulating conflict, protecting freedoms and promoting justice. "It is a democracy in which the courts will administer a modern egalitarian legal system which guarantees and does not merely proclaim rights to all."

"If there is to be a different type of democracy," he concluded, "there may have to be a different type of legal system."

## Seeking a better tomorrow

By MIKE LOEWE, Port Elizabeth

African organisations and foreign groups participated in the conference. The real effect will be in spin-offs, such as in-depth seminars on education, business and law.

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This vision, insisted acting publicity secretary Murphy Morobe, was grounded on the grassroots organisations already operating in townships. "What is possible in the future depends on what we are able to create today," he said. "The creation of democratic means is for us as important as having democratic ends."

Morobe's speech — delivered on his behalf at the first conference of Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's extra-parliamentary Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa — came one day after the National Party's landslide election victory. He rejected parliament as a democratic forum, both in its present form and as a future model.

Parliament, argued Morobe, had been illegitimate "since the very first whites-only Union government of 1910 gave political shape to and confirmed the process of colonial conquest and land dispossession that had taken place over the three previous centuries". The subsequent banning of the African National Congress, clampdown on the UDF and State of Emergency had confirmed this illegitimacy.

Furthermore, he said, parliament had become irrelevant. Real power lay in the "executive and absolute powers vested in the state president, backed up by a national security system of joint management committees under the State Security Council (dominated by the police and army)". The security forces, given sweeping powers under the Emergency, "with vigilantes and impimpis (informers) at their disposal, are unclected, unmandated and unaccountable," Morobe said.

"There can be no democratic alternatives in this country as long as these forces continue to exist."

Majority rule, Morobe said, did not mean black faces would simply replace white faces in parliament. He spurned constitutional models which sought to make political representation more non-racial "without any real transference of power away from the small elite which has the present monopoly."

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JO-ANN BEKKER reports

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"Never have our townships seen such debate, such mass participation; such direct representation — not just on the part of political activists, but on the part of ordinary South Africans who throughout their whole lives have been pushed around like logs of wood."

He said the basic unit of "people's power" was the street or yard committee — an executive of 10 to 12 people elected at a meeting of all the street's residents. The committee met at least once a week and sent representatives to zone, area or section committees that represented about 25 streets. A township civic executive was chosen at a meeting of all sections and ratified at mass rallies.

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townships" by building parks, clearing rubble and even collecting rent to build new houses and facilities for township residents.

Morobe said the difficulties of "organising democratically at gunpoint" were obvious: with most meetings banned, most officials in jail or underground, "the need for tight security and secrecy obviously puts a strain on the development of a mass-based democratic practice".

However, he said the basic principles of organisational democracy remained intact — leaders had to be elected at periodic intervals and collective, consultative leadership, where leaders were strictly accountable to their membership, was striven for. Members had the right to differ, but once a decision had been voted on within an organisation all members were expected to abide by it.

"Democracy in South Africa can only survive if it tackles the existing unequal relations of power and privilege as well as the issue of political representation and individual freedom," Morobe said.

Thus, he added, many in the UDF supported the ideals of the Freedom Charter, adopted by the Congress of the People in 1955. The Charter, he said, had called for the nationalisation of the mines and major industries, as a way of asserting a "democratic solution" to the "gross inequalities" caused by the combination of political discrimination and economic exploitation, which had resulted in "one of the highest rates of profit in the world and one of the most skewed distributions of income and resources".

But while Morobe outlined the UDF's goals, he gave no indication of how it hoped to achieve them in the face of the security crackdown widely endorsed by the white electorate last week.

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THE WEEK THE LIBERALS ARE TROUNCED IN PARLIAMENT, A CONGRESS DEBATES DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVES ...



Legal Resources Centre director Arthur Chaskalson — a real democracy would need a new legal system  
Picture: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Afrapix

## A legal system that protects the poor

A REAL democracy in South Africa would need a new legal system more responsive to the basic needs of the poor, according to Arthur Chaskalson SC, national director of the Legal Resources Centre.

Addressing the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa conference in Port Elizabeth last weekend, Chaskalson outlined the features he believed should be contained in a fairer legal system.

●The composition of the courts should be altered to reflect the composition of society. At present although there were some black magistrates, all Supreme Court judges were white.

●While apartheid exists black lawyers will be reluctant to accept judicial appointments. But in a truly democratic South Africa there should be no such reluctance," Chaskalson said.

●Black people could act as lay assessors to address the historical problem of a disproportionate number of white judicial officers. The reintroduction of juries in serious criminal trials could be considered. Simplified, possibly informal procedures could be used for small civil claims and minor criminal charges.

●The present influx of black lawyers into the overwhelmingly white legal profession should continue and be encouraged.

●Legal aid would be essential to ensure equal access to the courts. Funds would have to be provided for legal services on a wider basis than is available now, especially in criminal cases.

●Informal structures which would enable the legal profession to provide effective services to all sectors of the population could also be considered. For example, de-professionalisation — educating communities to decide for themselves when and how to take recourse to the law.

"But the court system, administered by trained, independent and competent lawyers, should not in my view be tampered with," Chaskalson stressed.

"It is the ultimate protection against a denial of freedom; it is the ultimate protection against bad government or overbearing bureaucrats. It is the most effective institution for the resolution of conflict within society, and it should be given the status and the

By JO-ANN BEKKER

power to perform these functions effectively."

He stressed, however, that there could be no perfect justice. "The conflicting interests of those living in a modern society are such that it is not possible to reconcile these interests through laws which will satisfy all who are subject to them. The limited resources particularly of underdeveloped countries impose additional constraints upon what can be achieved by governments."

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## Seeking a better tomorrow

By MIKE LOEWE, Port Elizabeth

SOUTH AFRICA would continue to endure senseless pain and violence until democratic white and black South Africans began to concur on the idea of a non-racial democracy, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said at the weekend at the first conference of his Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa.

South Africa was governed by a profoundly undemocratic system which could not understand and hence feared the non-racial, democratic alternative. Idasa had to erode that fear among whites by showing them that the solution lay outside undemocratic structures.

Some 350 delegates from an array of South

African organisations and foreign groups participated in the conference. The real effect will lie in spin-offs, such as in-depth seminars on education, business and law.

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THE press got it wrong. The election results did not show that voters shifted to the right. Quite the opposite. By voting in support of the NP's repressive reform option, whites have moved leftward on political reform.

The policies of the Conservative Party in 1987 are virtually identical to those of the National Party in 1981: complete exclusion of Africans from the central political institutions, independence for all "homelands", strict influx control and the linking of urban blacks to bantustans — in short, apartheid. In 1981, just over one in two white voters voted for the NP while in 1987 just over one in four voted for the same policies, now propounded by the CP.

Liberals forgot that the NP has changed key aspects of its policy. In doing so it moved leftward, split in 1982 and gave birth to an official opposition to its right in 1987.

The key change in NP policy is on the question of African representation

## WRONG! The trend is Left

Just about everyone agrees: the elections show that whites have swung to the right.

Everyone except political scientist MARK SWILLING, who argues here that the trend in fact goes the other way

in local, regional and central government. To quote from the NP policy booklet: "... the party is prepared to implement the just participation of all communities in a unique democratic dispensation through negotiations with their leaders on the basis of one citizenship and universal suffrage in a united South Africa ... and acknowledges the principle that people should be able to have a political say in the country where they permanently reside and of which they are citizens

	Liberal-Right	Right	Conservative	Ultra-Conservative
<b>1981</b> Percentage of votes	PFP 19,4	NRP 7,8	NP 57,0	HNP & NCP 14,1 + 1,4
<b>1987</b> Percentage of votes	PFP/NRP 14,1 + 1,9	Inds/NP 1,3 + 52,4	CP 26,3	HNP 3,1

How the votes add up: the centre can still hold

(ie, South Africa)." Given that citizenship can be restored to all South Africans — including those in "independent homelands" — it follows that it is theoretically possible for all Africans to participate in the same political institutions as whites, coloureds and Indians. This is what the NP refers to as "cooperative co-existence".

The shift to "cooperative co-existence" and away from neo-apartheid in response to the deepening legitimisation crisis underlay the NP's shift leftward on the political spectrum. In its place the CP emerged to bear the old apartheid banner.

To identify the place of South Africa's white parliamentary parties on the political spectrum, the traditional

categories used by the press are rejected. As if we have a democratic parliament, we are led to believe are left (PFP), moderate (NP), rightwing (CP) parties competing for power. Using internationally acceptable standards to measure political ideology, it would be more accurate to say the white political spectrum stretches from a right liberal wing to an ultra-conservative wing, with liberal and conservative positions in between. Using these categories identify the positions of the various parties in 1981 and 1987, we can see a very different picture of white politics than that on offer in the press.

The shifts of parties and elections on what is a conservative spectrum illustrated in the table above.

The following conclusions can be drawn:

● Combined ultra-conservative support dropped from 15,5 percent to 3,1 percent, ie by 12,4 percent, most of this gets absorbed by the conservatives.

● Support for conservative (apartheid) policies dropped overall from 57 percent to 26,3 percent, ie by 30,7 percent.

● If we assume the CP won 13,6 percent of what was the 1981 NP support base and add this to the 12,4 percent it got from the ultra-conservatives (totalling 26,3 percent), then it means the NP was able to retain 43,1 percent of its support as it moved leftward from a conservative to a right position.

● The NP's rightwing support in 1987, therefore, comprises the 43,1 percent of those who moved with the NP; 5,9 percent of the NRP support that remained consistently right and voted NP; and the four percent PFP support that moved rightwards from a right liberal to a right position to vote NP.

In short, the shift across the political spectrum was to the left. Over 40 percent of the NP support has moved leftwards with the party, 12,4 percent of the ultra-conservative support moved over to vote for a conservative party and a handful of ex-NP supporters moved slightly to the left to vote for the independents. In the end, it was only a handful of liberals who moved rightwards to vote for the NP (no doubt with their tails between their legs).

Why then did the press conclude there was a swing to the right? Because they failed to recognise that the centre stage of white politics has moved leftwards.

Obviously, the content of National Party reform is totally rejected because it is undemocratic, unilateral, militarised and falls far short of non-racialism. However, from the perspective of the average white racist voter whose family has voted for white domination for generations, the NP had irreversibly broken with apartheid. Those who explain this by arguing that whites will vote for whoever they are told to vote for cannot explain why there were such high polls in key constituencies and why voters displayed high levels of discretion, particularly in areas with so-called "New Nat" candidates, all of whose majorities were drastically reduced by the CP. A similar discretionary vote was evident in Helderberg and Randburg.

Another misinterpretation of the election concerns the security issue. For the liberal press, repression and reform are contradictory. A hard security line, the press argued, must mean a swing to the right and "away from the real issues". This displays an ignorance of the repressive reform game plan the state is using. To summarise the "Brazilian option" strategy I have discussed previously in *Weekly Mail*: if genuine reform is going to succeed in restructuring the institutions of political representation and economic participation on terms favourable to the ruling class, extremely tight coercive control of all aspects of government by the security forces will be necessary. The more reform there is, the more coercion will be necessary to counter the revolutionary conditions that result from rising expectations.

In the final analysis, the NP election campaign, with the help of the other parliamentary parties and the press has provided the state with a parliamentary legitimisation for the repressive reform option.

## LEGAL NOTICE

The City Council of Alexandra is currently implementing the Urban Renewal Programme. The first phase of this programme is presently being undertaken between:

- Rooseveltdt Street and London Road, from 12th Avenue to 22nd Avenue and
- between Selborne Street and London Road from 1st Avenue to 12th Avenue.

In order to assist the Council with the Urban Renewal Programme, the council requests that all persons to whom sites were allocated:

- between 16 September 1983 and 31 December 1986 and/or
- persons in possession of an owner's certificate

to report to the Council's office at Room 221 - 2nd Street, Wynberg and furnish proof to the Council's satisfaction as to the right of occupation of such land being held in respect of the above mentioned area within 14 days hereof.

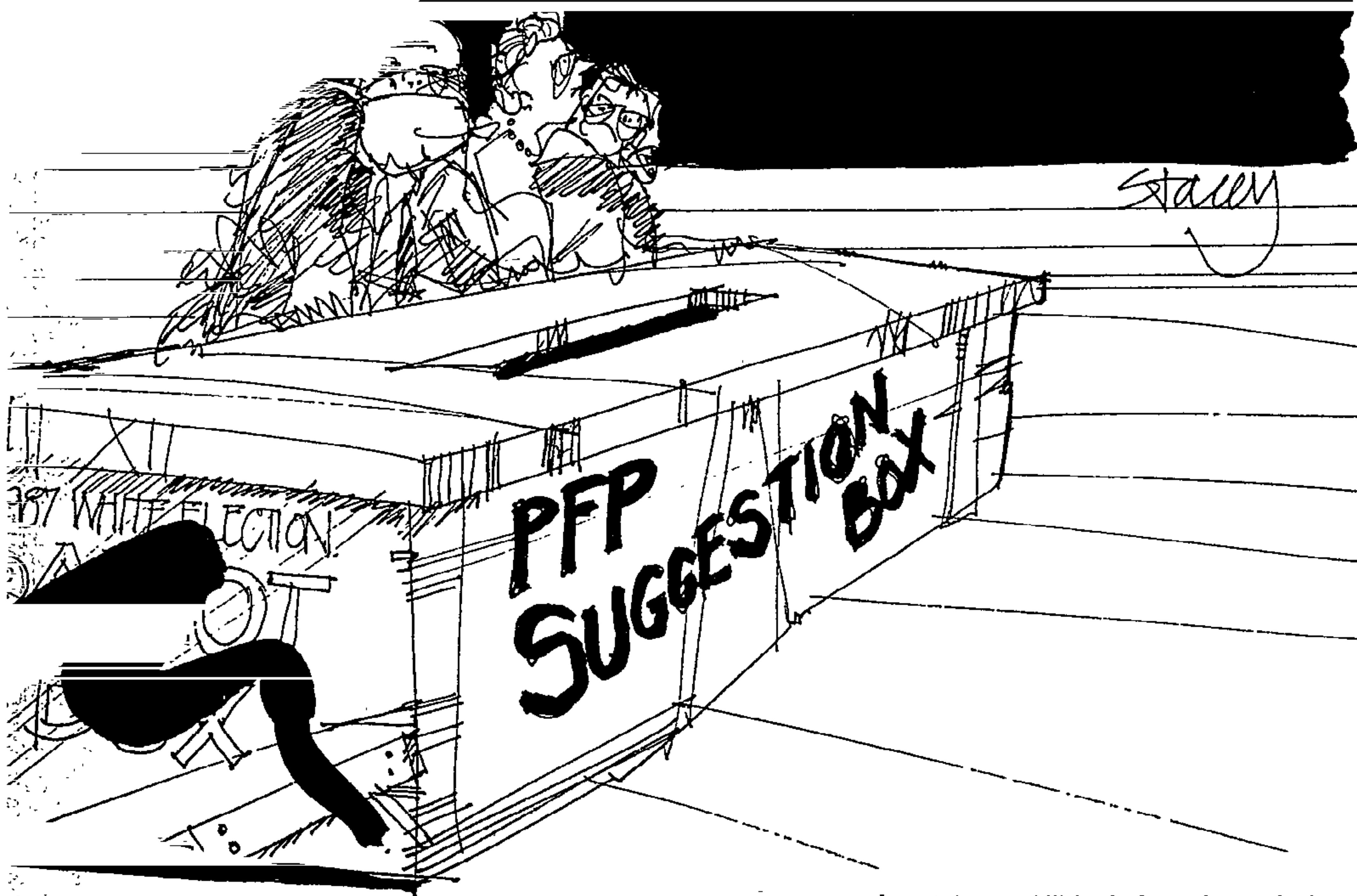
The following permit holders need not report to the office and are therefore excluded:

- Residential Permit Holders
- Housing Permit Holders
- Accommodation Permit Holders

Given under my hand at Wynberg, this 12th day of May one thousand nine hundred and eighty-seven.

J.S.Burger  
Administrator  
City Council of Alexandra





## Just a nose away from the city hall

By RUTH BECKER

FOR five days the Progressive Federal Party held a majority in the Johannesburg City Council.

The decision by one of their councillors, Mike Sutherland, to remain in Australia reduced the 47-seat council to a deadlock in which 46 seats are split between the Nationalist/Independent Ratepayers Association alliance and the PFP.

Until a by-election is held, probably towards the end of June, the council is effectively "on hold".

PFP council leader Sam Moss sees their local victory last week as a vote against the current management committee, which has six members — four National Party representatives and two from the Independent Ratepayers' Association.

"We have persistently hammered the management committee over the years," he says.

A "more vibrant and innovative" management committee is one of the changes he hopes to see under a PFP-controlled council.

Moss recognises that there is doubt over what a PFP controlled council can achieve within existing legislation — for example the Group Areas Act.

"People will say that it's third tier government but I believe there's a lot we can do. Within the system there's always room for manoeuvrability. We're going to have to find that. Within any particular system if there's a will to do, you can find a way to alleviate the harshness of legislation.

"There is a fundamental difference (in a PFP management committee). We're not government stooges. This management committee has not fought the government as hard as it should have been because it's dominated by the Nationalist component."

As to what the PFP could achieve, 24 bodies willing, Moss is pragmatic.

"Let's not have any illusions about it. The next (municipal) elections are in October next year." This would give the PFP 18 months in which they "would like to start setting the basis for more innovative management. I would like to see the mechanism created for more effective public participation in decision making," Moss says.

Security in the city is an issue they would like to address. Moss believes it should become a local government function, "because the prosperity of the city is dependent on security — whether it's by way of a city police force, whatever". He is confident Johannesburg citizens would be willing to contribute towards as "the quality of life in the city would improve".

Improvement and "better use" of amenities such as parks and recreation centres would also be on the PFP agenda.

Moss also believes the council should look at greater privatisation to avoid losses the city cannot afford, such as the approximately R24-million lost on the bus service this year.

The city should be run "as efficiently as possible", Moss says.

"It's easy to increase rates all the time. The point is one must ask if the public is getting value for the increased assessment rates that it's called upon to pay year after year, increase after increase.

"And when you examine the services that are given you find there has been no real growth in the quality of service. If you take our garbage collection, at one stage it was once a day, then once every two days, now it's probably once a week.

"Because of inflationary trends, and one must be fair about it, there is a deterioration in terms of the services this council has been giving to its ratepayers."

The priority for a PFP management committee, Moss says, is "to create a vision for the future. I believe that we can create that vision and when we come back in '88 we can fulfil that vision by setting up support groups from the outside."

Moss envisages these support groups being drawn from the private sector and "providing a think tank" to produce "an innovative approach to city living". He believes this approach would evolve from private and public involvement and must not "come from any form of stultified or fossilised thinking which tends to be the trend in bureaucratic institutions."

How the PFP fares in next year's municipal election will depend on its performance over the next 18 months, assuming they win the by-election, says Moss.

"We would only have 18 months to prove to the public that a PFP management committee can be different to the existing committee."

Delimitation will be another important factor. Population changes in the city could see the southern suburbs gaining seats.

# liberal



PFP's Colin Eglin ... "We must decide what we can do"

Eglin is sceptical of loose calls for involvement in extra-parliamentary politics: "One must define what one means by extra-parliamentary activity. Apart from giving one a good flow of adrenalin, what does it achieve?"

Groups like the Five Freedoms Forum, an umbrella body of white opposition groups, are adamant there is a great deal to be done.

FFF, for example, started last year by groups participating in the Free the Children Campaign, then worked (though somewhat reluctantly) on the election issue, is now about to launch



Idasa's Van Zyl Slabbert ... challenged legitimacy of parliament

a "Stay and Contribute" campaign. The latter is planned to convince people that there is an important political role for them, despite the demise of the parliamentary option and the lure of Australia.

Similar alliances have sprung up in Durban and Cape Town.

The United Democratic Front responded to the election by telling whites that to vote was not enough; to face the future, they should align themselves directly with mass political organisations that represent the main thrust of the opposition movement.

By PATRICK LAURENCE

last week's election.

But in spite of its credible showing in the 1974 election, the DP — which, like the NU in 1961 and the trio of independents today, stood to the left of the government and to the right of the main opposition party — disappeared into the limbo of history.

The NU and the DP offer an historical prism through which to assess the long-term viability of the independent Nats: to consider their chances of survival and growth.

As Worrall noted at the weekend, he and his co-independents obtained more than 20 000 votes, an average of more than 6 600. Judging from the 1981 election, about half of the 20 000 votes came from PFP voters, the PFP having

back for the independents.

Even so, it was a credible performance to take 20 000 votes from the NP in three constituencies at an average of 3 300 per seat.

Worrall saw the independent performance as just the beginning of a new spirit of hope in South Africa, adding: "We will carry this spirit

into the future and into the next election."

The independents appear to have certain advantages going for them, not least substantial financial backing (from whom, for how long and at what cost?) and intellectual support.

But their rise as an enduring political force is not inevitable. The demise of the NU and DP apart, they only have one seat in parliament.

Worrall's challenge to Heunis came desperately close. But in the end it failed.

One of their problems in the future is that the NP, having proved it is tough and full of fight, may regain the support of those who deserted for the trio of independents when the NP looked vulnerable and confused.

Another is that many voters may back the NP to prevent further gains by the CP, whose advances overshadow those of the independents.

Finally the independents — like the PFP — may find themselves marginalised by the looming conflict between the largely black extra-parliamentary forces and the white-controlled state.

It is an uphill battle for such organisations. Most whites believe extra-parliamentary politics involves making petrol bombs and throwing an occasional stone. There is also a fear that they may have to learn the national anthem in a black language and dance the "toyi-toyi".

There are three types of white extra-parliamentary organisations. The first consists of organisations of professionals such as doctors, lawyers, architects and journalists. Some of these — such as the National Medical and Dental Association or Lawyers for Human Rights — have had an impact because of the professional standing of their members and their international recognition.

The second type of organisation is the single-issue organisation, which focuses attention on such things as children in detention, conscription or censorship. The Free the Children Alliance and End Conscription Campaign are two of the best known of these.

The third kind is the more general political organisation, such as the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee. In terms of their impact and the range of their membership, this kind of organisation has had the least impact.

For one thing, state persecution of such organisations has been extraordinary. Leaders have been harassed, detained or forced into hiding.

Another factor is that these organisations have not engaged significantly in white politics. This showed most clearly in the election, when bodies such as the Five Freedoms Forum declined to call either for a boycott or for support for the PFP and its allies.

In fact, because extra-parliamentary organisations fudged the question of whether or not people should vote, they offered very little clarity to many people who were searching for a new direction. Contradictory calls were issued from different organisations; the debate was never really thrashed out.

The effect of this confusion was to make these organisations a sideshow, in the last few months, in "white" politics. More seriously, it put them in a position where they have to shoulder some of the blame for the PFP's poor showing.

A few more leftwing votes would not have shifted the massive movement away from the party towards the National Party. But it would almost certainly have swung marginal seats such as Wynberg, Hillbrow and even Helderberg.

The PFP may then have survived as the official opposition and the left would not feel quite so worried about the election results. The coming of the "Dark Ages", as Archbishop Desmond Tutu dubbed them, was in many ways a self-fulfilling prophecy. Leftwing organisations failed to act to help prevent it — and then unanimously bemoaned the result.

Some members of the left would argue that the election results do not really matter. It was a setback, but at least it smashed the myth of parliamentary reform and they can now concentrate on what really counts — getting support for mass political organisation. But the fact is that their attitude to the vote did little to enhance their standing in the white electorate — even among many of those who are now sceptical of the PFP path and are casting around for new options.

With the PFP in retreat, the field should be open for extra-parliamentary "white" organisations. But there is a great deal of work to be done before these organisations present a credible political option to potential supporters on the left of the PFP.



**J**OHANNESBURG city councillor Mike Sutherland carried a great deal of baggage when he left for Australia: a South African passport, enough clothing for a lifetime, and the soul of the Progressive Federal Party.

Nothing captured the sad demise of the PFP more effectively and more poignantly than Sutherland's announcement that he was going to emigrate to Australia as his party won control of South Africa's biggest city.

By doing so he destroyed the majority his party had won that day in the council, the only cause for PFP celebration in the wake of the election.

There was nothing for the party to do but shift its furniture from the offices of the official opposition in parliament and begin a long, hard process of self-examination and reassessment. The PFP's three-member steering committee met for 90 minutes on Monday, the party caucus met on Thursday, an expanded federal executive meets tomorrow and a full meeting of the PFP federal council — the highest policy-making body — is expected within weeks.

"The examination and analysis of the election results must be thorough and brutally frank," party leader Colin Eglin said in an interview this week. "We must look at the performance of the party, of the campaign, of the leadership and of personalities."

"Our instrument (the party) is blunted and we must decide what we can do with it now."

Although Eglin was reluctant to pre-empt internal discussions on the future of the party, he anticipated no fundamental change in direction. His "two-track strategy" is likely to stay in place.

This strategy was first enunciated as a response to the resignation in January 1986 of the PFP leader Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert. It was a fairly simple approach: the first and most important track along which the party ran was parliament; alongside it ran the track of extra-parliamentary activity.

"We've got to use this (parliament) as the base and maximise our performance in this site of power and simultaneously be relevant to politics where it is happening elsewhere," he said.

But Slabbert's resignation was not just a challenge to the way the PFP was using parliament. It was a challenge to the legitimacy of the institution itself; it was a recognition that in the eyes of most South Africans, parliament was an instrument that impeded rather than promoted change and was to be undermined, challenged and ultimately destroyed.

To Eglin, however, the problem was simply one of how parliament was being used. "The inadequacy of parliament is that it represents only part of the nation, but has to deal with the total problems of our country." He differed with most of the opposition movement in what he saw as the final goal of party political activity: "Our attempt must not be to weaken parliament as an institution, but to restructure it, to make it more relevant ..."

Last week's election results brought a renewed challenge to the appropriateness of parliament as an avenue for change. With the Conservative Party, as the official opposition, setting the tone of the debate, few people can maintain faith in the ability of the PFP to do more than register the kind of moral protests that characterised its stand during the many years in which Helen Suzman was its sole MP.

If Slabbert's resignation a year ago was parliament's "swan song", as it was dubbed in the *Weekly Mail* at the time, last week we heard the dirge. The election result was the final and ultimate destruction of the notion that change will come through parliamentary action.

Organisations to the left of the PFP have always argued that participation in parliament created false hopes and gave a false sense of legitimacy

# The soul of the white

After the PFP's thrashing at the polls last week, the options facing white liberals may have narrowed to three: 1. Throw in the towel. 2. Dash off overseas. 3. Find options for change outside the white party political system. **ANTON HARBER** examines No. 3

to this institution. The PFP countered this by presenting itself as a potential element in an alternative government and by holding up the value of its extra-parliamentary work.

The first argument has been smashed. The PFP is no longer a potential official opposition, let alone an alternative government. A united far rightwing would have within its reach a number of marginal seats, killing any hopes of the PFP re-establishing its parliamentary position.

Ironically, the PFP has gained its greatest strength from its extra-parliamentary work. It has shown that it can focus public attention on human rights issues, its members can use parliamentary privilege to move in troubled areas with relative ease, and MPs can often use their access to cabinet ministers for the good of a great deal of people.

Eglin himself acknowledged this: "Helen Suzman is not known as the world's greatest orator; but she is known around the world because of what she's done. She has stood up on practical issues."

Similarly, the PFP gained its greatest credibility during the Emergency for the work of its Unrest Monitoring Group and its use of parliament to publicise this work.

Sadly, however, it was many of those MPs who were most closely identified with this kind of work who failed to be re-elected, such as Errol Moorcraft in Albany, Graham McIntosh in Pietermaritzburg North and Robin Carlisle in Wynberg.

Eglin has implied that the work in the streets will continue to take second place to the work in the House. "All extra-parliamentary activities are relevant only if they produce an influence on parliament. If the only thing that is happening is that pressure is being exerted on the government outside parliament, and this is not being reflected in parliament, then we have no option left but violent confrontation," he said.

It is not only the PFP's election performance that has made many people sceptical of the party's role in parliament. The phenomenon of government by mandarin — the granting of more and more power and influence to government appointees such as ministerial representatives, provincial executive committees and the National Security Management System — has deprived parliament of much of its power and importance.

The Emergency was presented to parliament as an established fact, probably decided by the State Security Council, which heads the NSMS and the

massive web of Joint Management Centres; few of the reforms we have seen in the last few years have originated in parliament. The Emergency itself invested massive powers of decree in the Commissioner of Police which he has used to brutal effect, with no reference to parliament's sovereignty.

An even more important factor in the demise of parliament as a central decision-making body has been the growth of extra-parliamentary resistance over the last five years.

The argument for parliament as an avenue of change was strongest when there were no other apparent options. Today, the primary pressure for change comes from outside parliament. Whites have faced more pressure than ever before in the streets and on the factory floor — and parliament has never been so complacent. This was most clearly shown on the day of the election itself, which saw the country's biggest ever two-day worker stayaway.

Eglin and the PFP will have to face up to the fact that parliament has become a sideshow. If the PFP sticks to the role it has played in the past, it could find itself becoming a sideshow within a sideshow.

Facing up to this does not necessarily mean leaving parliament. But it may mean looking for a new balance between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary work; it may mean that the PFP will have to stop viewing what it does in the streets as a means to help the party in the House of Assembly, but begin to see its parliamentary activity as a way of protecting and assisting its work in the streets.

## ... and the amorphous soul of the verligte Nats

LAST week's election results have been broken down into statistical minutiae. But the analyses do not answer the vital question of whether the independent nationalists are a force for the future or transient actors doomed to disappear.

Independents obtained 1,32 percent of the more than 2-million votes. But that included votes cast for the renegade former Progressive Federal Party MP, Horace van Rensburg, as well as for lesser known independents outside the charmed triangle of disillusioned Nats: Denis Worrall, Wynand Malan and Esther Lategan.

Most anti-government newspapers welcomed the three independent Nats as though they were an entirely new phenomenon. They were not.

Over the years the National Party has shed rebels of various shades on its Left as well as its Right. The press in general has been so fascinated in recent years by the revolt of the ultra-rightists under Andries Treurnicht that it has apparently forgotten there were rebellions by *verligte* Nats long before the appearance of Worrall et al.

Going back to 1960 there was the rebellion of Japie Basson, the same man who stood for the NP in Gardens last week. Basson, who was originally expelled from the NP in 1959 for opposing the abolition by Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd of the "native representatives", formed the National Union soon afterwards.

The NU hoped — in the words of political scientist Kenneth Heard — "to occupy the relatively narrow strip of territory separating the two major parties" of the time: the National Party and the United Party.

Its objective was to wean "from the National Party those who, among its supporters, disagreed with the more restrictive and oppressive aspects of its policies but who could not bring themselves to vote for the United Party".

Led by Basson and backed by a former Chief Justice, FA Fagan (author of the Fagan report), the NU had similar hopes to those espoused by the present trio of ex-Nats: of luring discontented Nats into their fold and growing into an independent force.

The National Union was seen by the old United Party as a catalyst which would initiate the flow into its ranks via the NU of the NP's more "enlightened" followers (the word *verlig* had not yet been coined.)

Similar hopes were entertained by the PFP in last week's elections, except that the focus of its hopes was the troika of independent Nats.

The NU was swallowed by the UP in the end. Two of its ablest young candidates, Hennie Serfontein and Hans Strydom, however, refused to contemplate a fate inside the entrails of the UP, choosing instead to join the newly-formed Progressive Party.

The question today is whether the trio of independent Nats have a more viable future than the NU. Those who see Worrall, Malan and Lategan in a class of their own forget, if they ever knew, the degree of courage which it took to strike out against Verwoerd who, whatever the legacy of his apartheid policies, was a formidable man.

For the record, the NU put up 10 candidates in the 1961 general election, winning close to

39 000 votes or nearly five percent of the total votes cast. Only one of its candidates, Basson, was elected.

More than a decade later another disillusioned Nationalist, Theo Gerdener, broke away to found the Democratic Party. Gerdener resigned from the Cabinet, where he held the home affairs portfolio, to found first Action South and Southern Africa and then, in 1973, the Democratic Party.

The DP, which stood for closer links and eventual equal rights between whites, coloureds and Indians, fielded eight candidates. It did not win a single seat but polled a relatively high average of nearly 1 600 votes per seat.

There was a by-election soon after the general election, occasioned by the defeat of the Natal leader of the UP, Radclyffe Cadman, in the general election. Gerdener stood against Cadman in the seat vacated for him by a UP stalwart, losing by a mere 30 votes.

Gerdener's narrow defeat invites comparison with Worrall's narrow loss by 39 votes to Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development,



# SHELL FUELS APARTHEID

**AFL-CIO Boycotts Shell Oil Over South African Issue**  
By WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

**Shell threatens to withdraw**  
Demonstrators at South African Embassy, Shell Oil next

**A Protest Against Shell**

**«Fritt Syd-Afrika» vil boikotte Shell**

**Boycott in U.S., Europe Vexes Royal Dutch Shell**  
Labor, Rights Groups Seek Disinvestment

**Opposition grows to Shell in SA**  
By David Pallister

**Grote advertentie: Shell uit Z-Afrika**  
meerdere land nadering: erodeert uit

**US churches, unions withdrawing more than \$12-m from Shell group**  
on Shell Oil in the US its in the National Council of

**Shell route pour l'apartheid**

**Shell Oil Boycott Called Against Pretoria Policy**  
Africa do Sul

**Shell teima em ficar**

**Labor leader urges Shell boycott**  
latest economic strike against the South African government by anti-apartheid groups, she said

**US anti-apartheid challenge to Shell**  
BY TERRY DODSWORTH IN NEW YORK  
THE US and apartheid move

**SHELL OIL UNDER PRESSURE**  
now is under

**«Shell moet uit Z-Afrika»**  
Ben W:

**Shell ud af Sydafrika**  
Gesprek met Shell over Zuid-Afrika helpt niet

**Nationwide Boycott of Shell Oil Over South Africa Ties Hits L.A.**  
by ERIC VREELAND  
Union threat on Shell

**Lancement de Boycott Shell en Belgique**  
Une association belge contre l'apartheid a appelé jeudi les consommateurs à ne plus acheter de produits de l'immense pétrolière

**Shell-boikotten møter motstand:**  
Norske Shell har intet med Sør-Afrika å gjøre

**Opposition grows to Shell in SA**  
By David Pallister  
The international anti-apartheid

**Shell Station Owners Demand Disinvestment**  
Royal Dutch Shell

**Shell Rattled by International Boycott**  
THE WASHINGTON POST

**S**olidarity movements, trade unions and churches in more than a dozen countries in Europe, the United States and Australia are involved in the international campaign against the continued presence of Shell in South Africa.

At the annual general meetings of the company in The Hague and London on May 14 voices from across the Atlantic, including the United Mineworkers of America, will join with European churches, trade unions and others, calling Shell to withdraw from South Africa.

Ever since these protest actions began in 1973, pressure on Shell has increased enormously. Director John Wilson of Shell-South Africa declared in 1986 'Shell's position is not comfortable. The threat of disinvestment is real... if the bottom line of Royal Dutch Shell is adversely affected internationally, the shareholders will have to reconsider their position in South Africa, but it will have to get really bad before shareholders decide to pull out.'

With an increasing number of churches, pension funds and trade unions considering the selling of their shares, the image of the company is deteriorating continuously. This pressure can hardly remain without result.

Advocating support for a free press in South Africa as Shell is doing, is a good thing. But it is not a justification for its continued operation in South Africa. The support Shell gives to the system of apartheid is of very great importance. Therefore the organisations as mentioned below request Shell to withdraw from South Africa and to cut its ties with the system of apartheid.

Holland Committee on Southern Africa  
Working group Kairos  
Pax Christi Netherlands  
Novib  
Prepaid Reply.  
Information: Kromme Nieuwegracht 10,  
3512 HG Utrecht, The Netherlands.



## WORM'S EYE VIEW

## ELECTION LATEST: WORM TO RETURN TO HELP BUILD A BOTHA WORLD

ASSUMPTION, ParaNoya. — The Worm, independent ex-candidate for Soweto Central, is to leave his ParaNoyad exile and will return to his paranoyad homeland.

The Worm is returning to claim his seat in parliament after his stunning election performance in which he polled 0 votes — like the National Party (or First National Bunker), he won an increased minority.

At a press conference smokescreened by SATV, the Worm also revealed that his return was an act of solidarity with the white electorate. "Like me, they clearly want to go back," he noted.

The candidate confessed that the election results had made him nostalgic for his native land: "I want to return to enjoy a long, white-topped, laager."

But he was also leaving this embattled Latin American state of mind to escape an expected influx of white South Africans. "The poll shows that my white compatriots have clearly opted for ParaNoya," the Worm revealed.

His decision had also been influenced by the success of his fellow-independents, Dr D Wormall and the government of KwaNdebele, which is now doing to its own majority what Wormall did to His Royal Heunis's. (The Worm will settle in KwaNdebele since "it is obviously a ParaNoyad independent homeland".)

The Worm will be accompanied by ParaNoya's News Steeward Flo d'Informacion, who has been cheered by the electorate's readiness to rally behind its leader, the News Department of SATV.

"The results show," she said, "That white South Africans have at last come to their senses". They were "determined to stick to their guns" and had again affirmed their support for "change through the bullet-box".

The Worm added that the results gave him a clear mandate to return. "Now that the electorate has returned comies, it is time for this comic to return," he noted.

Reflecting on his decision to return to post-election South Africa, the Worm concluded: "It is a far Botha thing that I do than I have ever done before ..."

In other post-election moves, the Worm also:

- Sent a message of condolence to his Royal Heunis, who emerged a clear whinger in his battle with Dr Wormall.

The Worm noted that, despite his 39 vote majority, His Heunis (last seen suffering a pout of remorse on Thursday morning) seemed to have been relegated to a frozen wasteland.

He has invited him to abandon politics and to star in a forthcoming Worm movie — *The Thirty-Nine Steppes*.

- Sent a second sympathy message to the PFP, whose "Turbocharge" election campaign failed to prevent many Prog voters from opting for the fuel they know best, PW Butterhead (they clearly believe that "there's no fuel like an old fuel").

"Slick campaigns don't win over white voters," the Worm noted, "only sick ones do".

- Issued a warning to Nat strategists that election-winning outbursts of anger against the ANC, PFP and other National enemies may yet prove counter-productive.

"History may yet show," the Worm predicted, "That the Nats piqued too soon."

- Endorsed the government's decision to expel two Australian TV journalists for broadcasting twisted propaganda from SATV studios.

"There is no need for foreigners to do a job which South Africans can do far better," the Worm noted.

- Urged Pikkewyn Botha to compete in the London marathon after the ANC announced that it would enter a team of runners in that event.

"After his election victory," the Worm observed, "Pik cannot pass up this new chance to run against the ANC."

- Congratulated anti-apartheid groups on their latest show of muscle — a jerking knee.

Having first urged whites to punish the Nats by not voting against them (a strategy summed up in the slogan, "Reform No, Surrender Now"), they then issued angry post-election statements denouncing voters' readiness to follow this sage advice.

"A case of the contradictions intensifying?" the Worm asked.

NOTE: This final Worm release, like its predecessors, is entirely fictitious. All reproduction rights have been reserved by the National Party Information division and the fiction department of SATV, recent producers of the award-winning hit, "Election '87".

Steven Friedman

## FACTS AT YOUR FINGERTIPS

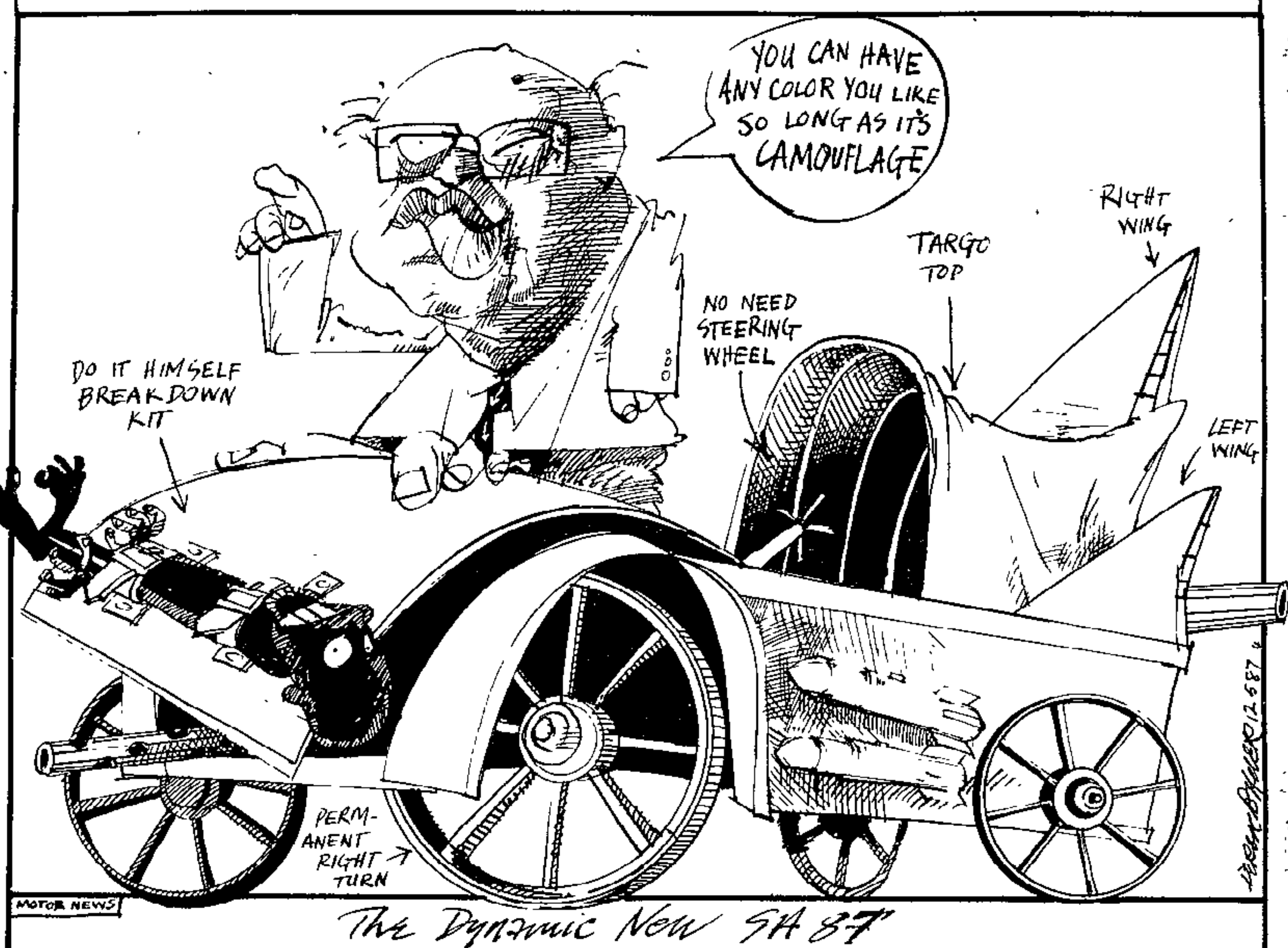
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## DEREK BAUER'S WORLD



## LETTERS

## That railways advert affair: The cases for and against

THE letter from Jeremy Krikler and others (WM May 8-14) demanding "a more responsible editorial-policy concerning advertisements" brings Orwell's *Animal Farm* to mind.

The state is insecure and immature and hence determined to limit freedom. But if one wishes to fight limitations it is necessary to become restrictive oneself, to become what one despises.

The *Weekly Mail* is accused of allowing its "advertising space to be used for the printing of known lies".

Possibly. Yet apparently its "own coverage of the strike ran counter to the picture is presented in the Sats advert"; and its "support of the strikers was made manifest in (its) articles on the dispute."

Thus (unless one only reads the WM for its adverts) the advertisements was placed in the ideal medium to be exposed as unconvincing — a complete waste of Sats' money.

The WM demonstrates its integrity by not practising censorship. — Gary Hudson, Cape Town.

I AGREE that your paper presents itself as part of the alternative media in South Africa, as Sarakinsky and others have claimed. I cannot but think that monetary gain motivated you to include the Sats advert in last week's *Weekly Mail*.

What matters now, however, is no longer your including this ad, but your justification, which I consider to be even more disappointing than the implications involved in printing the Sats ad.

You say that both a Sats opinion as well as a call by the Soweto Civic Association are voices that ought to be heard by all. In doing this, you show that your concern is to fight censorship *per se*, regardless of the content.

By referring to the action of the Afrikaans papers you name, you show that you think their censoring to have been an expression of political bias.

Using this premise as a justification for your including the Sats advert, you imply that to fight censorship (by refusing to practise it wherever possible) is to express political open-mindedness.

To confuse the practice of censorship with the expression of political alignment is in this case absolutely detrimental to the purported alignment of your paper, as Sarakinsky and others have quite rightly pointed out.

I have always thought that any truly

alternative movement opposes institutionalised values not on the basis of those values, but on the basis of their institutionalisation.

The value and strength in an oppositional stance lies precisely in an unobjective, politically unambiguous, aligned set of values, and not in "tolerance" toward all possible values. This is of specific importance in our present condition, in which warm-hearted libertarianism can no longer but flow with the lava of fickle Nationalist schizophrenia. — Silke Heiss, Johannesburg.

IN response to your invitation to participate in the debate over the allegedly unsound placing of the Sats strike ad, I would just like to say that the nine progressive South Africans strike me as an amazingly tedious, self-righteous bunch of academic puritans with a severely retarded understanding of the fundamental principles of Press freedom.

These people profess to be upset because the *Weekly Mail* dared to publish an advertisement consisting of "known lies" and "propaganda". I would like to ask these people: what the hell else is an advertisement supposed to consist of? These people further express astonishment at the fact that the *Weekly Mail*'s reporting on the Sats strike differed in tone and bias from the view expressed in the advert placed by Sats. I, too, am astonished. These people, with their dictatorial narrow-mindedness and their outrageous presumption, are no different in the angle of their intolerance to those who control what may or may not be said over the airwaves of the SABC.

Freedom of expression, like any other freedom, is indivisible, and that must include the freedom to differ on interpretations of what exactly constitutes "known lies" and "propaganda". As a *Weekly Mail* reader, I resent the implication that I am gullible enough to swallow whole the (dis) information made public by either party in a propaganda war as emotion-charged and volatile as the Sats strike. I would also feel obliged to resist any attempt by anyone to protect me from the opposite perspective, as scurilous and transparent as it may be.

● Address letters to LETTERS PAGE, The Weekly Mail, Box 260425 Excom 2023. Shorter letters are given preference. The editors reserve the right to edit letters for clarity.

The right to determine this should be left to the reader, and if the reader is mortally offended, he should reserve the additional right to take out an advert himself.

The editors of the *Weekly Mail* may not agree with what you say, but it is their duty to defend to the death your right to pay to say it. I commend and wholeheartedly support the *Weekly Mail* for its unqualified stand against Press censorship, with the sole proviso that they exercise caution in publishing pathetic petitions from bumptious, presumptuous, allegedly progressive South Africans. — GR Silber, Johannesburg.

I WOULD like to add a comment to the controversy over the *Weekly Mail*'s acceptance of the Sats advert. It is simply to say that if we start to make proscriptions as to what other people should or should not do, or see, or read, we are ourselves contributing to a climate of intolerance and repression, as well as indicating a lack of faith in the ability of readers to judge for themselves on the basis of the facts presented. — W Cullinan, Johannesburg.

I DO not accept the arguments of your correspondents urging you to have censored your newspaper by not accepting an advertisement from Sats.

Their letter presupposes an incredible lack of ability on the part of the readers to judge the merits of the advertisement for themselves.

The letter confuses editorial content with the space an advertiser pays for in order to have an uninterrupted say in whatever the issue may be — in this case to propagandise in the same way as other advertisers do in *Weekly Mail*.

In principle *Weekly Mail* should have accepted that advertisement and used the same guidelines as it would in accepting any advertisement.

If the advertisement contains lies causing offence to readers then the advertiser should be asked to change it or the ad should not run.

The Advertising Standards Authority is supposed to regulate this.

Although I would have no problem accepting an advert from Sats, I did have a problem with the one the WM ran, because it did not reflect reality. Only for that reason — on the grounds of inaccuracy — would I have rejected it. — Pat Sidley, Johannesburg.



## The Wiley inquest

## Chief Reporter

MR JOHN WILEY, former Minister of Environment and Water Affairs, had been "bitter and disillusioned" over a property matter before his death. And the minister was heard answering two telephone calls late on the eve of his death, an inquest court at Simon's Town heard yesterday.

There was also written evidence that Mr Wiley's bedroom door was found to be locked from the inside and that his telephone receiver was off the hook on the day he was found dead with a bullet wound in the head.

In addition, there was evidence that he had been taking prescribed tranquilizing tablets in the past year.

The Chief Magistrate of Cape Town, Mr W G M van Zyl, who presided at the inquest, found that Mr Wiley's death was caused by "a firearm wound and the consequences thereof".

He found further that, on the basis of sworn statements before the court, no one could be held criminally responsible, through an act or omission, for Mr Wiley's death.

Medical evidence was that Mr Wiley probably died between 9am and 10am on Sunday, March 29.

The inquest was attended by Mr Wiley's widow Jeanne, his sons Jeremy and Mark, and a number of other relatives and friends of the family.

## Summary

Mr Van Zyl said that after a thorough reading of all the affidavits before him, he had come to the conclusion that the calling of witnesses was not warranted.

But, he added, in view of the considerable public interest in the matter, he would ask the Deputy Attorney-General of the Cape, Mr D W Rothwell, SC, to read out a summary of the written evidence.

Mr Rothwell then read extracts from each of more than 20 affidavits to provide a picture of the order of events, from the night of March 28 to the late morning of March 29, when Mr Wiley was found dead by his son Mark in a bedroom of his home "Lushof" in the San Michele area of Noordhoek.

The affidavits themselves were put at the disposal of the media after the court proceedings.

Mrs Jeanne Wiley, 45, said in her statement she had been married to Mr Wiley for six years.

About 3.30pm on March 28, when she returned home, Mr Wiley was not there. She was told he was visiting people at Scarborough in connection with postal votes in the general election.

Mr Wiley arrived home after 7.30pm, listened to the news, read a local newspaper and then watched a film on TV.

## Put out light

Mrs Wiley said her husband had decided to go to bed early and they had gone to their separate bedrooms. She had taken a bath in her bathroom and then joined Mr Wiley in his bedroom, where they had a conversation before she returned to her bedroom.

She had put out her light about 11pm, assuming that Mr Wiley's light was already off.

"This was a perfectly normal way in which we would turn in for the night."

The next morning, said Mrs Wiley, she was woken by the alarm at 9am. She rose, had a bath, and about 9.30am went to the shop and bought pineapples, a newspaper and wood for a

braai vleis supper at which guests were expected that night.

She called at the homes of two friends, Mrs Jennifer Aitken and Mrs Patricia Minnaar, and got back home about 11.30am. She knocked on Mr Wiley's door ("his bedroom is just opposite the kitchen") but there was no response.

"I found the door was locked from the inside — something that had not happened before. So I went round to an outside window, and although the curtains were not completely drawn and I could see into the room, I could not see on to the bed because the footboard was in the way."

Mrs Wiley said she went back into the house and tried to get through to her husband's bedroom on the telephone, only to find it was "engaged".

She became anxious and immediately telephoned Mark, who lived a few kilometres away.

Mark arrived at his father's home soon afterwards, went to a partly-opened window and managed to gain access to Mr Wiley's bedroom.

A doctor was summoned and a number of other telephone calls were made. In her stunned state Mrs Wiley could only remember a few of the things that had been said, including "it's all over" and "don't go in there".

Mrs Wiley said police and an ambulance arrived. She did not go into her husband's bedroom but in walking past the door noticed he was lying on the bed, still in his sleep-shorts.

"I knew my husband had some

financial worries," she said in her affidavit, "but I do not think this or the coming election would have been the reason for what happened."

Mrs Wiley said that about March 8 her husband had told her he had had certain pills prescribed by a Dr King — "a doctor not known to me" — but he had said he was going to stop taking them because they made him depressed.

In an affidavit dated March 22, Mr Mark Wiley, 33, described as estate manager of the Goede Hoop Estate at Noordhoek and as a resident on the estate, said there were three directors of the De Goede Hoop Development Company — his brother Jeremy, himself and a financial director.

His father, he added, had had a keen interest in the estate as he was originally involved in it.

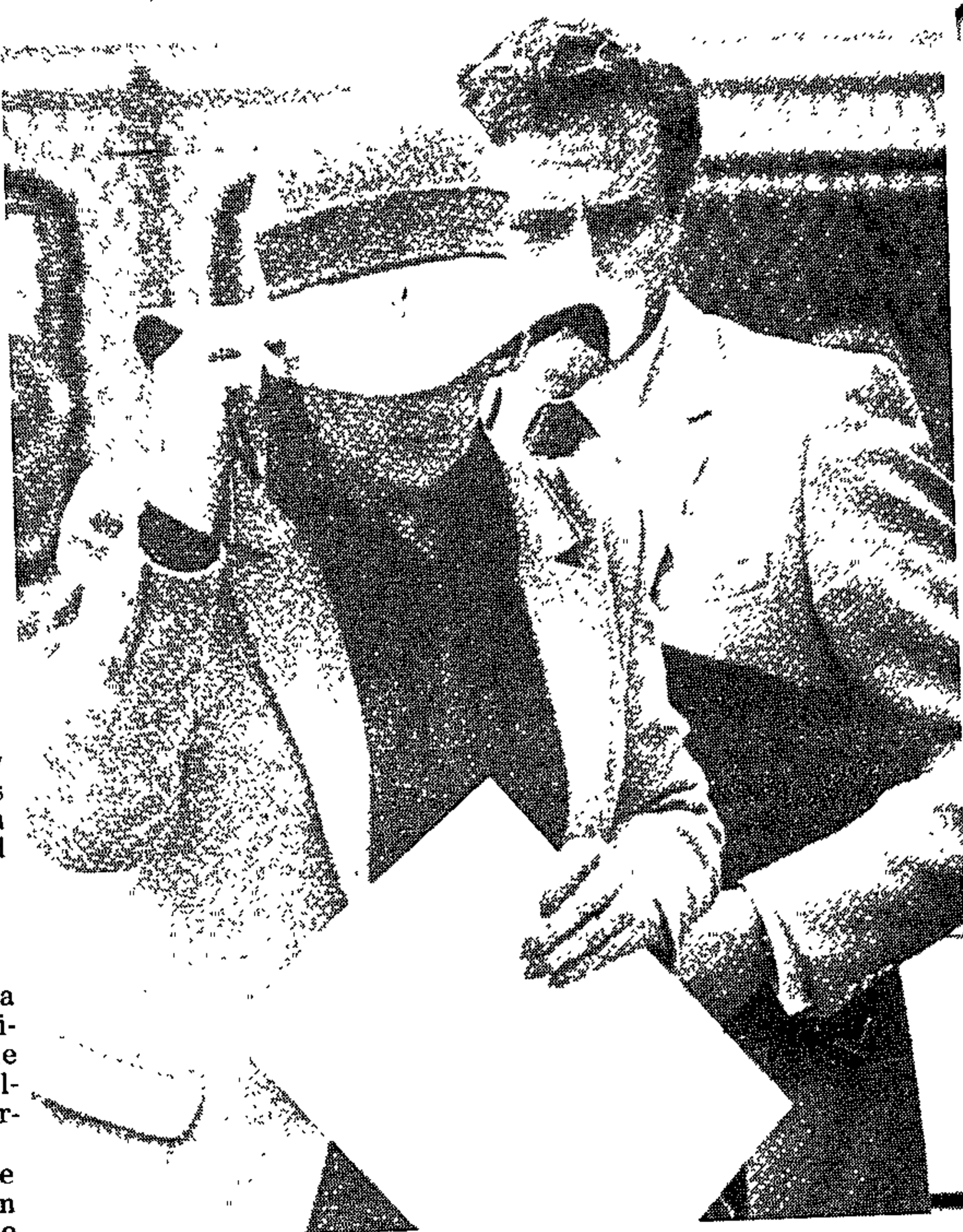
Mr Wiley said that on March 28, while canvassing at Fish Hoek, he and others were joined by Mr John Wiley about 7.30pm in a campaign caravan. He looked "very tired but otherwise quite normal". After drinking a beer he said he was going home and left about 7.45pm.

Mr Wiley said that when he found his father's body the next morning, after receiving a call from Mrs Jeanne Wiley, there was a substantial amount of blood on the right side of his head.

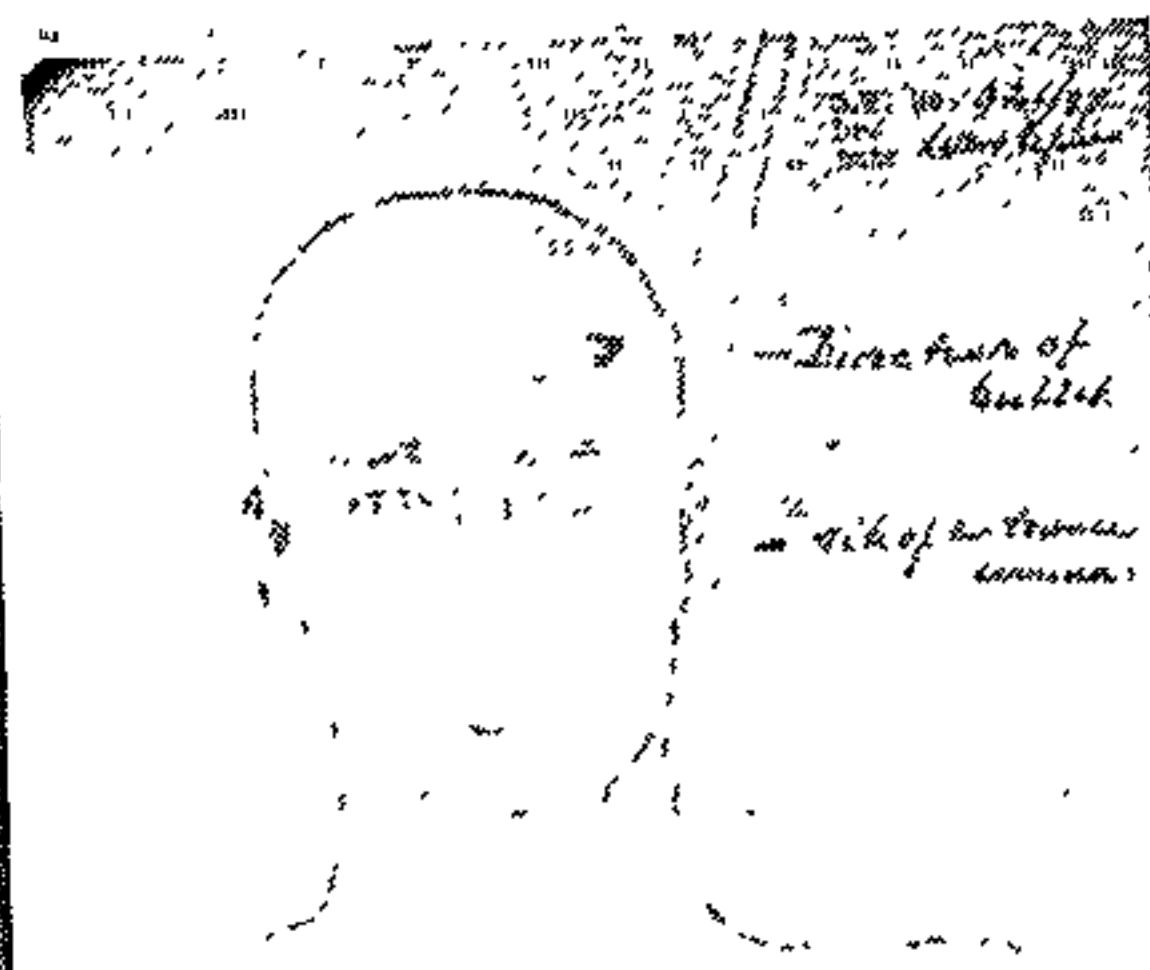
"My first impression was that he had had a massive brain haemorrhage and had bled from his ear, as he was lying in a natural sleeping position."

Mr Wiley said he had tried to

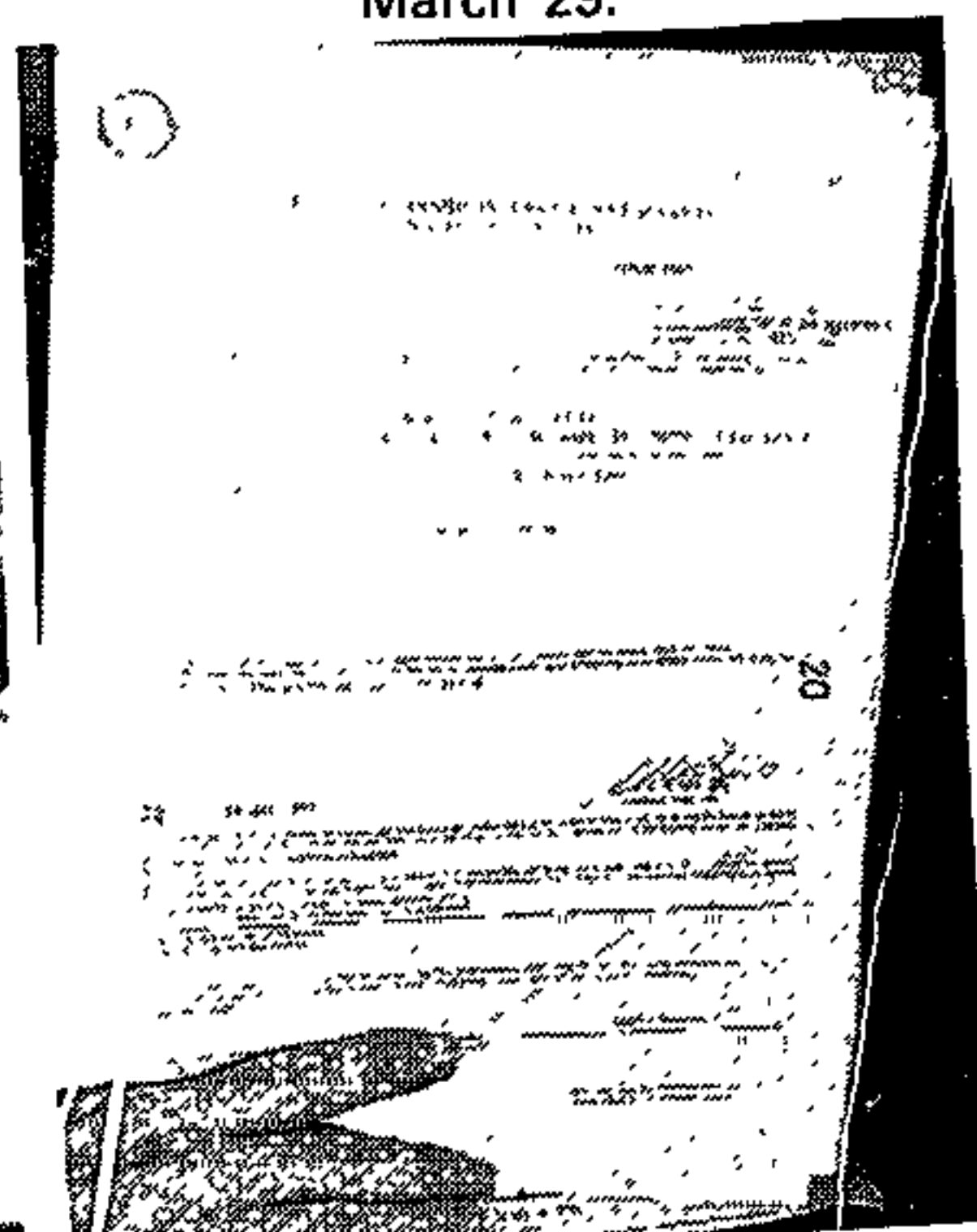
## Inquest told of disillusion, photo



**THE WIDOW...** Mrs Jeanne Wiley, widow of Mr John Wiley, leaves the Simon's Town Magistrate's Court yesterday with Mr Wiley's elder son Jeremy, after attending the inquest on the former Minister of Environment and Water Affairs.



A pathologist's sketch indicating the angle at which a bullet entered the brain of Mr John Wiley. The distorted bullet was removed from the former minister's brain at an autopsy after his suicidal death on March 29.



The formal document in which the Chief Magistrate of Cape Town, Mr Willem van Zyl, recorded his findings at the inquest on Mr John Wiley at Simon's Town yesterday.

kick the bedroom door in.

He said his eye had been caught by a silver glint on the bed, which turned out to be a .32mm antique revolver. "This was a firearm I had known for many years. It was an arm my father inherited many years ago."

Mr John Wiley, Mark said, had for a long time wanted to live in the manor house on the Goede Hoop estate and to make extensive use of the fynbos reserve he had created on the estate, which he bought in 1983.

"However, in recent times our bankers, who are also our partners, have exerted exceptional pressure on us despite the obvious viability of the project."

"This pressure had the direct result in our accepting an unexpected offer to buy the manor house. These negotiations proved to be long and frustrating in the extreme. However, finality of the sale was to be reached in the week of March 30."

"This sale would have included either partial ownership or outright ownership of the fynbos reserve."

"These two points in particular had made my father very bitter and disillusioned in recent months."

Mr Wiley added: "In my recent conversations with my father he often said to me he wished people would recognize his efforts in the sincere spirit in which they were made, for example the granting of a crayfish quota to the local Kalk Bay fishing community."

Mr Jeremy Wiley, Mr John Wi-



## The Wiley Dossier

R JOHN WILEY was born at St James on February 7, 1927.

He was educated at Diocean College in Rondebosch and at the universities of Cape Town and Oxford.

Mr Wiley entered parliamentary politics in 1966 when he was elected to Parliament as the United Party member for Simon's Town.

He formed the South African Party in 1978 when he UP broke up.

The SAP disbanded in 1980 and Mr Wiley joined the National Party. He resigned from Parliament and won a by-election to regain his seat.

His career-long campaign against the abuse of marine resources — which was marked at times by bitter clashes with Nationalist ministers — continued even after he joined the NP.

Mr Wiley had a meteoric rise in the NP, and a former friend told the Cape Times that, over the last 30 years of his life, Mr Wiley's "obsession" was to become a cabinet minister.

"He used three (political) parties to get there," the source said.

He died a "bitter and disillusioned" man in his Noordhoek home on March 29, 1987, the Simon's Town inquest court heard on Thursday.

At the time he was actively involved in an energetic campaign to extend his 21-year tenure as MP for Simon's Town.

But when he died, it was alone... on a brown-sheeted single bed in a bedroom surprisingly spartan and stark.

His wife, Jeanne, told the inquest court that Mr Wiley's bedroom was "just opposite the kitchen."

Several books, including "South Africa: The Road Ahead" by J F Jacobs, were on the bedside table next to a lamp which was nothing more than a mounted bare shadeless globe.

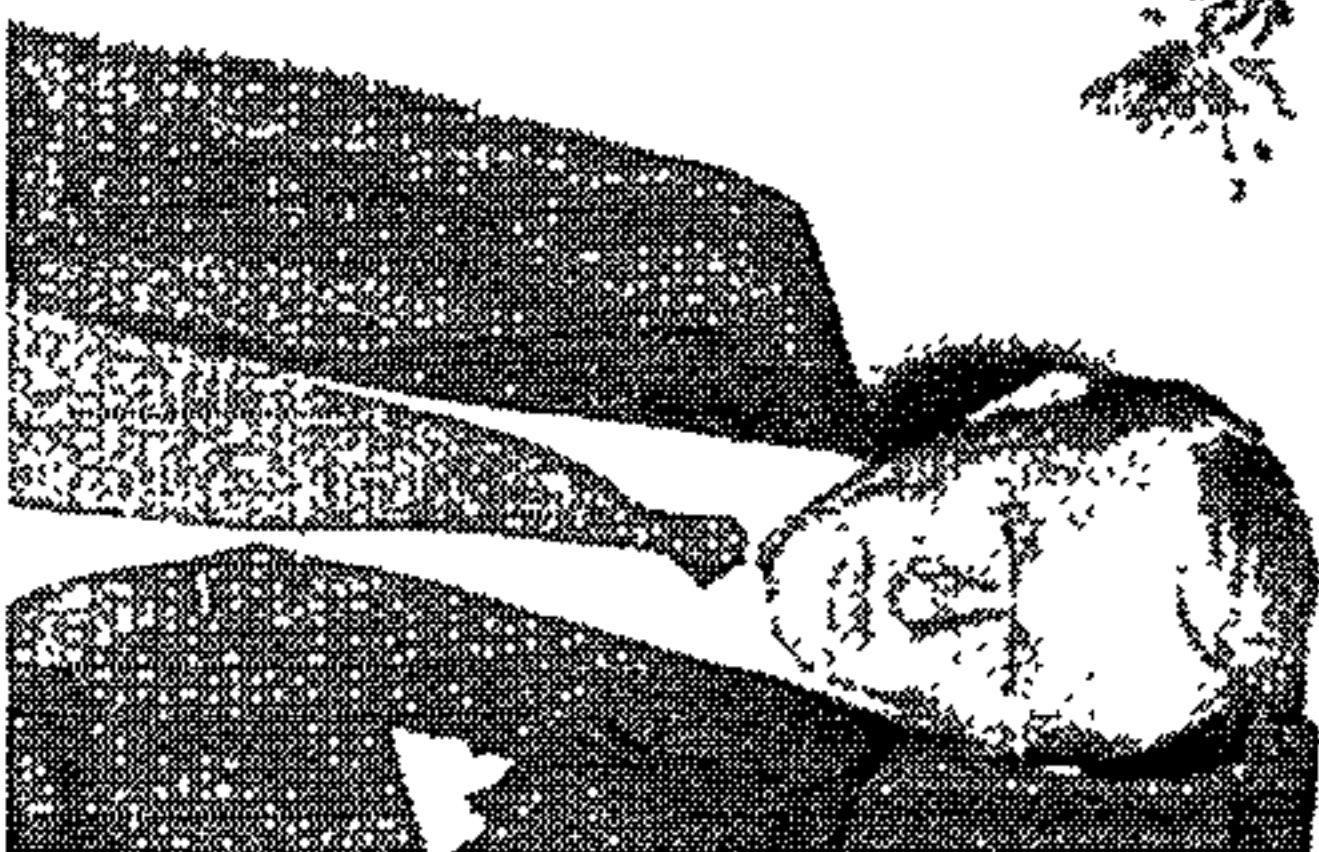
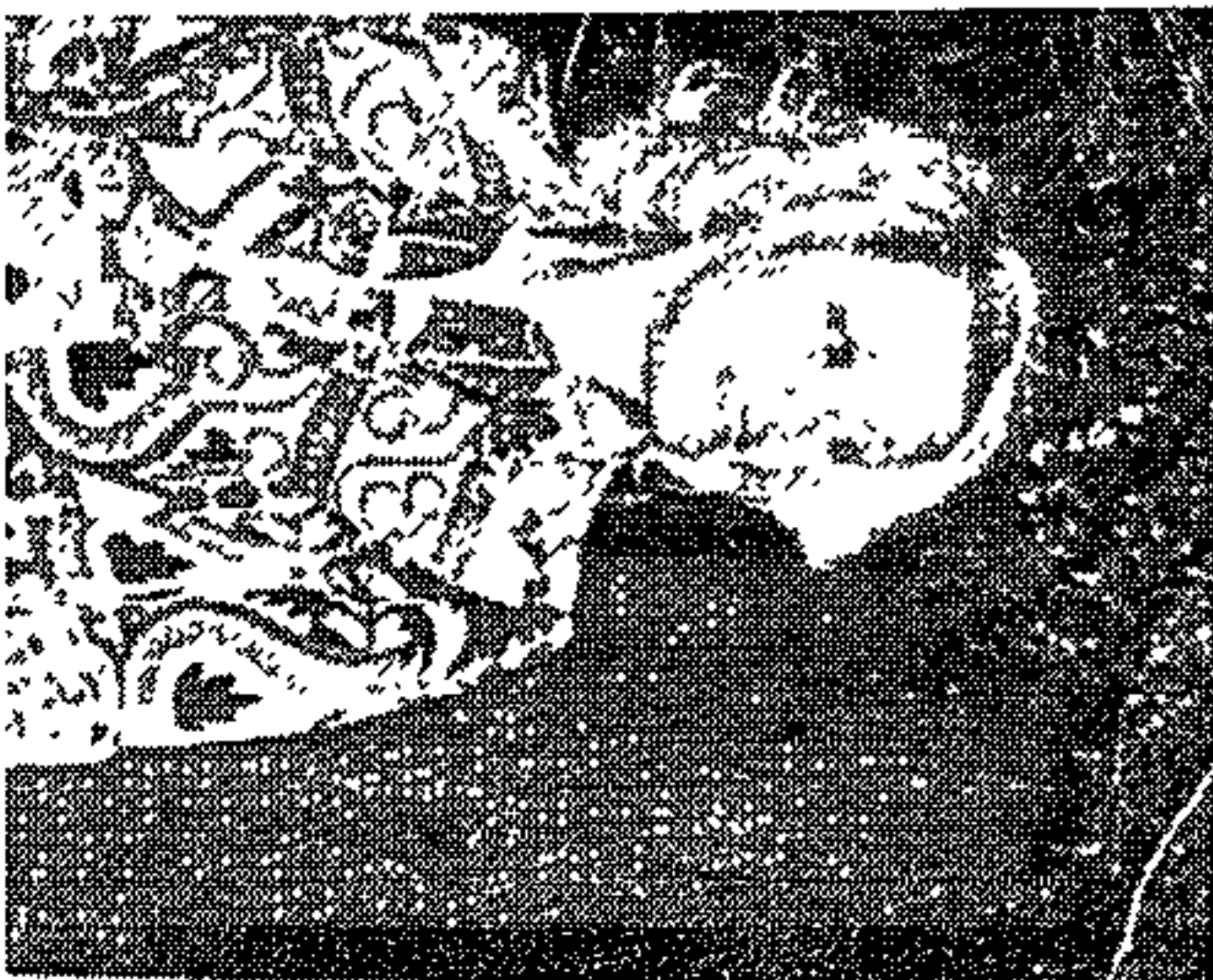
The unglamorous surroundings in which Mr Wiley died were in sharp contrast to his flamboyant personal image. He was noted for his immaculate dress sense and always wore expensive and neatly tailored suits or very fashionable casual wear.

The inquest court found that no one could be held criminally responsible through an act or an omission, for Mr Wiley's death.

His younger son, Mark, told the inquest court that his father had been "bitter and disillusioned" — because "exceptional pressure" had been exerted on him to sell his beloved De Goede Hoop Estate manor house. Finally of the sale was to have been reached in the week ending March 30 — the day after he killed himself.

But Mr Wiley's wife said in her affidavit: "I knew my husband had some financial worries, but I do not think this or the coming election would have been the reason for what happened."

His elder son, Jeremy, however, said: "I have no hesitation in attest-



HOLLYWOOD GLAMOUR... Mr John Wiley with Hollywood starlet Linda Christian.



VICTORIOUS... Mr John Wiley after an election victory.



AT THE BEACH... After an attempt to rescue a surfer.



DEATH SPOT... Where Mr David Allen shot himself at Schoenmakerskop Beach near Port Elizabeth.

# Shadows in a bright public life

Cape Times described him as an "honourable man who was above reproach."

But, information received by the Cape Times strongly suggests that Mr Wiley finally died caught in a web spun of his own good intentions and colourful lifestyle.

During the investigation — in Cape Town and in Port Elizabeth — a picture emerged of the former Oxford cricket blue and jolly man-about-town which was far removed from what most South Africans believed Mr Wiley to be.

His much-publicized marriages and other liaisons with beautiful women, such as Hollywood starlet Linda Christian, turned out to be the bright side of a shadowed life.

In reality he preferred the company of men to women.

This became increasingly clear during interviews with several close associates in Port Elizabeth and Cape Town and was openly discussed in "gay" clubs in the city after Mr Wiley's death.

The Wiley family made it quite plain this week that they were not prepared to discuss "anything about him" (Mr Wiley) with the Cape Times.

Mrs Wiley said in a brief telephone interview in early April: "As far as our married life is concerned, it was A-1."

A Cape Town restaurant manager, who claimed he had known for at

By  
CHRIS  
STEYN



least 12 years about Mr Wiley's lifestyle, said: "He always dressed too well — usually wearing neatly stitched and expensive suits. He was a difficult customer."

Even people who claim to have been "close" to Mr Wiley for 25 to 30 years said they were never able to reconcile his image as a womanizer with the fact that he surrounded himself — in his professional and personal life — with a variety of men.

A National Party source interviewed in Port Elizabeth, said: "He used women solely for decorative purposes." This source, who insisted that his identity not be divulged, said that his identity not be divulged under any circumstances, can be described as an outspoken and colourful character.

A business associate and long-time former friend of Mr Wiley said: "He let down even his own family. His death was the ultimate selfish act."

Mr Wiley was a macho man who took a strong line on issues such as rape and sportsmen kissing on the field.

He was once quoted as saying that a most unhealthy situation was developing in South African sport with players embracing and kissing each other after a try or goal, was scored. It was Mr Wiley who in 1981 supported the idea of castration as a punishment for rape when an 18-year-old farmhand — who was forced to castrate himself at gunpoint by the son of an elderly woman he had raped — was jailed for 10 years.

"In these cases the sooner we have a return to corporal punishment, even the cat o' nine tails, the better. In cases where a man has raped on many occasions and cannot control his urge, the State should castrate him," he said.

His appointment as Minister of Environment Affairs and Tourism in September 1984 marked the turning point in a life that had thus far run reasonably smoothly.

Suggestions have been made that despite his image as a lady's man and his power as a cabinet minister, Mr Wiley's lifestyle left him vulnerable.

A Port Elizabeth source claimed that Mr Wiley had finally been exposed to what many in public office fear most — blackmail. But, despite extensive efforts, the Cape Times could not obtain verification or any form of proof of this allegation. With the government's announcement of a general election, the first

words of the final chapter of Mr John Wiley's life were written.

He was set to defend the Simon's Town seat which he had held as an MP since 1966. It was an election battle he was expected to win comfortably.

But there was to be no victory this time.

In a bizarre twist, Mr John Wiley's unexpected death came less than a month after that of an acquaintance, Port Elizabeth conservationist and police reserve lieutenant Mr David Allen.

The 37-year-old diver shot himself on February 25 — just two hours before he was due to appear in court on charges of committing sexual offences with boys under the age of 19.

Mr Allen had guano concessions worth "a few million rands" on five islands off Namibia and Bird Island, and underwater farming concessions in Saldanha and Algoa Bay, growing mussels and oysters.

This was confirmed by his brother, Geoffrey, who said this concession was developing into a multi-million rand industry exporting mainly to the Far East.

Sources in the gay community have described Mr Allen as a "loner" who preferred young boys whom he could "get rid of when they reached the age of 16".

A young man, who told homosexual friends he had lived with Mr Allen for years, said he was kicked

out when he turned 16.

The youth broke down when he heard news of Mr Allen's death. Sources said he still had "feelings" for his former lover.

On Monday, February 23, Mr Allen was arrested and charged by police. Two days later he was dead.

Dressed in a suit, he shot himself in the head on Schoenmakerskop Beach in the vicinity of the wreck of the Sacramento.

It is reliably understood — from a Cape Town source and an independent Johannesburg source — that he was visited in Port Elizabeth by Mr Wiley in the days preceding his death.

"Because of a massive indiscretion, he (Mr Allen) set himself up as his own judge," said Mr Allen's brother, Geoffrey.

"His prominent friends leaned on him heavily. He decided to take care of his part in the affair," he said.

## Question remains

But exactly why did Mr Wiley die? This question may never be answered.

A reliable source told the Cape Times that Mr Wiley appeared under "a lot of pressure" when he visited a private doctor a week before his death.

Mr Wiley saw the doctor after he had 'broken out in boils and developed styes on his eyes. Days later, he was de-



# The question remains —

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# WHY?

SOME call it an act of cowardice, some call it one of bravery.

Without a note or letter of explanation, which even then never explains why one person cracks and another does not, suicide remains a personal mystery.

With the inquest completed, the statements of all concerned filed and the finding on his death made, that mystery still hangs over the suicide of John Walter Edington Wiley.

Why, on the morning of March 29, only weeks away from an important election in which he was already deeply involved, should he take a .32 calibre Harrington and Richardson revolver and shoot himself through the head?

The impact of the suicide was such that within hours rumours about Mr Wiley were buzzing all over the country, and the police took the step of appealing to the media to refrain from publishing "unsubstantiated and untested rumours".

The only unexplained events of the hours leading up to his suicide were two telephone calls he took on his official number in his study at about 10pm, after he had gone to bed.

A police constable on guard at the home said he had heard Mr Wiley answer these calls, but could not hear their content.

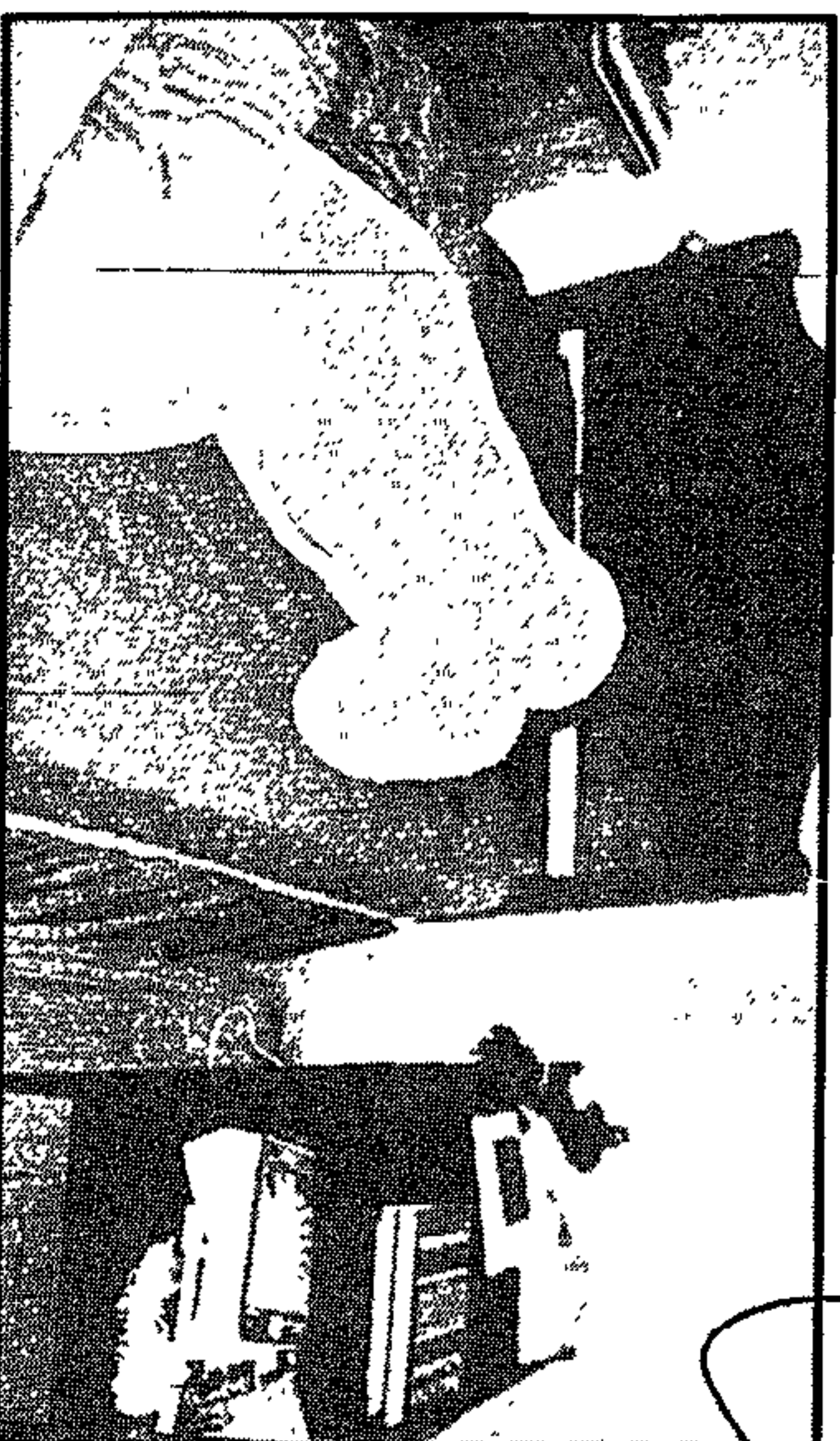
When police examined his room the next day, the phone in his room — an extension of that in his study — was off the hook.

WARFRANT Officer C W Raath of Simon's Town, the investigating officer, said he had tried the repeat button to try and get the last number called, but had obtained only a dialling tone.

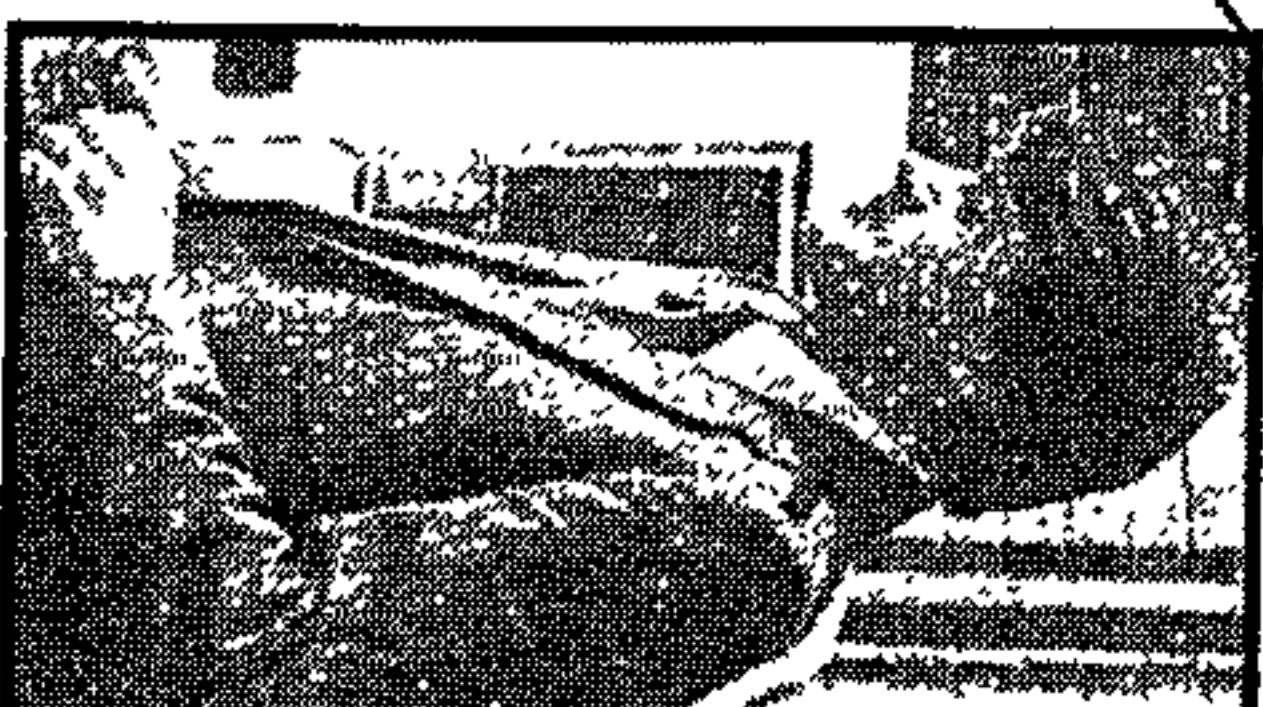
The telephones have a facility to cancel the memory for the last number called, but a test by The Argus showed that after being left off the hook for a time the memory was also cancelled.

The police found no clues in his sparsely furnished, uncarpeted bedroom.

Apart from the mortal remains of John Wiley, the room contained little more than a pine chest of drawers, a trolley for the telephone on which also



The bedroom where the body was found.



Mr Mark Wiley. He found the body.

stood an unshaded lamp, some books and a board for snapshots.

Dr L van Ieperen, the pathologist, said there was no glass of water or pills and an autopsy showed "no narcotic drugs or other therapeutic substances."

THROUGHOUT the papers, one theme is reiterated constantly: "I do not know of any reason why John Wiley should have taken his own life."

On the face of it, there are several factors which may have contributed to the act:

- Financial problems;
- Worries about the forthcoming election;
- Feelings that his work as Minister of Environment Affairs was not generally appreciated; and
- The effects of a common anti-depressant, Ativan.

Mr Wiley's son Mark Wiley, submitted in his affidavit, that at the time his father was working very hard on the election.

"I found my father was very busy and subsequently tired. He was also not looking well and looked drained," said Mr Wiley.

He also addressed his father's financial anxieties over De Goede Hoop Development Company, of which he had been a director.

The scheme, according to his other son, Jeremy Wiley, was a series of smallholdings above and below the main road from Hout Bay via Chapman's Peak to Kommetjie, financed by Barclays Bank.

First National Bank, as Barclays is now known, yesterday denied it was putting pressure on Mr Wiley at the time of his death.

Mr Mark Wiley said that in recent times their bankers, who were also their partners, had exerted exceptional pressure on them despite the obvious "viability" of the project.

"This pressure had the direct result of us accepting an unexpected offer to buy the manor house. "These negotiations proved to be frustrating in the extreme.

"However, finally of the sale was to be reached in the week of March 30 (Mr Wiley shot himself on March 29).

"This sale would have included either partial ownership or outright ownership of the fynbos reserve," said Mr Mark Wiley.

He also spoke of his father's tremendous love for the estate, his desire to one day live in the manor house himself and make extensive use of the fynbos reserve he would have created.

BUT Mr Jeremy Wiley said that although the launch of the scheme coincided with the downturn in the property market, which had caused cashflow problems in the beginning, the position had improved substantially and the company was having no difficulty meeting its commitments.

"I have no hesitation in attesting that my father's indirect involvement in the affairs of the company could not have contributed in any way to his death, nor does his death affect the financial or trading position of the company which is healthy and sound," he said.

On the question of the election, where he was standing as a candidate for Simon's Town, his personal secretary Ms Valerie Tiffin, said that while Mr Wiley had been carrying a heavy load as a Minister, he had recently been showing no more signs of stress than in any other election campaign.

Mrs Jeanne Wiley said that she knew her husband "had some financial worries, but I do not think this or the coming election would have been the reason for what happened."

She also said it was her impression Mr Wiley would not have tackled the election if he had not been reasonably confident.

In the end, Mr Harry Dilley won the seat for the National Party by 268 votes against the PFP's Mr John Scott.

From the papers before the court, it appeared he had been working hard at the election and had spent some of the afternoon before he shot himself on election matters.

About 7.30pm he visited his son Mark, who was canvassing at Fish Hoek, discussed the election and had a beer before going home about 7.45pm.

The picture that emerges is one of a man going about his business in his normal fashion.

After returning home he and his wife watched television for a short while before Mr Wiley decided to take an early night.

MRS WILEY had a bath, then joined Mr Wiley in his bedroom where they had a conversation before she returned to her own room.

This was the normal way in which they would turn in for the night. She said their having separate bedrooms was an arrangement with which everyone was happy.

Mrs Wiley also said that about March 8 her husband had told her he had pills prescribed for him by a certain Dr King — who was not known to her — but he had said he was going to stop taking them because they made him depressed.

He was also taking Ativan, a tranquilliser which had been prescribed for him by Dr John Caine.

Dr Caine said he had known Mr Wiley for about 40 years, and had been his doctor for most of that time.

"I knew he suffered severe psychological trauma during his first marriage, but he was never a very sick man and I never prescribed any habit-forming drugs for him."

Dr Caine was another who said he knew of no reason why Mr Wiley would have taken his own life.

Ativan, according to the authoritative MIMS directory of medicines, is prescribed for anxiety and tension, 2 to 3mg a day. It has possible side-effects of drowsiness, rash, headache, vertigo and narrow angle glaucoma.

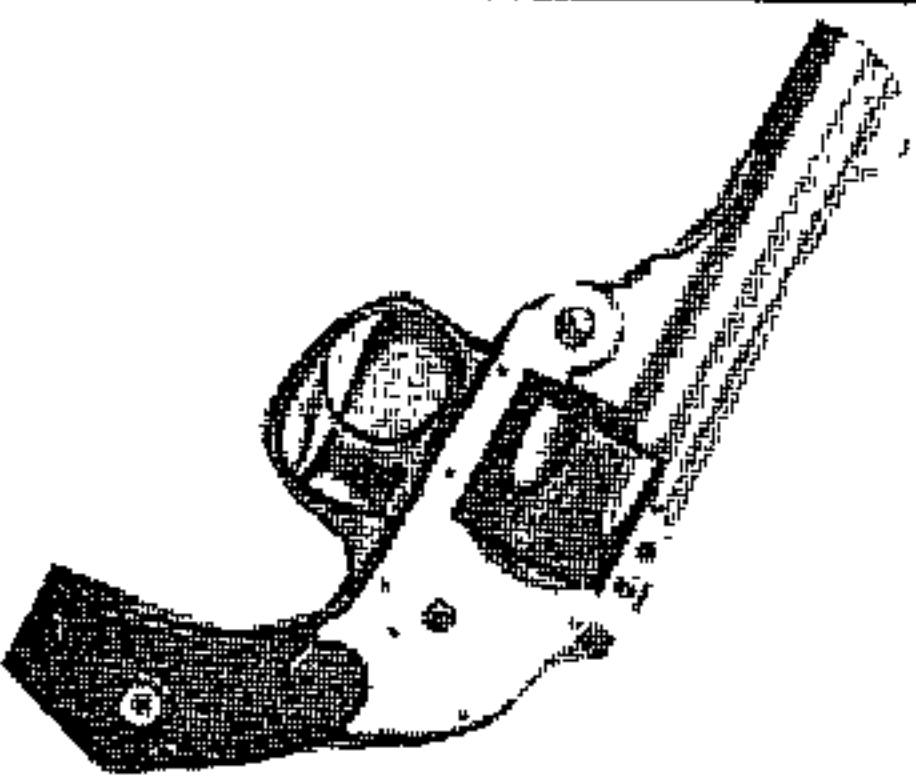
Acute hypersensitivity is a contra-indication.

Mr Wiley had, over about 12 months, filled three prescriptions for 1mg Ativan tablets, the most recent was for 60 on March 4. He had received 140 tablets since April 24, 1986.

There is medical opinion that a tranquilliser such as Ativan can relax tense people, but if the patient is also suffering from anxiety and depression they could be brought more to the fore.

But, in the end, there is no full answer to why Mr John Wiley — or anyone else — would take his own life.

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# Prog hasn't told mum

**FLYAWAY** Prog councillor Mike Sutherland told the world this week that he was not returning from Australia to "fascist South Africa" — but he has not told his lonely mother.

**IN SYDNEY** Mr Sutherland said: "The people have voted for fascism, not reform. I can see no point in going back."

**IN JOHANNESBURG** his mother, Mrs Alice Sutherland, 69, said: "He phones me regularly and has made no mention of not coming home."

"It is a very sad affair and I hope he will be home soon. There's no place like home."

Home is a modest house in the Johannesburg suburb of Rosettenville, where she now lives alone with her dog.

Mr Sutherland, 32, who was brought up in the working-class Johannesburg suburb, this week dashed the PFP's hopes of wresting control of the country's largest city.

He announced he was staying in Australia after repeated assurances by his party's leader in the city council, Mr Sam Moss, that "Mr Sutherland is coming back to South Africa".

Mr Sutherland said the election results were the reason for his decision to emigrate, although he had applied for permanent residence last year.

This week his frail mother appeared unaware of the implications of her son's decision, believing he was in Australia on a business trip.

"I know Mike was very upset by the election result, especially in Hillbrow, where Mr Alf Widman lost to the Nats," she said. "If he has decided to stay in Australia it's news to me. It's his life and his decision, and I must abide by it."

Asked if he would be supporting her now that he had decided not to return home, she replied proudly that she was "able to look after herself" and would not ask him for money.

## Behind back

Mrs Sutherland, who comes from Lebanon, said she met her late husband, William, in Alexandria, Egypt, during the Second World War.

"His father came from Scotland but William was born in South Africa and so was Mike," she said. Her husband died nine years ago.

She said her daughter, Elizabeth, married with four children, visited her regularly, and her son phoned her "about once every two weeks".



AWAY ... Prog councillor Mike Sutherland with Sydney mayor Doug Sutherland

By IVOR CREWS in Johannesburg and NIC VAN OUDTSHOORN in Sydney

member of the Progressive Reform Party and later the PFP.

"He stood for the PFP in the Hospital ward in 1982, and was elected to the council, where he was always a conscientious worker and well liked."

Family photo albums and scrapbooks listing Mr Sutherland's achievements are treasured by his mother, and certificates from school and university are displayed on the walls of the cosy house her son once shared with her.

Mr Sutherland was head boy at Hill High School, in The Hill, a Johannesburg southern suburb. He went to the United States as an exchange student.

After completing a teaching diploma he taught at St Martins and later graduated from the University of the Witwatersrand with a B Proc and then practised as an attorney.

He is a keen sportsman who enjoys tennis and squash, and played soccer for his school.

In Sydney Mr Sutherland said he was "bitterly hurt and upset" by newspaper editorials accusing him of deserting his party and South Africa by taking the "chicken run". It was more of a "frustration run", he said.

And he has no regrets. Returning to South Africa just

to vote so that the PFP could get control of the council and then return to Australia, where he had decided to settle anyway, would have been "morally indefensible".

Mr Sutherland now works in a "business capacity" in Sydney where he said he had an "office job".

He has an Australian girlfriend, but this was not "a major factor in my decision to stay here".

## Paid his dues

"I am not ashamed of what I have done. It was a very tough decision to make, becoming a voluntary exile and forsaking one's family and friends. But I know I have done the right thing."

"I have worked first for the United Party and then the PFP since I was 15."

"I have paid my dues to my country and my people. Now, after the election, I see no future for moderates like me in South Africa."

"I just want to be a private citizen and build a new life for myself."

Mr Sutherland confirmed the statement by Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, that he applied for permanent residence in Australia last year.

He had not told party colleagues, who thought he was

He quit 'fascist' SA, leaving an old woman alone with her dog

on a working holiday when he went to Sydney in February.

"In many ways that was true because at that time I did not have a firm commitment either to stay or return," he said.

"It all depended on the outcome of the election. I would have loved to have been able to decide otherwise ... nobody just wants to pack and go."

"Then, on Thursday morning last week, after I heard that Alf Widman had been blown out, I thought to myself: What is there to go back for?"

"The voters had turned against the party. Yet I am now suddenly the man who is the big traitor against the PFP."

Mr Sutherland said he took his job as a city councillor seriously, but felt that with the swing to conservatism he would be wasting his time continuing to create reform on a local level when it would only be blocked higher up.

Mr Sutherland, who is unmarried, said it pained him to leave behind his mother and his sister.

"But I am only 32. I still have time to start life afresh. I have had the opportunity of coming to Australia for a long time, but what swayed me to quit were things like the state of emergency, detention without trial, the abrogation of the rule of law."



AT HOME ... Mrs Alice Sutherland. "There's place like home" Picture: HERMANN PAINGZ



# Areas: 'Church' 15/5/87 304A

Staff Reporter

THE Synod of the Anglican Church said yesterday it hoped the government would not confront the church on the issue of the Group Areas Act, because it would be left with no alternative but "to be obedient to God".

The US State Department said yesterday that Pretoria's moves to step up enforcement of the "repugnant" and "unjust" Group Areas Act was "deeply disturbing".

Simon Barber reports from Washington that the State Department said: "The Group Areas Act is one of the most repugnant aspects of apartheid, and its abolition must be one of the key steps in the negotiated settlement of South Africa's problems."

The State Department is also deeply concerned about government threats to hamper US companies' effort to abide by the Sullivan Code.

"We strongly support our corporations' continued presence in South Africa and note with distress that to our knowledge not one of the South African owners of the assets of those American companies that have left has continued the fair labour standards and social programmes of the Sullivan Code."

Meanwhile, at a meeting in Vanderbijl Park yesterday the Anglican bishops reiterated "most emphatically" their total opposition to apartheid "and in this instance the Group Areas Act".

The bishops reaffirmed that people were created "in the image of God with dignity and

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## 'Concern for safety' cause of delays 269 CAPE TIMES 15/5/87

By DIANE CASSERE

SAFETY was a higher priority with the SA Transport Services than time, and this was the biggest factor in train delays where even a minor fault could cause major hold-ups.

SATS's public relations officer, Mr Luther Diederichs, said it was impossible to run a suburban train service 100% on time.

He was explaining further delays yesterday when commuters on the Bellville and Cape Flats lines were held up for as much as 45 minutes because of a problem in the track circuit at Woodstock.

Southern suburbs commuters were held up by a maximum of 10 minutes.

"Our average is 95% on time and we believe that is good," Mr Diederichs said.

"But because of our extreme safety precautions, even a minor fault in the automatic system causes all the signals to go to red (danger). There are telephones at all the signal points and drivers then have to get telephonic clearance to get through."

The Cape suburban lines run 100 trains, each of which do about eight journeys in 24 hours, a total of 800 runs.

During peak hour, if there is a breakdown in the system, 15 trains could be affected simultaneously.

"The problem that caused it may not be very big, but a number of trains can be delayed and this has a snowball effect," Mr Diederichs said.

None of the train delays was related to the rain and only one line, the Klaver track, had been damaged during heavy rain.

## Korean skipper murdered in city

Crime Reporter

THE skipper of a Korean stern trawler was shot dead in Woodstock early yesterday, hours before he was due to sail for Atlantic fishing grounds.

A police spokesman said Captain Song Yeoung Gun, 35, and his radio officer, Mr Gang Jeon Sig, 38, of the Korean trawler Sam Wong 77, had a few drinks at a Woodstock hotel on Wednesday night.

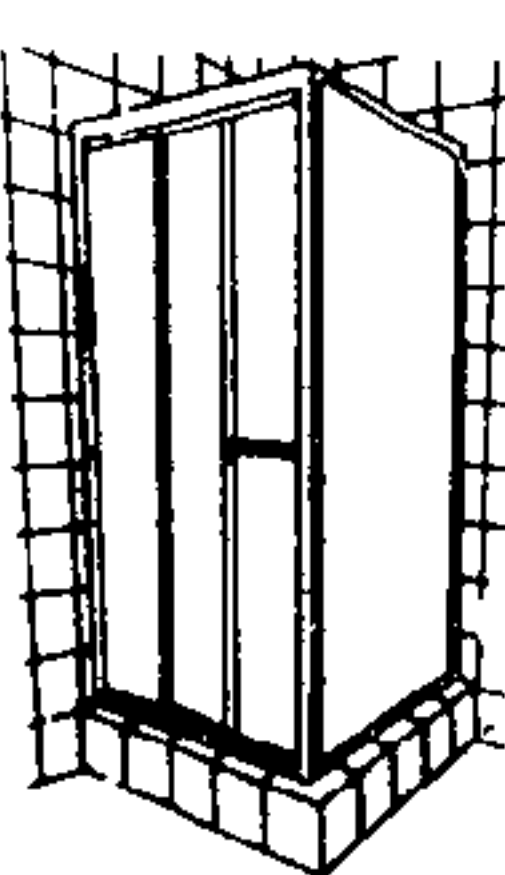
It appeared the Koreans were offered a lift by two unidentified men, who walked with them to Milan Street and then held them at gunpoint.

A woman resident of Milan Street said yesterday that her husband heard shots being fired in the street about 2am. He saw three men run off, in different directions, and found a man lying on the ground, foaming at the mouth. The man's pockets had been turned inside out.

Yesterday afternoon the shocked second officer of the vessel, Mr Seol Seon Hwan, 26, said Captain Gun, a father of three, had been away from home for 22 months and had been looking forward to going home after the fishing operation.

Anyone with information which may assist police in solving the murder is asked to contact Captain Johan Kleyn at 934-1035 or at 1-0111.

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BUILDING ALTERATIONS

## Mopping up after



## Wind, rain brought damage and c

Staff Reporters

MOPPING-UP operations got under way early yesterday in the aftermath of Wednesday's storm when dozens of homes — particularly in KTC, Ravensmead and Vrygrond — were flooded after street drainage clogged up under the heavy winter showers.

A 34-year-old Somerset West man, Mr Cobus Albertus Rossouw, of Irene Road, died in a weather-related accident shortly before 10pm on Wednesday. Boland police said the car he was driving skidded and rolled on the wet Stellenbosch-Somerset West road.

High winds early yesterday morning also caused extensive damage to property, especially in the Boland.

In Sutherland a large section of the roof of the Sutherland Hotel was ripped off early yesterday morning, smashing the roof of a car and cutting off power in a section of the town.

A spokesman for the hotel, Mr Adriaan Prinsloo, said eight rooms had been affected but the ceilings had remained and the six people occupying the rooms had been protected for the rest of the night from the pouring rain.

In Montagu a section of the roof of the Montagu and Ashton Community Services Centre was torn off and several trees were uprooted in the district.

Branches torn from trees damaged

tion to upgrade the stand negotiations. We are also hoping who have had to vacate move on to land burned."

Ravensmead spent a sleepless night poured into their a depth of 30cm of. "Every winter we year it's the same."

Mrs Alice Miller Ravensmead, said 30cm deep in the deep-freeze and working.

Water seeped through Hugh Alexander Stroebel Street, in the driving rain an earth barrier.

His neighbour, said many residents money from the earlier flood, but tion was not good.

Mr J P Barnard Parow, said the received had been up after a similar 1985.

Plans for a R350 sort out the poor mead were at an



# Wiley was 'bitter'

Cape Times 15/5/82

304A

By ROGER WILLIAMS  
Chief Reporter

A PICTURE of "a very bitter and disillusioned" Mr John Wiley, in the context of a property deal before his suicidal death, was drawn by his younger son, Mark, in one of more than 20 sworn affidavits before an inquest court at Simon's Town yesterday.

Finality in a transaction for the sale of the manor house on the De Goede Hoop Estate at Noordhoek, in which Mr John Wiley had expressed a wish to live, was to be reached in the week of March 30 — the day after his father's death, Mr Mark Wiley said.

The inquest court also had before it written testimony on the circumstances in which Mark found his father, the former Minister of Environment and Water Affairs, dead in a bedroom of his Noordhoek home on the morning of March 29, with a bullet wound in his right temple.

## Manor house

The Chief Magistrate of Cape Town, Mr W G M van Zyl, who presided at the inquest, found that Mr Wiley's death had been caused "by a firearm wound, and the consequences thereof", and that the written evidence before him indicated that no one could be held criminally responsible for the minister's death, through any act or omission.

No oral evidence was led. Mr Mark Wiley, in his affidavit, said his father had for long expressed a desire to live in the De Goede Hoop manor house, and to make extensive use of the fynbos reserve that he had created on the estate.

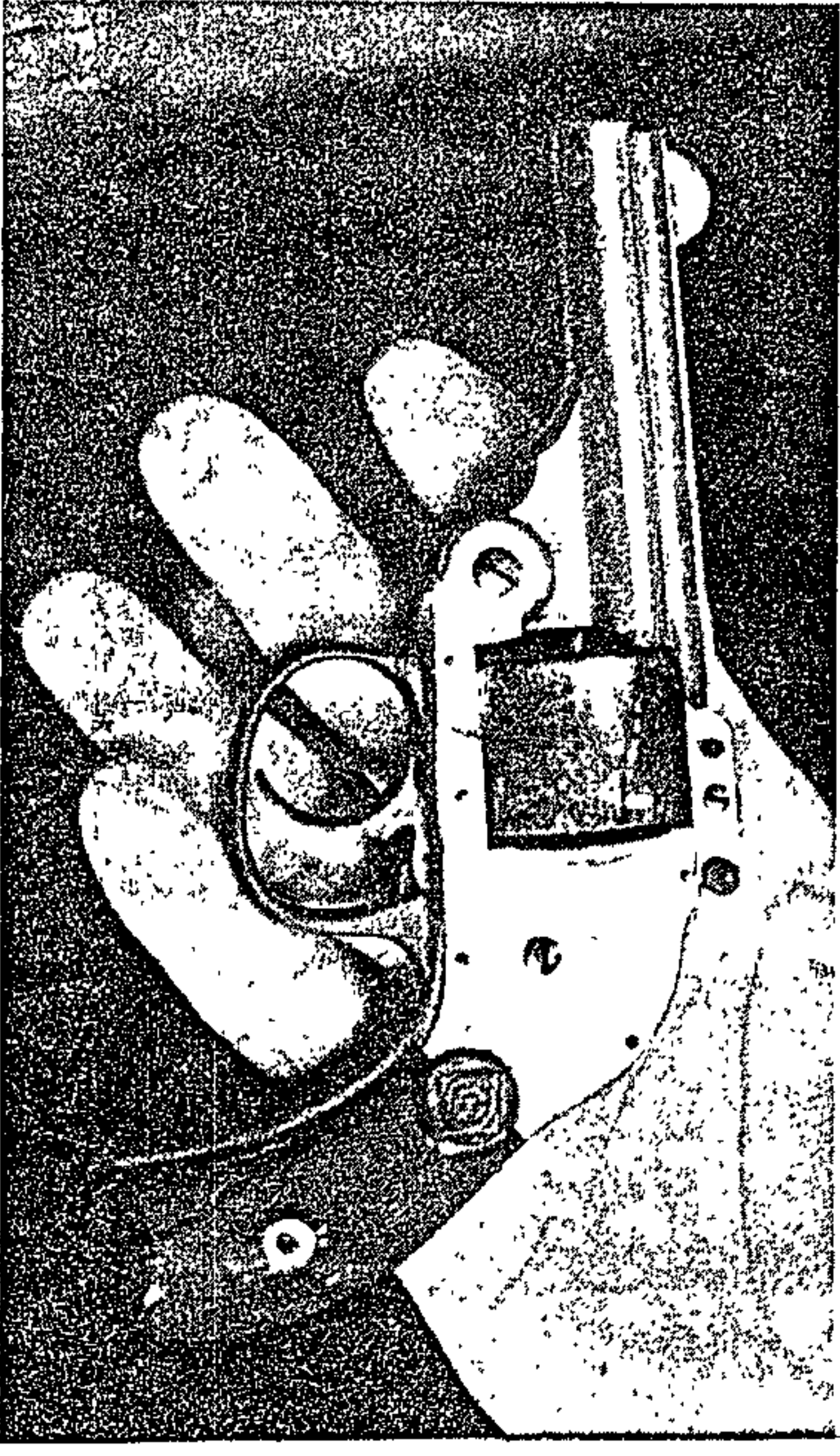
"However, in recent times our bankers, who are also our partners, have exerted exceptional pressure on us, despite the obvious viability of the project.

"This pressure had the direct result in our accepting an unexpected offer to buy the manor house. These negotiations proved to be long and frustrating in the extreme.

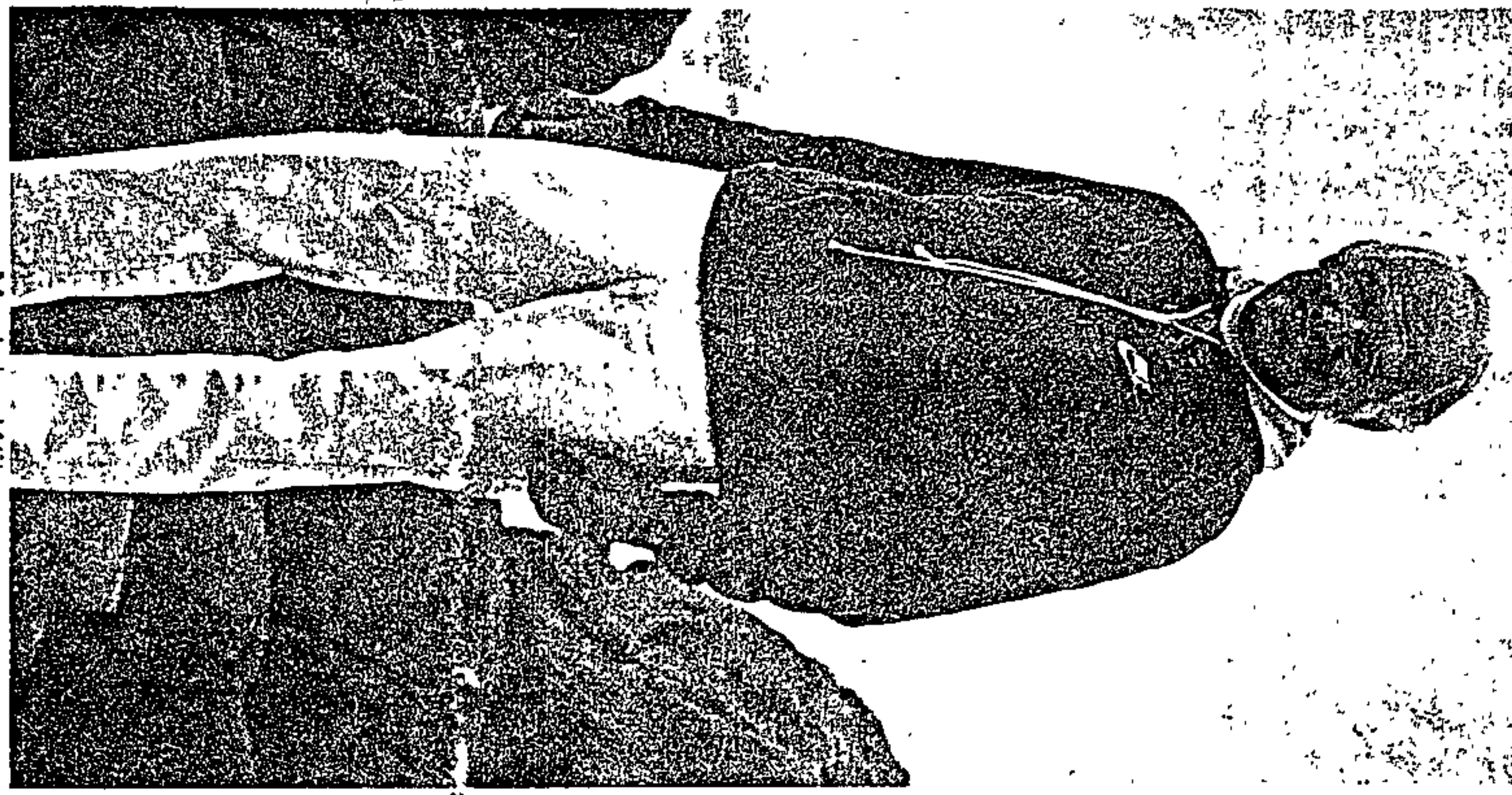
"However, finality of the sale was to be reached in the week of March 30. This sale would have included either partial ownership or outright ownership of the fynbos reserve.

"These points in particular made my father very bitter and disillusioned in recent months."

"Mr Jeremy Wiley, the late minister's elder son, testified on the other hand, in another affidavit, that he had no hesitation in attesting that his father's indirect involvement in the affairs of the De Goede Hoop Development Company "could not have contributed in any way to his death, nor does his death affect the financial or the trading position of the company which is healthy and sound."



Gun that killed the minister



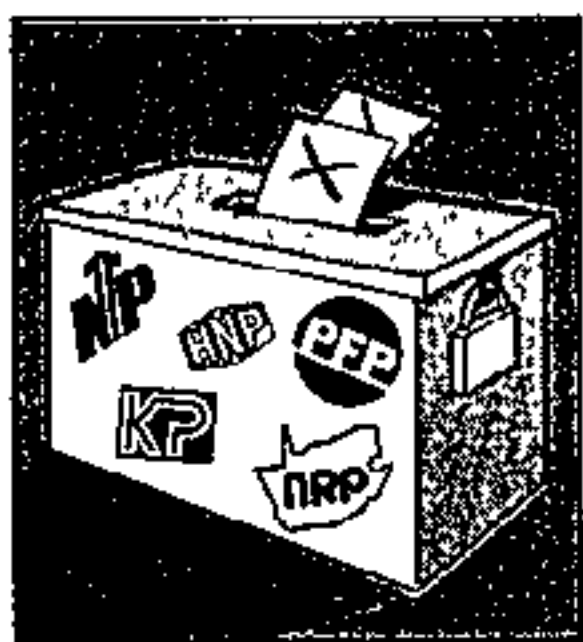
Mr John Wiley

Finance for the development of De Goede Hoop Estate was obtained from Barclays Bank, Mr Wiley added.

A full report on the Wiley inquest will appear on page 4.



# Requiem for the Left



The question uppermost in the minds now of most South Africans — and of businessmen in particular — is whether President P W Botha and his victorious Nats will see their mandate

as one of reform or of increased repression in the name of security.

The clever political scientists, who invariably know better than the politicians, say that those to the right of the Nats have now been identified and have received all the support they can ever expect to get. So they will not be a problem to Botha in the future.

Moreover, what the English, Greeks and Portuguese really wanted in swinging behind the Nats was reform from a secure base, which the PFP was clearly unable to provide. So there is now a large block of Nat supporters who will increasingly press for reform.

This is a view quite widely held in Britain and the US.

We acknowledge its intellectual appeal, but disagree. This is the second time within a few years that the Nats have attracted elector support on the grounds of a vague reform programme. The last time was in the referendum on the constitution.

The FM gave its support to the government then in the belief that Botha would implement a sustained programme of reform. But on August 15 1985, borrowing the words Gladstone used in 1866 when supporting the Reform Bill, he made clear that he

**The general election swing to the Right provides President P W Botha with both problems and opportunities. The most likely scenario, however, is that he will do nothing.**

had passed the Rubicon of no more reform.

We see no reason to believe that this time he will honour the expectations he has encouraged, especially as we have a glimmering now of the nature of what the Nats believe reform to be. Nor does the swift post-election clampdown on Group Areas miscreants (unconvincingly denied) suggest that reform is uppermost in the president's mind.

We are prepared to acknowledge that this might not be so within the swollen ranks of Nat supporters. The surge in the Afrikaans universities towards reform and the phenomenon of the substantial support given to the independents has yet, we believe, to be reflected in electoral terms.

In this election Botha has made clear that reform will be along the lines of protection for racial groups and not increased individual freedoms guaranteed by a Bill of Rights. We confidently predict that he will find no support for this among even responsible blacks and that it will almost immediately strike the rocks of inertia.

Thereafter reform will give way to security and the appeasement of a very vocal official Opposition in parliament that will make the two Bothas look like dyed in the

wool pinkos — for the Nats are now facing a front rank that the PFP could not even in its heyday have fielded.

In consequence the president will fall back on his tried and tested policy of the past 18 months — do nothing and lead voters to believe that reform must await the tricameral elections in two years. Paradise will be postponed once again.

Despite the election results we believe that the mood of the country is still substantially towards reform. The problem is the leadership of the National Party. P W Botha has probably gone as far as he can in the direction of reform. Even a new leader — especially the Transvaal's F W de Klerk — might not be able, or even want, to move back onto a reformist path. But he could in our view stand a better chance.

Trouble is P W Botha won't go. He is too strongly wedded to power. Emotionally, too, he is of the age when distrust of the future is at its height. Increasingly, he will take his cue from the resurgence of the Right and the emergence of Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party (CP) as the official Opposition in parliament.

English voters, defecting to the ruling party in droves have left the PFP shattered and with demise staring it in the face. Evidently, not enough attention was paid to Zoe Marchand's defection to the Nats six weeks before the election. Her resignation from the Progs was too glibly dismissed. With hindsight it is clear that her sentiments reflected a much wider and deeper phenomenon. Mar-

*continued on Pg 40*





Worrall and fans ... oh so close

Continued from P.37

chand's candidacy in PFP—"safe" Parktown slashed the Prog majority by nearly 5 000 votes — the pattern in rich constituencies like Sandton.

The PFP must take considerable credit for the Nats' electoral triumph. They started the campaign on the attack and through sheer incompetence, bad strategy and bad tactics ended up defending a hopeless position. What happened to the 50 or more seats they were so confident of capturing?

As recently as November the *FM* warned the PFP that it was wrong — its strategy, leadership and policies would not enable it to deliver in this election. It gives us no comfort to say we told you so to its leaders, who at the time politely told us to teach our grandmothers to suck eggs.

Well, where are they now? Unlikely, we believe, ever to fight another election as the PFP again. Sure, they had to grapple not only with the dirty tactics of the Right, but also the enormous power of the SABC used ruthlessly to further the ends of the Nats. But the position that the PFP took just made the SABC's job easier.

The PFP has lost touch with its constituency. Some of its members seem to have forgotten that they are answerable to white voters. The tactlessness of its politicians allowing themselves the juvenile indulgence of Black Power salutes and other emotive gestures is indicative of the party's floundering.

The PFP's alliance partner, the NRP, was routed and left clutching only one seat, in rural Natal. Like the HNP (which lost nearly all its deposits), the NRP appears finally to have run its course. And about time too.

More to the point, the Natal result is tantamount to whites' rejection of the KwaNatal Indaba — the only example we've seen of substantive black-white negotiation on power sharing. Such indicators tend to mean that real reform is not the priority for most of the 2,1m whites (68% of the electorate) who actually voted to return a government that rules over some 30m South Africans in all.

Maybe there is some credibility now for Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's belief that the contest in SA is between an extra-parliamentary government and an extra-parliamentary opposition, made up of movements encom-

passing the UDF's myriad black organisations, other internal black (and white) formations, black trade unions, and, of course, the outlawed ANC.

Certainly the response from P W Botha, and his fear of foreign funding for dissident movements, suggest that the Nats are taking Slabbert more seriously than his former PFP colleagues did.

Be that as it may. It is difficult to see precisely what extra-parliamentary opposition really means. If its aim is merely to provide a forum between blacks and whites it may be socially desirable but will be politically impotent.

If it is to become a political force, then the only route open to it is via the trade unions. That could be very sinister indeed, especially if foreign funding were involved. No country would sit back and allow dissident forces within its borders to be funded by political or religious (if there be a difference) elements abroad. It would be silly to expect the Nats to be any different.

Of course, SA is different in one respect. There is such distaste abroad for the racist policies of the government that conduits are bound to be found to finance opposition here from abroad whatever the government might do. As Pretoria moves to plug one hole, another is sure to be found.

Black dismay at the election outcome is, however, an extra-parliamentary political phenomenon that Botha will ignore at his party's peril. That powerful voice of black moderation, Chief Buthelezi, described the result as "the Devil's hour of glory," adding that whites had increased moderate blacks' anger by rejecting a chance to end the violence. Internationally, the result is more likely to nourish the anti-apartheid campaigners' sanctions cause, than blunt it. But then had the election swing been to the left, that too would have been rationalised as a need for increased isolation.

Supporting the contention that the result is a mandate for reform is the Helderberg outcome, although it must be viewed against the strong CP performance in the Transvaal and just how in his mind Botha assesses these two signals. In Helderberg's 82% poll, only 39 votes separated government's chief constitutional planner Chris Heunis and the independent Denis Worrall. That result and the showing of Worrall's independent allies in Stellenbosch and Randburg,

now probably hold out the best hope from a reformist point of view.

The Worrallites could form the basis of an earlier-predicted realignment in white politics (see *Current Affairs*). That is the mystery element of the future of white politics. It probably depends substantially on the formal dissolution of the PFP and an alliance with business.

For the first time since coming to power in 1948, the Nats have a rightwing official Opposition facing them in the Assembly. As Colin Eglin put it just after the election results were known last week, the country now faces the bizarre prospect of an official Opposition attacking government for being too liberal.

The CP won 22 (up from 17) of the 166 elected seats and the PFP was knocked down from 26 (including Bryanston, which was nominally a PFP seat) to only 19.

The NP won 123 seats — up from the 117 it held which had included Randburg. The NRP won only one seat (it held five before the election), and one independent candidate, Wynand Malan, was elected.

Of the 3,1m whites entitled to vote, about 2,118m (68%) did so. The NP won 52,59% of the vote, the CP 26,11%, the PFP 14,26%, the HNP 3,2%, the NRP 1,9% and independent candidates 1,31%.

At face value, the results mean that 81,59% of people who voted (about 1,728m) decided that apartheid, as preached by the NP, the CP or the HNP, is the solution to SA's deepening crises, while only 17,47% (370 000) backed the non-racial policies of the more liberal opposition groups.

In reality, however, more traditional opposition supporters probably voted for the NP and not the PFP because of the Nats' scare tactics on security issues. Most voters were convinced that the party that controls the guns can offer them the butter also.

The election went against most predictions. The Right was not slapped down, but gained significant ground; a moderate grouping to government's left didn't materialise; although there was the predicted strong support for the three independent candidates centred on Denis Worrall, its significance was overshadowed by the defection, almost in toto, of former NRP supporters to the NP instead of the PFP as was expected, and the desertion to the NP of about 30% of PFP supporters.

One of the most accurate forecasters was Potchefstroom University mathematician Dirk Laurie, who used a mathematical formula based on by-election results to predict the outcome long before the poll (*Leaders* March 20). Of his 18 "safe" CP seats, the party won 15. It also won five of the 20 "marginal" seats in which he predict-



MALAN



ed it would do well (see *Current affairs*). There is little doubt that white parliamentary politics will be a whole new ball game when MPs get back to work on May 18. It is unlikely that the swing to the right will slow down whatever new "reform" plans government may have had in mind before the election.

Apart from the 15 Transvaal seats the CP won from the NP, there are another 20 seats where the NP majorities over the CP or the combined CP-HNP total was less than 1'000, and seven seats where the NP's winning total was actually less than the combined total of the two rightwing parties. This effectively means that the majority of white voters in those seven seats are to the right of the NP.

Among the NP losses to the CP were the seats of Agriculture Minister Greyling Wentzel (Bethal), Deputy Land Affairs Minister Ben Wilkens (Ventersdorp), and Deputy Development Aid Minister Hendrik

Tempel (Ermelo). Wentzel is the first Cabinet minister to lose his seat since the NP won power in 1948. Deputy Foreign Minister Ron Miller lost his seat to the PFP, but it was a seat he won as a member of the NRP before crossing the floor and was never regarded as a safe NP seat.

It was hardly consoling for the NP that it regained 10 seats from the CP. The seats were all held by NP members before the CP split from the NP in 1982 and were regarded as fairly solid NP constituencies.

It is also no consolation that the NP regained Sasolburg, the only HNP seat. The total vote for the HNP and the CP there was 264 more than the NP candidate's winning total.

It seems certain, therefore, that if the CP and HNP had been able to patch up their policy feud before the election the rightwing groups could have won more than 30 seats and possibly as many as 40.

Cape leader Chris Heunis, a shaken man

after being humiliated by Worrall, must now have little hope of taking over from Botha. Transvaal Nat leader F W de Klerk, in spite of his own tough fight in Vereeniging (majority down from 4 202 in 1981 to 1 524) and the party's setbacks in his province, takes over as the only leading contender for the NP throne.

On the left of the government, the PFP seems set to take a back seat. It lost at least 15 seats it was sure of winning and has effectively been told by white voters for the second time that they are not interested in its anti-apartheid policies unless it has a convincing alternative to offer.

'One way for Botha to show he is serious about reform would be to approach Worrall and Wynand Malan to join the Cabinet. It would also be an intelligent way of protecting his left flank.

But we don't believe he is up to it. That is why he should go now before triumph once again turns to inertia.

15/5/87

7/1/87

30/4



## POLITICAL PARTIES

# No room for more

The formation of a new white political party to the left of the Nationalists in the wake of the Progressive Federal Party's (PFP) election setback doesn't appear to be on the cards.

The PFP is far from disintegrating and the independent movement centred on Denis Worrall looks unlikely to try to compete with the PFP for the same ground. There is no prospect of the independent movement merging with the PFP.

The more probable short-term scenario for opposition groups left of government appears to be the regrouping of the PFP and an attempt to define its role more clearly and attractively to white voters with the aim of regaining its position as the official Opposition.

The independents are to try to consolidate their support and plan strategies for future elections. Their long-term aim will remain the formation of a broadly based, nonracial movement.

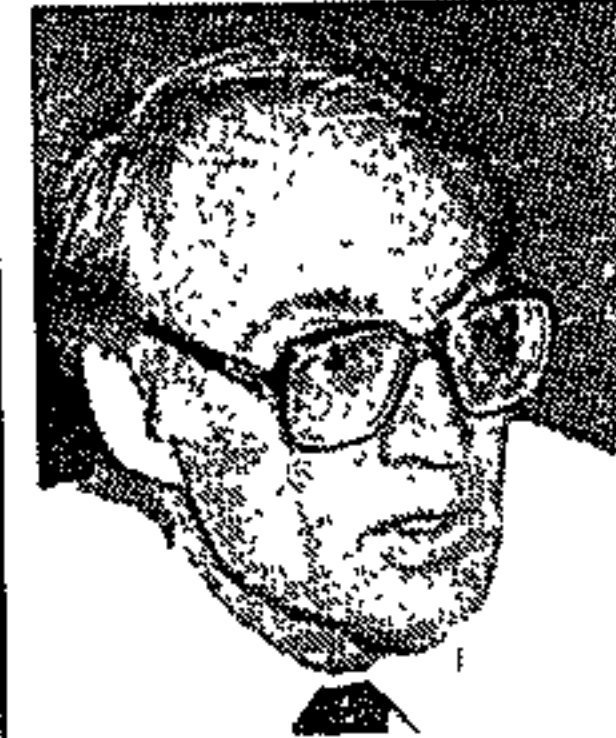
Worrall says the movement is still "vibrantly alive" and has emerged as "the only hopeful and encouraging sign on an otherwise bleak and disturbing election scene." He believes the independents have an obligation to continue working towards a movement which will lead to a nonracial society. Strategies will be announced in the next few weeks, says Worrall, who is "considering various options" to occupy himself for the immediate future.

Heribert Adam, the Canadian-based SA watcher spending a year at UCT's Centre for Inter-group Studies, believes that if the independents form a party it will be little more than an Afrikaner PFP. He says the PFP is likely to remain alive for the immediate future, so any new party seeking to occupy the same or similar ground will bring the two groups into conflict.

"What I see happening in the longer term is the National Party (NP) splitting to both Left and Right and a new alignment taking place. Two blocs will be formed. One will be the traditional Afrikaner Nationalists composed of the Conservative Party and the NP rightwing, and the other of the PFP, the independents and the Left of the NP. The question will be who will carry the majority," he says.

Adam says an accurate time-frame for his scenario is difficult. Much could depend on whether there is another election in 1989 and if so, what happens in the election. He says speculation of a nonracial moderate alliance comprising MPs in all three chambers is not on. The coloured and Indian chambers are totally discredited and irrelevant.

The PFP faces a major re-think this week



Worrall



Eglin

at a series of key caucus and executive meetings. According to party sources morale is low, but there is no move to axe leadership or withdraw from parliament or disband.

It seems that the party will opt to continue using the platform that parliament offers to highlight government's continuing inability to come to grips with the real issues facing the country.

With the possibility of further press curbs and a general crackdown on extra-parliamentary opposition and union groupings, the PFP's use of parliament as the only remaining forum of relatively free speech could also be crucial, particularly considering that parliament will be in session almost constantly until the middle of next year.

Problems for the party could come from the youth wing, where there is growing talk of breaking away and re-aligning with extra-parliamentary groups.

IDASA

## The outside view

Born outside parliament to facilitate the expression of other views on achieving democracy, the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa), last week held its first national conference in Port Elizabeth.

It generated lively, if truncated, debate on a central question facing SA. Its significance

## MACHEL CRASH

Mozambique has rejected the findings of the Margo inquiry into the air crash which killed President Samora Machel and 34 other people in SA last year.

The findings have not yet been made public and, according to South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha speaking on SABC radio, the reasons for the Mozambique stance will become clear after the report has been published.



ANDRIES TREURNICHT

# New scope for Dr No

The Conservative Party (CP) offices are in the shabby south end of Pretoria city, among the monoliths erected during the reigns of Malan and Strijdom, in an unprepossessing office block adjacent to a forgettable hotel. Andries Treurnicht strides into the vestibule smiling broadly, very pleased with the previous day's events.

He is much smaller than the bull-necked Northern Transvaaler of public imagination. Immaculate attire and courteous manner dispel the faint tackiness of the party headquarters. Here is the man who would be king — and the prospect seems entirely real. A wide smile seems incongruous on a countenance that lowers dourly from poster and television screen, but this is his other face.

Treurnicht (66) has reason to be smug. The post-election atmosphere in his Pretoria office is discreetly quiet with only a few election posters still scattered about. But Treurnicht and his CP groupies are obviously overjoyed by the election results.

Over the past year or so there had been rumours that Treurnicht was losing popularity in the CP caucus, particularly because of his tough stand against compromise with the HNP. Had the CP done badly in the election, he might even have been ousted. But even though Connie Mulder — previously senior to Treurnicht in the NP hierarchy — is now back in parliament, Treurnicht's stand against a deal with the HNP has been vindicated and his position as leader is stronger than ever.

And it is not far-fetched to say that the CP emerged as the only real winner of the election. As Treurnicht says: "It is quite an achievement for a party to come out of its first general election as the official opposition." He says he hadn't given the idea of being the opposition leader any thought and now has to cope with the sudden responsibilities and accompanying opportunities.

One of those opportunities will be the no-confidence debate, where he will lead the challenge to the National Party's reform programme — or lack thereof. He says the plans were not clearly spelt out during the election and the implications will have to be thoroughly investigated.

In parliament, Treurnicht will command the sort of respect the Nats never showed Eglin. He and the PFP were regarded as something of a joke by most Nat MPs. None of the Nats was particularly threatened electorally by the PFP and they all knew that the PFP's potential for growth was so severely limited that the party had no hope of ever taking power.

Treurnicht will be talking from a political position occupied by the NP not so long ago

and as such will be better understood by most Nats than was Eglin.

His credentials must also be taken into account. He is a respected Afrikaner leader, even though he is politically opposed to the Nats. Treurnicht has an effective debating style. He speaks well and knows how to make his point clearly.

Treurnicht claims the CP does not oppose change, but the real issue should be the direction of change in government policy. The CP will bring about the greatest change by replacing the present government, he smiles. Treurnicht, whose stoic political views once caused cynics to dub him "Dr Tortoise," might just prove that the tortoise can beat the hare.

He now has a formal platform from which to propagate his party's policies, which he sums up as "economic interdependence but political independence." He accepts the need for black workers in SA, especially in the metropolitan areas, but says they should remain citizens of the national states and be allowed to work in SA only in limited numbers.

This does not imply that they should be removed with force and "dumped" some-

wake of negotiations for a tri-cameral parliament in 1982, he was vilified and ridiculed by the press, who often referred to him as "Dr No."

But tortoise-like he persevered — slowly but securely — to gain recognition and respect as a politician.

Whereas his political views appeal to the blue-collar electorate, he charms intellectuals with groomed looks and a suave, collected manner. Perhaps his greatest marketing asset is that he believes in what he sells. He is convinced that apartheid is the answer to SA's economic and social problems.

## Strong tactics

Treurnicht does not regard sanctions as a real threat. He does not believe reform without political capitulation and surrender to the ANC will stop sanctions anyhow, and says that "SA with its strong mineral position does not need to succumb to blackmail."

He believes he could control internal pressure by a fair dispensation of political structures and economic opportunities. Different competing political groups in a unitary state will inevitably lead to conflict, friction and even violence, he avers.



Treurnicht ... biding his time

where, but influx control should be reintroduced, he says.

"Politically we really only have two options: either include blacks in our own political structure where they will then be in the majority, or retain the link between their different ethnic groups and their political structures. In a unitary state you cannot escape from equal treatment, equal opportunities."

It's little wonder that Treurnicht can convince so many people about the viability of his ideas. His whole life was devoted to convincing people. He started as a NG Kerk minister and later became a journalist before entering politics when elected MP for Waterberg in 1971.

During his controversial breakaway from the NP in the



portion of profits.  
CAPC - TUNIS 15/5/87  
Shell rejects  
SA repression

From MIKE ROBERTSON 306A

LONDON. — Shell totally rejected the SA government's strategy of using repression to maintain order without dealing with the root causes of the conflict, Chairman Peter Holmes said here yesterday at the Shell Transport AGM.

A press release of a statement by Shell SA chairman John Wilson on the recent attack on Cosatu, was handed out to shareholders.

The document contained a circular sent by Wilson to all Shell employees in SA expressing his horror at "the harassment and intimidation of Cosatu".

"We are aware that many of our employees are members of Cosatu affiliates such as CWIU, MAWU and NUM. We express our solidarity and sympathy with these and other unions who have been subjected to such harsh, repressive action."

### Bargain prices

He said supporters of apartheid in SA were beginning to welcome withdrawal.

"It expands local white ownership of attractive businesses at bargain prices and silences local critics of apartheid."

Holmes said the number of strong opponents of apartheid opposing disinvestment was growing.

Activists within SA had changed their minds about disinvestment and this message would begin to get out of the country within the next six to nine months, he predicted.



## ELECTION — WATERKLOOF

### Uneasy with the NP

If President P W Botha had learnt not to wag his autocratic finger at people, he might not be losing so much support.

According to PFP canvassers in the wealthy Waterkloof constituency, it's not only the slow pace of reform and the economy that are turning Nat stalwarts against the party. Botha's bullying image offends educated people to the point where they feel they can no longer vote Nat.

But whether the PFP can capture the *beswaarde* (the uneasy ones) vote, is an open question. And with the release this week of the Potchefstroom academics' document *Why we are not going to vote on May 6*, the option of a stayaway or protest vote is crystallising.

Where independent candidates are standing, disaffected Nats see an alternative. Waterkloof voters, however, will have to choose between the sitting Nat NP and Deputy Finance Minister Org Marais; PFP candidate Abraham Viljoen; and the CP's Johan Welmans.

Marais won the seat in the 1983 by-election when sitting MP Tom Langley resigned to stand for the CP in Soutpansberg. The result was: NP 6 917 votes, PFP 4 966, CP

2 887, and NRP 312 — a Nat majority of 1 951.

In their canvassing both Marais and Viljoen are coming up against the "independent factor" — although both are liked personally, the voters seem to want a new alternative. To those eager to ditch the NP, a leap to the PFP is just not on.

About 70% of Waterkloof residents are Afrikaans-speaking, and the suburb is an established community of "old money." The constituency is said to have more doctors, lawyers and professors than any other in the country. It is also home to many senior civil servants. Marais says there are not many young married couples in the constituency, and few voters in the 24-35 age group, which means fewer Yuppie Afrikaners who might find a switch to the PFP less traumatic.

The voters also appear to have bought the line that the PFP is soft on the ANC. If Horace van Rensburg wanted to do the PFP a disservice when he left the party, he certainly seems to have managed it in Waterkloof. For, although his claims of PFP *boerehaat* aren't being taken seriously, the one that the PFP is soft on communism is remembered and believed.

A factor in Viljoen's favour is that he comes from an established Afrikaans family. His twin brother is former Army chief Constand Viljoen.

Another plus, says Viljoen, is that "even though people remain reluctant to join the PFP they are looking for the middle-ground and are willing to support an alliance of moderates." It's just possible that the PFP decision to stand aside for the independents and verligte Nats will work in their favour.

Viljoen says some have indicated that they will vote for him, but won't join the PFP. He says these votes are only earned through personal persuasion achieved by door-to-door canvassing, but time is running out. He has resorted to "less satisfactory" telephone canvassing.

Welmans is sure he will increase the CP vote this time round. This, combined with a stayaway Nat vote, could work in the PFP's favour if there is a high turnout on May 6. ■

304A

where



Zulus now appeared considerably more difficult.

Responding to this challenge, the Indaba drew attention at a press conference on Monday to one of the prerequisites for the success of its proposals: public opinion.

The election omelette, it argued, could not be intelligently unscrambled. However, an opinion poll commissioned from Markinor in March on the sole question of the Indaba provided a clear signal. (Publication of the results was delayed by the Electoral Act.)

They showed, says spokesman Peter Mansfield, that 68% of whites who had heard of the Indaba supported it, against 83% of blacks and 55% of coloureds and Indians. The sample polled was 3 500 and a little under half had heard of the Indaba. Indications were that the ratio of those in favour would not significantly alter over time, added Mansfield.

Said Indaba chairman Desmond Clarence: "We're not downhearted. It is still our intention to continue with our awareness campaign and then ask the government to allow a referendum on our proposals."

But on the crucial question of government's likely response Clarence was equivocal. The Indaba represented the first significant attempt at genuine negotiation, he replied. Were government to repeat the exercise it would arrive at similar conclusions.

Clarence hinted broadly that government might try to revise aspects of the Indaba. Both Stoffel Botha, Natal leader of the National Party (NP), and Vause Raw, former leader of the NRP, tended to agree.

Botha is emphatic that the election results did not bury the Indaba. "Government has indicated it is prepared to talk," he tells the *FM*. But he adds that some of the Indaba's constitutional proposals are unacceptable "specifically those which mean majority government without effective protection of minority interests and without self-determination of the groups."

Raw's hope, now that the election is over, is that government will now "be prepared to negotiate ... perhaps there are modifications or compromises which will make it acceptable."

PFM Natal leader Ray Swart says he fears that having raised the racist bogey during its electioneering, government will now "find it very difficult to persuade Natalians to accept the moderate nonracial proposals contained in the Indaba."

And for KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi the election results merely underlined the historic necessity of the Indaba. The initiative should proceed, he reckons, since "reform dictated from above can never be acceptable to the majority of SA's population."

The dilemma now facing white political leaders in the province, who appear willing to join in a rescue operation, is how to launder the Indaba constitution to satisfy the triumphant NP, and at the same time enjoy continued support from Buthelezi. It sounds like a job for Solomon.

## KWANATAL INDABA

### Bowed, not beaten

Indaba organisers this week publicly argued that the May 6 election results cast no shadow over their constitutional proposals — and produced the results of an opinion poll to make their point.

Privately, however, the mood was grim. The province's liberal tradition lay sacrificed to a security scare and the challenge of engineering an acceptable power sharing arrangement between 800 000 enfranchised but beleaguered whites and 5,5m voteless



BOYA most 16/5/87

By PATRICK CULL

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — With the hectic 2½-month activity of a white general election finally at an end, Parliament reassembles on Monday for what might best be described as a Budget session.

But it will be far more than that.

The May 6 general election saw the Conservative Party returned as the official opposition under Dr Andries Treurnicht and the Progressive Federal Party — tipped to return with an extra six or seven seats in the wake of the electoral pact with the New Republic Party — reduced to "third player" in the 178-man House of Assembly with just 19 seats.

That *volte face* alone is going to have a marked affect on both the direction and the tone of the debates.

In introducing the censure debate on Wednesday afternoon, the Leader of the Opposition will not assail the Government for its refusal to recognise the need to negotiate with credible black leaders including the ANC, or call for an end to the state of emergency or the release of detainees or the economic burden placed upon the country by the policy of apartheid.

Rather, Dr Treurnicht will berate the Government for being soft on security, for being lax in implementing the Group Areas and Separate Amenities Acts and for sacrificing the rights of whites in the land of their birth.

Seasoned political observers will be excused if they are overwhelmed by a feeling of the surreal.

That switch in the official opposition will obviously affect the Government's legislative programme.

In this regard the Government has already indicated that it plans significant changes in labour laws and also legislation to halt foreign funding of extra-parliamentary organisations.

It also seems likely the Government will issue further emergency regulations to seal loopholes exposed by court action.

Essentially shorn of a mandate for reform due to the enormous gains made by the CP, the Government is going to concentrate on the



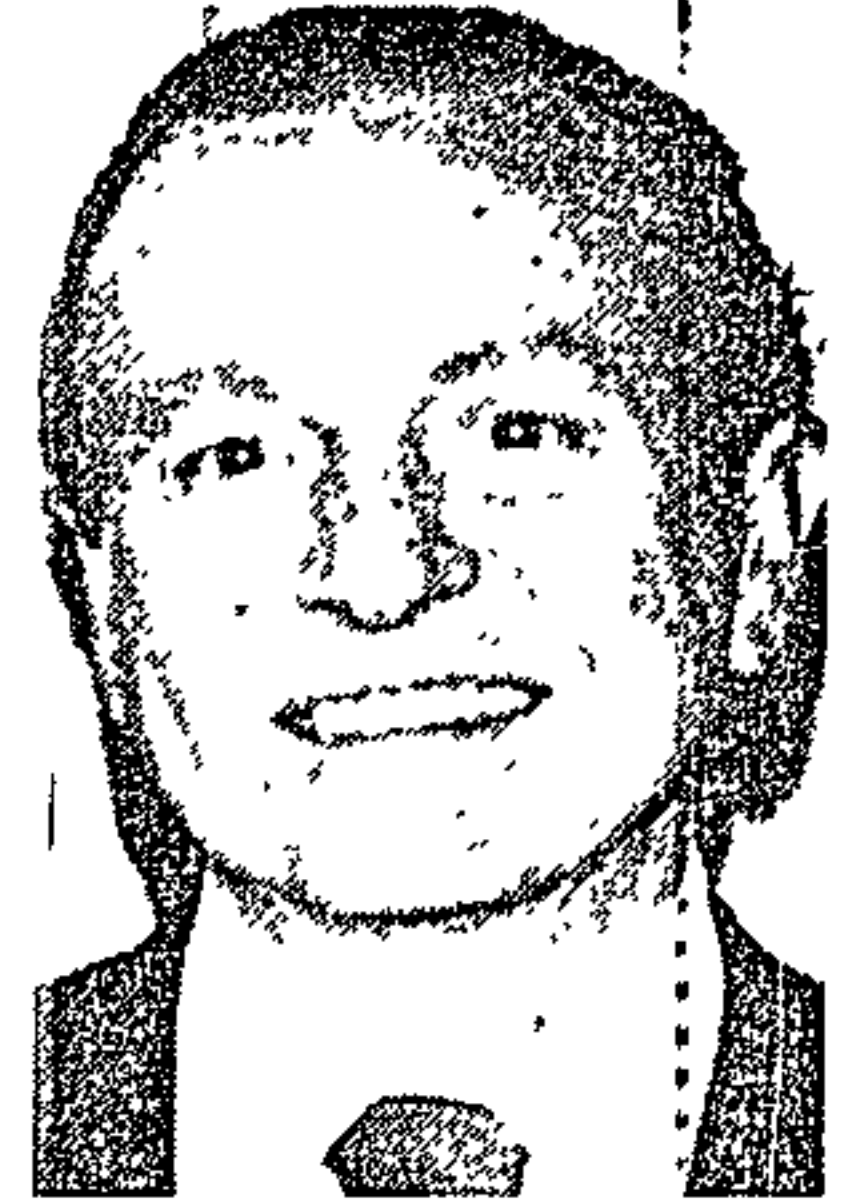
Mr LOUIS LE GRANGE  
... certain to be Speaker



Mr B DU PLESSIS  
... denies 'real medicine' is due



Dr A P TREURNICHT  
... new Leader of the Opposition



Mr HARRY SCHWARZ  
... likely to be proved right

# Assembly focus falls on security

## Opposition leader readying attack on Govt over Areas Act laxity

second leg of its mandate — security.

The former official opposition, the PFP, is unquestionably at a crossroads and is taking "a long hard look at its future".

The loss of eight seats — they picked up Durban North and recaptured Bryanston in return — has come as a major blow to a party which was keenly optimistic about improving the number of seats it held.

With the NRP almost certain to disband, Mr Ralph Hardingham, the sole NRP MP, will probably join the PFP — but any alliance with the Independents is unlikely.

Indeed, their publicist Mr Harald Pakendorf has already described the PFP as a "dead horse".

This leaves the PFP not only languishing as "third player" in the Assembly but with the image of a loser, the left-wing excitement be-

ing generated by the Independents with just one representative in the House.

The National Party's verligtes, too, must have watched the results with scarce-concealed gloom and must now be staring aghast at the Government's zeal in implementing the Group Areas Act.

Any hope of influence they may have had has obviously evaporated.

There is not going to be major reform and they must now decide whether to remain silently within the NP or join Wynand Malan on the crossbenches.

It is not only the "white" House which has seen changes.

Six members of the Labour Party in the House of Representatives have crossed the floor to form a Democratic Alliance with other opposition members and the stormy petrel of the

Transvaal, Mr Jac Rabie, has also resigned.

As the Government turns away from reform — and the chances of the Group Areas Act being repealed now as demanded by the LP must be almost nil — the pressure is going to fall increasingly hard on LP leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse to justify continued participation within the tricameral Parliament.

The session, however, will be dominated by the budgets and above all by the main Budget to be presented by Finance Minister Barend du Plessis on June 3.

Mr Du Plessis was at pains to deny allegations by PFP Finance spokesman Mr Harry Schwarz during the short session of Parliament that the real medicine would be presented in June.

There are indications, however, that Mr Schwarz may have been right.

The Post Office budget and the SA Transport Services budget are also due.

After the mild February mini-budgets, wide-ranging increases seem to be the order of the day.

Parliament will meet on Monday to complete various procedural matters including the election of the Speaker.

It is almost certain that former Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange will continue in that position.

State President Mr P W Botha has already nominated the four additional MPs and on Monday the parties will elect a further eight: the NP six and the CP and PFP one each, bringing the Assembly's total to 178.

Mr Botha, officially opening the new session on Tuesday morning, will give strong pointers not only to what the Government may be planning in the way of reform, but also just how he plans to implement the other aspect of his mandate — security.

It will not come as a surprise if it is security which receives most attention.



*Cape Times 10/5/77 304A*  
**3 held after NP break-in**

MARITZBURG. — Police have detained three white men, aged between 42 and 56 years, for questioning in connection with a break-in at the National Party offices this week. About R7 000 damage was caused when office equipment was smashed. Two typewriters and an overhead projector were smashed, and documents, tables and chairs scattered around the offices.



Dear Otto

I switched on my television set the other Sunday to find your benign countenance beaming upon me. You were in a London studio with Zach de Beer and Fleur de Villiers discussing the forthcoming general election in South Africa.

Zach and Fleur were their usual polished selves. Zach has been here on a high profile visit, being interviewed by television, radio and the newspapers. He has become a very skilled performer. Fleur, now in residence here, appears regularly on the box and is just as adept at handling interviewers.

You were also very relaxed and articulate — all that training on "Network"? And this is what bothers me. But we'll come to that later.

Zach, of course, spoke as a PFP supporter, and Fleur, I suppose, as a core adherent of the new independent movement. You're something of a cynic, but the case you argued, broadly, was the National Party's (come Otto, don't be coy).

I mention that you are a cynic, because I have in mind David Welsh's recent article in the Sunday Times in which he wrote: "Today hardly any intellectuals of stature support either apartheid or even the NP, except with the gravest of reservations."

The opinion polls bear this out.

They show that about one-third of National Party supporters prefer PFP policies. So whatever last week's election results were, they were not a victory for apartheid. A stampede by frightened whites into the Afrikaner laager, yes, but endorsement of apartheid, no.

What interests me is why you should defend this laager, because that is what

*You came out strongly behind President Botha's new twin-track approach of reform-plus-security — what I would call reform at the point of a gun.*

you did. You came out strongly behind President Botha's new twin-track approach of reform-plus-security — what I would call reform at the point of a gun.

You must know it won't work. If you don't, please allow me to recommend two recent articles. One is by Sampie Terblanche in the latest issue of Leadership in which he says the National Party is not, never has been and never will be an effective vehicle for apartheid reform.

The other article, and it is a superb one, is by Andre du Toit in the latest issue of Hermann Giliomee's "Die Suid-Afrikaan." Du Toit, too, warns Afrikaner intellectuals of the futility of expecting the National Party to become an instrument of reform.

Du Toit takes the challenging view that the emergence of the independents is not the beginning of a new era, but the swansong of the verligtes — the collapse of their hope that they can work from within the NP to turn it into an effective instrument of reform.

The new era will begin only if the independents and others who stand on the NP's left become a multiracial group and set aside once and for all the concept of a "slegs vir blankes" election.

Reform, Du Toit warns, is meaningless unless it is conducted through negotiations with black leaders and, of course, there is no other explanation for the failure of abolition of the Pass Laws, Mixed Marriages and Immorality Acts, etc — their abolition did not evoke a single ripple of response from the black opposition or even really from the international

# Open letter to Otto Krause



**London Dateline**

By STANLEY UYS

CATG Times 16/5/87

3047



Otto Krause

community. The pressures simply continued to pile up.

We have been told that the security forces will create the climate now in which "decent" black leaders (as the State President calls them) will be able to emerge within the new reform dispensation without being necklaced, but we all know it won't work, don't we, Otto?

All this is by the way, Otto. The reason I am writing this letter to you, is to ask you whether you should not be just a shade more humble in your public appearances. You speak as if apartheid has been a roaring success and National Party rule the most beneficial regime South Africa could have wished for over these past 40 years. Well, it's just not true, is it?

You stand today among the ruins of National Party rule. Even in the studio one could see that your natty gent's suit was flecked the ashes of the conflagration for which the NP is responsible.

Yet, as I remarked, you were relaxed, self-confident, even cocky, and that's the problem of all NP apologists. You betrayed no sense of regret, or contrition, or recognition of the terrible calamity Nationalist rule has inflicted on South Africa. It is all someone else's fault.

One has seen other National Party spokesmen give the same television performance here, blaming everyone except themselves for the mess in which South Africa is today. Sampie put it rather well: The thought processes of the NP, and of the majority of Afrikaners, he said, have the typical characteristics of the adolescent. Government spokesmen blame almost all South Africa's problems on the actions and attitudes of foreign countries.

I know it is fashionable, particularly since last week's election results, to be

derisive about the white liberal opposition in South Africa. But let me remind you that, since the 1950's, this same liberal opposition has predicted, with remarkable accuracy, the ultimate failure of apartheid — and the ultimate futility of National Party rule.

You took part in the studio discussion knowing that the National Party was going to do well in the election. Well, it won a famous victory, but what is it going to do with it?

Sampie, writing some time before the election, also knew what the result would be. He forecast that the National Party might win 120 seats — in fact, it won 123. "But it is not the size of the victory that is at stake in this election," Sampie wrote. "It is the quality of the victory that is important."

I would hate to think, Otto, that like the National Party (as Sampie puts it) you are a captive of multiple captivities. But what other explanation is there for your support of a collapsing regime, except that you are now thinking and voting as an Afrikaner, that you are back to your primal allegiance, regardless of what your intellect tells you?

Consider Sampie's verdict: "... the NP's outdated thought processes, its frozen perceptions and its conceptual blockages have become a considerable part of the problem. The NP has become a worn-

*You speak as if apartheid has been a roaring success and National Party rule the most beneficial regime South Africa could have wished for over these past 40 years.*

out party which has to be removed in order to save South Africa from disaster."

Sampie's right, isn't he, Otto? Except that he might have gone further and recorded that the NP is removing itself and compounding its tragedy by creating the conditions in which the Conservative Party will flourish.

Next time I see you on British television, Otto, I hope you will be a little less relaxed, that you will display a little more humility, and that you will show some acknowledgement of the prophetic role white liberals have played in South African politics.

The white liberals may be ineffective, futile, wishy-washy and all that, Otto, but they read the writing on the wall correctly. They got it right. Forty years later you are still standing with your back to the wall. Why don't you try turning around, Otto?

Sincerely, Stanley Uys



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# R1m estate deal behir

By ROGER WILLIAMS  
Chief Reporter

THE terms of the binding legal agreement by which Mr John Wiley bought the Drummond Chaplin (now De Goede Hoop) estate at Noordhoek for R1 million four years ago are being seen as background to Mr Wiley's becoming "bitter and disillusioned" recently about the imminent sale of the property.

Mr Wiley described the property, with its Sir Herbert Baker manor house, set high on the mountainside above Noordhoek with commanding sea views, as "one of the few remaining unspoilt estates in the Peninsula".

In 1983 he exercised an option to buy the estate in terms of a legal agreement entered into with the late Miss Catherine Edith Godman, a niece and heir of Sir Drummond Chaplin, a former Administrator of Rhodesia and at one time MP for South Peninsula.

Mr Wiley's younger son Mark, the De Goede Hoop Estate manager, said in a sworn affidavit tabled at an inquest on Mr Wiley at

Simon's Town on Thursday that the De Goede Hoop Development Company's bankers (Barclays) had exerted "exceptional pressure" on the company.

This had resulted in the company's accepting an unexpected offer to buy the manor house.

A Johannesburg spokesman for First National Bank yesterday strongly denied inferences that the bank, under its former name of Barclays, was putting pressure on Mr John Wiley at the time of his death.

Senior general manager of First National, Mr Jimmy McKenzie, was quoted as saying: "There was most definitely no pressure by the bank at the time of the unfortunate incident. In fact, it seemed that a deal was imminent that promised to solve all the problems."

"There will be no further comment by the bank. We are certainly not prepared to break the confidentiality of client relations by discussing the details of our business dealings with Mr Wiley."

Mr Mark Wiley said finality of the sale was

to be reached in the week of March 30 (Mr John Wiley committed suicide at his Noordhoek home on March 29) and that the sale would have included either partial ownership or outright ownership of the fynbos reserve on the estate.

He added: "These two points in particular had made my father very bitter and disillusioned in recent months."

Mr Mark Wiley said his father had for some time expressed a wish to live in the manor house and to make extensive use of the fynbos reserve he had created on the estate.

Mr John Wiley's elder son, Jeremy, also a director of the development company, said in his affidavit the manor house (completed in 1925) had been sold "for a very substantial amount".

Property editor Neill Hurford reports that industry sources this week indicated that final negotiations on the sale of the manor house to an overseas buyer had been completed. However the sole agent, Mrs Pam Golding, when approached for details, declined to comment.

## d Wiley 'bitterness'

□ In terms of the Wiley-Godman agreement, the manor house (in the grounds of which Sir Drummond Chaplin and his wife are buried) and its contents were to be "maintained in their present form and the public in controlled numbers will be allowed access thereto at specified times".

"The residence and the contents will be in the care of a suitable caretaker and supervisor."

The agreement also stipulated that all the land on the estate, above the 125.9-metre contour line, together with an area of about 12 140 ha on which the homestead stands, must be preserved as a reserve in memory of Sir Drummond Chaplin, with access to the reserve by botanical societies, natural history societies, students and others.

It further stipulates that from May 1, 1983, the purchaser (Mr Wiley) "shall pay occupational interest at the rate of 11% per annum on the purchase price of R1 million, from such date until date of payment of the purchase price".

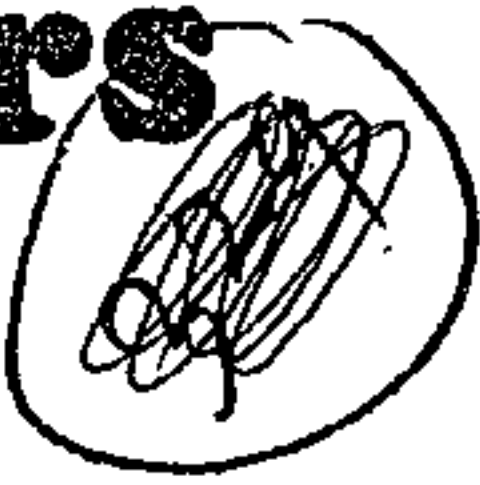


**THE MANOR HOUSE.** . . The Sir Herbert Baker manor house on the De Goede Hoop Estate at Noordhoek, which with the substantial property of which it forms part was bought for R1 million by Mr John Wiley, in 1983.



17/5/87

# Idasa speakers in detention



CP Correspondent

DETENTIONS prevented three black leaders from speaking at the first national conference of the Institute of the Democratic Alternative for South Africa in Port Elizabeth at the weekend.

At the opening of the conference, Idasa's policy director, Dr Alex Boraine, said two black leaders whom Idasa had invited four months ago to speak at the conference were in detention.

He said they were the editor of *The Nation*, Zwelakhe Sisulu, and the chairman of the National Education Crisis Committee, Vusi Khanyile, who was recently appointed assistant to the principal of the University of Cape Town, Stewart Saunders.

Sisulu and Newman were detained in December.

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# Flyaway

Mrs Sutherland said Mike had wanted to be a politician all his life, but now that he had gone people were talking about him behind his back.

Her son owned a home in Rosettenville which he had bought as an investment.

As far as she knew he had taken three months' unpaid leave from his firm, with which he was an attorney.

"He lets the house and has not sold it yet and he still has some of his possessions here including his car and hi-fi set," Mrs Sutherland said.

Her son was involved in a "chemical business" in Sydney and had told her he would return as soon as it was "sorted out".

Mrs Sutherland said: "Mike loves South Africa and his family, and if he does not like it over there he will come home. Who knows what the future holds in store?"

"He might not like Australia. This is where he was born, and if things don't work out he will be back."

## Founder member

She described her son as "kindhearted and trusted everyone", and said she was upset and depressed that he had gone to Australia. "I miss him very much."

Mrs Sutherland said it was her son's third visit to Australia.

When he was over there he met the mayor of Sydney, Mr Douglas Sutherland, and asked him to visit South Africa.

Mr Sutherland first made his mark on the political scene as a 22-year-old when he campaigned as a member of the United Party in Johannesburg's southern suburbs.

Mr Max Neppe, PFP city councillor for Berea, said Mr Sutherland was a founder





KLAUS BARBIE  
is the "Butcher of Lyons"

● Butcher of Lyons  
had Afrikaner  
emigration plan

● HNP group did  
Bolivia recce,  
but returned

● Cape farmer didn't  
know he was  
dealing with Nazi



BARBIE THIS WEEK ... on trial for his life

# BARBIE'S SAVES

By NEIL HOOPER

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**SOUTH AFRICAN right-wingers who planned to start a new life in Bolivia were shocked to learn this week that they had been face to face with notorious Nazi war criminal Klaus Barbie, the "Butcher of Lyons".**

Barbie's South African connection emerged at his trial in France where he is charged with crimes against humanity for torturing prisoners and despatching them to Nazi death camps.

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51

mann" was a fugitive Nazi, but not that he was the notorious Klaus Barbie.

He had also not known that "Altmann" was behind the scheme to recruit farmers from Southern Africa.

Mr Scholz said he remembered the visit by a group of HNP members.

### Welcome

"They were very verkrampt and worried about the direction the then Prime Minister John Vorster was taking about South Africa. They wanted to get out of any future integrated society.

"Prospective immigrants were offered immediate Bolivian citizenship, but the problem was that the land offered to them was in the Amazon Basin, close to the Brazilian border.

"When they saw the land most of them gave up and returned to South Africa.

"After that the Bolivian government seemed to drop the scheme... it had been making headlines in the country, with claims that the government was trying to increase the number of white fascists — importing Protes-

□ To Page 2

After the Second World War he escaped Allied retribution by fleeing to the South American republic of Bolivia.

There he masterminded a bizarre plan to entice 150 000 Afrikaners to settle in the landlocked South American republic... and many ultra-conservative South Africans and white Rhodesians became interested in his offer of free farms.

They included prominent members of the rightwing Herstigte Nasionale Party in Natal, as well as farmers from the Eastern Cape.

One of those who travelled to Bolivia in search of a new life was Mr Llewellyn Alberts, of Port Elizabeth.

He said this week that he met "Klaus Altmann" — Barbie's alias in exile — in La Paz.

### Fugitive

However, he had no idea that the elderly, craggy man with the gruff voice was the notorious Nazi who is alleged to have sent thousands of people to their death.

However, Mr Alberts was unimpressed by "Klaus Altmann's" proposition and returned to South Africa.

"The land is good there, but there are no proper roads or telephones and South African farmers would have had to sell their produce to the government," Mr Alberts said this week.

At the time Barbie was trying to attract South Africans to Bolivia, Pretoria's charge d'affaires in La Paz was Mr Werner Scholz, a diplomat now stationed in Vienna.

He said this week that when he served in Bolivia from 1977 to 1979 he had often seen, but had not met "Mr Altmann".



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# Dr No out to upset PW's balancing act

**By LESTER VENTER**  
**Political Correspondent**  
PARLIAMENT opens on Tuesday with the Government caught in a delicate tightrope act.  
Badgered from the right it will attempt to balance its reform with its security mandate.  
Opposition MPs and observers are expecting a 50-40 mix of the two, with the weight falling on security.  
Among other factors, they base their anticipation on the emphasis given by the State President to the security aspect in his post-election interpretation of the electoral mandate.  
In waiting for election dust to settle, the Government has been playing its legislative programme close to its chest and few details are known.

## Signals

On the security side, however, the Government is expected to defend its recent Group Areas clampdown and underline President Botha's election promises that there will be no meddling with the principles of separate residential areas.

wing official opposition since 1984, will egg the Government on to firmer application of the regulations of the state of emergency. Particularly vulnerable is Press freedom.

With three expulsions of foreign news-men this week, there are now expectations in media circles that the Government could introduce a statutory register for foreign news media.

## Contentious

ban blacks to determine the leaders who will participate in the NSC.  
While the introduction of the NSC Bill is considered a certainty for this session, it could be a drawn-out process.  
One reason is that the credibility of such elections and their participants will be highly contentious.

Another reason, as a Government constitutional expert pointed out, is that the Bill will be referred to a standing committee in terms of the procedures of the tricameral Parliament.  
This will extend the process, particularly as such a committee can call for outside representations on the Bill.

## Delicate

It will also busy itself with extending structures of the "own affairs" system. In the pipeline is enabling legislation for four Provincial standing committees that will largely replace the functions and powers of previous provincial councils.  
Meanwhile a number of defeated candidates in the May 6 election are to take their place in Parliament or the President's Council.

The National Party yesterday nominated to the President's Council Mr Craig Williamson, defeated Bryanston candidate and Dr Jan Haak, a former minister who left under a cloud. Agriculture Minister Mr Greyling Wentzel was nominated to Parliament. Others were Dr Boy Geldenhuys, Mrs Esme Chant, Mr Wouter Krutinger, Mr Innes Aucamp and Mr Chris Rattigh.

The Conservative Party settled on Mr Clive Derby-Lewis who was narrowly defeated by Mr Leon Wessels in Krugersdorp. The PFP have already nominated Mr Nic Olivier as their candidate.



received a bad  
Press overseas for a long

DOWN UNDER

UYS' IDEA  
OF UTOPIA?

# NRP 'REALISTS' GO ON

By SHAUN HARRIS

THE New Republic Party — defying predictions that it was about to fold — is set to continue as a political party.

But its existence will now be justified by the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba and a new multi-party, multiracial grouping it calls the Alliance of Realists.

NRP leader Bill Sutton announced at the end of a three-day federal executive meeting in Durban yesterday that

the party had been holding talks with black, coloured and Indian leaders with a view to forming the alliance.

It is co-sponsored by Chief Cedric Phatudi of Lebowa and Mr Sutton.

Natal leader Derrick Watterson said the NRP had held meetings with "credible" black, coloured and Indian leaders, but would not name them, saying it was up to the leaders to reveal who they were.

Politics in South Africa is in a state of flux, and we feel we must continue and assist whatever new developments arise from the ashes of old," he said.

"We will welcome to the alliance any of the new Independents or PFP members."

The Indaba — which Mr Watterson said was "NRP initiated, although people attribute it to the PFP" — will also be one of the main reasons for the NRP's continued existence.

Before the meeting, Mr Watterson was tipped to lead a call to dissolve the party.

But yesterday he said: "I'm going along with the idea to keep the NRP going."

"I won't walk out on them — loyalty is high on my list of priorities."

The NRP, which had four seats before this month's election, now has only one — Mr Ralph Hardingham (Mooi River).

## id laws warning

Political Correspondent

The signatories are:  
Professors W S Barnard, J Cawood, W T Claassen, J G H Combrink, J M de Villiers, J L de Wit, C A Engelbrecht, M G Erasmus, H J Erasmus, J S A Fourie, J S H Gildenhuys, J H Gillomee, W J O Jeppe, B C

Lategan, C L McCarthy, B A Muller, E M Nel, J P J Olivier, J R Potgieter, H J Schutte, S M Swart, S J Terreblanche, A P J van der Walt, H J J van Vuuren and J van Wyk; Drs L G de Stadler, J C Meyer, P Nel, S van der Berg, J S J van Deventer, A A van Niekerk; and Messrs M J de Waal and A van Rooyen.



# Wiley's Paradise Lost



**JOHN WILEY had a dream — to live in the manor house on picturesque De Goede Hoop Estate surrounded by a natural paradise.**

He formed a company which bought and developed the beautiful Cape estate and he set about planning to make his dream come true.

But, because of financial problems, the company was forced to sell the Herbert Baker mansion and this left Mr Wiley a bitter and disillusioned man.

In the week before the sale went through, John Wiley — the Cabinet Minister in charge of looking after South Africa's natural resources — shot himself.

It was a sensational suicide that rocked the country in the run-up to this month's election.

Details of his death were revealed for the first time this week when an inquest magistrate heard that the MP for Simon's Town died a lonely and embittered man. And Mr Wiley's passion for the De Goede Hoop Estate emerged as a powerful force in his life.

## Depression

De Goede Hoop nestles in the Noordhoek valley amphitheatre within sight of some of the world's most spectacular scenery — Table Mountain and the beaches of Hout Bay.

The De Goede Hoop Development Company's plan was to subdivide one-third of the estate into 46 "farmssteads" with Cape Dutch cottages on each.

Mr Wiley apparently saw himself as the lord of the manor in this paradise, the heart of which would be a 233 ha fynbos reserve.

The inquest was conducted by Cape Town's chief magistrate, Mr Willem van Zyl, who heard that Mr Wiley had suffered from depression and

## Minister's dream of being Lord of the Manor wrecked by financial problems—

**By SYBRAND MOSTERT and CAS ST LEGER**

had been taking tranquilisers for the past year.

He had probably died between 9am and 10am on Sunday March 29.

He was found by his son, Mark, who forced a bedroom window after he had been summoned by his worried stepmother.

Mr Wiley's wife, Jean, said in an affidavit read to the court that she and her husband had both gone to their separate beds early on Saturday evening at their country home in Noordhoek, near De Goede Hoop.

"It is a well known fact that we had separate bedrooms," she wrote. "We were both happy with the arrangement."

Mrs Wiley had gone to the local supermarket to buy a newspaper and articles needed for a braai that evening

because several guests were expected at their home.

After visiting some friends she returned home to find Mr Wiley's bedroom door locked. Knocking brought no response and his telephone extension gave the "engaged" signal.

"I knew my husband had some financial worries," she said, "but I do not think this or the impending election would have been the reason for what happened."

## Retired

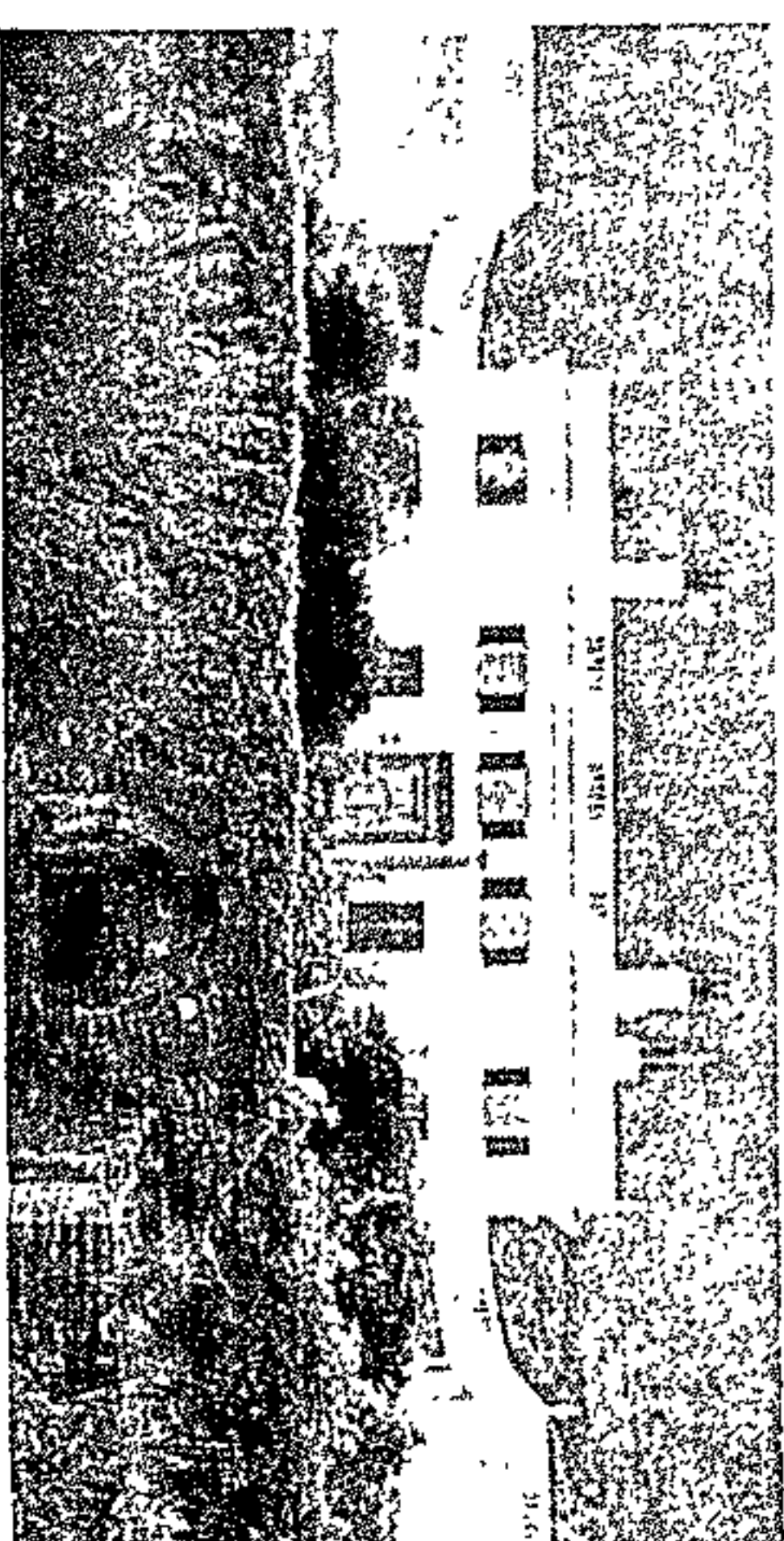
Mr Wiley's two sons from his first marriage, Jeremy and Mark, agreed with their stepmother that financial worries could not have driven Mr Wiley to suicide.

They told the court that they, together with a financial director, were the three sole directors of De Goede Hoop Development Company.

Mr Wiley had originally

John Wiley: broken dreams

De Goede Hoop Estate a lonely man's passion



recent times our bankers exerted exceptional pressure on us despite the obvious viability of the project," Mr Mark Wiley said.

Because of this, he said, the company was forced to sell the manor house, which Mr Wiley "had for a long time wanted to live in."

He said the loss of the manor house and the extensive fynbos reserve which went with the gracious home had made his father "very bitter and disillusioned."

Negotiations for the sale had been "long and frustrating in the extreme." The sale of the manor house — "for a substantial amount" — was finally concluded in the week following Mr Wiley's death.

Mr Wiley had also told his son that he "wished people would recognise his efforts in the sincere spirit in which they were made."

Mr Wiley had mentioned the granting of a crayfish quota to the local Kalk Bay

fishing community in this regard.

Mr Jeremy Wiley said that he had "no hesitation in attesting that my father's indirect involvement in the affairs of the company could not have contributed in any way to his death."

A Cape Town chemist said he had supplied Mr Wiley with tranquilisers. No trace of alcohol or narcotic drugs was found in Mr Wiley's blood.

His personal secretary, Miss Valery Tiffin, who worked for him for 18 years, said that she knew of "no reason at all" why he killed himself.

No note or any indication had been found at his office. Mr Wiley's doctor said that the Minister was "a fit, strong man."

Dr John Caine said that he did not know of any reason why Mr Wiley had taken his life.



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WELL, the elections have come and gone. Some said they were totally irrelevant, but they were not.

They showed clearly the state of white South Africa.

This revelation depressed many of my friends.

It didn't depress me, but I am a stoic of many years' standing.

By "stoic" I don't mean a person not affected by passion or emotion. I mean rather one who accepts the facts of a situation without moaning. I concede at once that one's age has a good deal to do with this, although the virtues of courage and wisdom are also involved.

Why did white South Africans move so decidedly to the right? Because they were frightened of course, or to put it less bluntly, they wanted security. They decided that greater security was offered by the NP than by the PFP. There is no doubt in my mind that they were greatly influenced by the advertising campaign of the NP. These remarks apply more to English-speaking whites than to others.

Afrikaners moved more speculatively to the right. They gave the CP more than half-a-million votes, while the NP received just over a million. If we accept that a sizeable fraction of these million votes came from English-speaking people, it would mean that the CP must have received more than 40 percent of the Afrikaner vote. That is a sobering conclusion.

The PFP had to pay for this move to the right. Colin Eglin gave an interview to Leadership magazine just before the elections in which he spoke of the possibility of the PFP-NRP Alliance picking up another eight seats, whereas in fact the PFP-NRP total dropped by 10 seats. He said further that "the con-

# THE ALB

That caused the move to the right. Fear of the ANC, fear of the UDF, fear of Cosatu. Fear, indeed, of the future. But not all is darkness . . .

## By ALAN PATON



to think that they must now go through the same evolutionary process as the Liberal Party went through 30 years ago.

There is one actor in this drama I have not mentioned yet, and that is Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi. He is still one of the most powerful figures on the political stage, fluent, extremely knowledgeable impossible to buy (whatever some of his more foolish critics assert).

He will sit down and talk to P W Botha if another powerful figure, Nelson Mandela, is released. Our future would then depend on the relationship between the two men. If Mandela demanded, as his wife Winnie has already done, a complete handover of power, then white South Africa would have to go back to the police and the army, a melancholy thought.

Meanwhile I hope that P W Botha and Chris Heunis will give earnest and favourable consideration to the proposals of the Kwa-Zulu/Natal Indaba. At the present moment they offer the only hope to be seen on our dark horizons. Is the horizon really so dark as all this? Has white South Africa jettisoned reform in favour of security? I don't think so.

Reform and security run like two contrary tides in the same sea. White South Africa — with the exception of the CP — is more and more convinced of the need for social and political change, but would rather trust the NP than the PFP to bring it about.

Therefore the next two years will bring nothing spectacular in the social and political sphere. We shall do nothing much to please the West, who, in the mistaken belief that a ruined economy will lead by some kind of miracle to an African Utopia, will no doubt tighten the grip of sanctions.

Will the Afrikaner, having struggled so long with the blacks and the British, now win the struggle with himself, or will he throw it all away? The answer to that

cept of alternative government has caught on like wildfire", whereas it is the CP that has capitalised on the concept. Colin Eglin played a statesmanlike role in the elections and the results must have been hard for him to bear.

Would the results have been different if the PFP had played its cards better?

The answer is NO. White South Africans were going to move to the right, and nothing could have stopped them. The main reason was fear, of the ANC, of the UDF, of Cosatu, indeed of the future. A second and lesser reason was

the ill-advised sanctions campaign of the West. It may be possible to lead Afrikaner Nationalists, but it is impossible to coerce them. The West, and particularly the United States Congress, has made a grave error, it has undertaken a course of action the results of which it cannot foresee.

The NP dominates the white Parliament to an extraordinary degree. It holds 123 seats to the 22 of the CP and the 19 of the PFP. What is it going to do with this majority? Ambassador Koorhof told President Reagan that Pretoria placed its first priority on

ending violence. That is what many of us fear, that the Government's main instrument for the next two years (that is, to the next election) will be the police and the army. Neither the police nor the army are agents of reform: their job is to maintain the status quo.

The National Party will not look over its shoulder at the 22 seats won by the CP: it will look at the CP's half-a-million votes. Those of us who were hopeful that the Government would repeal (or greatly change) the Group Areas Act and the Population Registra-

tion Act will be disappointed. So we shall have to be stoical. The NP will reform at its own pace, and that will be slow. We face the almost certain possibility that the situation in 1989 will be much the same as it is in 1987.

People like myself will fervently hope that the 1989 election will not show a further growth in the CP. We will also hope that P W Botha will no longer be the leader of the NP, though whom will we get in his place?

It is now not likely to be Minister Heunis. Will it be General Magnus Malan? Or will it be Minister Gerrit Viljoen? Not likely. He knows more about the university than he does about the police or the army.

What is the future of the Independents? No-one knows. We know less about the future than at any other time in our history. The NP's present tendency is not so much to lose on the left as on the right.

And it would appear that the Independents are not likely to incline towards the PFP. Some cruel observer has said that it would be like marrying a corpse. And the PFP itself? It clearly

has no future as a white, privileged, professional party. Its only hope of providing an "alternative government" is to become a non-racial party representative of all the peoples of South Africa.

But it will be hard going, because such a campaign would meet with the antagonism of the UDF and Cosatu, just as the Liberal Party incurred the hostility of the congresses in the '50s. We were accused of "dividing the people" and "blunting the revolution". But in my view the PFP has no



Staff Reporter

MR JOHN WILEY received a prescription for tranquilizers from a cabinet colleague, Dr Willie van Niekerk, on December 24, 1985, according to a weekend report.

The Afrikaans Sunday newspaper, Rapport, reported that a Muizenberg pharmacist's record of the prescription — for 20 Ativan pills — formed part of the documents in last week's inquest into the former Minister of Environment and Water Affairs' death in March this year.

Dr Van Niekerk, the Minister of National Health and Population Development, told the Cape Times yesterday he regarded the relationship between a doctor and patient as confidential.

"I am a doctor registered with the South African Medical and Dental Council and can prescribe," he

## Pills prescribed for Wiley 'by fellow minister'

said, adding that he regarded Ativan as a "useful" tranquilizer.

He said he hoped the inquest was now done with and that "the post-mortem by the media will end for the sake of Mr Wiley's family".

The Rapport newspaper also said that Mr Wiley's doctor, Dr John Caine, had not pre-

scribed any habit-forming drugs to Mr Wiley.

However, chemists' records showed that on three occasions after December, 1985, Mr Gary Black, a city pharmacist, issued Ativan to Mr Wiley on prescription. These issues were on April 24 and June 18 last year and on March 3 this year.

Mr Black's records showed that these had been prescribed by a Dr S Rushworth, but Dr Rushworth told Rapport he had never treated Mr Wiley and had never prescribed drugs for him.



# Equal rights could lead to undreamt-of prosperity

**S**OUTH AFRICA belongs to the more advanced group of semi-developed countries; with a moderate growth rate (3.5% to 4% per year) we can reach advanced industrial society status within a generation.

This is also the timespan needed to reduce absolute poverty from being the condition of nearly half the households in the country to being the state of a fairly small minority.

Inequality in the distribution of income is very great, and has been for decades. But it is not true to say that capitalism has not benefited black people, because black incomes went up as fast as white incomes from 1918 to 1970 and have gone up faster since, resulting in a decline in inequality since the latter date.

Provided there is growth in real per capita income (a condition not satisfied over the last decade) there are economic structural mechanisms which will reduce inequality further. Within the work force, outside agriculture and domestic service, upper working class and middle class occupations have grown as a proportion of the whole. On the basis of the record so far, it is simply wrong to say that everything remains basically as it was.

**'An expanding economic system requires a confident, innovative black middle class. . .'**

**S**O THE economic system has displayed dynamism over a long period. Why then the stagnation of the 1980s? In part, it is due to international factors which have treated many semi-developed countries unkindly. If you want to see really spectacular economic decline, look at Mexico; if you want to see a really serious debt problem look at Brazil.

But in part, it is also a result of a decline in confidence in the political system, as evidenced firstly by falling real investment and then by all the adverse developments of the past couple of years, including the increasing cost of policing.

We can't do anything about the international factors (other than those measures imposed in disapproval of political developments), so we need

to concentrate on the internal determinants. And here we come to the heart of the matter, the balance on which all else depends. Although, barring adverse international developments, we have the potential to become an advanced industrial country within a generation, this potential will not be realized unless two conditions are met simultaneously:

(1) The political system is changed to admit all South Africans to citizenship, the franchise and fair equality of opportunity in the economic sphere.

(2) The state does not collapse. If it does, the attainment of advanced industrial status will be delayed for many years, if not removed indefinitely.

The first condition holds because of the rising costs of defending an indefensible system of racial estates, a system which comes under increasing pressure the more successful the economic system — and because of declining confidence in its ability to maintain itself. Another reason is that an expanding economic system requires a confident, innovative black middle class. This can hardly be expected of the present system, which places members of that class in the position of Matthew the tax collector.

The fulfilment of these two conditions can be stymied by black and white alike at tremendous cost to themselves and the others. Here is, in the end, the incentive to negotiate; whether or not there can be successful negotiations will depend on a complicated sequence of offers and responses, which may abort at any time, if there is insufficient skill within the contending parties.

The only way the conditions can be satisfied is if a political framework can be constructed within which conflicts can be fought out. This is the demand of our times and it is very hard.

It involves moving beyond the relationships of conquest, slavery and indenture. It means whites having to give up ingrained beliefs in their superiority and it means that

blacks will have to give up dreams of power reversal.

It means the justification of high incomes in terms of results for the poorest members of society; it means abandonment of the aim of repossession where this does not serve the same purpose. It means rigorous protection of liberties and rights and the rule of law to protect the powerless.

**'If we can manage the tensions successfully we may enter an age of unprecedented creativity, our Elizabethan era. . .'**

**W**HAT DOES this mean for the system of government? I propose the following as consistent with the argument:

(1) A parliamentary democracy with proportional representation. The advantage of proportional representation is that it will facilitate the political realignments which ought to follow the introduction of a new system. There may be a case for minority party representation in the executive if the party so desires, provided the party commands a certain number of seats. There may also be a case for minority delays or even vetos on certain types of legislation.

(2) Regional governments, essentially concerned with the human and physical welfare and development of their region. Regionalism introduces no new principle into the South African system; the boundaries of regions would be a combination of provincial and homeland boundaries.

(3) Local government, perhaps taking two or three different forms, depending on the history of the locality. One form might be that practised in white municipalities today. Another might be more developmentally oriented, even incorporating street committees as organs of state (state and party would have to be kept

rigorously separate here).

(4) Centralization of state revenue and broad expenditure decisions. Regions could not work independently here because of their very different levels of economic development; if they did this would be a major source of economic inequality.

(5) A heavily protected bill of rights administered by an independent judiciary. The rights should include those which constitute the political system, but should exclude specification of specific property rights. These should be the subject of ordinary legislation, which could decide, for instance, whether there should be a levy on profits to finance working-class housing, whether state contracts should be awarded preferentially to small business.

It would be the case under such a system that improving the position of the least well-off would have to be worked for politically. But there would be no cause for pessimism in this regard.

Przeworski makes the point that working-class based parties in Europe faced the problem that workers never were and would never become a numerical majority in their respective societies.

Working class parties had therefore to dilute their class orientation if they wanted electoral success. This is not the case in South Africa, where the population is overwhelmingly working class. It need only find where its best interests lie.

Finally, would such a development be philistine and boring?

I think not, for now is the time of realization of our historical vocation — to fuse together people of different traditions into one nation. It has to be done politically and economically — and that is challenge enough — and it has to be done at the level of culture, of meaning.

The energy that is being generated in our society, once we have hammered out rules to enable us to live together on tolerable terms, can be transmuted into new ways of living and of expression. The beginners are there; if we can manage the tensions successfully we may enter an age of unprecedented creativity, our Elizabethan era.

[Charles Simkins is Associate Professor, School of Economics, University of Cape Town. This is an extract of an address to the Idasa conference in Port Elizabeth.]



By CHARLES SIMKINS



NRP 304A

decides  
to carry on  
CAPE TIMES  
18/5/87

DURBAN. — The New Republic Party is to continue in South African politics dedicated to the future establishment of a coalition government across race lines.

The NRP leader, Mr Bill Sutton, announced this on Saturday at the conclusion of a three-day meeting of the party's federal council.

It is understood that the decision was not unanimous but that Mr Sutton's call for the party to plod on was won by a majority vote of about 35 delegates, among them former leader Sir De Villiers Graaff.

The party was involved in both the Kwa-Zulu-Natal Indaba and, from March this year, the Alliance of Realists, which was made up of white, black and brown political organizations.

Chief Cedric Phatudi and Mr Sutton were co-sponsors of this alliance under the chairmanship of Dr Frans Cronje. — Sapa



**I**KE A dying man at a wedding, the Progressive Federal Party has become a dreadful embarrassment to the remaining reformists, both the *verligtes* within the National Party and the Independents clustered around Wynand Malan.

Independent spokesman Harald Pakendorf, at once contemptuous and reasonable, says there is no point in saddling a dead horse like the PFP. It has broken its back tilting against the Nationalist windmill and is now reduced to a pathetic 288 000 voters.

Pakendorf prefers, like Sancho Panza, to ride the Independents' 27 000-vote donkey into battle, and one must admire the bravery. And wish him well. Wynand Malan's views on negotiating with the ANC are, if I have understood them correctly, indistinguishable from Helen Suzman's. And I suspect that on economic questions his mid-European social democratic ideas are far, far to the left of Suzman's Thatcherite devotion to free enterprise.

Besides, Malan represents a strand of Afrikaner liberalism that runs from Andries Stockenström through Jan Hofmeyr to Jan Steytler and Frederik van Zyl Slabbert — not quite Olive Schreiner, but respectable enough.

**F**or the PFP, therefore, it will be neither an intellectual problem nor, in its newly humbled status, a great heartache to let the donkey go charging into the lead. No doubt the PFP will occasionally wave its mutilated stumps and whimper about justice and the rule of law — and perhaps even now and again about the free market — but its main concern will be to find the means of its own recovery.

So the burden of reform will now fall on Malan and those *verligtes* inside the National Party who share his convictions, if not his courage. They face a formidable task.

Wimpie de Klerk, former editor of Rapport, unseated because he

# It's Sancho Panza's turn to charge the apartheid windmill

KEN OWEN



□ VICTORY KISS ... Wynand Malan and wife at Randburg

was too *verlig*, remarked at a public seminar after the election that his seat-of-the-pants assessment was that 18% of the pre-election Nationalists were rightwingers, 22% *verligtes* and the remaining 60% were stuck in the middle.

That arithmetic explains why Pakendorf and the last remaining Afrikaners *verligte* newspaper, Beeld, are still trying to beat the remnants of the PFP to death. Not only does the patient linger to remind everybody of the high risks attached to contamination by European liberal ideas, but it still commands the only block of votes available to Malan.

He might, of course, have better luck in enticing more Afrikaners voters from the National Party, but that does not seem imminent. Leon Wessels and Sam de Beek and Albert Notnagel as safer, if not happier, as part of the powerless 22% minority within the National Party. To join Malan would entail for them greater risk and lesser influence.

For growth, then, Malan must

look to the PFP, whose members he and his side-kicks have been enthusiastically insulting, or to the 400 000 non-Afrikaners in the National Party.

The latter, insofar as they are English, will prove to be infertile ground for reformist ideals. They have been torn from their spiritual foundations and now tuck themselves under President Botha's militaristic wing, but they are an unstable lot. They can go in any direction.

**O**ne of the surprises of the election campaign (I should have taken it more seriously at the time) was F W de Klerk's meeting in Randburg: English-speakers in the audience attacked the Transvaal National Party leader from his right, forcing him to disassociate himself from a nascent brand of racism than the modern Nationalists can stomach.

English speakers who abandon faith in the rule of law, in parlia-

mentary democracy and in the liberal tradition (in the broad sense, that would include Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan) are unguided missiles. They have betrayed the core values of their culture; they are no longer, to use a term that Malan would appreciate, *beginsels* — bound by principle.

Some go to the totalitarian ideologies of the left, others go right. We shall see more of the Derby-Lewis phenomenon: English-speakers who travel straight through the National Party into the Conservatives. The prototype is that old rightwing polemicist S E D Brown, but you may be sure that the American John Birch Society will cheer them on their way, and provide them with ammunition.

Malan, then, can charge alone on his 27 000-vote donkey, or he can sweep together the shattered remnants of the *verligtes*, the PFP, the NRP, and try, like Japie Basson, to make a new start. But the real action will be elsewhere.

Since election day, we have all

been trapped in a phoney-war mood, displaying the instinct that makes people, the day after an invasion or an earthquake, try to repeat the routines of yesterday. We still carry on as though the Conservative Party and the HNP did not win 600 000 votes.

In fact, the vote tally is far more significant than the number of seats won in Parliament, and the effects will become visible on Wednesday when Andries Treurnicht rises to his feet to lay the basis for a rightwing attack on government, while Colin Eglin sits silent, broken lance trailing, astride his not-quite-dead horse.

Beside him, roughly where Vause R aw used to sit, will be Malan on his donkey, fired up, lance at the ready. The battered ranks of the PFP will be watching, ready to cheer if he does well — but also a damnably uncomfortable reminder of what happens in this country to quixotic reformers.



Escom chief tells Rotarians: 304A

# Business must set pace of SA change

Comp Times 18/5/87

JOHANNESBURG. — The business sector must set the pace of change to the SA of the future, the chairman of Escom, John Maree, said last night.

Making it clear that he expected business to play a leading part in the decision-making process, Maree said: "It will be a relatively small step to expand the positive things we do in business — setting goals through strategic planning, teamwork, anticipating and managing productive change; negotiating with other colour groups as equals — to the wider political environment where national decisions are made."

He was speaking to 700 SA Rotarians and overseas guests at the 66th annual conference of Rotary International at Sun City.

"By fulfilling its role with excellence and boldness, the private sector will be serving in a way which I believe will astound us all when we look back to these times," he said.

Nations caught up in the crisis of fundamental change could learn from the survival techniques of business.

"It is a proven fact that businesses which survive the trauma of major change and disruption and then go on to greater growth have three things in common: A clear direction; a common vision and consensus on the direction; and good communication up and down

the organization," he said.

The success of business lay in its sensitivity to the real needs of people and thus also to the changes which took place in society.

The superior quality of life enjoyed by many millions was directly attributable to the machinery, books and medicines that were born from business initiatives.

"But there is also a deeper need that business fulfils — the human requirement for professional development.

"The training in skills, the opportunity to reach out and undertake new challenges, the mental and emotional growth that takes place in a healthy business environment are benefits that enrich individuals beyond measure."

Maree said all South Africans realized that they were on the road to a new future. They might not be able to discern its shape but it was impossible to return to the past with its outdated concepts.

Discussing the role of energy in the SA context, Maree said many people overlooked the fact that Escom supplied power in varying degrees to every state in southern Africa including Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

"Let's face it, our interdependence in Southern Africa goes beyond just sharing energy and includes many other aspects of economic development."



# Nats name Chait for <sup>AKA's</sup> Parliament <sup>AKA 2</sup>

<sup>30/6/77</sup>  
<sup>3/8/77</sup>  
Political Correspondent

MRS Esme Chait, a Cape Town city councillor, is to become an indirectly elected MP of the National Party, the party has announced.

The party has also nominated a previous indirectly elected MP, Mr Wouter Kritzinger. They were chosen by a selection committee of the NP in the Cape.

The announcement was made by Mr Sakkie Pretorius, provincial secretary of the NP.

In the general election Mrs Chait lost by 39 votes in Green Point to Mr Tian van der Merwe of the Progressive Federal Party.

Mr Pretorius also announced that former Cabinet Minister Mr Jan Haak and Mrs Martha Olckers, who was Nationalist MP for Albany from 1977 to 1981, had been chosen to fill two vacancies on the President's Council.

The NP's indirectly elected MP for the Free State is Mr Innes Aucamp, and for the Transvaal Mr Greyling Wentzel and Dr Boy Geldenhuys.

Mr Craig Williamson, who failed to win the election contest in Bryanston, has been appointed to the President's Council for Transvaal and Mr Chris Hattingh has been appointed for Natal.



News 15/17

304A

# Race laws a bar to reform, warn Matie academics

By TOS WENTZEL  
Political Correspondent

A GROUP of Stellenbosch academics has again warned that real negotiation for constitutional change cannot start before the Government declares its intention to scrap apartheid laws.

In a weekend statement the Stellenbosch Discussion Group '85, led by Professor Sampie

Terreblanche, reiterated some of the arguments it first raised in a March statement.

It said the laws in the way of negotiation were the Group Areas Act, the Separate Amenities Act and the Population Registration Act.

Peace, order and justice could be restored only if the political system was so acceptable to the majority that they believed in it and were willing to fight for it.

## Credible leaders

Such a system could come about only after a process of purposeful negotiation between credible leaders of all the relevant groups.

The fundamental problem was the lack of legitimacy of the existing order in the eyes of the vast majority of citizens.

The group expressed concern about the situation in South Af-

rica and about the curbs on the media.

White resistance to proper reform could be blamed, among other things, on the serious limitations on the free flow of information on all aspects of society, especially tendencies and developments in black politics.

## 31 lecturers

Democracy could not function or be broadened in a situation in which citizens were not fully and accurately informed.

Referring to the educational task of the media, the group said South Africans must be prepared for a new South Africa in which whites would lose the exclusive right over the destiny of all South Africans.

The statement was signed by 31 senior lecturers at the University of Stellenbosch.



# Scaled-down opening of Parliament

NR643 15/5/82  
304A

By TOS WENTZEL,  
Political Correspondent

THE new session of Parliament, which starts today, will be formally opened by President Botha tomorrow.

The elected MPs meet today to nominate eight other MPs. On a proportional basis the National Party is entitled to six, the Progressive Federal Party to one and the Conservative Party to one.

New members are being sworn in today and the three Houses will decide on an electoral college to choose the Speaker, who is again expected to be Mr Louis le Grange.

## Opening address

Tomorrow there will be a scaled-down formal opening. President Botha will follow a shorter route to Parliament and there will be no fly-past, gun-salute or escort of mounted police.

He will deliver his opening address in the Assembly chamber at 11am. It will be live on television.

Mr Botha is expected to give indications of further reform measures. He has expressed his determination

to go ahead with plans to have a national council to deliberate on black political rights.

Tomorrow the new Leader of the Opposition in the Assembly, the CP's Dr Andries Treurnicht, will give notice of a motion of censure which will be debated from Wednesday to Friday.

## Winter recess

It will be the first time since the NP came to power in 1948 that the party has faced an official Opposition which is more to the right.

Acrimonious exchanges are expected between Nationalist and CP members following the bitter struggle between the parties in the election.

The main Budget will be introduced on June 3. The Post Office budget will be introduced next Monday and the Transport Services budget on May 26.

On June 26 Parliament will adjourn for a winter recess until July 27.

There will also be motions of no confidence in the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates.

The state of the parties in the Assembly is: National Party 133, CP 23, PFP 20, NRP 1 and Independent 1.

● See page 12.

## Coloured, Indian Houses in turmoil

### Political Staff

LABOUR PARTY dissidents who formed the new Democratic Party (DP) are returning to Parliament today to further their attempts to have it registered as a party and become the new official Opposition in the House of Representatives.

Mr Dennis de la Cruz, leader of the Democratic Workers Party (DWP) and still Leader of the Opposition, said he had formed an alliance with the DP and would continue to work closely with them.

Mr de la Cruz's DWP has only two other members in Parliament and the DP comprises seven members under the leadership of former Labour Party MPs Mr Charles Redcliffe and Mr Peter Mopp.

### LOSING CONTROL

● Mr Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the National People's Party, appeared on the verge of losing control of the House of Delegates today.

Mr Baldeo Dookie has resigned as Minister of Local Government and was due to cross the floor with a number of other NPP members.

The manoeuvre could spark an election in the Indian House.

## PFP 'to keep SA's realities to the fore'

### Political Staff

THE Progressive Federal Party is to make a special effort to prevent Parliament from degenerating into a slanging match between the National and Conservative parties.

Mr Ken Andrew said today: "Because the lead-in to the debate will be from the far right, it is incumbent upon us to ensure the realities of South Africa don't get lost in a slanging match over who can best protect white privilege."

A PFP federal executive meeting committed the party to "consultation with people of all races... who share our values on how peaceful change and an apartheid-free South Africa can be achieved".

At a weekend meeting the PFP reaffirmed its view that no single group could bring about the necessary changes.



South Africa looks elsewhere as its friendships with Western countries turn sour

# Building up support in Africa

354A 30th 19/5/87

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

As its former friends in the West become increasingly antagonistic, South Africa is turning more and more to black Africa for trade and future political support.

Pretoria's overtures are proving surprisingly successful, officials claim, even though overt hostility from Africa has reached unprecedented levels.

Behind the scenes there is claimed to be not only a dramatic increase in trade but also a growing acceptance of South African aid and technology.

The diplomatic campaign appears to be a revival, though in different form, of the "outward" policy in Africa that was launched by the Government in the 1970s and subsequently dropped when it failed to elicit significant response.

With the European Community and even the United States imposing sanctions and relations with Britain wearing ever thinner, Pretoria's diplomatic and trade options have dwindled in the past few years.

Its response has been in part to exploit South Africa's unique ability to help meet Africa's crying need for funds and technology for development, cheap food and consumer goods.

"For too long we have looked over the heads of our African neighbours to the leaders of Western nations in trying to achieve solutions to our problems," Mr Neil van Heerden, the director-general of Foreign Affairs, said recently in an interview with the *Washington Times*.

Mr van Heerden said the "dramatic" increase in South Africa's trade with Africa "has led us to realise where our priorities lie".

## 'Determine our own future'

"The emphasis of our diplomatic effort is now very much concentrated on Africa."

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha enunciated a similar approach last October in Maseru when he signed the Lesotho Highlands water project treaty. He urged African states to join with South Africa to "determine our own future" instead of allowing the Americans, the Europeans and the Soviets to do it for them.

In addition to its substantial open trade with Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique and other members of the Frontline grouping, South Africa is reported to have had secret dealings of one kind or another with at least 40 of the 51 black African countries.

To avoid embarrassing them and thereby jeopardising the links,

Pretoria co-operates in keeping the dealings secret. As a result the truth of the claims cannot be tested, either in terms of trade or aid.

Mr van Heerden said, however, that South Africa was involved in more than 300 projects, costing more than R50 million, in about a dozen African countries.

He said these included three experimental cattle ranches in countries "far north of here" where a cattle breed suited to tropical Africa was being developed.

While Pretoria is trying to build secret bridges to Africa, Western countries are pushing large amounts of aid into South Africa's neighbouring states in an effort to reduce Pretoria's influence over them.

## Political pressure

The United States has in addition tightened its political pressures on Pretoria, notably by recently joining the Frontline states in claiming that Pretoria is continuing to aid the MNR rebels in Mozambique in contravention of the Nkomati Accord.

The Western aid effort is aimed largely at reducing the Frontline states' dependence on the Republic. This is a long-term programme, however, and in the meantime South Africa's neighbours continue to rely heavily on the Republic.

According to Mr van Heerden, Pretoria's aid programme in Africa is helped by the fact that many African countries "have grown tired of people coming from rich Western nations, throwing money at them and then leaving. They are tired of being stroked".

"Some of them have told us that what they like about us is that we stay and we work with them," he told the *Washington Times*. "We tell them we are Africans together and we must seek our own solutions, without relying on the outside world, and they love that."

South Africa's programmes, he said, were more like those of the Israelis and Taiwanese: "We show how, we teach and we stay until they know how to do it."

Mr van Heerden said Africa was "stumbling out of a post-colonial era with something of a Monday morning feeling" and most African leaders were prepared to listen to alternatives.

"This is where we come in. "Whatever our faults, they regard us as the 'Big Apple' of Africa. Our markets lie close to their markets and we have more knowledge and expertise of African conditions and a better understanding of their problems than anyone else in the world."



# Scrap these laws — call

A GROUP of Stellenbosch academics has again warned that real negotiation for constitutional change cannot start before the Government declares its intention to scrap apartheid laws.

In a weekend statement the Stellenbosch Discussion Group '85, led by Professor Sampie Terreblanche, reiterated some of the arguments it first raised in a statement issued in March.

It said the laws in the way of negotiation were the Group Areas Act, the Separate Amenities Act and the Population Registration Act.

Peace, order and justice could only be restored if the political system was so acceptable to the majority of South Africans that they believed in it and were willing to fight for it.

Such a system could only come about after a process of purposeful negotiation between credible leaders of all the relevant groups in South Africa.

The fundamental problem was the lack of legitimacy of the existing order in the eyes of the majority of South African citizens.

The group expressed concern about the situation in South Africa and about the curbs on the media.

White resistance to proper reform could, among other things, be blamed on the serious limitations on the free flow of information on all aspects of society, especially tendencies and developments in black politics.

304A  
19/5/87



# State President indicates course for 1987 as Parliament reconvenes

'A clear mandate from the country'

## Black council plan to go ahead

CAPE TOWN — White voters in the election had expressed themselves clearly and had given their representatives a decisive mandate and directive on Government policies, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said today.

Opening Parliament, he said the election result endorsed and strengthened the wishes expressed by the electorate in the general election in 1981 and in the 1983 constitutional referendum.

This year's election result endorsed the evolutionary approach followed by the Government in economic, social and constitutional development, he said.

"Secondly, it confirms the Government's point of departure that security, order and stability in all of our communities are preconditions for reform, and that the proponents of radicalism and violence will have to renounce that course before they may participate in constitutional processes."

Voters had again shown the outside world that South Africans and not overseas interests would decide the country's future. — Sapa.

By PATRICK CULL  
Political Correspondent

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Mr Botha said the institution of the tricameral

Parliament in 1984 had broadened democracy and it was now the position of the various black communities which required attention.

Such constitutional development, he said, was not taking place in a vacuum but against 300 years of constitutional history in which four homelands had accepted independence and a fifth had now requested this.

In addition, Mr Botha said, a number of co-operative bodies had been established.

Mr Botha stressed that "further clarity" on constitutional structures would only be possible if representative leaders of every group and community which rejected violence came forward in a national institution of recognised status.

Such an institution, he said, would have to be the result of communication and negotiation among the leaders of relevant groups and parties who genuinely believed in freedom and democracy.

Sketching the ground rules acceptable to the National Party, Mr Botha said.

- It was not possible for a multi-cultural country like South Africa to talk about protecting individual rights unless minority rights were talked about at the same time.

- It was impossible to talk about the protection of minority rights unless one talked about the protection of minority groups at the same time.

- It was not possible to talk about the protection of minority groups and the prevention of domination unless groups enjoyed statutory recognition and the relationship between them was regulated constitutionally.

## Hard line on funds coming from outside SA

CAPE TOWN — The State President, Mr P W Botha, today warned the media, universities and organisations receiving overseas funding against promoting activities leading to the overthrow of the State.

In his speech opening Parliament, he said the Government was giving serious attention to countering plans to "subvert the constitutional order" in South Africa.

"Throughout the world there are examples of countries in which the

governments have been deposed and the system of government dismantled, ostensibly in the name of greater freedom and democracy."

Such countries invariably ended up under Soviet influence.

Prominent personalities and institutions in leading Western countries had given financial support to the destruction of Western allies, among them Iran and Nicaragua.

"The Government is aware of efforts and plans in this connection

and intends giving them its serious attention. We shall not permit the constitutional order in South Africa to be subverted in this way.

"The media in South Africa, too, should guard against instituting and promoting activities of this kind under the guise of the freedom of the Press and of expression.

"Similarly, universities in South Africa should beware of promoting such aims under the guise of academic freedom" — Sapa

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'A clear  
mandate  
from the  
country'

# Black council plan to go ahead

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This year's election result endorsed the evolutionary approach followed by the Government in economic, social and constitutional development, he said.

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## Public debate

THE Five Freedoms Forum is to hold an alternative no-confidence debate after the State President, Mr P. W. Botha's opening address to Parliament tomorrow, an FFF spokesman said yesterday.

The spokesman said the public meeting was aimed at giving South Africans "of all races a chance to enter into a debate Parliament now denies them."

The theme of the meeting which will start at 7.30pm is "stay and contribute — working towards democracy". It will be held in the University of the Witwatersrand Great Hall.

Speakers will include Mrs Di Bishop of the Civil Rights League, Dr Nthato Motlana of the Soweto Civic Association, Mrs Su Trathen of the Black Sash, and Prof John Dugard of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies — Sana

Soweto  
19/5/87

30404



**PW warns on financial, moral subversion**

# Blacks to have say in national council

3048 Sme 19/5/87

By David Braun, Political Correspondent  
Parliament

The Government is going ahead with legislation to set up the National Council during this session of Parliament, the State President, Mr P.W. Botha, said today.

He was also giving serious consideration to ways which would enable him as State President to be more directly involved in negotiations with black leaders, he said. More information on this would be provided shortly.

In the National Council, joint deliberations would be possible on various constitutional proposals, including the possibility of constituting a Council of State, and the composition and tasks of such a council.

Mr Botha was opening the fifth session of the eighth Parliament at a joint sitting of the three Houses.

In a speech which contained no startling new announcements, Mr Botha sounded warnings against "certain individuals and groups (which) seek to express their opposition and their efforts at promoting alternatives in a manner and by methods which cannot be condoned in any self-respecting country".

They included activities and methods which:

- Did not recognise and accept the lawful and constitutional institutions and processes in South Africa,
- Approved of and applied violence, intimidation and murder as instruments of political change, and
- Were conducted in a manner which precluded the policies and leaders of those groups from being subjected to the wishes of the electorate.

Mr Botha said the Government was aware of plans and efforts to give foreign financial and moral support to subvert the constitutional order.

"The media in South Africa, too, should guard against instigating and promoting activities of this kind under the guise of the freedom of the Press and of expression."

"Similarly, universities in South Africa should beware of promoting such aims under the guise of academic freedom."

Other points from the State President's speech were:

- Constitutional development had to be accompanied by economic and social processes to create the conditions in which renewal might be continued on the basis of security.
- These processes were directed at the upliftment of the country's developing communities.
- The Government was proceeding with its special employment and training programme.
- The rate of inflation had declined, but remained unacceptably high. He had already requested the State President's economic advisory council to undertake an investigation.



Possibility of 'something new', says AG

# Wiley inquest: docket returned

**Staff Reporter**

THE Wiley inquest docket is to be returned to the office of the Cape Attorney-General following great public interest in the case and because of the possibility that press investigations could bring new facts to light.

Mr Niel Rossouw SC, Attorney-General, said yesterday that in terms of the Inquest Act his office had the right to request an inquest docket to be returned.

Last week Mr Willem van Zyl, chief magistrate of Cape Town, found that Mr John Wiley, former Minister of Environment and Water Affairs, died of a firearm wound in the head and that his death on March 29 was not caused by any act or omission amounting to an offence by another person.

Mr Rossouw said yesterday

there was no time limit once the docket was returned to him. "We are not looking at anything new at the moment, but it is possible there may be something new," he said.

"There is great public interest in the matter and quite clearly, in the light of investigations launched by your newspaper (the Cape Times) and also other newspapers, it is possible other things may come to light," he said.

Meanwhile, Dr S J Rushworth of Fish Hoek said yesterday he found it "very strange" that his name was on a city pharmacist's records as having prescribed the tranquillizer Ativan to Mr Wiley on three occasions over the last year.

"I never met him and never treated him," he said.

The pharmacist, Mr Gary Black, was not available yesterday as he is out of town for a week.

Records before the inquest court showed that Ativan was issued to Mr Wiley by Mr Black on April 24 and June 18 last year and on March 3 this year on prescription from Dr Rushworth.

A psychiatrist at a city teaching hospital, who asked not to be named for professional reasons, yesterday said that Ativan (also known as Lorazepam) was a Valium-like medication and in recent years had been recognized as being potentially dependence-forming at therapeutic dosages.

"So there can be withdrawal symptoms if a person is taken off it suddenly," he said, adding that it was generally not given to depressive patients unless in combination with an anti-depressant.

A pharmacist said that Ativan was a schedule 5 drug which could not be issued without a written prescription from a doctor.



304A

# CP 'blood brothers' vote with Nats

## Political Staff

THE first act of the Conservative Party, as official Opposition, was to vote on the side of the Government.

The 23 party members crossed the floor of the House of Assembly yesterday to defeat an amendment proposed by the Progressive Federal Party to a Government motion concerning the election of the Speaker.

The House of Assembly met for the first time since the election to appoint an electoral college to elect a Speaker.

If the PFP amendment had been carried the election of the Speaker would have been postponed until all members of Parliament could elect the Speaker in a majority vote.

## UNACCEPTABLE

Clearly this was unacceptable to the CP — so over they walked to the Government benches.

To cries of "blood brothers", they were greeted with smiles and handshakes.

The bitterness of the election and bygone years was forgotten as even Dr Connie Mulder (CP Randfontein), chatted amiably with the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha.

Dr Mulder was back in the Assembly for the first time since he was obliged to resign from Parliament after admitting he lied to the House during the Information scandal.

## IN SUZMAN'S SEAT

Dr Mulder, because he has the most seniority in years of service in Parliament in the Conservative Party, shares a front bench with party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht.

He sits where Mrs Helen Suzman sat until the election.

The MPs were sworn in by Chief Justice Rabie.

Because the Conservative Party is now the official Opposition, it has swapped seats in the Assembly with the Progressive Federal Party.

Mr Colin Eglin (PFP, Sea Point) sits where Dr Treurnicht used to sit. Mr David Dalling (PFP Sandton) shares a front bench with Mr Cas Uys (CP, Barberton). Mr Wynand Malan (Independent, Randburg) shares a second-row bench with Mr Tian van der Merwe (PFP, Greenpoint). Mr Ralph Hardingham (NRP Mooi River) sits at the back next to the PFP.



# PW's plan for black talks

3044  
Cont. from Page 1)

dispensation had to include:

- Protection of minority rights and self-determination of groups.
- Prevention of domination by one group.
- Division of power among groups in respect of decisions concerning their own community interests and the sharing of power in respect of general and common interests.

Constitutional development had to take place in a constitutional manner, said Mr Botha.

## SERIOUS

While law-abiding citizens had the right to differ with the Government, activities which did not accept the lawful and constitutional institutions and processes, which approved of violence, intimidation and murder and which precluded some leaders from following the wishes of the electorate could not be condoned.

Throughout the world there were examples of countries where the system of government was dismantled in the

name of greater democracy and freedom. Such countries invariably ended up in the Soviet sphere of influence.

The Government was aware of efforts and plans in this regard and intended giving this its serious attention.

"We shall not permit the constitutional order in South Africa to be subverted in this way."

## BEWARE

Mr Botha warned that the media should guard against instigating and promoting activities of this kind under the guise of freedom of the Press and expression.

Similarly universities in South Africa should beware of promoting such aims under the guise of academic freedom.

"This is not a threat. It is a simple truth."

Constitutional freedom could not take arise in isolation but had to be preceded and accompanied by economic and social processes to create conditions in which the renewal may be continued on the basis of security.



'We will not let the constitutional order be subverted'

# PW plan for black

News 19/5/89

306A

## talks

By TOS WENZEL, Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT Botha told Parliament today he intended to become more directly involved in negotiations with black leaders.

He said he would give more information about this soon. He pointed out that in terms of the constitution the administration of black affairs was 'our realities and not theirs'.

Opening the fifth session of the eighth republican Parliament, Mr Botha said the Government would go ahead with talks to set up a national council on black political rights.

A Bill providing for the council was published last year and Mr Botha said today the Bill would be tabled in this session of Parliament.

The Government would continue with constitutional development. Constitutional development for blacks was not taking place in a vacuum, he said.

While the Government would not stand in the way of communities which sought greater autonomy or even independence, every region and community had the right to participate in government in a way to be agreed on.

This would have to be the result of consultation and negotiation among the leaders of groups and parties believing genuinely in freedom and democracy.

### Domination

Those taking part would have to guard against becoming involved in unnecessary controversies about concepts blueprints, "visions" or final solutions.

Mr Botha said: "We have to seek and find the guidelines for continued reform in the realities of the group nature of our multi-cultural society and the requirements they set for the maintenance of peace and stable communities and the prevention of domination. Individual as well as minority rights had to be protected."

He said: "The Government bringing to South Africa a positive message of orderly at-

thoroughly taken into account.

"It is a message which will bring peace, freedom and self-determination to our communities in a manner which will provide positively for the common interests of our society as well as for the values and interests peculiar to the various communities."

The Government would ensure that safety and security had highest priority because without them development and progress were not possible.

### Strengthened

Mr Botha said that on May 6 whites gave the Assembly and its leaders a decisive mandate and directive.

It endorsed and strengthened the wishes expressed in the 1981 election and the 1983 referendum.

Mr Botha said:

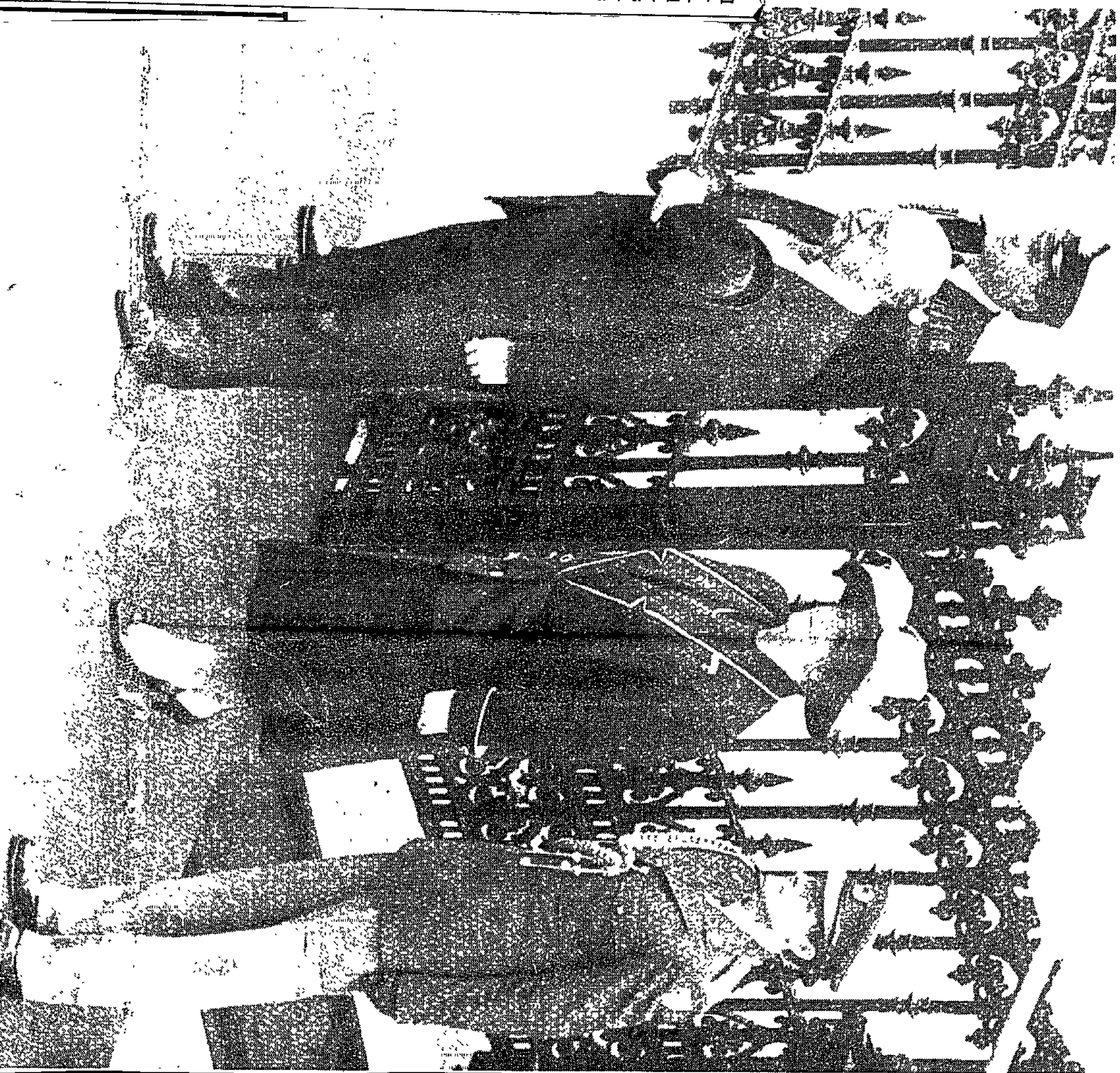
● Voters had endorsed the evolutionary approach of the Government in respect of economic, social and constitutional development and advancement.

● Voters had backed the Government's view that security, order and stability were pre-conditions for reform and that proponents of radicalism and violence had to renounce that course before participating in constitutional processes.

● Voters had given a clear endorsement of the view that a group approach had to be accepted in the expansion of the democratic system and the stabilisation of communities.

● Voters had reiterated that South Africans and not the outside world would decide the country's future.

There was wide acceptance of the reality that South Africa was a country of minorities and that a future dispensation



Picture: PETER STANFORD, The Argus.

OPENING OF PARLIAMENT: President Botha and Mrs Elize Botha outside Parliament today.



# UF doubles agenda for '87

Cape Times 19/5/87

**T**HE Urban Foundation has announced that it is to embark upon policy, programmes and construction activity to the value of R170 million in the current financial year. This will more than double the level of activity undertaken in the last financial year.

In making the announcement, the chairman of the Foundation, Mr J H Steyn, said: "Some nine years ago The Urban Foundation approved its first budget of R2,7 million. The board of directors, and subsequently the board of governors, has confirmed plans and budgets for the residential development and construction division of some R150 million and for the policy and programmes division of R19,8 million (see annexure below).

"The latter activity will continue to be funded from donations to be raised. No donated funds will be allocated to our construction activities which will be funded by loans raised from financial institutions," he explained.

He went on to say that the results of the Foundation's work should not be evaluated only or even significantly in monetary terms.

"We should rather be assessed on the impact that our portfolio of activities can have on the quality of life of poor and disadvantaged people, through the creation of opportunities for self-advancement and on the creation of opportunities for self-advancement and on the creation of structures which are compatible with the ideals and objectives of the Foundation."

**I**N this respect he emphasized the need for a process of structural change in South Africa to be promoted in a partnership between business leadership and the communities. A fully participatory process of community involvement remained essential to any success which the Foundation could hope to achieve. The programmes of the Foundation conducted via its regional activities throughout the country were important ingredients in giving content to the partnership concept.



By JAN STEYN  
Executive Chairman of  
the Urban Foundation

304A (1/3)

1. "However," he added, "perhaps the most important respect in which the Foundation can remain a beacon of hope in a very turbulent environment is by continuing its work to seek to achieve appropriate policy change in South Africa, such as, for example, the contribution it made to the abolition of influx control and securing property rights for blacks. In this respect, I once again confirm the unanimous support which the Foundation has from its boards to work to secure the radical review of the remaining racially discriminatory measures on the South African statute book. Fundamental in this respect are:

The full implementation of the government's reform agenda as announced in January last year. In particular:

- Restoration of citizenship to all the people who lost it when the TBVC areas took independence. Until this occurs some six to nine million people are still subject to controls over their movement, and thus influx control has not been abolished for all.
- The cessation of forced removals.

2. "The repeal of the legislation affecting the racial zoning of land, in particular the Group Areas Act and relevant provisions of the Land Acts, both of which deny black people access to land for settlement, housing and agricultural opportunities.

"The Urban Foundation is also committed to work for such policy changes as are necessary to ensure that we as South Africans able to change direction from a road leading to ever-increasing repression and on-going revolt to one in which

we move steadfastly towards a society founded upon justice and in which race is rejected as the cornerstone upon which its future structures are to be built.

"It is immensely encouraging," he concluded, "that the plans of the organization to play this dynamic role both in product and in policy terms carried the unqualified endorsement of its board of directors and board of governors and the enthusiastic support of its management and staff."

## The Urban Foundation's operating planned activity 1987/88

**T**HE plans of the Urban Foundation for the 1987/1988 financial year include those to:

- Develop 11 000 stands and 7 000 houses throughout the country;

- Launch shack up-grading programmes in the Cape and Natal with the potential to benefit some 10 000 families;

- Promote and support education programmes that will enhance the standing of some 8 000 teachers, provide facilities for 150 000 adult learners and have an impact on the lives of scholars throughout the country;

- Facilities for the development of entrepreneurs by promoting deregulation and the provision of counselling and other support which will facilitate their access to markets, premises, finance and skills;

Continue to promote policy changes in respect of:

- Citizenship for all South Africans;
- The Lands Acts;
- The Group Areas Act;
- Appropriate local government;
- The provision of housing finance;
- The making available of land for housing and urban development;
- The financing of education;
- The provision of appropriate in-service education, training and certification for teachers;
- Improved preschool provision;
- The enhancement of the impact of the private sector on education generally.



19/5/87

19/5/87

30/4/87

# Independents will take over reform role: Ackerman

By Derek Tommey  
Financial Editor

THE YOUTH of South Africa feel "squeezed" because they believe there is no future for them in this country, says Mr Raymond Ackerman, chairman of Pick 'n Pay.

Mr Ackerman told the annual banquet of the Insurance Institute of South Africa that young whites did not know whether to stay here or find a better life overseas.

They wanted to develop their lives and careers in peace but were worried that unrest would make this impossible here.

## MOVEMENT

Mr Ackerman said that if the National Party did not take up the banner of reform the independent movement would take over its role, for there was a need for a reform movement which appealed to both English and Afrikaans speaking people.

He said businessmen had thought that their views carried a little more weight than had been shown by the election.

## SUPPORT

But they still had an important role to play and he urged them as a start to have clear-cut goals for black advancement in their organisations.

He believed that students had been wrong not to vote in the election and then to com-

plain that the right wing was getting stronger".

Dr Alan Boesak and Archbishop Desmond Tutu and others had not given any support to the Progressives, the NRP or independents yet they had called the swing to the right a return to the dark ages and the end to South Africa.

Black leadership had to realise that it had to put out the hand of friendship and also had a responsibility for solving the country's problems, said Mr Ackerman.



# Right wing is not growing: Professor

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The CP is not the growing rightwing menace it is being made out to be and has not grown since 1982.

This is the view of professor Dirk Laurie, a mathematician from the University of Potchefstroom.

"The only progress the CP has shown has been at the expense of the HNP — a source that is now almost exhausted," he says in an article in the Afrikaans financial weekly, *Finansies en Tegniek*.

People are looking at the CP in terms of their electoral success in pushing up their seats from 17 to 22 and becoming the official Opposition in the House of Assembly.

Added to the impression of the CP gaining ground is their countrywide share of 26,5 percent in the total number of votes cast, the professor says.

Professor Laurie bases his views on a comparison between the election results and those of by-elections since the founding of the CP in 1982.

In measuring the electorate's movement between the NP and the CP he has tied together the total number of votes for the CP and HNP in each constituency, in by-elections and in the recent general election.

In five cases the rightwing have improved by between two and five percent (Parys,

Carltonville, Middelburg, Potgietersrus, Springs).

"Another four cases show there was no noteworthy changes (Waterkloof, George, Parow and Sasolburg).

"Twelve cases show the CP lost ground, ranging from one to 10 percent (Germiston District, Walvis Bay, Stellenbosch, Waterberg, Soutpansberg, Primrose, Rosettenville, Newton Park, Port Natal, Bethlehem, Vryburg and Kliprivier).

"My interpretation of the figures is that since the CP was formed, voters decided

where they stood and in the interim have moved very little from their original views.

"Where there is a difference, it is a movement away from the CP.

"When all the votes in all 21 constituencies are totalled, the rightwing got 85 793 out of 221 517 votes in the by-elections (38,7 percent) and 97 816 out of 259 594 votes in the general election (37,7 percent)," Professor Laurie says.

He concludes "it is deceptive to talk of a swing to the right. The only swing to the CP took place in 1982."



# PFP to probe Govt on unrest, detentions and TV 'news bias'

By PATRICK CULL

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Progressive Federal Party MPs are once again poised to pepper the Government with questions relating to unrest and detentions.

A number of questions have also been tabled on the Group Areas Act.

The PFP spokesman on law and order, Mrs Helen Suzman will next week ask the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok:

- Whether he will state how many people have been detained under the emergency regulations since June 12, 1986, and how many of them were under-18

- How many are still in detention and how many are under-18, and

- Whether any charges have been laid against detainees under-18 and what the charges were.

Questions scheduled to be answered on June 2 relate to deaths and detention and how many people have been detained under Section 29 and Section 50 A of the Internal Security Act.

The MP for Green Point, Mr Tian van der Merwe has tabled questions connected with visits to detainees and whether they are recorded on videos.

Mr Roger Burrows, MP for Pinetown, has tabled questions on the Group Areas Act, asking whether any applications have been received from couples who have entered into a mixed marriage and how many have been granted and how many refused.

Written questions submitted by Mr Van der Merwe seek to discover how many how many investigations and prosecutions have been carried out by the police into alleged contraventions of the Group Areas Act.

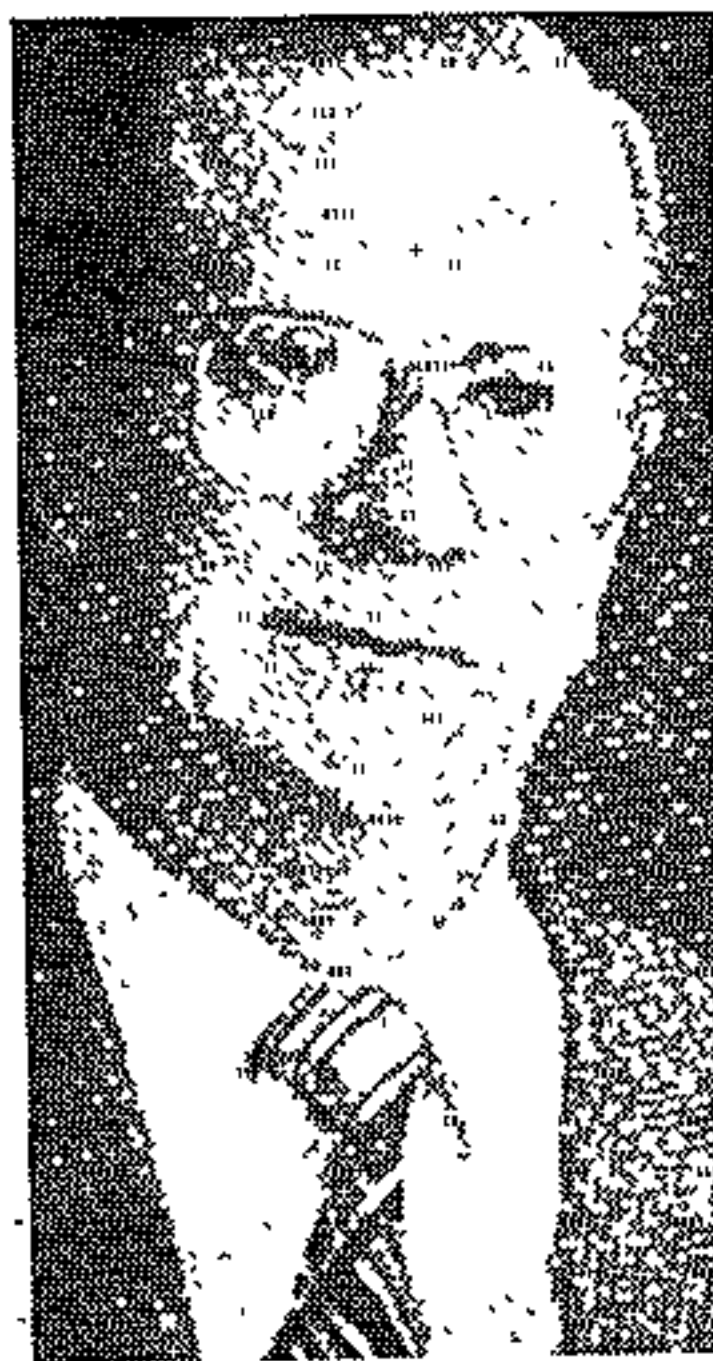
- The whole question of the SATV coverage of the election is to be raised in a question by Mr Peter Soal on Tuesday.

Mr Soal, MP for Johannesburg North, wants to know whether the Minister in charge of Broadcasting Services, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, has taken note of the findings on the Rhodes Monitoring Group.



# Dr No will hit the Govt hard today

254A 20/1/88 Dr No 1057.



Dr TREURNICHT

By PATRICK CULL  
Political Correspondent  
CAPE TOWN - Leader of the official opposition Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, is expected to introduce a hard-hitting motion of censure of the Government in the House of Assembly this afternoon.

The motion is likely to spark off a heated debate between the right-wing CP and the Government over the reform question.

Dr Treurnicht will contend in his motion that the Government deserves censure because:

- Its announcements on reform, as far as they are known, are fatal to economic recovery and growth and to political stability.
- It has no long term plan to check revolution effectively.
- Its abolition of certain laws and its failure to apply others pose a serious threat to secure, relaxed and orderly community life.
- It has failed to spell out clearly the mandate it sought, particularly as far as the protection of minorities and the preven-

tion of a black majority Government is concerned.

It would seem that the main thrust of the CP onslaught is going to be directed at the piecemeal reform carried out by the Government and just what this has brought about.

The repeal of the Mixed Marriages Act without provision for where such couples are going to live, erosion of the Group Areas Act and the Sepa-

rate Amenities Act and the Government's failure to halt the endemic unrest are all likely to loom large in the calendar of "crimes" committed by the Government.

On the other side, the PFP, shorn of its standing as the official opposition, will no doubt be bent on keeping itself firmly in the limelight with stinging attacks on the way in which the retention of apartheid is dragging the country down.



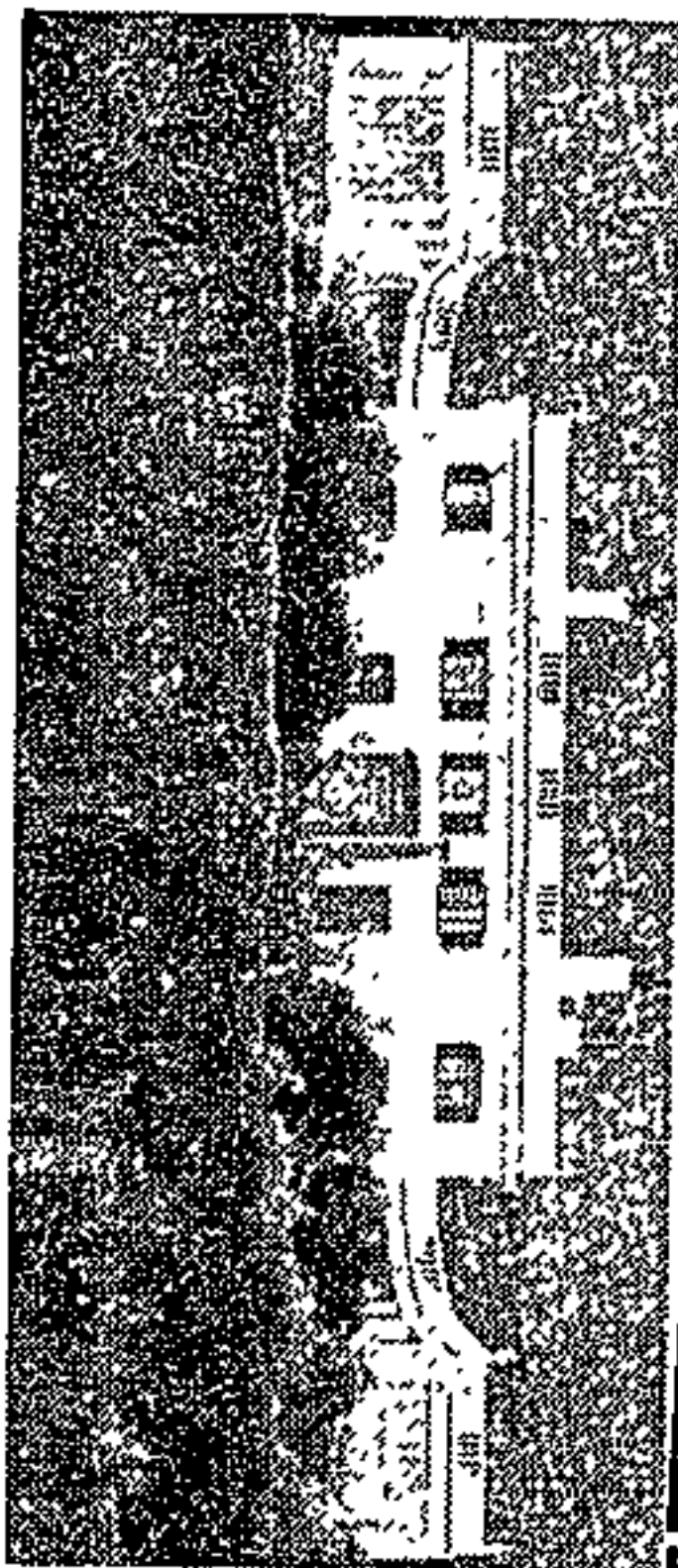
# Health minister in Wiley mystery

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"These prescriptions are, off course, never charged for."  
When the Cape Times

To page 2

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The Manor House

## British couple to buy Wiley's manor house

**By CHRIS STEYN**  
**THE Minister of Health and Population Development, Dr Willie van Niekerk, may have acted outside the scope of the general code of medical ethics when he prescribed tranquillizers to the late Mr John Wiley.**

Investigations by the Cape Times show that Dr Van Niekerk's name still appears on the register of medical practitioners, interns and dentists under the heading Obstetrics and Gynaecology.

According to the general code of medical ethics, a person registered with the Medical and Dental Council as a specialist, must confine his medical practices to his speciality.

Dr Van Niekerk therefore seemed to have acted outside his scope as a gynaecologist when he prescribed tranquillizers — 20 Ativan tablets — to Mr Wiley on December 24, 1985.

### 'Bit irregular'

Following general discussions yesterday between the Cape Times and the Medical and Dental Council, it now appears that Dr Van Niekerk "overstepped his speciality" when he prescribed the pills.

Specialists are exempted from the confines of these medical ethics only when it is an emergency or, in the case of a gynaecologist, when he is treating the husband or live-in lover of a female patient, or when a couple is being treated together, for instance, for a sexual disease — in which case, the specialist still has to inform the man's general practitioner.

### 'Valid reason'

"It sounds a little bit irregular," said a spokesman for the Medical and Dental Council. He was commenting on information that a registered — if not practising — gynaecologist — had prescribed tranquillizers to a male person.

This spokesman was not informed by the Cape Times that the circumstances of this case pertained to Dr Van Niekerk and Mr Wiley.

But he asked the Cape Times to "submit the matter for investigation" because "there may be a very valid reason" the pills having been prescribed.

Although Dr Van Niekerk does not practise as gynaecologist, medical ethics prevent him from being registered as both a specialist and a general practitioner at the same time.

"But the council will have to see whether he (the person) acted unethically. It is an ethical aspect which has not yet been on the table... the council's executive committee will have to decide," the spokesman said.

Reacting to questions from the Cape Times yesterday afternoon, Dr Van Niekerk said: "Most doctors, on occasion, would prescribe medication to a friend or a family member regardless of his or her special-

ity are  
The sole agent, Mrs Pam Golding, has also declined to comment on the sale.  
The terms of the binding legal agreement by which Mr John Wiley bought the Drummond Chaplin (now De Goede Hoop) estate at Noordhoek for R1 million four years ago, are being seen as the background to Mr Wiley's becoming "bitter and disillusioned" about the imminent sale of the property.  
In a sworn affidavit tabled at the inquest on Mr John Wiley's death, his son Mark said finally of sale was to be reached in the week of March 30 and that the sale would have included either partial ownership or outright ownership of the fynbos reserves on the estate.  
Mr Wiley committed suicide on March 29.  
"These two points in particular had made my father very bitter and disillusioned in recent months," he said.

THE SALE of the Sir Herbert Baker manor house, bought by the late Mr John Wiley for R1 million in 1983, is nearly finalized and the British buyers are Mr John and Lady Sarah Aspinall.  
Speaking from the Mount Nelson Hotel last night, Lady Sarah confirmed they were in the process of buying the house to use as a family home.  
She said her father had spent a lot of time in South Africa and the family would live there "moving backwards and forwards from England".  
She said the house was "very lovely and in a beautiful setting", but declined to comment further on the sale.  
Struggle between capital and labour and that change the nature of professions of these schemes represent in the balance of power between these two classes.

Staff Reporter

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# Botha 'gives little hope for the future'

*Conf. Tm/18 20/5/87*  
*304A*

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha yesterday strongly hinted at a clampdown against the media, universities, extra-parliamentary organizations and foreign funding for opposition groups.

Opening the fifth session of the eighth Parliament, Mr Botha also reaffirmed his government's continuing commitment to its racially based "group approach" to negotiations with blacks or changes to the constitution.

Opposition spokesmen criticized Mr Botha's address as "predictable", "nothing new", "very vague" and offering little hope for the future.

PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin described Mr Botha's speech as "predictable in the aftermath of the elections".

The indication by the president that there would be "more restrictive security legislation" together with his "unyielding commitment to the group concept" in the constitutional field "does not give any hope for an early solutions to the country's problems", Mr Eglin said.

Labour Party leader Mr Alan Hendrickse dismissed Mr Botha's address as "nothing new and therefore I have nothing new to say".

The Conservative Party's constitutional development spokesman, Mr Connie Mulder, charged that Mr Botha did not go any further than the "very vague mandate he put to the electorate".

And CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht made it clear that sparks were going to fly in Parliament today when, in giving notice of his motion of censure, he said the announcements the government had already made on reform were "fatal to economic recovery and growth and orderly community life".

In a clear signal that the new Leader of the Opposition intended to turn the three-day censure debate into a right-wing battle, the motion charged that the government had no long-term plan to check revolution.

Its abolition of certain laws and its failure to apply others posed a serious threat to a secure, relaxed and orderly community, Dr Treurnicht's motion stated.

In his address, Mr Botha stressed that he found it "unacceptable" that "certain individuals and groups seek to express their opposition and their efforts at promoting alternatives in a manner and by methods which cannot be condoned in any self-respecting country".

Mr Botha specified activities and methods which did not recognize and accept the "lawful and constitutional institutions and processes", which endorsed violence as an instrument of political change, and which "precluded the policies and leaders of those groups from being subjected to the wishes of the electorate".

"The fact that certain legal arrangements may not be acceptable to some people does not give them the right to contravene the law. Nor can activities of this kind be permitted any longer to be encouraged and/or financed by sources outside the country or by their agents here."

Mr Botha said it was ironical that prominent personalities and institutions in leading Western countries had given their financial and moral sup-

port in several cases to the destruction of Western allies.

"The government is aware of efforts and plans in this connection and intends giving them its serious attention. We shall not permit the constitutional order in South Africa to be subverted in this way.

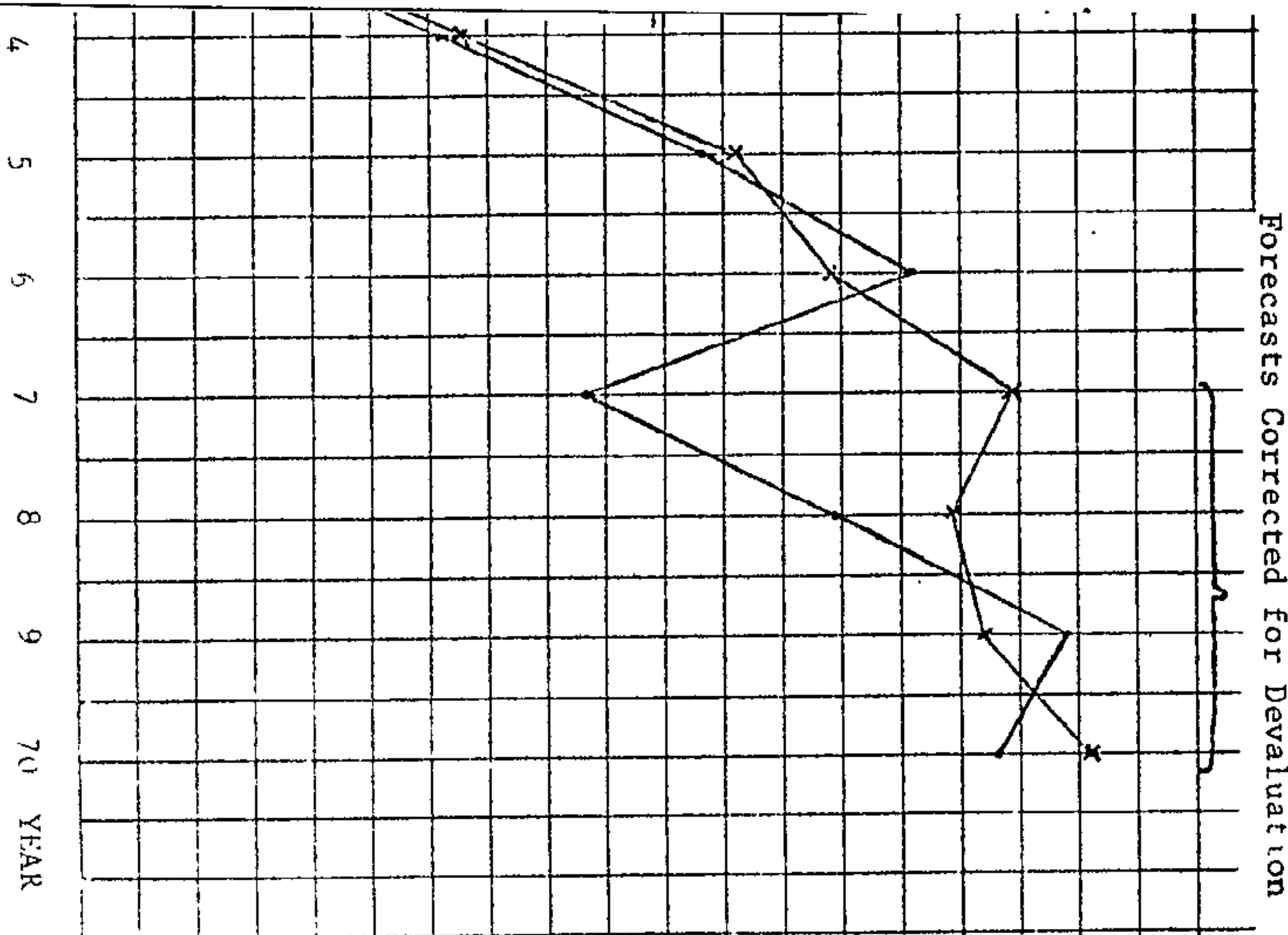
"The media, too, should guard against instigating and promoting activities of this kind under the guise of freedom of the press and of expression.

"Similarly, universities in South Africa should beware of promoting such aims under the guise of academic freedom," Mr Botha said.

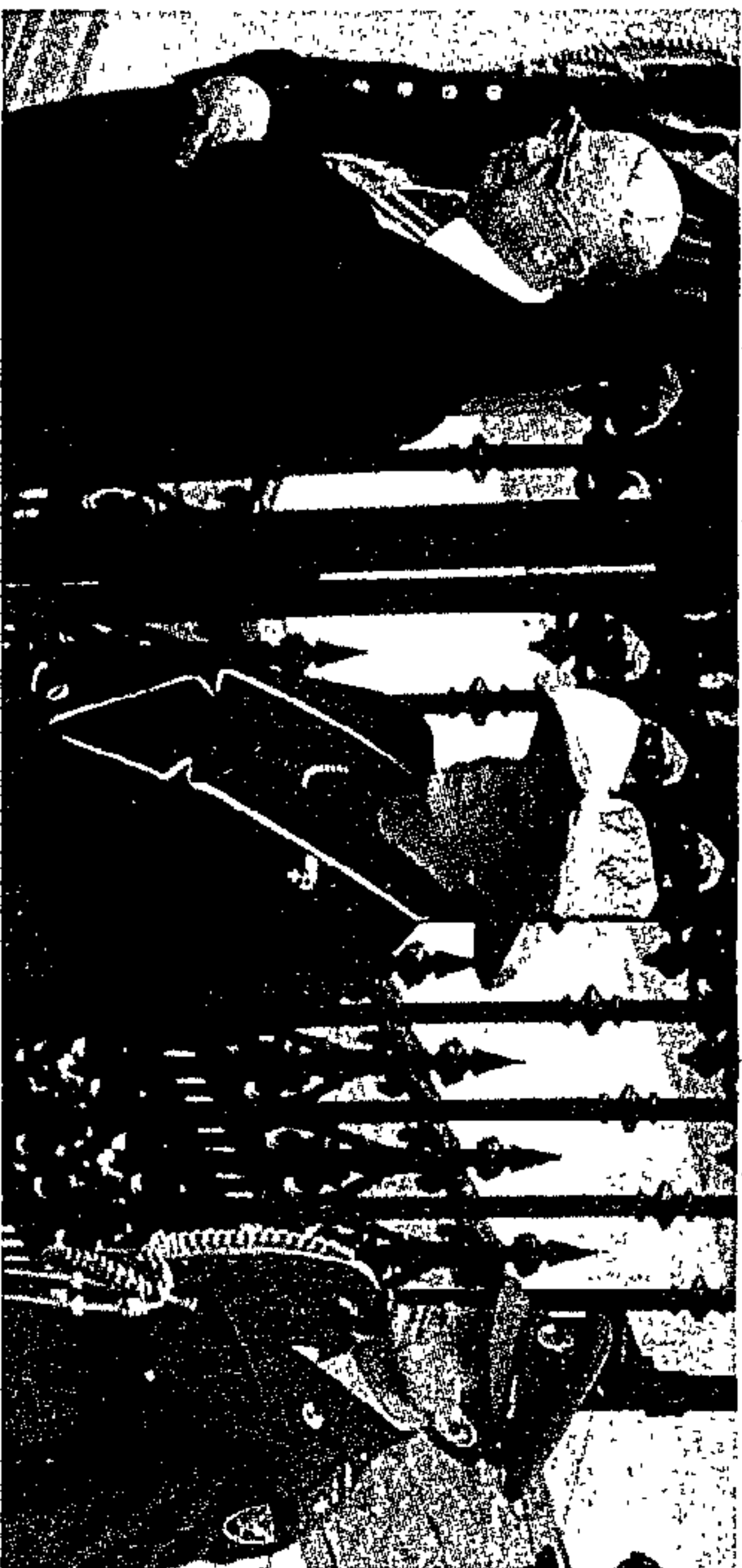
Turning to constitutional changes, Mr Botha said the government intended to "seek and find the guidelines for continued reform in the realities of the group nature of our multi-cultural society".

Mr Botha added that he was giving "serious consideration" to ways that would enable him to become more directly involved with negotiations with "black leaders".

□ Parliament and politics — Page 7







**PRESIDENTIAL COUPLE...** President P W Botha and Mrs Elize Botha outside Parliament yesterday.

Picture. JOHN RUBYTHON

# PW tells business to leave politics

**BLOEMFONTEIN.** — The State President, Mr P W Botha, called on the private sector last night not to prescribe to the government and to confine its activities to business matters.

Opening a congress of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut here, he said his call applied especially to the involvement by some businessmen in "attempts to improve the credibility of revolutionary elements" such as the ANC.

"Let each of us — the government and the private sector — carry out the responsibilities entrusted to us in our own terrains," Mr Botha said.

"Business leaders can now safely leave the government in the hands of the people who are the chosen leaders of the country."

The State President's Economic Advisory Council existed to deal with economic and financial input from the private sector.

"As far as other matters are concerned, it is maybe necessary that certain leaders in the private sector act in a less prescriptive manner towards the government."

"This applies especially in respect of matters of which they (the private sector) do not always carry full knowledge of what the government is busy with."

"One example of this is the involvement of certain leaders of business and industry in

South Africa in attempts to improve the credibility of revolutionary elements fighting against our country and our people."

Mr Botha said the ANC was "cynical and even insulting" about businessmen who had held talks with them in Lusaka.

Mr Botha said the organization's mouthpiece, Sechaba, stated that the ANC had not abandoned its principles in talking to the businessmen and that the talks had helped

**Botha's speech in  
Parliament — Page 3**

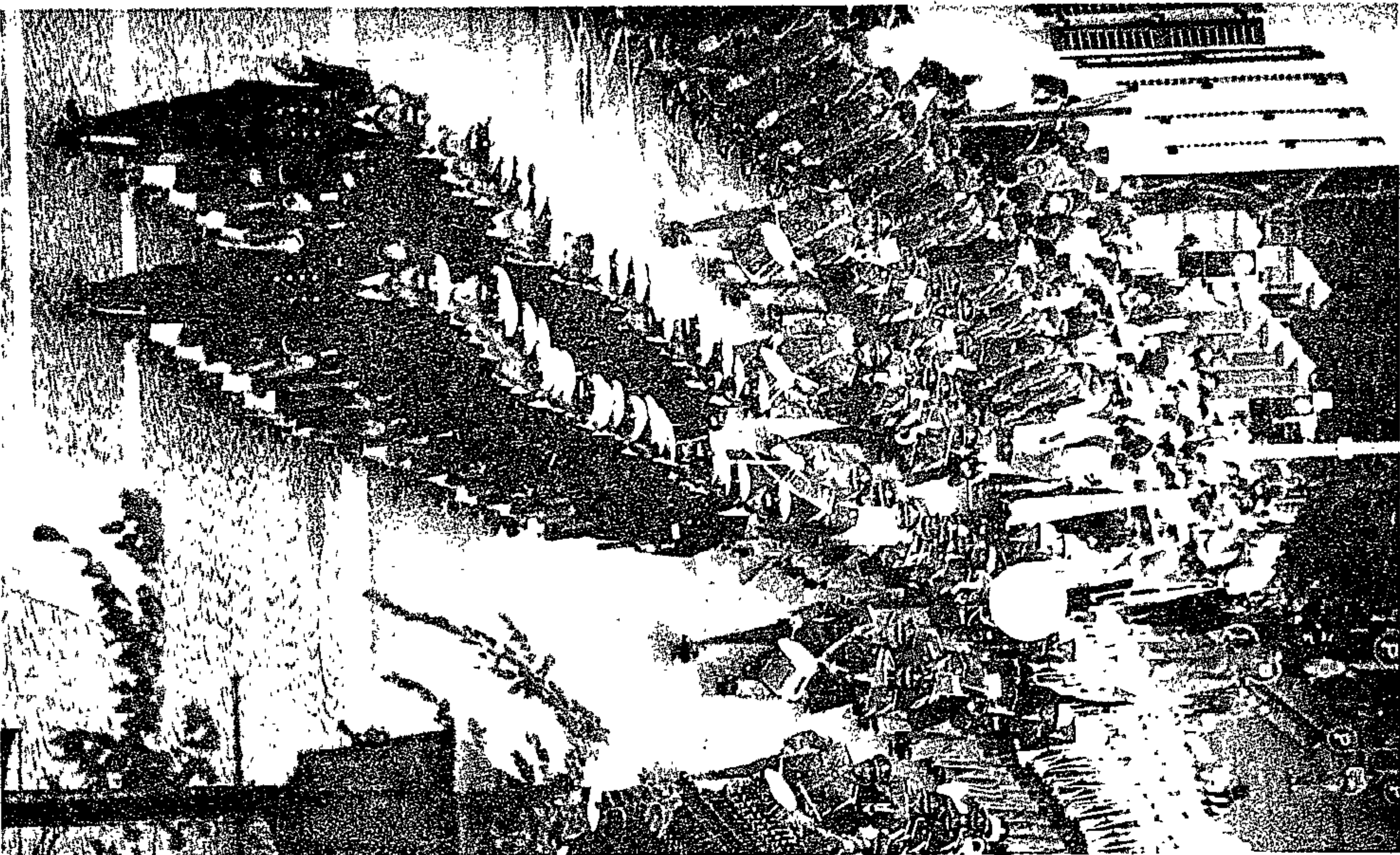
isolate the South African government and "increased their panic and insecurity."

"No one should try to delude himself about what he is doing if he moves in that direction," Mr Botha said.

"We will solve our problems by putting our principles and ideals first, but definitely not through compromise with the agents of darkness."

"That is one of the reasons I ask that business leaders should rather concentrate on those activities that are more particularly within their field of experience and responsibilities."

The State President said this request had also been made of the government by the private sector. — Sapa



**POMP AND CEREMONY...** Part of the presidential procession before yesterday's opening of Parliament.

Picture JOHN RUBYTHON



# Conservatives name their shadow cabinet

CME Times 20/5/87 (304A)

## Political Staff

### HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

— The Opposition Conservative Party has appointed what is effectively its shadow cabinet in the form of spokesmen to express its views on subjects handled by the 16 ministerial portfolios.

Deputy leader of the CP Mr Ferdie Hartzenberg (Lichtenburg), a one-time teacher and the chairman of the caucus, has taken on the two portfolios of Agriculture, and Education and Development Aid. He will also act as deputy spokesman on Finance.

The other portfolios will be handled by:

Foreign Affairs and Transport: Mr Tom Langley, MP for Soutpansburg and an advocate by training;

Constitutional Development and Planning, and deputy spokesman



Mr Arrie Paulus

on Administration and Broadcasting Services and National Education: Dr Connie Mulder (Randfontein), a former cabinet minister who resigned after the Information scandal;

Defence, Home Affairs and Communication: Veteran CP MP Mr Koos van der Merwe (Over-



Dr Connie Mulder

vaal), lawyer and the party's regular spokesman on defence;

Administration and Broadcasting Services: Mr Fanie Jacobs (Losberg), previously professor of constitutional law at Potchefstroom University;

Economic Affairs and Technology: Mr Clive

Derby-Lewis (Krugersdorp), a businessman and founder member of the CP. He is also in charge of the CP's press liaison;

Finance: Mr Cas Uys (Barberton), a lawyer;

Justice: Mr Chris de Jager (Bethal), a senior counsel and former judge;

Law and Order: Mr Moolman Mentz (Ermelo);

National Education: Mr Andre Gerber (Britz);

National Health and Population Development: Dr Willie Snyman (Pietersburg), a doctor by training; and

Manpower and Public Works: Mr Frank le Roux (Brakpan).

His deputy will be veteran mineworkers' trade unionist Mr Arrie Paulus (Carletonville), who will also be the deputy spokesman on economic affairs and technology.



Cape Times 20/5/87 (258) 304A

# Emigration of young South Africans 'alarming' — Steyn

## Chief Reporter

THE rapid rise in the tide of emigration of younger South Africans was assuming "most alarming" proportions, Mr Jan Steyn, executive chairman of the Urban Foundation, said yesterday.

"Many of our young people are today more uncertain about South Africa's future than at any time since Sharpeville in 1960," he said at a Public Relations Institute of SA lunch in Cape Town.

"We are facing the loss of young people of idealism and commitment, the majority of whom, like the non-violent

black leadership, subscribe to a democratic non-racial future for South Africa; a South Africa beyond apartheid in which there is a genuine sharing of power and wealth, with all the costs attendant upon such a process understood and accepted."

Mr Steyn said he wished to appeal to the youth of the country "not to succumb to the pressures, not to fall into apathy and despondency in the mistaken belief that there is nothing we can do."

"We can work towards a shared future based on a political system that offers full

participation in the decision-making processes for all South Africans as citizens of this common land."

Mr Steyn said South Africans could also work for a return to the rule of law and to equality of its protection for all South Africans, "and for the elimination of any of the remaining laws still entrenching racial inequality".

The business community would, as the inevitable and unstoppable processes of change regained momentum, be better able to act as catalysts for change than ever before in the country's history.

Mr Steyn said that in spite of the "enormous polarization" that had occurred recently among blacks, a majority, in spite of their frustrations and anger, still showed goodwill.

"And despite the vitriolic rhetoric of some of their leaders, they are willing to support reasonable but real compromises."

"Therein lies real hope for the future. If we are bold and prepared to take those steps necessary to facilitate a genuine process of negotiation towards a real sharing of power and wealth, we will survive — indeed prosper — together."



# Business Day

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## CP's 'Cabinet' comes out of the shadows

THE moment avid Parliament-watchers have been waiting for has arrived: the new official Opposition has announced its "shadow Cabinet".

CP deputy leader Ferdie Hartzenberg, a one-time teacher — and chairman of the caucus — heads the list of spokesmen with the portfolios of Agriculture and Education and Development Aid. He will also act as deputy spokesman on Finance.

Cas Uys, a lawyer, will head the Opposition's response to the June 3 Budget as its main spokesman on Finance.

Tom Langley, an advocate by training, has also taken on two portfolios,

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

Foreign Affairs and Transport Affairs.

Comme Mulder, of Information scandal notoriety, returns to Parliament as the CP's Constitutional Development and Planning guru. As well, he will act as shadow Deputy Minister in Administration and Broadcasting Services, and National Education.

Veteran CP MP Koos van der Merwe, a lawyer, has the Defence portfolio, and will also handle Home Affairs and Communication.

Fanie Jacobs, previously professor of

constitutional law at Potchefstroom University, is to be spokesman on Administration and Broadcasting Services.

Clive Derby-Lewis, a businessman and founder member of the CP, takes on the Economic Affairs and Technology portfolio, and is also in charge of the CP's media liaison.

The Justice portfolio will be handled by Chris de Jager, a senior counsel and one-time judge.

Frank le Roux returns to his seat as official spokesman on Manpower and Public Works.

It is, perhaps, noteworthy that his deputy is to be veteran trade unionist and general secretary of the white Mineworkers Union Arrie Paulus.

Paulus also takes on the role as deputy spokesman on Economic Affairs and Technology.

Willie Snyman, a doctor by training, will be in charge of the National Health and Population Development portfolio.

National Education spokesman is Andre Gerber, whose previous professional links were with the Ned Geref Kerk.

Ermele MP Moolman Mentz is to be spokesman on Law and Order.

Don't prescribe to govt

PW

CG SMITH shares



Don't prescribe to govt — P W

# Private sector told to mind its business

(304A) B1 Day 20/5/87

BLOEMFONTEIN — The private sector was told not to prescribe to government and to confine its activities to business matters by President P W Botha last night.

He told the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut congress that his call applied especially to the involvement by some businessmen in "attempts to improve the credibility of revolutionary elements" such as the ANC.

Botha said: "Let each of us — government and the private sector — carry out the responsibilities entrusted to us in our own terrains.

"Business leaders can now safely leave the government in the hands of the people who are the chosen leaders of the country."

The Economic Advisory Council existed to deal with economic and financial input from the private sector.

Botha said: "As far as other matters are concerned, it is maybe necessary that certain leaders in the private sector act in a less prescriptive manner towards government.

"This applies especially in respect of matters of which they (the private sector) do not always carry full knowledge of what government is busy with and what the particular problems are with which government is battling.

"An example of this is the involvement of certain business leaders in attempts to improve the credibility of revolutionary elements fighting against our country and our people."

Botha said the ANC was "cynical and even insulting" about businessmen who had held talks with it in Lusaka. The ANC had alleged the businessmen were motivated by their own interests.

The ANC's mouthpiece, *Sechaba*, said the ANC had not abandoned its principles in talking to the businessmen and that the talks had helped isolate the SA government and "increased its panic and insecurity".

Botha said: "No one should try to delude himself about what he is doing if he moves in that direction. — Sapa.

● See Page 5

Target ranges

US steelmakers are putting the spotlight on Turkey's steel firms

Turke



LABOUR CRACKDOWN

## Cool it, says PFP

Government has been warned against proceeding with what appears to be a campaign to "curtail legitimate trade union activities" and to "bash" Cosatu.

The warnings, by the PFP's labour spokesman Peter Gastrow and President's Council (PC) member Pieter Schoeman, follow what is generally believed to be the start of a crackdown on unions.

The PFP's concern is based on:

□ Repeated threats by National Party (NP) spokesmen during the election campaign against what is perceived as the overtly extra-parliamentary political role of some unions; and

□ A report by the PC's economic affairs committee published last week, in which an official "investigation" is recommended into the "activities of the unregistered trade unions, general trade unions and trade union federations."

The committee found that some activities of these unions have a negative influence on job creation. The report looked at the unemployment problem in SA. In a briefing just before the report was published, committee chairman Francois Jacobsz mentioned Cosatu by name.

During a debate in the PC on the report last week, Schoeman said it was clear that the committee was concerned by the "over-politicisation" of some unions, and he dissociated himself from the recommendation for an investigation. He said as long as blacks were denied full political rights, unions would be used as political platforms and would remain a "breeding ground for black activism."

Suggested Schoeman: "It is far more advisable to lock trade unions into the negotiating process than to lock them in jail."

An NP member of the PC and former Assocom president, Issy Pinshaw, argued that the "politicisation process" was a "monster" that was destroying the traditional functions of the union movement.

"Certain unregistered unions and federations are deliberately and intentionally embarking on a confrontational course with management and with the authorities and are hell-bent on destabilising the economy and destroying the social order," he said.

In parliament last week, Gastrow implied that recent attacks on union offices were backed by government.

Official efforts are also being made "with the assistance of the SABC" to "whip up



Gastrow

feelings" and "portray trade unions and Cosatu as fronts for the Communist Party," he said.

"No one suggests that if unionists encourage violence or commit acts of violence that they should not be dealt with firmly. What we say is bring them before the courts if there is evidence, and don't endanger sound labour relations through short-sighted clampdowns."

He warned of a probable union backlash if there was a crackdown. Wage negotiations currently in progress would be threatened and tensions would rise on the factory floor.

"The South African economy," said Gastrow, "cannot afford that, particularly not at a stage when there are signs of growth. Most businessmen understand why unions are becoming more and more politicised — the government does not."

Gastrow says government must be made to realise that if it crushes the unions, it will be playing into the hands of the revolutionaries and setting the scene for a socialist state with nationalised industries.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok denies there is a government campaign against the unions and rejects insinuations that there was official involvement in attacks of union offices.

He told parliament: "I give you the assurance the SA Police (SAP) do not interfere in bona fide union activities. In fact, we encourage them." Vlok says Cosatu is "responsible" for "thousands" of blacks losing their jobs and that people are angry with the federation.

He quoted from court evidence in which Cosatu was linked to the ANC and the Communist Party in a strategy to bring about a Marxist socialist state.

"That is what Cosatu stands for. He (Gastrow) wants us to allow Cosatu to get that right — Marxist goals, socialism and the final goal of communism.

"The SAP and the government are responsible for the safety of all people in SA. We will not allow anyone to hide behind the cloak of a labour movement."



# National Council: Botha to go ahead

Dispatch Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The State President, Mr P. W. Botha, opened Parliament yesterday with a commitment to proceed with the proposed national council and a strong hint of a further clampdown on extra-Parliamentary groups.

At the same time, Mr Botha issued a warning both to the media and universities not to promote the aims of organisations seeking unacceptable political change.

Dealing with future constitutional proposals, Mr Botha said any plan for South Africa would have to provide for full protection to minority groups and prevent domination.

stitutional institutions and processes in South Africa;

● Approved of or applied violence, intimidation and murder as instruments of political change, and;

● Were conducted in a manner which precluded the policies and leaders of these groups from being subjected to the wishes of the electorate.

Parliamentary reports page 8

Guidelines for reform, he spelled out, would have to include the nature of the group nature of South Africa's multi-cultural society.

He said it was not possible in such a society to protect individual rights without the protection of minority rights and therefore minority groups.

And, he added, such protection had to enjoy statutory recognition.

Mr Botha said the aim was not to discriminate "nor to detract from human dignity".

"But we simply cannot close our eyes to the hard realities of our circumstances, nor to what has happened in similar circumstances elsewhere in the world, nor for example to what is happening in Zimbabwe now."

It was against this background, Mr Botha said, that the Government would continue with negotiations to bring into existence the proposed National Council.

A bill would be introduced this session, he added, to bring the council into existence.

"I am giving serious consideration to way and means which will enable the State President to be more directly involved in negotiations with black leaders."

Mr Botha said that while the government was committed to broadening democracy there were others for whom the word democracy was a "front for their desire to enslave South Africa under a communist power clique".

Legitimate, legal opposition was acceptable, he said.

However, what could not be condoned were activities and methods which

● Did not recognise and accept lawful con-

In addition, Mr Botha said, it could not be permitted that activities of this nature could be encouraged and financed from abroad.

Turning to the media, Mr Botha warned that it should "guard against instigating and promoting activities of this kind under the guise of freedom of the press and expression".

"Similarly, universities in South Africa should beware of promoting such aims under the guise of academic freedom."

"This is not a threat. It is a simple truth," he added.



PW mum on reform but hints that . . .

# Govt may tighten security squeeze



● BOTHA

PRESIDENT P W Botha re-committed government to increasing the security crackdown in SA — but failed to lift the veil on reform when he re-opened Parliament yesterday.

In his address to Parliament, Botha hinted that the clampdown would be aimed at the media, universities, extra-parliamentary organisations and those supplying foreign funding to opposition groups.

Immediate reaction to his speech was that the threat of tighter security legislation was predictable in the wake of the election.

Botha's speech also contained nothing new and gave little hope that SA's problems would be adequately addressed.

On government's constitutional plans, Botha said he intended to press ahead with negotiations to set up his envisaged National Council — despite its rejection by almost every black leader.

A Bill giving effect to that body, published last year, will be tabled this session.

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

Botha said the council would provide a vehicle for joint deliberations on various constitutional proposals, including the possibility of constituting a Council of State.

He said those groups and parties involved in the process would have to guard against involvement in unnecessary controversies about concepts, blueprints, "visions" or final solutions.

"We have to seek and find the guidelines for continued reform in the realities of the group nature of our multi-cultural society and in the requirements they set for the maintenance of peaceful and stable communities," he said.

Botha said he was considering ways to enable him to be more directly involved in negotiations with black leaders.

He said it was ironical that prominent personalities and institutions in leading Western countries had given their financial and moral support, in several cases, to the destruction of Western allies.

"The government is aware of efforts and plans in this connection and intends giving them its serious attention," he said.

Botha warned the media to guard against instigating and promoting subversive activities under the guise of the freedom of the Press and of expression.

He also warned universities to beware of promoting such aims under the guise of academic freedom.

He also mentioned the type of activities and methods carried out by certain unspecified groups, which government would no longer allow to continue or be encouraged and/or financed by sources outside the country.

These are those which:

- ☐ Do not recognise and accept the lawful and constitutional institutions and processes in SA;
- ☐ Approve of and apply violence, intimidation and murder as instruments of political change; and
- ☐ Are conducted in a manner which precludes the policies and leaders of those groups from being subjected to the wishes of the electorate.



POLITICS

ARGUS 20/5/87

# National Council unlikely to be formed this year

By BRUCE CAMERON, Political Staff

PRESIDENT Botha's National Council, proposed as the vehicle to negotiate power-sharing with blacks, is unlikely to get off the ground this year.

The legislation to be tabled in Parliament during the current session is "enabling" legislation and will not actually establish the council.

A senior Government source said the legislation would only come before Parliament in the second half of the year.

There was no indication today of how President Botha intended to implement suggestions he made while opening Parliament yesterday that he become more directly involved in negotiations with black leaders.

The National Council was mooted by Mr Botha last year and legislation was published as a basis for negotiation.

However, there was little indication that it was receiving support from black leaders.

A special sitting of Parliament was held in September to consider the legislation. It was, however, not tabled.

Leaders such as Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi have refused to have anything to do with the council until a number of pre-conditions, including the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, are met.

When he mooted the council Mr Botha said it would consist of representatives of the South African Government, the governments of the national states and leaders of other black communities and interest groups.

In a later speech Mr Botha announced that the National Council would be the precursor of a statutory Council of State.

In his speech yesterday Mr Botha toned this down to say that the National Council would deliberate on various constitutional proposals "including the possibility of constituting a Council of State and the composition and task of such a council".



DAVID BRAUN of the Political Staff looks at the first Leader of the Opposition to the right of the Government in 39 years.

# Who is this 'bogymen'?

ARGUS 20/5/87

306/14

**D**R ANDRIES TREURNICHT rises to introduce his motion of censure of the Government this afternoon in Parliament — the first Leader of the Opposition to do so from the right of the Government in 39 years.

Who is this "bogymen of the Right", the "Ayatollah of Waterberg", "Andries Clean Hands", the "New Lion of the North", "Dr No" and the "Bengal Tiger"?

Andries Petrus Treurnicht, 66, was born in Piketberg in the Cape.

He started his career as a Minister of the Ned Geref Kerk at Stellenbosch, rising to the moderatorship of the NGK and the editorship of *Kerkbode*.

Appointed the first editor of *Hoofstad*, a conservative National Party-supporting newspaper in Pretoria, Dr Treurnicht was, from the outset, closely aligned to the ultra-conservative elements within the National Party.

At the time of the break-away from the NP of the Herstigte Nasionale Party in 1969, his newspaper was running a series of articles by Mr Jaap Marais as to why South Africa should not have television.

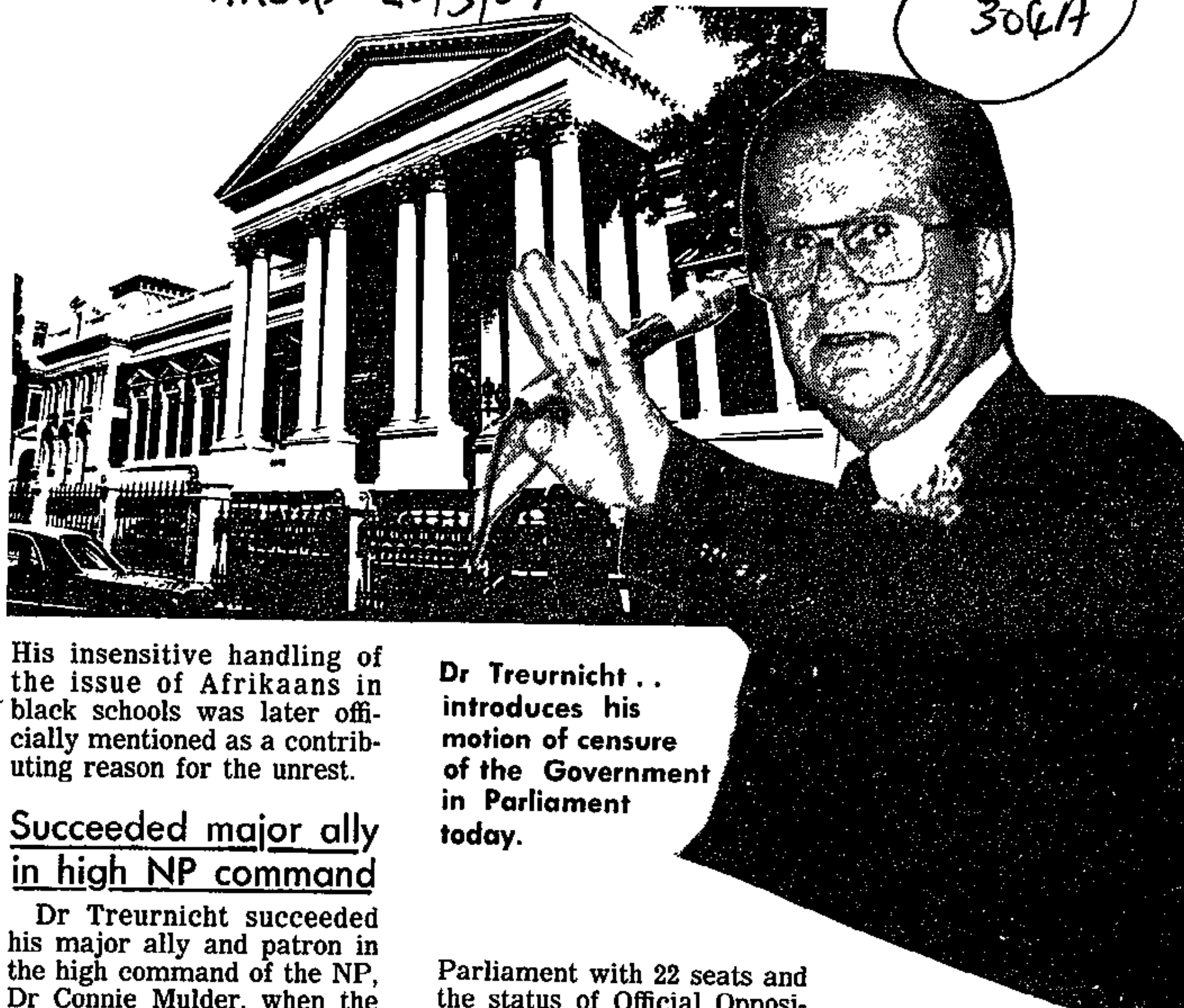
## Speculation that he would support HNP

There was much speculation at the time that Dr Treurnicht was going to support the breakaway group, but after a few days of silence he came out on the side of the NP. The HNP has never forgiven him.

In 1972 Dr Treurnicht was elected MP for Waterberg.

He rose rapidly through the NP's ranks, some say because the Prime Minister of the time, Mr John Vorster, wanted to placate the party's right wing.

At the time of the 1976 Soweto riots, Dr Treurnicht was Deputy Minister in charge of black education.



His insensitive handling of the issue of Afrikaans in black schools was later officially mentioned as a contributing reason for the unrest.

## Succeeded major ally in high NP command

Dr Treurnicht succeeded his major ally and patron in the high command of the NP, Dr Connie Mulder, when the Information Minister resigned as Transvaal leader of the party in the wake of the Info debacle.

Holding this powerful position in the party, the new Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, reluctantly elevated him to the Cabinet. He was made Minister of Statistics and put in charge of the public service.

In 1982 Dr Treurnicht led the second right wing walk-out from the NP, to found the Conservative Party.

Shortly afterwards he was challenged by former Minister of Manpower Mr Fanie Botha, then NP leader in the Northern Transvaal, to resign his seat and stand for re-election under his new colours.

Dr Treurnicht won the challenge.

The Conservative Party became a force in the 1983 referendum. In the latest general election he returned to

Dr Treurnicht... introduces his motion of censure of the Government in Parliament today.

Parliament with 22 seats and the status of Official Opposition.

An unassuming man who on a personal level does not come across as the keeper of the great vision for South Africa's future, Dr Treurnicht is a powerful public speaker.

He has in his years in opposition learned to change his speaking style from the boring, seemingly intellectual approach to the more effective but less honest crowd-pleasing rhetoric of a fire-brand.

Some Treurnicht quotations:

● "The Afrikaner, the white man, the conservative English-speaker may have been misled by the slave media which supports the Government on its path to integration. But they will not capitulate.

"South Africa is a nation that has had the fortitude not

to commit national suicide. It has refused to extend tolerance to treason."

● "The liberalism contemplated by people like Mr Harry Oppenheimer amounted to a peaceful genocide in South Africa — the death of a race by trying to drown in a sea of non-racialism."

● "The ballot is our bullet, and a majority of one vote in the by-elections is better than a fusillade."

● "The National Party has become a political hermaphrodite by accepting integration."

● "A new political threat is facing South Africa — wit gevaar. This white danger poses a bigger threat to whites than does communists or blacks. It is the danger of the liberals who are the hensoppers... in Parliament, in the media, a danger to the future of South Africa."





Dr Treurnicht sheds his quiet manner to become the apostle of conservatism.

# Treurnicht is first Opposition leader on right in 39 years

SPR  
304A 20/5/87

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Dr Andries Treurnicht rises to introduce his motion of censure in the Government today in Parliament. He is the first Leader of the Opposition to do so from a position to the right of the Government in 39 years.

Who is this "Andries Clean Hands", the "New Lion of the North", "Dr No" and the "Bengal Tiger"? (See footnote.)

Andries Petrus Treurnicht (66) was born in Piketberg in the Cape.

He started his working life as a minister of the Ned Geref Kerk at Stellenbosch, rising to the moderator of the NGK and the editorship of *Kerkbode*.

Appointed the first editor of *Hoofstad*, a conservative National Party-supporting newspaper in Pretoria, Dr Treurnicht was from the outset closely aligned to the ultra-conservative elements within the National Party.

At the time of the breakaway from the NP of the Herstigte Nasionale Party in 1969, his newspaper was running a series of articles by Mr Jaap Marais as to why South Africa should not have television.

There was much speculation at the time that Dr Treurnicht was going to support the breakaway group, but after a few days of silence he came out on the side of the NP, and the HNP has never forgiven him.

In 1972, Dr Treurnicht was elected MP for Waterberg.

He rose through the NP's ranks rapidly, some say because the Prime Minister of the time, Mr John Vorster, wanted to placate the party's right wing.

Dr Treurnicht was the Deputy Minister in charge of black education at the time of the 1976 Soweto riots.

His insensitive handling of the issue of Afrikaans in black schools was later officially mentioned as a contributing reason for the unrest.

Dr Treurnicht succeeded his major ally and patron in the high command of the NP, Dr Connie Mulder, when the Information Minister resigned as Transvaal leader of the party in the wake of the Info debacle.

Because he held this enormously powerful position in the party, the new Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, reluctantly elevated Dr Treurnicht to the Cabinet where he was made Minister of Statistics and put in charge of the public service.

In 1982, Dr Treurnicht led the second right-wing walkout from

the National Party to found the Conservative Party.

Shortly afterwards, he was challenged by former Minister of Manpower Mr Fanie Botha, then NP Northern Transvaal leader, to resign his seat and stand for re-election under his new colours.

Dr Treurnicht won the challenge.

The Conservative Party became a force in the referendum of 1983 and in the general election of a fortnight ago returned to Parliament with 22 seats and the status of Official Opposition.

An unassuming man who does not come across on the personal level as the keeper of the great vision for South Africa's future, Dr Treurnicht is a powerful public speaker.

Some Treurnicht quotations selected at random from The Star's files are:

● "The Afrikaner, the white man, the conservative English-speaker may have been misled by the slave media which supports the Government on its path to integration. But they will not capitulate.

"South Africa ... has refused to extend tolerance to treason."

● "The liberalism contemplated by people like Mr Harry Oppenheimer amounted to a peaceful genocide in South Africa. That is the death of a race by trying to drown in a sea of nonracialism."

● "With all respect, I want to warn you, Mr Botha ... You will be crushed between black radical demands and whites' resistance. Whites will refuse to be co-governed by non-whites.

"I warn you, you are awakening the tiger in the whites ... You underestimate the dormant objection among the whites to the path of integration."

Footnote: Explanation of the less-obvious names given to Dr Treurnicht:

Andries Clean Hands (Skoonhandjies) ... given to him by opponents who said he was so slippery he always protested he knew nothing of any turmoil in the NP.

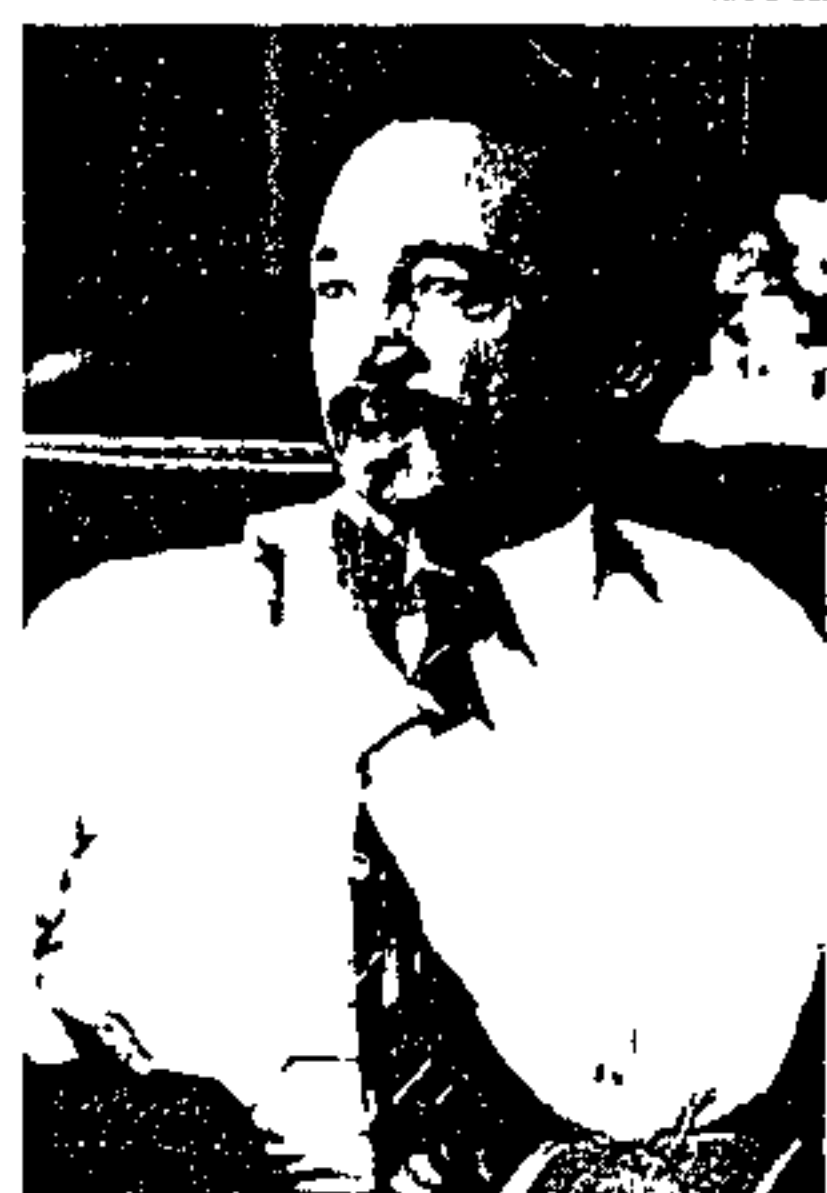
New Lion of the North ... his Waterberg constituency was once the only Transvaal seat held by the National Party, when Mr J G Strijdom won it in 1938. Mr Strijdom became known as the Lion of the North.

Dr No ... given to him by newspapers because he consistently refused to allow any form of racial integration when he was in a position of authority.

Bengal Tiger ... given to him by political opponents after Labour Party members claimed the Treurnichts were of mixed blood and that they were descended from a settler who had married a woman originally from Bengal in India. Dr Treurnicht angrily denied there was any truth in this.



# 'Blacks won't take State's repression lying down'



IN THE extra-parliamentary movement we were saying that these elections were irrelevant, that whatever their outcome they could not and would not solve the real issues.

To begin with, they are sectarian elections. Historically, parliament has never had the capacity to solve the problems of South Africa; parliament as such cannot solve the social and political crisis that faces the nation. It was in that context that we said the elections were irrelevant.

But at the same time obviously the election of people to positions of power in society is not irrelevant to that society and what happened in the elections has relevance for extra-parliamentary politics as well.

I did not expect this kind of result. I expected the National Party to come back with a clear and comfortable majority, but I also thought they would lose a few seats to the right, obviously in the Transvaal, and that there would not be an insignificant loss of support to their left.

**The truth is, they chose kragdadigheid and white power and privilege.**

There has been a change within the white electorate, but I think it is superstructural change. What we saw since 1983 was a greater demonstration by the white part of the nation that it was withdrawing its acquiescence for the management of minority rule by the National Party. But I am afraid after this election I cannot share that perception anymore.

There was a high percentage poll in this election and it showed a white electorate throwing its support behind a government that fought its election campaign firstly and specifically against the African National Congress, and more generally against extra-parliamentary politics.

I cannot really attempt to explain why the whites voted as they did. I was so surprised at the election result that I have not really thought it through.

For people like myself — who years ago believed that it was a waste of time to speak to white people, and who changed his views over the past three or four years and felt encouraged enough to spend time and energy on the white population, seeing them as an integral part of the national democratic struggle — my first reaction after the election was almost that of my old Black Consciousness days.

I had to sit down and analytically convince myself again that it was a false reaction.

The government apparently managed to sell to the white electorate this ogre of the ANC beating the drum of a 'black African takeover. And they fell for this minority argument.

I am afraid it may be understandable



'My first reaction was almost that of my old Black Consciousness days . . .'

Pictures: RASHID LOMBARD

in human terms, but politically it means they chose privilege and the maintenance of white power.

After the referendum in 1983 one can no longer have the generosity to say that the white electorate might have been taken in by government promises of reform.

Many whites were fooled in 1983 but a number of prominent people declared at the beginning of the year that they were taken in by the government and that they are now disillusioned.

I cannot be generous enough to say that the white electorate may have thought the government was talking of reform. They believed that in 1983 and saw that it failed. There is no historical reason for whites to have been taken in again. The truth is they chose kragdadigheid and white power and privilege.

After the high profile extra-parliamentary politics of the past three or four years, whites cannot be completely ignorant of the groundswell of the national democratic struggle.

And they had an opportunity to participate in that struggle, but they chose to opt out.

I was never one pushing for people not to vote. What I always said is know what you are voting for, and know that in voting you are participating in minority rule, that the real politics are outside parliament. What I was saying is if you do vote, then vote with consideration.

**The black majority in the country is no longer a passive recipient of oppression.**

We are now in for a period of increased repression. The threat of removals under the Group Areas Act, coming so soon after the elections, is just another example of unjust social engineering. More generally, there will be real repression, directed especially at extra-parliamentary politics.

In his first post election television appearance P W Botha warned that extra-parliamentary political groups are in for it. Coupled to this was his threat that overseas funds would be cut off.

Obviously this is connected to the government's so called reform programme.

Reform or change, and order are antitheses. The challenge to any agent of change is to have a measure of order.

white bringing about change. You cannot have absolute order. But this government has an obsession with order. I don't think this government is capable of extracting itself from the repressive mode it is in.

We are now in the terminal phases of post colonial minority rule. This is not to say that the end is near. It could still take a very long time.

But the historically determined response to that phase is repression. Unless the civil forces in society disentangle themselves from the repressive mode, the government will have the legitimacy within its defined constituency to continue in its present mode.

This is what the white electorate has done. It has given the government that legitimacy.

The Conservative Party as the official opposition will not make that much difference to parliament. It will only make parliament that much more irrelevant, and more of a spectacle.

I am looking forward with amused anticipation to seeing two right wing

parties, the government and the Conservative Party, fight it out. Do the Anglophile supporters of that parliament realise that it is fast becoming an Afrikaans debating chamber?

Despite all the things the state and the commercial media have to say about extra-parliamentary movements and the armed struggle, the real desire for a relatively non-destructive change really does exist and what is happening now is that the chance of that might have been lessened by the outcome of these elections.

While we may expect increased repression, this will certainly not be the 1960s all over again. My whole historical consciousness tells me that there can never be a 1960s again. That 1960s repression came largely after a period of post missionary liberal black extra-parliamentary protest. The difference now is that this clampdown comes after 1976 and the black majority in the country is no longer a passive recipient of repression.

It has become a very active factor in resistance and shown that it will be able to change this society. This is now a different ball game.

Sudden pronouncements by the government that it is illegal to call for the unbanning of the ANC may convince the white electorate, but the truth is not made untrue by legal edicts.

There is recognition that the ANC is integral to any solution in this country, in spite of the government edict. I and the majority of the people in this country remain convinced of that.

I don't think the government will ever stamp out the space that has been created for the African National Congress (ANC) and its leaders to become a part of our peoples' lives.

**Repression cannot stamp out the will of the people.**

Repression cannot stamp out the will of the people. On the contrary, it is a reaction on the part of the minority to the experience of not being able to control things anymore. The will of the people cannot be changed. This is post 1976. It is quite different from post 1960.

The United Democratic Front (UDF) is obviously not operating as vigorously, with as public a profile as it did in the past. Obviously there are severe constraints on its organisational ability.

In spite of all the pessimistic things I have said about the election, I also think that there is a core of people in the white population who have recognised the democratic nature of the struggle and who identify with it.

There is a nation in the building in spite of everything.



# FFF slams police action

24/5/82  
304A  
The detention of students yesterday by police was part of "repressive waves" that came ahead of the commemoration of the June 16, 1976 student uprising, the Five Freedoms Forum said yesterday.

In a statement, an FFF spokesman said detentions of the students "had not stopped frustration and anger against apartheid rule."

Span  
The FFF, a coalition of white anti-apartheid organisations, was reacting to reports of raids on University of the Witwatersrand residences early yesterday.



# Treurnicht's dream of 'white fatherland'

44-10715 2/5/82

3044

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The Conservative Party would create a white fatherland and free of power-sharing when it came to power, Dr Andries Treurnicht said yesterday.

In an unashamed return to Verwoerdian apartheid, the new leader of the Opposition outlined his plans to create a "free white nation" with its own government.

Introducing his motion of censure in the government, Dr Treurnicht said the sharing of power with the black majority in South Africa would result in the loss of power "because you are no longer in control".

He stressed that while his party could not wish away the economic interdependence of different races, there could be "no such thing as a non-racial society for the whole of South Africa".

The Afrikaner people and the broader white community "refuse to be treated as a minority group in our own fatherland. We are a separate community entitled to full political self-determination. We shall never be satisfied with anything less", he vowed.

Any so-called broadening of democracy which created one nation out of different peoples and racial groups in one undivided state was no true democracy but the denial and destruction of it, Dr Treurnicht said.

He said his party was not practising a reverse-gear philosophy, but was also not seeking self-destruction under the guise of reform.

"I say we will need to bring about the most important reforms if we do not want to lose all control over our fatherland; if we are not, with one indaba after the next, going to steer ourselves unwaveringly into black majority government in the name of reconciliation, consensus and free association."

## Blackmailed, cowed

The NP government was apparently going to allow itself to be blackmailed and cowed by threats of a black uprising. "But we are saying to the government that if you refuse to hand over white power, if you refuse to have our people swamped or dominated, the name of the NP will not ward off this type of threat of a blood-bath."

Dr Treurnicht said that if the government thought it could "buy off" revolutionary political demands with better living conditions, houses, salaries, transport and schools it would be making a terrible mistake.

"It is a misconception that you can prevent revolution through education or economic upliftment, mixed schools or camps."

□ Dr Treurnicht said the CP had drawn

about 25 000 votes per elected member as opposed to the 15 000 per PFP member and 8 600 per National Party member.

□ He also said the CP supported elements of the State President's opening speech on Tuesday.

His party had no problem with government's evolutionary approach to reform and its preconditions of security, order and stability. However, it would qualify the "group" approach and opt for a nationalist (volks) approach.

The CP stood for a "volksnasionisme" as opposed to State nationalism.

Dr Treurnicht said the CP was not opposed to reform and in the event of coming to power would bring about important reforms to ensure it did not "lose all control" of the fatherland and end up with a black majority government.

□ The Minister of Manpower, Mr Pietie du Plessis, said in the debate that Dr Treurnicht had signed and promoted the government's original proposals for shared power.

Today he stood for partition, a policy which was 30 years too late as it had been summarily rejected by a former prime minister, Mr Hans Strijdom.

Mr Du Plessis said he believed Dr Treurnicht was the leader of the Opposition, but under the supervision of the leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Mr Eugene Terre Blanche.



Dr Andries Treurnicht



Mr Colin Eglin

**Today's business**  
House of Assembly: Resumption Censure debate.  
Houses of Representatives and Delegates: Resumption no confidence debates.



Can Time 21/5/87

# Van Niekerk committed 'ethical offence'

306A

By CHRIS STEYN

A TOP medical doctor yesterday said the Minister of National Health and Population Development committed a "heinous ethical offence" when he prescribed tranquillizers to the late Mr John Wiley.

The National Medical and Dental Association (Namda) yesterday called on the SA Medical and Dental Council (SAMDC) to investigate whether Dr Willie van Niekerk acted outside the scope of the general code of medical ethics when he prescribed 20 Ativan tablets for Mr Wiley.

They were commenting on investigations by the Cape Times which shows that Dr Van Niekerk is registered with the Medical and Dental Council as a specialist and concluded that he could have acted outside his scope as a gynaecologist when he prescribed the pills to Mr Wiley on December 24, 1985.

The minister may therefore have contravened regulations regarding the practice of specialists, which were published in the Government Gazette, No 5349, on December 3, 1976.

The regulations state: "A medical practitioner or dentist whose speciality has been registered by the council shall confine his practice to the speciality or associated specialities registered against his name and the retention of that speciality or those specialities in the register against his name shall be contingent on his doing so."

It further states: "A specialist who is consulted by a patient or who treats a patient shall take all reasonable steps to ensure the collaboration of the

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Cape Times, Thursday, May 21, 1987 3

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patient's general medical or dental practitioner, as the case may be."

The medical source also said Dr Van Niekerk could be guilty of superseding another practitioner who was in charge of Mr Wiley's case without the consent of the late minister's doctor — an offence under the Medical, Dental and Supplementary Health Services Professions Act.

"How can he prescribe a Schedule 5 drug to a cabinet colleague without consulting his (Mr Wiley's) general practitioner?" the doctor asked.

A local doctor, who cannot be named for ethical reasons and who had treated Mr Wiley over a period of 40 years, yesterday said: "Dr Van Niekerk did not contact me. I was not contacted by anybody at all."

When approached for comment on Tuesday, Dr Van Niekerk said: "Most doctors, on occasion, would prescribe medication to a friend or a family member regardless of his or her speciality."

"These prescriptions are, off course, never charged for."

But the general code of medical ethics states that it is "unwise for practitioners to treat themselves or their families, except for minor ailments, if the services of another practitioner are readily available".

Dr Marius Barnard, the Progressive Federal Party's spokesman on health, yesterday said he had "quite often" prescribed medication to friends.

Dr Barnard, a practising cardio-thoracic specialist, said: "Technically, I think you are right — but I've done it in the past and I will do it again."

He added: "Medical ethics are very strict, but at times my duty as a doctor supersedes the code of ethics."



Cape Times 21/5/82

# Barclays closed Munnik's account for default — MP

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The Judge President of the Cape, Mr Justice George Munnik, had on more than one occasion had his account "unilaterally" closed by Barclays Bank "for reasons relating to overdrawn accounts and debt defaults".

For this and a number of other reasons the commissioner appointed by President P W Botha to investigate the funding of ANC advertisements "had no right to sit on this inquiry at all", PFP MP Mr Dave Dalling said last night.

Speaking during a censure debate, the PFP justice and media spokesman said amid a chorus of interjections from government benches that the judge should have recused himself from the commission into the "Ball affair" from the outset.

Mr Dalling said the end result of the Munnik Commission "presented a travesty of justice initiated by the State President ..."

At this point the Speaker, Mr Louis le Grange, refused to allow Mr Dalling to continue with his speech. At various stages in Mr Dalling's address Mr Le Grange called him to order, saying he would not allow Parliament to be used to "smear" the President or the Judge President.

Mr Dalling opened his speech by saying he was "both shocked and saddened" that a "political dispute" between Mr Botha and an opponent had been used to deprecate the tradition

whereby "the judiciary is independent of the executive, and not subject to it".

Mr Justice Munnik should have recused himself from the commission into the financing of pro-ANC advertisements and "not have adjudicated on the matter at all".

Mr Dalling said that "from the very outset it was obvious that this was not a judicial issue involving criminal or civil liability of any sort.

"The appointment of a commission was meant to the advantageous resolution of a political dispute, at the time of an election, involving the head of the National Party and one who disagreed with that party.

"Secondly, this was an almost personal dispute between the Hon State President and the head of a major bank in our country. The commissioner concerned is well-known — and he would not dispute this — to be a longstanding personal friend of ... President Botha.

"It is my submission that he should not have been party to judging their quarrel.

"Thirdly, the dispute was essentially one which may possibly have affected the electoral fortunes of the National Party, certainly within the business community ... the commissioner is undeniably a strong supporter of the governing party."

Finally, Mr Justice Munnik, following the defaults of "thousands of

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hands", had had an "unhappy parting" with Barclays Bank and as a result "had no right to sit on the enquiry at all".

Mr Dalling said the judge's report was "interlarded with unsolicited, gratuitous insults as to Mr Ball's prudence as a banker, as to the inflated view the commissioner took of his own banking expertise and finally to Mr Ball's personal integrity.

"It is a report that will add no lustre to the annals of justice in South Africa," he said.

"All that has arisen is that a political dispute has arisen, and the State President, armed with transcripts of secret taped telephone conversations, resolved to use the judiciary to win his point — it's a disgrace."

The Speaker once again told Mr Dalling that he was "not prepared to allow you to proceed on these lines" when he said the commission — which did not allow for the calling of witnesses, cross-examination, the right of appeal or review — was "the ideal forum to suit

the ends of the State President".

After Mr Dalling had been prevented from completing his speech, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, described his speech as "scandalous" and accused the opposition MP of indulging in "sewer politics".

Mr Coetsee said the commission had nothing to do with a dispute with Barclays Bank. Mr Dalling, he said, had done more to damage the integrity and independence of the judiciary than anyone before.

□ Mr Le Grange is to consider the appointment of a parliamentary select committee to investigate an alleged breach of privilege by Mr Dalling (PFP Sandton), Sapa reports.

Mr Coetsee asked for the appointment of the committee last night.

Mr Le Grange said he would consider the request this morning after studying Mr Dalling's Hansard and would give his ruling during the course of the day.

Attempts to contact Mr Justice Munnik and Mr P W Botha for comment were unsuccessful.



CENSURE DEBATE

# 'Unreal' attack from right

By TOS WENTZEL  
Political Correspondent

THERE was something unreal about the first day of the post-election censure debate in the Assembly yesterday.

With the Conservative Party there as the official Opposition, the National Party, for the first time since it came to power in 1948, faced its main onslaught from the right.

While the National Party is still committed to many aspects of apartheid, it came under attack from the new Opposition for being "too liberal".

It was an inauspicious start for Dr A P Treurnicht, the new Leader of the Opposition.

Apart from the "hoor hoors" of his followers at the beginning and end of his 45-minute speech, he was listened to in silence apart from a few half-hearted interjections from Nationalist MPs.

Dr Treurnicht delivered a carefully-prepared speech in his usual smooth way, performing another of the political tightrope acts he is known for.

The race policy of the CP, with its aim of partition, was qualified with a number of more reasonable-sounding statements.

Introducing the censure motion he defiantly declared that the CP stood for a "laudable idea": a free white nation, under its own government in its own fatherland.

He softened this somewhat with the qualification that the party granted other groups this right and by denying that the party was radical.

Later in the debate Mr Pietie Du Plessis, the Minister of Manpower, put in to "mark" Dr Treurnicht, tried to establish that the extremist Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) in fact ruled the CP and that it was therefore under radical influences.

Several other Nationalist speakers took this theme further.

It was left to Mr Colin Eglin, the PFP leader, to point out the unreality of the first day's debate in the Assembly.

"Here," he said, "we have a Nationalist Government that believes in race classification, group areas and group self-determination, apartheid in a whole range of matters including schools, hospitals, housing, local government and constitutional structures, being attacked by the official Opposition for being too liberal."

## "Dangerous game"

"What a sad day for South Africa and what a sad day to hear the official Opposition calling for more separation rather than more sharing."

Mr Eglin said the "siege psychosis" the National Party had created among the voters had led to its losing more votes to the CP than it had gained from the PFP and the NRP.

As could have been expected, a large part of the first day's debate turned into a postmortem of the May 6 election.

To Dr Treurnicht the important feature of the election result was that the five-year-old

CP had regained two seats and gained 20, winning 550 000 votes against the 1 075 000 for the NP.

The NP's chief information officer, Mr Con Botha, disputed some of these calculations but concentrated more on the way in which, as he put it, the PFP had misjudged the mood and preferences of the electorate.

One of the best speeches from the Nationalist side, showing some realism instead of just one-sided analyses of the election result, came from Dr Dawie de Villiers, Minister of the Budget.

He hammered away at the CP for its unrealistic partition policies, saying that that party really knew its policies could not succeed. This was a "dangerous political game".

The NP in contrast, he maintained, accepted the realities of black urbanisation. Most whites were prepared to accept a political partnership and power sharing with other groups.

Decision today on Bill, etc.



304A s/kan 21/5/87

# White FOCUS Opposition

**W**HEN the leader of the new opposition, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said in Parliament on Wednesday that there was no such thing as a non-racial South Africa, the words of Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert whispered history's telling reminder in the hushed corridors outside the House of Assembly.

The voice of the Opposition in white parliament politics circa 1987 booms from a breast convinced that equal rights equal black domination, that white self-determination is the only solution.

## Crisis

And just a short, short while ago, the Opposition voice was arguing as vehemently that the only hopeful future for a South Africa in crisis was non-racialism.

Not since 1948, when the National Party gained supremacy, has the official Opposition been heard from the political right flank. Comparing what Dr Treurnicht said with what Dr Slabbert said in the very recent past reveals the new score for

# speaks with a new voice

**SOWETAN  
Correspondent**

white parliamentary debate in the months ahead.

Dr Treurnicht opened the debate of censure of the Government on Wednesday with the accusation that all moves to share power would mean the loss of power and the overwhelming success of black revolutionary forces.

"We do not apologise for the ideal of separate sovereignty and separate freedom for our own (white) people. We shall never be satisfied with anything less!", he said.

Dr Slabbert, then leader of the Progressive Federal Party opposi-

tion, introduced his first no-confidence debate in 1980 with the warning that South Africa was at a crossroads; in its hour of crisis.

His accusations then were that the Government refused "to consider and decide jointly with leaders in the various population groups about the introduction of a new constitution for South Africa," was "unwilling and/or unable to get rid of apartheid and discrimination" and was "neglecting to make adequate provision in its economic and social planning for the standard of living and the opportunities of all our people."

## Funeral

"Everyone," said Dr Slabbert, "regards 1980 as the funeral of apartheid year. 'Apartheid is dead', we hear. The official Opposition is here because it wants to see the corpse. Where is the corpse of apartheid?"

(He stayed with his metaphor and it is too tempting to resist its visionary irony. He asked then whether this "terminally ill body of apartheid" was being kept alive by the National Party heart-lung machine. He might have embroidered on Wednesday by noting there was a new "Dr" on the medical team and Dr Treurnicht would probably have enjoyed the play).

Significant to the bottom line of any comparison between what the two men had to say on various political



**DR ANDRIES Treurnicht . . . new.**

issues is, simply, "we". When Dr Slabbert said "we" he was talking South Africans — a racially undivided population.

When Dr Treurnicht said "we", he said "whites".

And from these platforms, they addressed the debate . . . Good orators both: Dr Treurnicht precise and formal, body rigid, the cadence of his voice or sharp gesture of the right hand plotted for effect; Dr Slabbert thoughtful, voice and body relaxed, tone rising or falling with the urgency of his argument.

"We shall clearly have to carry out planning on the basis that South Africa's population comprises 26-million people and not merely 4,5 million people," said Dr Slabbert (quoting the figures of the day).

"The forcing together of 19,6 million blacks with 5 million whites in a system of joint decision-making, with equal rights and equal opportunities, is not democracy but the loss of white control and the introduction of black domination," said Dr Treurnicht (whose arithmetic on the black figure had evidently already excluded "homeland" population figures).

Dr Treurnicht's address was heavily steeped in Conservative Party policy and rhetoric and very similar to what has been said on every CP election platform around the country in the past few months.

"The CP stands for an idea — a laudible idea: a free white nation, under its own government in its own fatherland and, what's more, with the same rights applicable to other nations in southern Africa."

That could be read as



**DR VAN Zyl Slabbert . . . old.**

his view of the future.

Dr Slabbert chose not to present his party's rhetoric. Instead, his vision of the future was revealed in the course of his more complex argument about the problems facing South Africa in 1980.

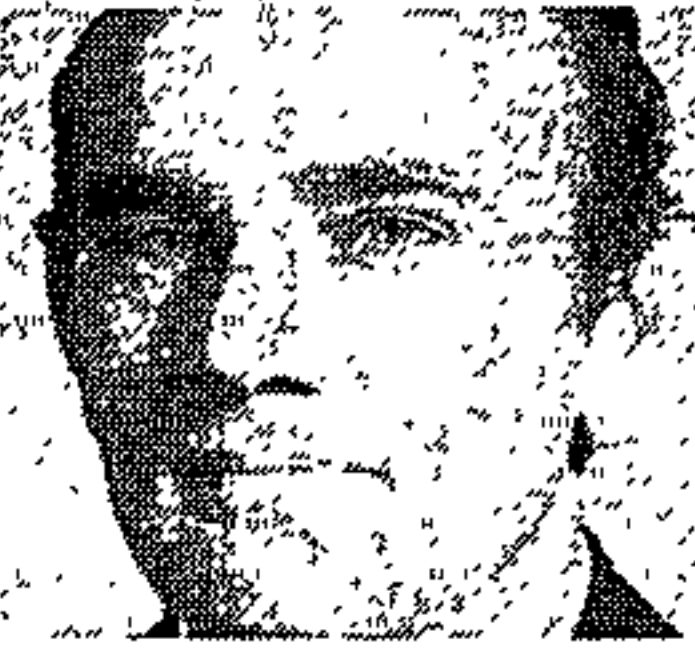
It had to be accepted he argued, that conflict would not be resolved by a white government deciding on its own with the constitution. It would not be resolved if all blacks did not remain South African citizens under the new dispensation; solution was doomed if it was worked out on the basis of compulsory group membership and fourthly, it was doomed if there was not restoration of the rule of law and *habeus corpus*.

## Negotiate

"Once we have accepted these four conditions, we can negotiate about the way in which we can recognise pluralism in our constitutional law, how domination can be prevented and minorities can be protected."



# Vote to probe alleged breach



Mr Dave Dalling

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE House of Assembly yesterday voted to appoint a select committee to investigate an alleged breach of parliamentary privilege by PFP frontbencher Mr Dave Dalling over remarks about Mr Justice George Munnik.

Mr Dalling — who could be suspended from Parliament if the committee finds against him — told the House on Wednesday night that Mr Justice Munnik should have recused himself from the one-man commission of inquiry into the Chris Ball affair concerning the funding of ANC advertisements.

The PFP spokesman on justice and the media said the judge should not have presided over the inquiry because his Barclays Bank account had been unilaterally closed for reasons relating to overdrawn accounts and debt defaults, and because of his personal friendship with President P W Botha and support for the National Party.

Experts in parliamentary procedure last night expressed concern at the appointment of a committee to look into an alleged breach of privilege on the grounds that the action raised three questions:

□ Does Parliament exist to protect people outside of the House?

□ If so, why was a select committee not appointed to investigate remarks by President P W Botha in the House concerning Barclays MD Mr Chris Ball?

□ Do Mr Dalling's remarks actually reflect on Mr Justice Munnik in his position as a judge or as a commissioner?

The Speaker of Parliament, Mr Louis le Grange, yesterday ruled after a debate on whether a motion by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, was in order, that there was a prima facie case for an investigation.

After several objections from the PFP, the Speaker eventually allowed Mr Coetsee to put the motion, which calls for the appointment of a select committee

on alleged breach of privilege by Mr Dalling "in that he reflected on Mr Justice Munnik in his judicial capacity and on his honour and personal conduct".

The House divided on the motion, which was upheld, with the PFP, the CP and the NRP voting against the NP majority.

No comment was forthcoming on the affair yesterday from President Botha's office, Mr Justice Munnik, or First National Bank (formerly Barclays Bank).

Mr Justice Munnik was approached for comment on Mr Dalling's disclosure, but the Cape Times was told by his secretary that he would not comment on the matter — pending the outcome of events at Parliament regarding the matter.

□ A recent statement from the Institute of Directors in support of Mr Chris Ball had been issued by "an overzealous political character within the institute" and was not an official document, Mr Laurie Poorter said yesterday.



AR 445 22/5/87 (3040)

## Anti-Nat sportsmen snubbed, says PFP

### Political Staff

THE Progressive Federal Party has accused the Government of snubbing sportsmen who oppose the National Party.

Thirteen sports men and women and sports administrators are to be given awards by President Botha at a banquet at Tuynhuys tonight.

Progressive Federal Party sports spokesman Mr Mike Ellis, MP, said today the list of sportsmen and women announced "does not include one person who indicated that they would be voting against the government in the recent election".

### RECOGNISED

"It is interesting to note that in spite of the highly successful series by Springbok cricketers and rugby players against touring rebel teams, not one player connected with either of these sports is recognised for this award.

"Neither are a number of

other top sports men and women who declared their dissatisfaction with the Government's policies.

"The State has long claimed that sport and politics should not be mixed, yet their own policies have always conflicted with those of sportsmen of all races."

Mr Ellis added: "This latest snub for some of SA top sportsmen is petty and small-minded, to say the least."

Those to receive the awards are: Boxer Brian Mitchell, the only one to receive the gold award, athlete Zitulele Singe and Desiré du Plessis, golfer Teho Els, gymnast Lydia Venter, barefoot waterskier Gary Neiman, swimmer Alice Escreet, biathlon athlete Amanda Markgraaff, ice-skater Andrea Lief, showjumper Barry Taylor and sports administrators Pauline Meyers (hockey), Selwyn Neiman (barefoot waterskiing) and Lawton Fourie (rugby), all of whom receive silver medals.



## PARLIAMENT

# P W's road to nowhere

President P W Botha saw fit to title his opening address to the fifth session of the eighth parliament this week "The Road Ahead." Trouble was, he failed to say where he was going.

As has happened so often in the past 18 months, the State President's speech did not live up to expectations.

The only concrete "reform" he offered was the already announced National Council, which will surface in parliament this year. But it is likely to be in drastically redrafted form after the concept Bill published for comment last year met with little enthusiasm among the black leaders Botha is hoping to attract for talks.

As was expected, Botha interpreted his election mandate as a thumbs-up for the path he is already treading.

According to Botha, white voters have endorsed "evolutionary reform," but on condition that "security, order and stability" are maintained and that those who wish to negotiate with government renounce violence as a prerequisite.

He also sees the mandate as an endorsement by white voters of government's commitment to the ordering of South African society and the "broadening of democracy" on the basis of legally defined race groups. Although he did not mention the Group Areas Act specifically, his re-emphasis of the "group" concept could be interpreted as a signal that no major changes are planned to ease up on residential apartheid.

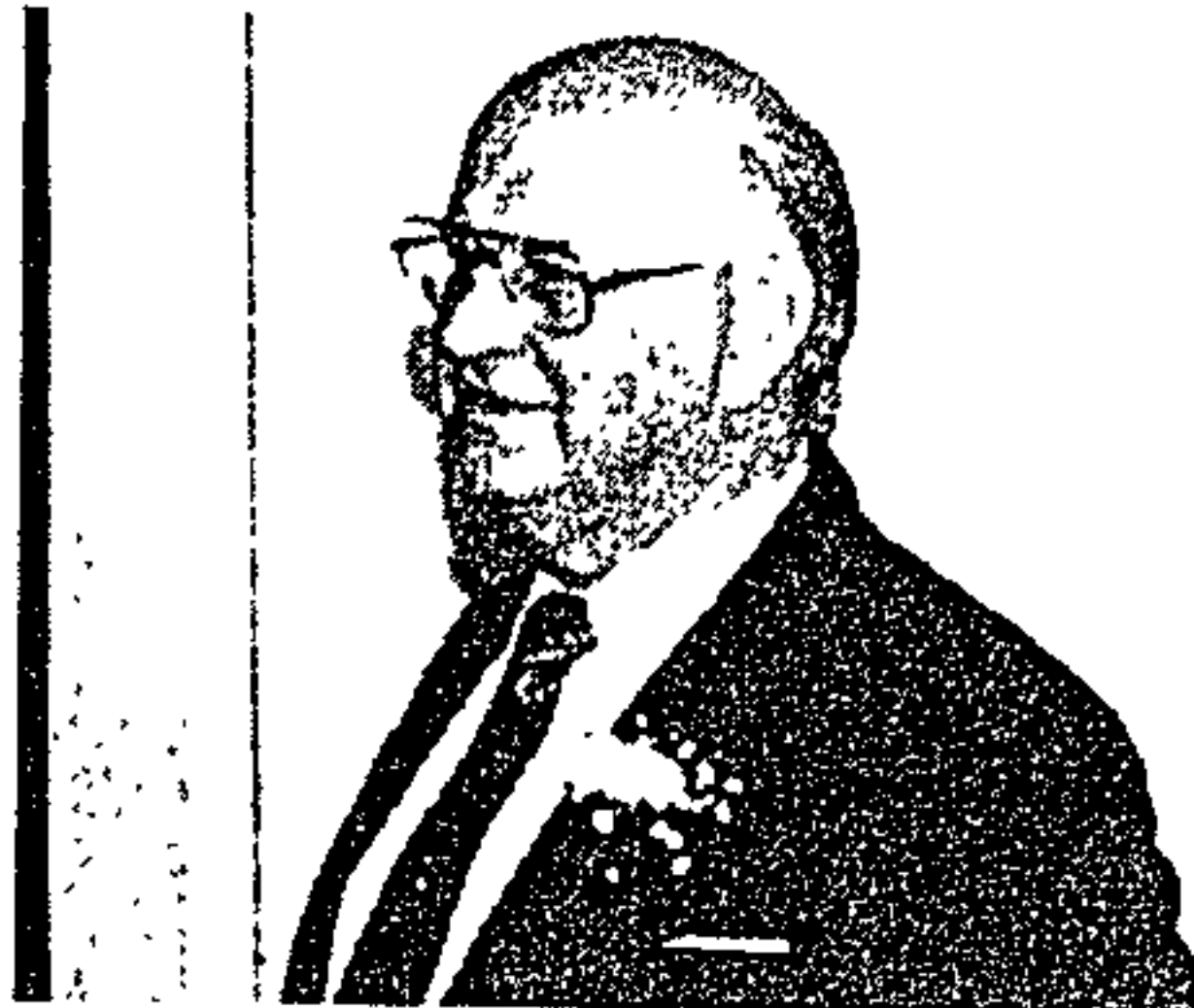
## Domestic affairs

Botha says the fourth aspect of his mandate is the rejection by voters of foreign interference in what are seen as SA's domestic affairs.

Again, as expected, he came down hard on extra-parliamentary opposition groups and repeated his election campaign threats to act against them. It seems that action is imminent against groups that reject government's "lawful and constitutional institutions and processes."

Botha says the activities of some extra-parliamentary opposition groups "cannot be permitted by a responsible government in SA." The groups include those that "do not recognise and accept the lawful and constitutional institutions and processes in SA," those who use violence or approve of violence as a political tool, and those whose leaders are appointed rather than elected. He will no longer allow extra-parliamentary opposition groups to be "encouraged and/or financed by sources outside this country or by their agents here."

This is clearly a reference to extensive



P W Botha ... sticking to his guns

overseas funding of some of the main anti-apartheid groups in SA whose money is often channelled through foreign embassies in the country.

He warned "the media" and universities against "instigating and promoting" extra-parliamentary opposition "under the guise of the freedom of the press and of expression," or under the guise of academic freedom. He gave less detail than expected on specific actions he may be considering against extra-parliamentary groups, the press and black trade unions that operate in what government sees as overtly political arenas.

His failure to spell out any new "reforms" may indicate a lack of new ideas, but could also be a necessary tactic now that he faces a rightwing official Opposition. He may want to wait a few weeks and assess the expected onslaught from the Conservative Party before making further announcements on "reform." If so, the National Party (NP) would seem to be taking their cue from the reactionary Right and not the huge number of former PFP/NRP supporters who swung their way on May 6.

On other issues, Botha recommitted gov-

ernment to social upliftment of black communities, including the provision of more land and housing. He says the economy is improving moderately, but inflation remains "unacceptably high."

He also says government will not stand in the way of KwaNdebele if the "legitimate leaders and representatives" request "independence" as they did recently.

□ The PFP has started legal action to challenge the election result in Hillbrow, but Denis Worrall has "not yet decided" on whether or not to go ahead with a legal challenge to the Helderberg outcome.

PFP secretary general Robin Carlisle says the initial steps of the Hillbrow challenge are likely within days, but he won't disclose details of the party's case. The PFP's Alf Widman lost the seat to the NP's Leon de Beer by 89 votes.

## MINE WAGE DISPUTE

### Double trouble

The Chamber of Mines is facing tough times with wage battles on two fronts this year.

For the first time, the conservative white Council of Mining Unions (CMU) has set a strike date, although this remains "secret." And the black National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) has declared a dispute following deadlock after two days of negotiations during this year's round of wage talks.

It is difficult to assess which of the two unions poses the greater threat. Although the NUM's wage dispute is yet to go through the formality of a conciliation board hearing, indications are that the strike threat is a real one.

Strike trouble on the mines could, ironically, be bullish for gold.

The NUM is demanding, among other

## CONNIE'S SKELETON

Connie Mulder seems firmly entrenched back in parliament in spite of earlier speculation that moves may be made to have him expelled for allegedly misleading the House of Assembly on covert government funding of the *Citizen*.

The former Chief Whip of the Progressive Federal Party, Brian Bamford, believed there were grounds for Mulder's expulsion. He based his belief on the findings of an inquiry into Mulder's denial in parliament that government money

went into the *Citizen*. Later this denial was found by the Mostert Commission of Inquiry to be incorrect.

But Mulder says that according to legal opinion he sought, each new parliament is sovereign and he therefore cannot be held accountable by the new parliament for actions in previous ones.

The new Chief Whip of the PFP, John Malcomess, says as far as he knows no action is planned against Mulder at this stage. (See *People*)



## APARTHEID BAROMETER

304A

### CHILDREN IN DETENTION

The total number of children detained under the Emergency regulations is not known because the Minister of Law and Order, Adrian Vlok, has said it is not in the public interest to reveal this information. The Detainees' Parents Support Committee estimates that about 40 percent of detainees are 18 years or younger and that 30 percent are 17 years and younger.

The Minister has since revealed that 1 424 children aged between 12 and 18 years were being held on April 15. This constitutes 34 percent of the number of detainees known to be held on that day. A total of 178 of these children held on April 14 were girls (12,5 percent).

On April 3 this year 738 children aged 17 or under were listed in the Johannesburg records of the DPSC as having been detained since the start of the State of Emergency. This information was drawn primarily from the southern Transvaal and does not include all areas of the country. By the end of April 144 of these children had been released (19,51 percent) leaving 594 still in detention, including three 11-year-olds, three 12-year-olds and 20 13-year-olds.

According to the Durban Black Sash 64 children were still being held in detention in that region on April 8, while the DPSC said 120 children were detained in Grahamstown and surrounding regions between June 12 1986 and March 3 this year. Of these 31 had been released and 81 were presumed to still be in detention.

### HOSPITALISATION OF DETAINEES

On March 4 the Minister of Law and Order said in parliament that 263 people detained in police cells since June 12 1986 had been hospitalised between August 29 1986 and February 10 this year.

Of these 158 were Emergency detainees, one was held under the Intimidation Act, 39 Internal Security Act detainees and 65 were held under the Criminal Procedure Act. These figures do not include those detained in prisons. The Minister said they had been hospitalised for a variety of reasons including heart attacks, stomach ailments, diabetes, operations, injuries, venereal disease and general illnesses.

### STRIKES

According to government statistics there were 793 strikes last year involving 424 340 workers. In 1983 the number of strikes was 336 (64 469 workers), 469 in 1984 (181 942), and 390 in 1985 (239 816).

The number of work days lost in these strikes, according to government figures, was 124 596 in 1983, 379 712 in 1984, 678 237 in 1985 and 1 308 952 in 1986 (estimate).

Of the 780 strikes involving African workers last year 246 were about wages, 125 about working conditions, 113 over disciplinary measures, 27 related to union matters and 269 about other or unknown matters.

The sector most hit by strikes last year was the manufacturing industry with 433 strikes. Others included mining (96), trade and accommodation services (171), transport and communication (35), construction (30), government services (19), finance and insurance (5) and electricity (4).

These figures do not include incidents of industrial action such as stay-aways, symbolic work stoppages, sympathy strikes and go-slows.

According to a recent study by Levy Associates only 22 percent of the work days lost last year were a result of strike action while 77 percent were the result of stayaways.

### PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

ALEX RALA, 29, Port Elizabeth Youth Congress leader and Eastern Cape Adult Literacy Project co-ordinator, was detained under the Emergency regulations on November 25 last year and is still being held.

Rala first became politically active as a high school student in Port Elizabeth's black townships in 1976. He was detained that year and was sentenced to five years imprisonment on Robben Island for activities related to the uprising.

On his release from prison he helped form Peyco which was launched in 1982. He has served on the Peyco executive ever since. For the past three years he has been working as joint co-ordinator of the Eastern Cape Adult Literacy Project.

He has also played a key role as a community organiser in Port Elizabeth and was elected one of the consumer boycott leaders in 1985 and 1986. He was detained under the previous Emergency Regulations in November 1985 and released four months later.

Rala is now in his third period of detention. Altogether he has spent over six years behind bars for his political beliefs.

### BANNED BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS AND OBJECTS

Banned for importation and distribution:

Swapo President Sam Nujoma speaks to all sectors of the Namibian population (Swapo); Namibia Kolonialzeit, Widerstand Befreiungskampf Heute (Alfred Babin Hans-Dieter Brauer); Namibian Independence "A Global Responsibility" (A W Singham Shirley Hune); Clarion Call Mokgosi. Journal for Labour and Youth Vol 1 December 1986 (O K Menyatto Mhale); Socialist Worker no 103, 4 April 1987 (Larkin Printers and Publishers Ltd, London — all future editions of this publication have been declared undesirable); Inqaba ya Basebenzi Nos 18/19 February 1987 (Inqaba ya Basebenzi, London); Nude Girl With Bikini Panty/Nude Girl with White Bikini Panty — posters (not stated); Gek no 39 (Sonskyn Uitgewers (Edms) Bpk, Jeppe, Johannesburg); Pleasure-bound Afloat Anonymous (A Star Book published by the paperback division of W H Allen Co, London). One film, Emanon, has been banned for importation and distribution. Unbanned: The Lonely Londoners (Samuel Selvon).



# Dalling to face probe

● From PAGE 1

dened" that a political dispute between Botha and an opponent had been used to depreciate the tradition of judicial independence.

Munnik should have recused himself, he said. "From the very outset, it was clear that this was not a judicial issue involving criminal or civil liability of any sort."

The commission was "meant to achieve the advantageous resolution of a political dispute, at the time of an election, involving the head of the National Party and one who did not agree with the party".

The dispute was one which might "possibly have affected the electoral fortunes of the National Party, certainly within the business community".

The commissioner was "undeniably a strong supporter of the governing party" and "a longstanding personal friend of Mr Botha".

Finally, said Dalling, Munnik, "following defaults of thousands of rands", had had, "an unhappy relationship with Barclays Bank" and as a result "had no right to sit on the commission at all".

The Munnik report was "laced with unsolicited, gratuitous insults as to Mr Ball's prudence as a banker, as to the inflated view the commissioner took of his own banking expertise and finally to Mr Ball's personal integrity".

The minister of justice, Kobie Coet-see, said after Dalling sat down that his speech had been scandalous. He accused the PFP of indulging in "gutter politics of the worst sort".

**THE**

# WEEKLY MAIL

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INSIDE  
YOUR  
WEEKLY  
MAIL  
TODAY

## MP Dalling meets his own inquiry

DAVID DALLING faces possible suspension from the House of Assembly if a select committee finds he breached parliamentary privilege with his allegations about the Munnik Commission.

Late yesterday the House appointed a select committee to investigate whether the Progressive Federal Party MP overstepped his parliamentary rights with his allegations concerning the past financial relationship between the judge president of the Western Cape,

By JEAN LE MAY, Cape Town

Justice Munnik, and Barclays Bank (now First National Bank).

If he is found to have breached parliamentary privilege he could be suspended or ordered to apologise.

On the second day of this week's censure debate Dalling told parliament Munnik had on more than one occasion had his account "unilaterally" closed by the then Barclays Bank "for reasons relating to overdrawn

accounts and debt defaults".

For this and other reasons, Munnik should have recused himself from the special commission appointed by President PW Botha to investigate the funding of advertisements which called for the unbanning of the ANC.

Munnik found that Barclays MD Chris Ball, who authorised an overdraft, had known it would be used to pay for the ANC advertisements.

Amid a chorus of interjections from government benches,

Dalling said the Munnik Commission's report was "a travesty of justice initiated by the state president".

The speaker, Louis le Grange, at this point refused to allow him to continue. Several times during Dalling's speech the speaker called him to order, saying he would not allow parliament to be used to "smear" the state president and the judge president.

Earlier in his speech, Dalling said he was "shocked and sad-

● To PAGE 2



# Go-ahead for all-race National Council

By David Braun, Political Correspondent  
CAPE TOWN — The Government has decided to proceed with the highly controversial National Council this session of Parliament.

President Botha said when he opened Parliament this week the Government would proceed with negotiations with a view to instituting the envisaged National Council in respect of which a Bill was published last year and which would be tabled during this session.

"In the National Council joint deliberations will be possible on various constitutional proposals, including the possibility of constituting a Council of State, and the composition and task of such a council," he said.

When he opened Parliament on January 30 this year Mr Botha said further clarity on constitutional structures would be possible only if representative leaders of every group and community that rejected violence as a political instrument came together in a national institution of recognised status and in which real accountability was possible.

Mr Botha said then that the National Council could be the precursor of a Council of State which could consist of leaders and other representatives of all groups and communities who could participate in the formulation of policy on the basis of consensus decision-making on matters of common interest.

In May last year the National Council Bill was published for public comment and representations.

Although the many representations made will undoubtedly alter the format of the council envisaged in

the original Bill, it is perhaps useful to recall what that Bill entailed.

According to the Bill the council will be chaired by the State President and the following people appointed by him:

- The Chief Minister of each self-governing territory or a member of the Cabinet in question designated by the Chief Minister.

- Ten persons selected from nominations which are made by organisations, institutions and interest groups who, in their opinion, are representative of blacks permanently resident in South Africa (that is, not in the homelands).

- The Chairman of each Ministers' Council (that is, of the white, coloured and Indian own affairs administrations).

- Not more than 10 other persons who in the opinion of the President will make a substantial contribution to the furthering of the functions of the council.

- Such other members of the Cabinet as the State President may appoint.

The objectives of the council are to offer participation in the planning and preparation of a constitutional dispensation which provides for the participation of all South African citizens in the processes of government; to grant to black South African citizens on an interim basis a voice in the processes of government which affect their interests; and to advance sound relations among South Africans.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Chris

Heunis said last year the council's primary task would be to find ways to bring blacks into government. Although it would be given the right to consider not only legislation but even Cabinet decisions, it would have no executive powers.

In February 1986, Mr Botha said in heavily publicised newspaper advertisements: "The proposed National Statutory Council is not just a forum for talkers. It is the first step towards institutionalised power sharing — where black leaders can have a voice in central government and under my chairmanship make a positive contribution to the running of this country."

At this stage it seems clear that the Government is not going to get all the black leaders it would like to see on the National Council, and almost certainly not the biggest prize, Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi of kwaZulu.

President Botha said during the election campaign that elections would be considered for urban black communities to choose their leaders.

Mr Heunis has made it plain that even if the National Council is not as fully representative of black South Africans as the Government would like, it would nonetheless be proceeded with.

The legislation empowering the council is expected this session after the winter recess and it is then likely to be established some time next year.

It will be the first formal forum in which government and black leaders can sit down and negotiate a future dispensation.



**Members claim kidnapping, brainwashing**

# Police protection for Indian MPs

5/8/87  
HOS  
30/4

Political Staff

**Cape Town**  
The crisis in Indian politics in Parliament was moving to a climax today with Mr Amichand Rajbansi's National People's Party staring defeat in the face.

The crisis, which could see a political party defeated in a vote of no confidence for the first time since Union, could spark an election.

Members are changing sides daily amid claims of the kidnapping of an MP, brainwashing and intimidation.

Police spokesmen confirmed today the police have been called in to give MPs extra protection after allegations they were being threatened to take sides in the battle for the control of the House of

Delegates.



Mr Amichand Rajbansi ... his NPP staring defeat in the face.

If a vote of no confidence is approved, President Botha is likely to intervene either to appoint a new administration under the Opposition Solidarity party or call a general election for Indians.

MP Mr Narantuk Jumuna claimed yesterday he was being blackmailed into remaining loyal to the beleaguered National People's Party because of a killing he committed in Ireland 24 years ago.

In an exclusive interview at a hideout in a Cape Town hotel, Mr Jumuna accused NPP leader Mr Amichand Rajbansi of using the gruesome killing to put pressure on him.

A clearly upset Mr Jumuna, who had been in tears yesterday in the House of Delegates and had reacted angrily to insinuations made by Mr Rajbansi, rejected claims that he had been kidnapped or brainwashed by Solidarity.

He said he had told Parliament yesterday Mr Rajbansi had nearly driven him to suicide because of his use "of the tragedy in my life".

Referring to his conviction on a charge of manslaughter for killing his Irish girlfriend and chopping up her body, Mr Jumuna said: "He hit me in my weakest spot."

## Served three years

Mr Jumuna, who was studying medicine in Dublin at the time, served three years of a seven-year sentence in an Irish prison for the killing.

Earlier, Mr Rajbansi had issued a Press statement claiming Mr Jumuna had disappeared and saying "it is clear that Mr Jumuna is being brainwashed by some people who are determined at any cost to occupy ministerial positions".

The key to today's outcome in the vote on the no-confidence debate is the position of the four-member Progressive Reform Party.

Secretary of the Party, Mr Mamoo Rajab MP, said today it was likely to support Solidarity but members were awaiting a commitment that there would be a commission of inquiry into the wave of claims of corruption and misuse of power, particularly in education and housing.

Solidarity Chief Whip Mr Y Moolla said today the party had always been committed to a full investigation.

He rejected claims by Mr Rajbansi that Solidarity had kidnapped anyone "only to be released five minutes before Parliamentary sessions".



# Independents and Worrall to form party

3044  
23/5/87

## Banning: KD faces charge

Dispatch Reporter

UMTATA — Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima would be charged with failing to comply with his banishment order, the Commissioner of Police, General R. S. Mantanga confirmed here yesterday.

He said Paramount Chief Matanzima was not arrested but that he would be served with a summons for not complying with the order that banished him to Qamata Great Place.

A press conference was to be held at his Miller Street residence on Thursday which was called off as he did not have permission to be in the Umtata district and consequently would have constituted an illegal gathering.

## Kaiser dares PM to hold elections

By LAWRENCE NGOZI

QAMATA — The former State President, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, has challenged his brother, the Prime Minister, Chief George Matanzima, to dissolve Parliament and call new elections.

Paramount Chief Matanzima said the Prime Minister had banished him to Western Tembuland "through fear" of his popularity.

He attacked the government for clamping down on members of his newly formed party, the National Party of Transkei.

Two members of the party, Mr De Villiers Qunta and Mr Simon Burhali, were detained under security laws two weeks ago.

Paramount Chief Matanzima said he had obeyed his brother's banishment and was sitting at Qamata "because he has the upper hand" but said "his provocation" was unnecessary.

The banning and detention of opposition members in any country showed "a complete disregard of democratic principles".

"Once the opposition is banned, there is only one party in that state."

Concerning a recent statement by the Prime Minister on the opening of doors to trade unions in the country, the Paramount Chief said: "I am totally and uncompromisingly opposed to trade unions."

"Once you have trade unions you have trouble. I believe in negotiations between the employer and the employee being the best way of looking after business or industry in any country."

On allegations that he had detained and banished people in President of Transkei, Paramount Chief Matanzima said he had never been Minister of Justice.

Such action was taken by the police, who submitted memoranda to the minister concerned.

JOHANNESBURG — The Independent Movement is to become a political party and will compete for power in the present parliamentary system, Dr Denis Worrall announced last night.

The group of Independents which contested the May 6 House of Assembly elections and their supporters had formed a "continuation committee" under the patronage of Advocate "Lang" David de Villiers and believed the movement would have wide support, he said.

Dr Worrall, a former academic who joined the National Party and became a president's councillor and later Ambassador to the Court of St James, contested the Helderberg seat of the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, and lost by only 39 votes.

The former NP MP for Randburg, Mr Wynand Malan, retained his seat as an independent and in Stellenbosch, the traditional home of Afrikaner nationalism, Dr Esther Lategan greatly reduced the NP majority.

"There is general agreement among political analysts that the three Independent candidates returned results which ran contrary to the overall trend in the election," Dr Worrall said in a statement.

"The reason for this was that they projected a message of hope."

"It is a message that there is still time to solve this country's problems. A message that we must move away from racially defined groups to groups defined on a basis of voluntary association in terms of language, culture and social and economic interests."

"A message that we need to get the process of negotiation going — a process which involves everybody who is interested in peaceful change in this country — and a message that we must abolish the last remaining apartheid laws."

"Close to 25 per cent of Afrikaans-speaking

traditional supporters of the National Party responded to this message.

"These people by their votes signalled to the government, to our fellow black South Africans and to responsible people in Western countries that they are ready for these fundamental changes — the changes which the National Party Government is reluctant to implement," he said.

These Afrikaners were now looking for a new political home. This was the reason for the decision to create the Independent Movement as a political party which would compete for power in the present parliamentary system.

"Also, it is the fact that, whereas the rest of the country moved to the right on security issues, voters in these three constituencies opted for the Independents — thus implying that they trusted the Independents on the security issue."

"We believe that the decision of these Afrikaners, and similar like-minded Afrikaans-speakers who will follow them to the Independent party, has been made easy by the far-reaching decision of the NG Kerk Synod of October 1986, removing its support from apartheid."

"In establishing the Independent Movement we are very conscious that we have an obligation also to Afrikaner academics. These are people who have committed themselves to our point of view — which represents a major victory for the Independent cause and an enormous loss to the NP."

"We are also conscious of a heavy responsibility to young South Africans who voted for the Independent candidates and who have identified with their point of view."

"For the moment political leaders within the system have lost the initiative. It lies with the young servicemen, national servicemen who patrol the townships on the one hand and the 'comrades' on the other. Somehow, in some way, hope must be offered to all these young men — and this we see as our duty," Dr Worrall said — Sapa

## CP move to scrap reform

CAPE TOWN — The Official Opposition yesterday gave notice of motions calling for the scrapping of the tricameral parliamentary system and the reversal of most of the government's major reforms over the past few years.

The motions were among about 15 announced by MPs from all parties.

The CP motions also called for the re-instatement of influx control, the scrapping of regional services councils, the re-introduction of the Mixed Marriages Act and reconsideration of the right of blacks to take part in trade unions. — Sapa

Parliamentary reports, page 7

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# Independents' party idea gains momentum

Moves for a new non-racial political party to come from the independents movement are gathering momentum.

Confirming this today, Dr Denis Worrall, one of the independent candidates in the general election, said there was phenomenal interest in such a movement in many parts of the country.

Staff appointments were being considered, there was a continuation committee and regional meetings would be held.

Black opinion was being consulted as the new party's approach would be non-racial.

From Dr Worrall's comments it emerged that the formation of the new party was being carefully planned and that there would be no rush to get it off the ground.

Dr Worrall said today there was keen interest in the movement's message and there was a distinct fluidity in the political situation in the country.

The independents had an obligation to those people who had supported them in the election, including the academics, many of whom had burned their political boats.

They also felt an obligation to the young people who had supported them.

Addressing a gathering of his supporters in the Stellenbosch segment of the Helderberg constituency last night, Dr Worrall said there was general agreement among political analysts that the independent candidates in Helderberg,

## TOS WENZEL, Political Correspondent

Randburg and Stellenbosch had achieved results which ran contrary to the overall trend of the election.

The reason for this was that they had projected a message of hope.

It was a message that there was still time to solve the country's problems.

Nearly 25 percent of the traditional Afrikaans-speaking support in the three constituencies had responded to this message by voting for the independents.

"These Afrikaners are now looking for a new political home, therefore our decision to turn the independent movement into a political party.

"It will compete for power also in the present parliamentary system."

The independent movement could become a major vehicle of change for Afrikaners who had crossed their own Rubicon and who had left the National Party.

"For the present, political leaders within the system have lost the initiative.

"It lies with the young men — the young servicemen who patrol the townships on the one hand and the 'comrades' on the other.

"In some way, hope must be offered to these young people."

A continuation committee under the chairmanship of Mr Dawid de Villiers had been established.

The next step would be to hold regional meetings around the country and announcements about this would be made.

4048  
2048  
23/5/82



# Wiley drug 'not harmless'

*Cape Times 23/5/87* 304A

By CHRIS STEYN

TOP psychiatric sources yesterday claimed there was "a conspiracy of silence" in the medical profession about the dangers of the drug Ativan which was prescribed to Mr John Wiley by the Minister of National Health and Population Development, Dr Willie van Niekerk.

Dr Van Niekerk, who is a registered — if not practising — gynaecologist, described Ativan as a "useful" tranquillizer in an interview with the Cape Times last Sunday.

But a city psychologist yesterday said: "To describe it as 'a harmless, non-addictive tranquillizer' is laughable."

Ativan has become widely known in medical, psychiatric and psychological circles as a potentially dangerous drug which can produce "erratic and unpredictable" side-effects under certain circumstances.

Patients who suddenly stop taking the drug can suffer from "impulsive and unpredictable behaviour sufficient to trigger suicide".

Spokesmen for the manufacturers, Wyeth, could not be reached for comment last night.

A Cape Town psychologist, who cannot be named for ethical reasons, said yesterday that "from personal observation, I can assure you that this drug is indeed addictive and its combination with alcohol can be disastrous".

"I have known patients who were given the drug for mild anxiety who soon developed a tolerance to it, required successively higher doses and became dependent on it," he said.

"Attempts to withdraw the drug had a devastating effect, producing near-psychotic symptoms, nightmarish terrors and suicidal depression.

"The life of one such patient was narrowly saved after a determined suicide attempt," said the psychologist.

A Cape Town chemist, Mr Gary Black, said in an affidavit handed in at the Wiley inquest hearing last week, that he had supplied Ativan tablets to Mr Wiley in terms of doctor's prescriptions.

Mr Wiley had been supplied with 20 Ativan tablets in April, last year, 60 in June, and another 60 in March this year — a total of 140 tablets in a period of 11 months.

But Dr John Caine, who had treated Mr Wiley over a period of 40 years,

said he had never prescribed any habit-forming drugs for Mr Wiley.

Mr Black's records show that 140 Ativan tablets had been prescribed by a Dr S Rushworth, but Dr Rushworth said he had never treated Mr Wiley and had never prescribed drugs for him.

Repeated attempts by the Cape Times to contact Mr Black have been unsuccessful. A person at his city pharmacy said he was "out of town".

□ In another development following Mr Wiley's death, Syfrets confirmed yesterday that they were no longer administering his estate.

Syfrets's administration of the estate concerned two wills made in 1976 and 1978.

Price Waterhouse Associates confirmed that they had been administering the estate since Wednesday.

Mr Wiley's sons, Mark and Jeremy, are the executors of the estate which is now the subject of a will made after those in Syfrets's possession.

A spokesman for Price Waterhouse said the "later will" was being discussed at present. The company was still awaiting a master's number for the estate and it could be "a couple of months" before the matter was finalized.

□ Dr G P Bezuidenhout, medical director of Wyeth Pharmaceutical Manufacturers, the South African manufacturers and distributors, said Ativan belonged to a family of benzodiazapams tablets that were sold under different brand names.

"The prescriber could have selected any one. The effects and side-effects are very much the same for these medicines," he said.

"It does happen that conditions treated with this sort of medicine often require long-term treatment but it is often very difficult to distinguish between withdrawal effects and the recurrence of the symptoms being treated."

Dr Bezuidenhout said the Medicine Control Council scrutinized medicines sold in South Africa and "also follow up side-effects and if side-effects were at all alarming or prove to be more harmful than beneficial they would then order the withdrawal of this medicine".

Ativan has been on the market for a long time and was very popular, he said.



he W de Klerk, who said the coupling of city blacks  
cia- with homeland political rights "does not work".  
nks

## PW warns on Namibia

as PRESIDENT P W Botha yesterday told the Namibian transitional government during talks at the Tuynhuys in Cape Town that constitutional steps by this body which interfered with South Africa's international interests were not acceptable, according to a statement issued by Mr Botha's office. There had been indications that members of the transitional government were keen on a unilateral declaration of independence for the territory.

## LP 'Group' warning

My HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. — The NP was heading for a collision with the Labour Party if it continued to hold on to the Group Areas Act, Mr Miley Richards (LP Toekomsrus), said in the no-confidence debate here. — Sapa and Political Staff

## Poll sanctioned negotiation with blacks — Heunis

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The voters had given the government a mandate in the election for black participation to the highest level of government, including the cabinet, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said yesterday.

Speaking during debate on the censure motion, he said voters had supported the NP's plans to negotiate a system in which blacks could take part in the highest executive authority.

Asked across the floor by CP members if this meant blacks could be included in the cabinet, he said: "Yes. In the cabinet too."

He said the policies of the opposition parties were those of "a radical power clique" that would lead to the destruction of democracy in South Africa.

On the other hand, the voters had showed the world and South Africa they trusted the NP with the interests of South Africa.

The NP was not governing only for the whites but for all population groups till the others could be given a say.

He said the PFP had been rejected by the voters in the clearest possible language because of their association with people like Mrs Winnie Mandela and their attacks on the security forces. — Sapa

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# NP-ANC conflict promises protracted war of attrition

Can this 23/5/87 304A

**T**HE stalemate of violence between white authority and black rebellion in South Africa was manifest once again this week in the Rand car bomb horror.

Despite a string of successes by the security forces and regular overt and covert SADF strikes across our borders, the flow of arms and guerillas into the country still goes on.

If the African National Congress (ANC) has no chance at all of overthrowing the government by force, it seems equally plain that there is no prospect of blocking the infiltration routes and crushing the ANC insurgency.

As long as the ANC guerillas enjoy support and sympathy in the urban black population, and are hidden and sheltered, the insurgency will continue.

This is a war that neither side can win. The ANC remains undefeated as long as it can still send young men abroad to be trained and then bring them back into the country to plant land mines and limpet mines and detonate the occasional car bomb on symbolic occasions and anniversaries.

Yet the ANC campaign of violence merely serves to harden the resolve of the white electorate, as the election results showed.

All other things being equal, the current stalemate could persist for many years — even into the next century.

Is this the only prospect in view?

As things stand, both sides believe they have more to gain than to lose by reliance on force.

The Nationalist government sees no need to negotiate with the ANC, which it believes it can crush, while the ANC has no wish to negotiate now from a position of weakness.

**W**HAT could happen to change this scenario? Is it not true that negotiations with the ANC were seriously on the cards in the early months of last year? If the Commonwealth's EPG mediators could come so close to success on that occasion, why not again?

May 18, 1986, when the SADF raided our neighbour states, seems to have been a watershed, signalling to the world that Pretoria was ruling out negotiations for the foreseeable future.

To what extent can President Botha's plans to seek out and negotiate with (non-ANC) black leaders help the situation? What about the plan for a national council as a negotiating body which could pave the



**Political Survey**  
**By GERALD SHAW**



Mrs Sheila Camerer and Mr Albert Nothnagel ... new breed of Nats.

way for a black council of state?

President Botha might well find (non-ANC) community leaders who are prepared to talk to him. But unless the ANC is drawn into the discussions the violence will continue. As Mr Albert Nothnagel has said, a negotiated South African future will inevitably involve the ANC.

But such negotiations with the ANC are not going to take place as long as President Botha remains in the saddle. So the next question is when will he retire?

He has never seemed more vigorous or more in command. If he wished to move ahead rapidly, he would need to broaden his constituency.

This could be easily done, of course, by converting the tri-cameral system into a unicameral system — combining the three existing houses into one — and thus achieving a built-in majority to hold off the right indefinitely.

**T**HIS is the option he is least likely to follow, as it would mean giving real political power to Indian and "coloured" South Africans, becoming dependent on their support against his ethnic

brothers in the Conservative Party.

If he rejects this option, this still leaves President Botha with hard choices. The constitution requires an election in two years' time. It also requires a redelimitation of constituencies, which would need skilful management if the Transvaal province is not going to acquire 10 or more seats at the expense of the Cape.

His national security advisers must be telling President Botha that the country cannot afford the destabilizing effect of an election for the Houses of Representatives and Delegates, in addition to yet another election for the white House of Assembly.

The recent white elections were accompanied by strikes, stayaways and sundry other mayhem. Would these things not recur in even more spectacular fashion if there was to be a general election for all three houses in two years' time?

The best bet at present seems to be that a full tri-cameral election is not on the cards in 1989. And yet another whites-only election? Unthinkable, surely?

Yet the Conservative Party and their militant extra-par-

liamentary supporters in the AWB are not likely to accept the cancellation of elections with equanimity. Intra-Afrikaner tensions could become intense, adding an extra dimension to existing interracial tensions in the country. The mind boggles.

But the temptation to do without elections and retain the state of emergency indefinitely is insistent and will get stronger.

In the Assembly this week Dr Andries Treurnicht gave a lucid exposition of the Verwoerdian NP policies which the CP Opposition so resolutely upholds, accusing President Botha of all kinds of liberal deviation from the true faith.

There was an element of unreality in the whole proceeding. It is perfectly true that Mr Botha has abandoned Verwoerdian "separate nationhoods" and propounds a broader South African nationhood and citizenship. But this is on the level of ideas and ideology.

**O**N the ground, President Botha maintains a white supremacist state and has not the slightest intention of allowing any dilution of white, Afrikaner control. Dr Treurnicht need not trouble himself. President Botha's "power-sharing" is nothing of the sort.

Nothing illustrated this more clearly last year than his public humiliation of Allan Hendrickse, his own Cabinet "colleague". Beach apartheid, group areas, race classification ... all these things are safe in his hands.

The experts tell us that the NP is intensely conservative in its very nature and cannot be an instrument of change.

Experts have been wrong before today, however, and the new breed of Nationalist representative which is coming out of Johannesburg constituencies such as Rosettenville (Mrs Sheila Camerer) and Bezuidenhout (Mr Sam Bloomberg) might make a difference in time — once they have served their apprenticeship on the back benches.

The new Nat intake, with 50% of the English-speaking electorate behind them, will reinforce Nationalist MPs such as Sam de Beer, Barend du Plessis, Albert Nothnagel and a number of others whose views are not significantly to the right of Mr Wynand Malan's.

Will they prove the experts wrong? On the short term, almost certainly not.

On the long term, who can say?





**Andries  
Treurnicht**

# Dr No says yes to AWB MPs

**Special Correspondent**

THREE members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging who have been elected as Conservative Party Members of Parliament during the general election, have been included in the shadow cabinet of the Conservative Party which is now the official Opposition in the House of Assembly.

The names of the CP's shadow cabinet was announced in Cape Town this week by Tom Langley, MP for Soutpansberg.

The three AWB members in the shadow cabinet are Moolman Mentz, MP for Ermelo, Chris de Jager, MP for Bethal, and Fanie van Vuuren, MP for Ventersdorp.

Mentz, who is an advocate, has been appointed the CP's chief spokesman on Law and Order. He has also been appointed chairman of the CP's study group on Constitutional Development and Planning.

Van Vuuren, who is a member of the head committee of the AWB, has been appointed secretary of the CP's study group on Law and Order and also secretary of the study group on Manpower Development and Public Works.

De Jager, who is also an advocate, will act as chief spokesman on Justice. He has also been appointed deputy chairman of the study group on Home Affairs and Communication.

Other appointments in Treurnicht's shadow cabinet include Dr Ferdie Hartzenburg as chief spokesman on Education and Development Aid and on Agriculture. Dr Connie Mulder is chief spokesman on Constitutional Development and Planning.

Treurnicht, now the official leader of the Opposition, would not accept responsibility for a specific portfolio.



By NORMAN WEST: Political Reporter

**CALLS for both the House of Delegates and the House of Representatives to go to the polls for fresh mandates could plunge the tricameral Parliament into turmoil.**

It could also be further grist to the mill of Dr Andries Treurnicht's official Opposition Conservative Party, who once again this week punted its ideology of separate parliaments and separate homelands for coloureds and Indians.

The calls for coloured and Indian elections follow high drama and intrigue in both Houses, but particularly in the House of Delegates, which finds itself this weekend on the brink of collapse.

Following his fragile majority of 22-21 at the end of Friday's no-confidence debate, Cabinet Minister Amichand Rajbansi admitted yesterday the House of Delegates "could no longer continue".

He said he now had no option but to request the State President, Mr P W Botha, to call an election for Indians.

## Elections

At the same time, the former Transvaal leader of the Labour Party, Mr Jac Rabie, a member of the newly formed Democratic Alliance, repeated a call he had made in the House of Representatives on the chairman of the Ministers' Council, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, to request the State President to declare an election for coloureds.

He said yesterday it was "the only way both Houses could sort out the mess they find themselves in and test their acceptability and credibility".

There are constitutional provisions for Parliament to run without the other Houses in the event of boycotts or walkouts — but not if one of the Houses is off having an election.

If President Botha acceded to the request of Mr Rajbansi, both the House of Assembly and the coloured House of Representatives will have to go into recess.

A shaken Mr Rajbansi emerged from the House on Friday after a gruelling week of drama, intrigue and accusations of corruption and maladministration.

He told of instances where promises of R10 000 were offered for votes.

He said the fight in Parliament had now spilled over into the streets of Pelikan Park, where Indian MPs lived in Cape Town.

He said "squads of heavies" roamed the streets intimidating MPs to vote against the NPP. Intimidatory telephone calls were made to relatives of MPs and threats were made against their businesses and customers.

No Parliament could func-

## ABOUT-TURN MP BLAMES BOOZE FOR QUIT MOVE

By NORMAN WEST  
Political Reporter

A MEMBER of the President's Council, Mr Edwin Jackson, this week blamed the juice of the vine for his hasty resignation from the Labour Party "in a moment of weakness".

It was only during the morning after, he has now claimed, that he realised the "error of his ways", confessed to being under the influence of alcohol and withdrew his resignation.

Mr Jackson is now back with the LP and his overnight shift of loyalties a mere hangover.

## Astonished

But, Mr Colin Du Sart, secretary of the Democratic Alliance, said yesterday he was "astonished" that Mr Jackson could claim he was under the influence of liquor when he resigned from the LP and joined the Democratic Party, the new

official Opposition in the House of Representatives.

Mr Du Sart said Mr Jackson had signed the letter of resignation "willingly and certainly not in a state of insobriety" at the home of DP leader Mr Charles Redcliffe on Tuesday night.

## Weakness

Mr Jackson's amazing confession was made public ostensibly to dispel any suspicion that the LP had put pressure on him to come back to the fold.

The statement read: "I, Edwin Daniel Jackson, hereby willingly state that in a moment of weakness and while under the influence of liquor, I signed a letter of resignation from the Labour Party."

"I now withdraw and cancel such letter and publicly wish to reaffirm my membership of and allegiance to the Labour Party of South Africa and pledge loyalty to its leadership".

## Fears

Dr Padayachy's doctor was given a seat in the Press Gallery where he watched over his patient, his doctor's bag at the ready on his lap.

Mr Rajbansi said he feared this week's double defeat suffered by his ruling NPP could be repeated, and as soon as he has held discussions with his caucus, he will call upon the State President to intervene by dissolving the House and declaring an election.



the BBC's Michael Buerk, who is due to leave SA today

## move sion

tions were not acceptable.

This was interpreted in some quarters as a warning based on fears that the SWA/Namibians might use their new constitution to plump for unilateral declaration of independence.

But a Windhoek Cabinet source said no form of UDI was contemplated.

The dismantling of the remnants of apartheid were part of the territory's drive for international acceptability, the source said.

"We feel we should be left alone to decide what will and what will not happen in this country — and possibly South Africa could learn from it."

"We would not like to be dictated to by the nature of political problems in South Africa."

The South African Government is understood to favour the SWA/Namibians broadening the existing ethnic system to bring about greater involvement by the largely Swapo-supporting Ovambos.

This would increase the credibility of the current system.

## Revenue

Particular significance is attached to the presence of South Africa's Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, at the Tuynhuys meeting.

Direct cash from South Africa normally runs at about 30 percent of SWA/Namibian state revenue — and continued financial support is a vital element in relations

## Powerboat ace dies in race

Sunday Times Reporter

**KEN STEPHENS**, South Africa's top international offshore powerboat racing pilot, died of a heart attack while racing in Hout Bay yesterday.

Stephens, who was in his late 50s, was lying second in the race when he became ill.

His close friend, Bob van Niekerk, the boat's designer, was his co-pilot.

Van Niekerk thought there was a problem with the boat when it came to a halt but he then discovered Stephens was in pain.

## Champion

Van Niekerk piloted the boat back to the harbour where para-medics at first thought Stephens had back trouble.

He was rushed to Groote Schuur Hospital where he was certified dead on arrival.

Stephens, a former Western Province amateur boxing champion, had to undergo heart by-pass surgery a few years ago but it was believed he had fully recovered.

He was divorced and is survived by two daughters.



# Botha calls for talks on future

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Dispatch Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG** — Black leaders of "good will" have been called upon by President P. W. Botha to join him in talks on South Africa's political future.

In a signed full-page advertisement in early editions of Sunday newspapers, Mr Botha said the white electorate had given him "an overwhelming mandate to negotiate with representative leaders of our black communities and groups about our common future".

Mr Botha said: "It will be an honest meeting of men of peace and goodwill — a meeting that must and will produce the solutions to our problems."

He said he was well aware of specific questions for which answers had to be found — education, unemployment, housing, personal security and many more.

"My government and I have the power, the will, the desire and the mandate to work out all the answers to these questions with all leaders who reject violence."

"A few days ago in Parliament, I stated I will now personally become more involved in this search for peaceful answers."

"Join me in talks and negotiations. We will find the answers to our questions together," President Botha said.

● Meanwhile, Chief Buthelezi has accused President Botha of preventing black South Africans from showing the world their rejection of the armed struggle and the punitive isolation of South Africa by refusing to free jailed black leaders.

Chief Buthelezi was speaking at a luncheon meeting in Durban with internationally renowned author and philosopher, Sir Laurens van der Post.

Chief Buthelezi said that until leaders such as Nelson Mandela and Zeph Mothopeng were freed black democracy would remain "shackled" and no blacks would be free to choose their destiny.

"Right now millions of people all round the world actually believe that black South Africans really do support the African National Congress (ANC) mis-

sion in exile en masse and that they support the need to overthrow the government by violence and that they support action to bring about the punitive isolation of South Africa."

This had taken place because "all and sundry" were speaking in the name of these leaders, while black South Africans themselves were "unable to correct this false impression" as they could choose neither their own leaders nor the strategies and tactics which they preferred.

He said he would serve under Mandela's leadership if the people were really free and instructed him to do so, and likewise would expect Mandela to do the same if that was what the masses wanted.

"I would serve under anyone else who is democratically elected in a free election by all the people of South Africa."

"Alternatively, I in turn expect to be given the same acceptance I would give to whoever is elected if I happen to be the people's choice."

He said President Botha had sought a mandate from the white electorate to go ahead with the National Council — which had been rejected by blacks — and to continue with homeland structures.

It also provided for the creation of "city states" which would reach the kind of autonomy and even independence now proposed for the "homelands".

Although Mr Botha had sought a mandate to negotiate with blacks, it seemed that negotiations on a national level were further away than ever.

"There is no democracy at work between the State President and black South Africa. I refuse to put myself in a position in which I negotiate for that for blacks for which I would be drummed out of black constituencies," Chief Buthelezi added.



## Letters

From WILLEM VAN VUUREN,  
University of the Western  
Cape (Bellville):

YOUR expectations about IDASA's role in the quest for a non-racial democracy in South Africa (Cape Times, May 12) certainly do not seem to be unfounded. The mere fact that such a wide spectrum of people can still be brought together is remarkable in itself.

And it is particularly encouraging that they are still prepared to critically negotiate the meaning of democracy, rather than to rely merely on attempts violently to impose one-sided meanings of it.

However, negotiating conceptual meanings, helpful as it may be, can in itself not bring us to the point of actually negotiating the practice of a non-racial democracy. In order to move nearer to a position of real negotiation, IDASA's efforts will have to be supplemented by initiatives from other groupings that are strategically placed to delegitimize undemocratic structures of authority.

The election results should help the white opposition to the left of the NP to assess its role. For one thing, they must now realize they cannot undermine apartheid-based Nationalist domination by playing election games on Nationalist terms, i.e. by operating within the constraints of a constitutional system designed by Nationalists for Nationalists.

Even before the implementation of the present constitution, South African politics has been formally reduced to sectional white politics. White political parties of the left that recognized broader South African interests were constitutionally doomed to lose the formal political game to those who exploited the sectional interests of whites.

The government's new dispensation not only entrenched this electoral advantage of racialists over non-racialists, but added new supra-parliamentary

tary sites of decision-making such as a virtually autonomous executive presidency and President's Council with quasi-legislative functions.

Legislation which is nominally presented as an "Act of Parliament" can now effectively be (re)designed through the discretionary intervention of the President and his Council.

Moreover, this constitution was grafted on a security management system which further reduced the relevance of public and representative parliamentary politics. The State Security Council, which spawned an extensive network of civil-military management centres, created a new set of decision-making structures outside parliament. Add to this the government's habit of ignoring parliamentary debate and direction when it comes to making war, embarking on regional destabilization, declaring states of emergency, etc, then its devaluation of parliamentary democracy becomes evident.

As the government has centralized the sites of decision-making and increased the power of unrepresentative and publicly unaccountable executives, so has it decreased the relevance of parliament as a democratic institution.

However, there remains a sense in which its relevance has been greatly enhanced: under Nationalist rule parliament has become highly relevant as a legitimizing symbol for state repression.

As "Acts of Parliament", the laws in terms of which the government conducts its suppression of opposition symbo-

# Crucial democratic role exists for IDASA



Willem van Vuuren

licly carry a stamp of democratic authority and legitimacy, irrespective of their undemocratic nature and origin.

The two security laws which were rejected last year by two of the three houses of parliament, and presumably could not capture the support of the overall parliamentary majority, were enacted by a President's Council decision.

In terms of one of them, the Public Safety Act of December, 1986, the Commissioner of Police who is not an elected public representative, has extended the scope of illegal political activity to appeals for the release of detainees.

Political analysts are pre-

dicting an intensification of state repression and the shrinkage of space for legal political activity. As the State President has indicated in his post-election speech, this is likely to be done in the name of democratic-equals-parliamentary politics in order to combat "undemocratic" extra-parliamentary tendencies.

Just as the Botha government first emasculated and divided parliament before they granted coloured people and Indians a limited form of participation, so one can expect a further degradation of parliament as Nationalists attempt to co-opt blacks into autocratic supra-parliamentary structures.

However, as the government decreases the relevance of parliament for democratic politics, it is likely to increase its symbolic relevance for autocratic politics by elevating parliamentary participation to a norm of legitimacy.

This makes continued parliamentary participation for those who share IDASA's aim of working towards a democratic alternative highly problematic.

Would participants be facilitating a situation of negotiated democratization, or retard it? That is, would they serve the cause of democratic change if they are institutionally reduced to a permanent voice in the wilderness or a mere unrest-monitoring agency while their presence in parliament is used to put a stamp of democratic legitimacy on the profoundly undemocratic power practices of the Nationalists?

## Soroptimists, largest women's



# Botha advertises for black leaders

Cape Times 25/5/87  
304A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha yesterday issued an impassioned plea to "representative leaders of our black communities and groups" to join him in talks that "must and will produce solutions to our problems".

In an apparent bid to draw popular black leaders on to the government's National Council, Mr Botha appealed to black leaders who "reject violence" to "join me in talks and negotiations".

However, the plea was immediately shot down by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, a key player in the government's attempts to get its floundering negotiation initiatives with moderate black leaders on track.

The Inkatha leader emphasized that his "bottom line" before he would even consider "talks about talks" was the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, the unbanning of political organizations and the freeing of all political prisoners.

Leaders from the UDF and Azapo have emphasized repeatedly that they would not even consider negotiations with the government before the state of emergency was lifted, troops were removed from the townships and leaders released from detention without trial.

The PFP spokesman on black affairs, Mr Ken Andrew, said Mr Botha's appeal would "get him nowhere as long as he continues to cling to race and apartheid".

President Botha's latest call, contained in personally signed full-page advertisements in certain Sunday newspapers, follows his announce-

ment to Parliament last week that he would in future become more directly involved in negotiations with blacks.

The announcement immediately raised questions in parliamentary circles about the political future of constitutional supremo Mr Chris Heunis, who has until now been entrusted with the job of chief government negotiator with blacks.

Government sources have indicated that Mr Pik Botha could be shifted from foreign affairs to head a revamped constitutional development department, with Mr Heunis taking up a position within President Botha's office.

NP rising star Mr Barend du Plessis could be moved from finance to take over foreign affairs, with Mr Kent Durr being promoted to finance minister.

Mr P W Botha said in his signed newspaper advertisement — that appeared in all major Sunday newspapers except City Press which is targeted mainly at blacks — that there were people regarded the recent all-whites election as irrelevant to "our Black peoples".

"It was not. In this election the white electorate gave me an overwhelming mandate to negotiate with representative leaders of our black communities and groups about our common future."

Mr Botha predicted that that "these negotiations will not be a struggle for domination and power".

"It will be an honest meeting of men of peace and goodwill — a meeting that must and will produce solutions to our problems."



BLACK leaders of good will have been called upon by President P W Botha to join him in talks on SA's political future.

In a signed full-page advertisement in early editions of Sunday newspapers, Botha said the white electorate had given him "an overwhelming mandate to negotiate with representative leaders of our black communities and groups about our common future".

The negotiations would not be a struggle for domination and power.

Botha said: "It will be an honest meeting of men of peace and goodwill — a meeting that must and will produce the solutions to our problems."

He said he was well aware of specific questions for which answers had to be found — education, unemployment, housing, personal security and many

# PW appeals to blacks

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B1 Day



● BOTHA

more.

"But, above all, the question of our political future must be answered.

"My government and I have the power, the will, the desire and the mandate to work out all the answers to these questions with all leaders who reject violence.

"A few days ago in Parliament, I stated I will now personally become more involved in this search for peaceful answers.

"That is why I am now extending my hand of friendship to all South Africans of goodwill.

"Join me in talks and negotiations. We will find the answers to our questions together." — Sapa.



# South Africa at the crossroads: reconciliation or fortress state

South Africa stands at the parting of the ways. Like Christian in John Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress", South Africans must choose between the difficult high road of survival through negotiation or the low road of coercion and domination. While the former offers sustained growth, reconciliation with the outside world and the release of creative energy, the latter leads, after an initial sanctions-busting boomlet, to conflict, a siege economy and the fortress state.

These are the stark alternatives put forward in a booklet entitled "The World and South Africa in the 1990s". Written by Mr Clem Sunter, an Englishman who reports to Mr Gavin Relly, chairman of Anglo American Corporation, on "scenario planning", the booklet is based on an in-depth study of future global trends and their interaction on South Africa. It was commissioned by Anglo American.

## Policy endorsed

Its findings make sobering reading in the wake of a whites-only election in which more than 50 per cent of voters supported the neo-apartheid, coercion-cum-reform policies of the National Party and 30 per cent opted for partition of the country and a whites-only state as promised by Dr Hendrik Verwoerd in the 1960s.

A majority of white voters, including thousands of English-speaking defectors from "liberal" ranks, thus endorsed the Government's policy. But will it work? According to Mr Sunter's analysis, thrashed out in think tanks and debated with more than 230 audiences, the answer is "No."

"Anyone co-opted will immediately lose credibility with his own side and for that reason would be ruled

A fascinating booklet based on an in-depth study of future global trends and their interaction on this country makes sobering reading in the light of the general election results, writes Anthony Robinson.

out of the negotiation process," he writes in a passage which echoes the judgment of moderate black leaders such as Chief Mongosuthu Buthelezi as well as the African National Congress and other radical groups.

The implications of an 80 per cent white vote for an imposed solution or for negotiations on an unrealistic basis are therefore serious. According to Mr Sunter "the negotiation option is full of risk, but it is the only one which leads ultimately to genuine prosperity for all".

The soft-looking alternative, he writes, is co-option. "With co-option you bring people who think like you into the system. You give them privileges and redistribute some of the wealth to them. Early on it looks fine on the surface, with the top team taking on an increasingly multiracial complexion. But it is fundamentally flawed because the social harmony required for consistent growth will not exist underneath."

In effect this is a description of the Government's tricameral parliament, its "homelands policy" and its declared aim of enticing moderate blacks into the so-called National Statutory Council and regional service councils at a local level.

For Mr Sunter, and by extension Anglo American, the flagship of



Clem Sunter... high or low road?

South African business, this is the low road leading to Bunyan's "Slough of Despond". In Mr Sunter's words it is a path which would turn South Africa "into a military fortress isolated from the rest of the world. It can then descend into regional conflict and eventually end up in a state called the Wasteland."

Can South Africa avoid what former Prime Minister John Vorster once described as "an alternative too ghastly to contemplate" and emerge as a "winning nation" in a fast-changing global environment where the race goes to the fleet of mind and the well educated, not to the ideologues, whatever their resource base?

The answer is: only if it rejects apartheid and the tired old "isms", embarks on crash mass education and housing programmes and builds on its comparative economic advantages.

Despite its mineral wealth, South Africa is not a rich country, the book points out. Per capita GDP of about \$1 900 is in line with Yugoslavia and Chile — not Switzerland or Japan. Furthermore, high-tech threatens its commodity exports: new information and bio-based technology is low on metals use and high on brain power. So South Africa must learn to live on its wits before it runs down its mineral resources.

One idea: "The Cape could use its strategic positioning on the world map to turn itself into a 'Cape Kong' and become a major entrepot like Hong Kong."

"Tourism also has great potential — especially if linked to the country's First World medical standards to provide an attractive retirement or holiday environment for the growing number of rich 'grey panthers' from an ageing First World population."

Given the right, political, climate created by open ended negotiations, South Africa could make fullest use of its excellent infrastructure and

develop both its First World industry by downstream beneficiation and manufacture and soak up unemployment by a flourishing small business and informal sector. This would lead to a "dual logic economy", appropriate to South Africa's First and Third World dichotomy.

## Critical stage

As for the form of the negotiations, the book suggests following the procedures laid down at East-West summit meetings and the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (Salt).

"Informal mediation at local, regional and national level... followed by a Salt-type process whereby professional negotiators are chosen by the parties concerned to attend a national forum... The ground having been prepared, the last stage is where the leaders get round the table to finalise the settlement."

It seems an appropriate formula, given the depth of mutual suspicion in this increasingly polarised society. But South Africa is not at the end of the process — it is poised to enter the critical transitional stage. Whether it opts for the high or the low road depends on the action of politicians, business and individuals in the months ahead because, this fascinating study concludes, "in the end it is only action that counts."

● Anthony Robinson is the Johannesburg-based correspondent of the Financial Times, London.



# Opposition slate PO tariffs rise

From NICO MULLER  
Parliamentary Reporter

CAPE TOWN - Opposition spokesmen reacted with shock and concern yesterday when the Minister of Home Affairs and Communications, Mr Stoffel Botha, announced increases in many Post Office tariffs.

In his speech on the R5 845 million Post Office Part Appropriation Bill, Mr Botha also gave an indication of a major Post Office policy turnaround that would mean further tariff increases in the future.

The Post Office would "gradually" adjust tariffs, he said, until "ultimately a person making use of a service will pay for it without being subsidised by the users of other Post Office services".

On July 1, telephone, telex and teletex call units are going up from 12c to 13,5c, while the unit charge for pay telephones will go up from 10c to 20c for local calls and to between 15c and 16c for long distance calls.

International calls, although the unit cost will also be R13,5c, will go up from R4,20 per minute to R4,72 a minute.

Telephone rentals will go up by between R3 and R5,50 per month.

This means that the monthly rental on urban telephones will be R15, non-automatic party lines R16, and automatic party lines between R15 and R20.

Mr Botha said telephone rentals at the moment had to be subsidised from telephone call charges to the extent of R500 million per year.

The current increase was still far below a cost-related structure, but an immediate increase of rentals to a cost-related level would be too "drastic" and would also increase inflation.

The installation cost for telephones will be upped from R90 to R125.

However, the R25 tariff for social pensioners would remain, Mr Botha said.

He said the actual cost of installing a telephone was around R204 at present.

The handling cost for a telegram will increase from R1,30 to R2,50, while the per word tariff will go up from 8c to 12c. The minister said the actual cost of handling a telegram was R5,76.

The postage on non standardised letters goes up from 22c to 25c, while cash on delivery charges are to go up from R2,20 to R2,40 per parcel.

Mr Botha said the proposed tariff increases would add 8,8 per cent to revenue in the 1987-88 financial year.

This would give an extra R345 million for the first nine months of the financial year and cut the loan requirement to around R888 million, with a "small" operating surplus of R38 million to finance capital expenditure.

Mr Botha said a policy change was needed in order to deal with the basic problems of the high demand for low-income services like residential services, the cross subsidization between profitable and non profitable services and subsidizations between subdivisions of services.



MR BOTHA

He said unprofitable services like postal deliveries and unprofitable post offices were such basic services that they could not be curtailed or closed.

However, cross subsidization, especially in telephone services, caused such distortions in price and artificial demand for the service, that it could not be allowed to continue and would be gradually phased out by implementing cost related tariffs.



MR CRONJE

The minister said the post office performed better than was expected since the last Part Appropriation Bill.

Total expenditure came to R5 319 million and was R81 million or 1,5 per cent lower than the R5 400 million originally budgeted for. Operating expenditure of R3 374 million was also R47 million down on the amount budgeted for.

Capital expenditure of R1 677 million was down R47 million on the budgeted amount through "selectively and judiciously" slowing down certain building projects.

The post office's total revenue of R3 792 million was R152 million higher than expected because of the "improvement in the economy".

Mr Botha said a large saving, R51 million, was due to a "great effort and sacrifice" of personnel who voluntarily

worked thousands of hours of unpaid overtime in a situation where vacant posts were kept unmanned and where the creation of new posts was curtailed.

● The Progressive Federal Party spokesman on Communication, Mr Pierre Cronje (MP Greytown), said he would be investigating "some anomalies" as the minister was "hiding behind the 8,8 per cent total increase in revenue as being well within the inflation figure", but if one examined the individual tariff increases "you cannot find one of the main services which (was increased) by less than 15 per cent".

Mr Cronje said if one reckoned the additional rental charges, domestic

phonebills would be increased by between 15 and 20 per cent.

He said it was acknowledged that telephone services subsidised the other services and if there was a policy decision to move away from this practice "one would expect the tariff increase to be less than inflation".

Mr Cronje also said that in a period of expected economic growth and a need for expansion, the minister should not increase tariffs in order to budget for an operating surplus.

"Given the quantum leap in technology over the past few years, as well as the expected increased demand over the next decade, it would appear that the current subscribers are not getting the benefit — and are indeed paying for future subscribers," he said.

● The Official Opposition Conservative Party spokesman on Communication, Mr J. H. van der Merwe, said he was shocked by the tariff increases.

He said the increases would increase inflation at a time when the country could least afford it and showed a callous attitude by the government towards the consumer.

● The House of Representatives Labour Party spokesman on Posts and Telecommunications, Mr Chris Wyngaard (MP Wuppertal), said the increases were a cause for concern.

His party was particularly concerned about telephone installation costs, rental charges, public telephone rates — especially local calls, telephone unit tariffs and package handling charges.

He also said the proposed tariffs were exorbitant if compared to the proposed salary increases for civil servants.

Further, Mr Wyngaard said these facilities had become a necessity rather than a luxury and the new telephone installation charge would put the service permanently out of the reach of many.

P.T.O.



# World misunderstands SA — Pik

26/5/87  
Pik

BUDAPEST (Hungary) — The South African Foreign Minister, Mr Roelof (Pik) Botha, has criticised the United States and said the world misunderstands South Africa, a Hungarian newspaper said.

Magyar Hirlap, a government daily, quoted the minister as saying: "The international hysteria directed against South Africa originates from the United States — because of internal political considerations and a sense of historical guilt, since they rooted out the Indians and the black people were slaves."

"We had none of the kind. We did not root out the aboriginal population but we have historical rights and we must defend them," Mr Botha was quoted as saying.

He also denounced other unspecified countries. The report contained no mention of Soviet bloc countries supporting the outlawed African National Congress and South West African People's Organisation.

"The world does not want our reform endeavors to succeed, it wants to see the end of us. They assess the situa-

tion wrongly and are so committing an historical error," Mr Botha said.

"The ANC is the chief enemy of the reforms, because it has an interest in grabbing power."

He then listed a number of "cases of cruelty in black townships against black persons willing to co-operate with the authorities".

"It is not possible to negotiate with the ANC in view of these terror acts. If the black leadership wants to negotiate, we are ready — as early as next week. But

we would not talk to an organisation that considers the handing over of power a precondition to talks," he said.

"Let us govern the country together, but local governments must be left their appropriate powers of decision," Mr Botha was quoted as saying.

"Let them have their own rules and autonomy. The representatives of these local organs could then govern the country. All would have to safeguard rights." — Sapa-AP



MR BOTHA



TUESDAY, 26 MAY 1987

## The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

- (1) A member of the Citizen Force was involved.
- (a) (i) The posters were removed, and replaced after representations were received.
- (ii) A local officer of the SA Defence Force.
- (b) The officer acted in good faith, believing it to be a seditious slogan.
- (c) "Apartheid breeds Communism."
- (2) (a) The SA Defence Force has no set policy regarding the removal of posters and banners.
- (b) (i) and (ii) Fall away.

## Pamphlet before election

\*9. Mr P G SOAL asked the Deputy Minister of Information:

Whether the Bureau for Information issued any document or pamphlet shortly before the general election of 6 May 1987 with a view to distribution in the Black towns and townships of the Republic; if so, (a) how many copies were printed, (b) what was the total cost involved, (c) what was the (i) purpose and (ii) purpose of the document or pamphlet and (d) in which areas was it distributed?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF INFORMATION:

Yes, two pamphlets were distributed.

- (a) (i) 500 000.
- (ii) 1 300 000.
- (b) (i) R20 000.
- (ii) R18 000.

(c) (i) The purpose of the first pamphlet was that the elections for the House of Assembly were also of importance to the various Black communities; that peaceful negotiations have brought about numerous reforms in South Africa; and that those

who support reform should join the peaceful negotiation process.

The purpose of the second pamphlet was that peaceful reform is possible; that important reforms have already been implemented; that negotiations are necessary for a peaceful political future for South Africa; and that Black communities must be included in this process.

(ii) The purpose of the first pamphlet was to assure members of the various Black communities that the elections did not exclude their interests and in fact that the results of the election were of importance to the peaceful negotiation process.

The purpose of the second pamphlet was to inform members of the various Black communities of the meaningful reforms that have been implemented and that Black communities are also included in the peaceful negotiation process.

- (d) (i) Cape Town.  
Johannesburg.  
Pretoria.  
Port Elizabeth.  
Bloemfontein.  
Durban.  
George.  
Johannesburg.  
Cape Town.  
Kimberley.  
Nelspruit.  
East London.  
Pietersburg.  
Pietermaritzburg.  
Port Elizabeth.  
Potchefstroom.  
Pretoria.

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, does he believe that the campaign was effective and that the pamphlets achieved the purpose for which they were printed?

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Yes, Mr Chairman, I do believe that. [Interjections.]

TUESDAY, 26 MAY 1987

Emily Patel

\*10. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 451 on 23 February 1987, the parents of Emily Patel were informed, prior to their daughter's being transported to Caledon for imprisonment in December 1986, that (a) she had been sentenced and (b) was unable to pay her fine; if not, why not; if so, (i) by whom, (ii) on what date and (iii) what was their response;

- (2) whether any inquiry has been held into the death of Emily Patel; if not, why not; if so, (a) when, (b) where, (c) what were the findings and (d) (i) what action has been taken in respect of the policemen involved in the decision to transport her in the vehicle concerned and (ii) who took the decision regarding this course of action;

- (3) what was the (a) rank and (b) length of service of each of the policemen involved in the decision to transport Emily Patel with male sentenced prisoners;

- (4) whether the Police have received a copy of the judgement in which a certain person was convicted of the murder of Emily Patel; if so, (a) when, (b) what action has been taken as a result and (c) what is the name of the person convicted of this murder;

- (5) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

## The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) (a) and (b) After the detention of Miss Emily Patel on a charge of "riotous behaviour" her sister, who was arrested for drunkenness and released on 19 December 1986, was instructed by the Police on the same date to inform her parents that a fine could be paid for her release.

(i) to (iii) Fall away.

- (2) Yes.
- (a) Since 19 December 1986.

(b) Bredasdorp.

(c) As result of remarks made by the presiding judge during the trial of the accused, further investigation is being launched.

(d) (i) Further steps will be considered after completion of the investigation mentioned in paragraph (c).

(ii) Falls away.

- (3) (a) 2 Warrant Officers.

(b) 23 and 34 years respectively.

- (4) No.

(a) and (b) Fall away.

(c) Stanley Hansen.

- (5) No, except to say that I sincerely regret the tragic death of Miss Emily Patel. To prevent a recurrence of events of this nature and the joint transportation of male and female prisoners, strict instructions were issued since then.

## Durban prison: incident

\*11. MR R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Justice:

- (1) Whether an incident involving persons detained at the Durban prison in Westville occurred on or about 5 May 1987; if so, (a) what was the nature of the incident, (b) on what date did it occur, (c) how many persons were involved and (d) what was the cause of the incident;

- (2) whether, in dealing with this incident, the prison authorities resorted to the use of (a) tear-gas, (b) batons and (c) fire-arms;

- (3) whether any detainees were injured in the incident; if so, (a) what was the nature of their injuries, (b) how many persons were injured and (c) to which hospitals were the injured detainees taken;

- (4) whether any medical treatment was given at the prison; if so, (a) what



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# No talks till Mandela is free, blacks tell P W

JOHANNESBURG. — The continued imprisonment of black leaders such as Mr Nelson Mandela would make it impossible for negotiations to take place with blacks, prominent community leaders said yesterday.

This was in response to a full-page advert placed in Sunday newspapers by President P W Botha which called on black leaders to join him in talks.

In the advert Mr Botha said whites had given the government an overwhelming mandate to negotiate with representative black leaders.

Commenting yesterday, the president of the United Democratic Front, Mrs Albertina Sisulu, said blacks did not understand what Mr Botha meant by negotiations.

"If he wants to negotiate he should start by releasing our

leaders," she said.

The leader of Inkatha and Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, also rejected the offer, saying that as long as leaders like Mr Mandela remained in jail blacks were not free to choose their own destiny.

The Urban Councils Association of SA (Ucasa) issued a "firm" demand that all political prison-

## COMMENT — Page 14

ers be released, but reiterated that it would take part in the proposed National Statutory Council (NSC) anyway.

The chairman of Ucasa's Transvaal region, Mr P D M Nhlapho, said it would "fight from within" and "pave the way for the real leaders".

Bishop Isaac Mokoena, president of the United Christian Conciliation Party (UCCP) and who was recently awarded a Decora-

tion for Meritorious Service by Mr Botha, said he would not participate in the proposed council.

"I'm a spiritual leader who is interested in reconciliation," he said.

"I helped found the party to show that there are moderates in this country. The government has made a mistake by ignoring them. The country faces sanctions because a wrong picture is painted overseas."

He said he had gone overseas to raise funds for his theological college in Bronkhorstspuit, not funds for the party.

The State President awarded him the Decoration for Meritorious Service in recognition of his reconciliation efforts.

The president of the Soweto Civic Association, Dr Nthato Motlana, said the government plan was "useless and hopeless" and not worth participating in. — Sapa and Own Correspondent



# Whites chose 'security of the gun' synod

AKG: 26/5/87 3044  
The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The election of May 6 had made it clear that most whites preferred the so-called "security" of guns to that created by faith in God, said a pastoral letter read out to Anglican congregations countrywide on Sunday.

The letter was drawn up by the synod of bishops who met this month. It was the wish of the bishops to "address words of encouragement to our people in South Africa and Namibia", the letter said.

It said white people were preoccupied with minority rights, and clung to power in a way which denied the "love of our Lord who prayed for forgiveness for those who executed him".

"We believe that the swing to the right in white politics indicates to black people that they are not cared for, nor do the laws of the land protect them."

## MISTRUST

The pastoral letter said South Africa was a country in which the state of emergency allowed the government to use force to support its policies, where detention without trial was prevalent, where ideologies in the townships created their own internal violence, where fear, bitterness and resentment overwhelmed all, where raids and threats of raids into neighbouring states are becoming increasingly frequent and where suspicion and mistrust had become a way of life.

The letter called on "the people of God ... to cast away their fear, suspicion and mistrust, to pray for each other even where the 'other' is seen as the enemy, to worship together, speak together".

"We are confident in God, not in the vaunted security of any wealth, or programme of change, any dispensation, ideology or system ... be confident with us ...," the bishops' letter said.



*CAP- Tmp 26/5/7*  
**Camdebo closes account**

PORT ELIZABETH. — The Divisional Council of Camdebo has announced it will withdraw its account from First National Bank. Last month, the Cradock Town Council decided to withdraw its account from First National (formerly Barclays) as a result of managing director Mr Chris Ball's involvement in the funding of a newspaper advertisement calling for the unbanning of the ANC. Camdebo council chairman Mr A J Oelofse said the move was in protest against the "bank becoming involved in politics". The account would now be transferred to Volkskas, he said.



**I** HAVE just returned from spending a weekend in the Bavarian woods attending a conference on SA in the agreeable company of half-a-dozen Afrikaner academics. Inevitably, during the breaks in the conference, we discussed the election results.

It struck me once again what a major contribution South African academics are making to current political analysis and thinking. There has always been a significant academic input into instant political analysis since 1948, but on nothing like the scale that we have today.

Academics who could turn their pens easily to journalism used to be relatively few and far between. They would require days or even weeks to deliver an article, and they were to be found mainly in the English-language universities; the Afrikaner academics, with notable exceptions, kept a low profile.

Now the academics, English and Afrikaans alike, are almost putting the journalists out of business. They deliver their articles promptly, and they write with style and a perception that few journalists can match. Their contribution to the daily political debate has been a major one.

My discussions with the South African academics at our Bavarian conference did not always lead to agreement. It surprised me that some of them should argue that the election results were not a shift to the right. As they saw it, the NP will have to establish a distance between itself and the CP now — to clarify its identity — and this will force it into a reformist position.

**I** suggested a different interpretation: that the NP had panicked white voters so successfully with its swart and rooi gevaar tactics that the stampede not only sent English-speakers into the NP laager, but Afrikaans-speakers into the CP camp — and this surely was a shift to the right.

Far from clarifying its separate identity, the NP would blur it now, until reformism was reduced to a pale shadow of its former self — and that's saying something.

But the interesting part of our discussions was about the two anomalies in the election: why the PFP's sense of shock over the results should be so out of proportion to its actual loss of seats — which came down from 26 to 19; and why the Independents, who won only one seat — and that by the grace of the PFP — should see themselves as the future growth point of left-of-NP politics.

The explanation that was offered by my South African companions — and here I am paraphrasing a variety of views — is that SA has seen not only the partial eclipse of "English liberalism"



□ EGLIN ... PFP has lost something of its soul

# 'Afrikaner liberalism' is taking over from 'English liberalism'

STANLEY UYS in London

as a significant factor in parliamentary politics, but the emergence of a new "Afrikaner liberalism," although "liberalism" is hardly the word they would choose.

"English liberalism" has faded for various reasons, the most important being that the PFP's support split three ways. Its older followers crossed over in "droves" (Colin Eglin's words) to the NP, because the NP frightened them into seeking the security of the Afrikaner laager, its younger members responded to the UDF's ambiguous call to boycott the election "circus" and pursue the extra-parliamentary path, and the rest remained in the PFP, depressed and uncertain of their future.

**T**he PFP-NRP pact gave the older English-speakers just the excuse they needed to release themselves from any further commitment to the "English liberalism" which has been such a feature of white opposition politics since 1948. Many of them had always chafed under this liberalism.

It had been evident for a long time, my companions suggested, that these English-speakers had been sailing under false liberal colours, not because they were so far apart politically from the Afrikaner, but because they were separated by a historical language and cultural barrier. Once this cultural barrier came down, English-speakers would find that they had a natural political affinity with Afrikaners — and this happened on

May 6. They stampeded over the language barrier.

As for the young PFP supporters who refused to vote, they felt an urge to identify with the black struggle, not with an "irrelevant" parliamentary opposition.

**I**t is still to be seen what form this "extra-parliamentary" activity will take in the new climate of repression that is descending on SA, but there it is — the die is cast.

Effectively then the PFP has lost something of its soul, and this is why it has gone into such deep psychological decline, from which no doubt Eglin now will begin to resurrect it. Eglin has been very realistic anyway. From the start of the election campaign, he was making it clear that the PFP could no longer pretend to be an alternative government — it was a means to an end, the end being the formation of a left-of-NP alliance which would provide a political home for NP verligtes.

My South African companions were particularly interesting on the subject of the "Afrikaner liberalism" that, they believe, will take over from "English liberalism".

"English liberalism," as they see it, has been almost wiped out by black radicalism. Increasingly, the white "liberal" opposition was being held in thrall to black radicalism, the most striking examples being Cape Town and Witwatersrand universities.

The symbiotic relationship which the PFP enjoyed with these

universities has been partly destroyed. Helen Suzman, for example, was barred from the Wits campus, but Helen Joseph and Winnie Mandela were welcomed. The expulsion of Dr Conor Cruise O'Brien from UCT campus is quoted as an example of how a relatively small number of young black radicals hold that campus in thrall.

My companions believe that white "liberalism" has shifted substantially to the right. In its new Afrikaner-orientated setting it will not allow black radicals to set either its content or its pace. As one of my companions put it, it will be a much "tougher" liberalism.

This, of course, has always been the dilemma of white "liberalism" in SA: credibility with the white group has been at the expense of credibility with the black group, and vice versa. Nemesis finally caught up with the PFP.

**M**y companions foresee further problems for English "liberalism". The English-language universities, they predict, will be more vulnerable to government pressures now that they are seen, even by the PFP, to be in the grip of black radicalism.

And whites who tread the extra-parliamentary path will discover that with the PFP's influence as a defender of civil rights diminished, they will feel the cutting edge of government's whip more painfully.

My companions suggested that black radicals should also take

heed of the election results, in spite of their disposition to regard them as irrelevant. By comparison with what lies ahead for them, the past three years could be seen as an era of permissiveness. The setback suffered by the PFP will not be without its consequences for the black struggle.

It was also suggested to me that the ANC, and other black organisations, should rethink their "hard-line" stance on white politics. Dealing with white South Africans is going to be a much tougher struggle from now on.

Another factor which counts against the PFP in the alliance-building that is taking place left of the NP is its (unwarranted) image among Afrikaners of being anti-Afrikaans and pro-black. This, my companions suggest, will reduce its bargaining powers with the Independents.

Well, I asked my companions, does this mean the PFP is back to where it started — with Helen Suzman campaigning for civil rights? A lone, purist voice in the wilderness? No, they said, not necessarily. Alliance-building was still the name of the game, but the PFP would have to accept that — psychologically if not in numbers, experience and professionalism — it was the junior partner now.

**A**nd once the alliance was established, it would have to revert to the South African tradition of electing an Afrikaner as its leader. If the alliance's aim was to provide a political home for NP verligtes, there could be no other course.

My companions conceded that the alliance-building on the NP left is going to be multiracial, the PFP will be able to make a contribution here, because it has the contacts. I drew two conclusions from these discussions. One is that, white "liberalism" has shifted to the right, then so has everything else in white politics, in spite of what my companions argued.

The other conclusion is that, in spite of the contention of some of my companions that the CP has reached the limits of its expansion — because it is anchored in a narrow rural/blue collar worker demographic base — the CP will continue to expand, reform will become more difficult and the verligtes in the NP more restless.

If this is the direction in which the NP will move — towards disintegration — then its membership will be up for grabs by the CP, one side and the Independents, the other. Then only maximum mobilisation of all verligtes will be sufficient to keep the CP at bay.

The flaw in this long drawn-out scenario is that the dynamics of change in white politics are out of phase with the dynamics of change in the black struggle.



DOMINIQUE GILBERT

THE Independent movement intends to conduct its negotiations with various groups and individuals on a low-profile basis and, as yet, is declining to elaborate on such talks.

Randburg MP Wynand Malan, one of the chief movers in the Independent group, says he, Es-

## Independents plan to keep low profile

(204A) 21 May 26/5/87

ther Lategan and, possibly, Denis Worrall have already engaged in various discussions.

At this stage, he says, they will not be prepared to make public statements on their talks.

"This is a long process and we

will be busy. It is a very informal development and we are trying to build bridges with individuals rather than organisations," Malan says.

Where and when necessary, the Independents will issue Press

statements on developments, he adds.

On several occasions during his election campaign, Malan said he aimed at building bridges with anyone, from the UDF to the CP. It is understood the Indepen-

dents plan to keep the Independent movement alive rather than focusing on the formation of an independent party.

The Independents will probably be in contact with former PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA, but they are not expected to join forces formally with Slabbert.



# Changing face of SA liberalism

27/5/87 40

have just returned from spending a week-end in the Bavarian woods attending a conference on South Africa in the agreeable company of half-a-dozen Afrikaner academics. Inevitably, during the breaks in the conference, we discussed the election results.

It struck me once again what a major contribution South African academics are making to current political analysis and thinking. There has always been a significant academic input into instant political analysis since 1948, but on nothing like the scale that we have today.

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MRS HELEN SUZMAN... barred

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## From STANLEY UYS in London

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its consequences for the black struggle.

It was also suggested to me that the ANC, and other black organisations, should rethink their "hard-line" stance on white politics. Dealing with white South Africans is going to be a much tougher struggle from now on.

Another factor which counts against the PFP in the alliance-building that is taking place left of the NP is its (unwaranted) image among Afrikaners of being anti-Afrikaners and pro-black. This, my companions suggest, will reduce its bargaining powers with the Independents. Well, I asked my companions, does this mean the PFP is back to where it started — with Helen Suzman campaigning for civil rights? A lone, purist voice in the wilderness?

No, they said, not necessarily. Alliance-building was still the name of the game, but

the PFP would have to accept that, psychologically if not in numbers, experience and professionalism, it was the junior partner now. And once the alliance was established, it would have to revert to the South African tradition of electing an Afrikaner as its leader. If the alliance's aim was to provide a political home for NP verligtes, there could be no other course.

My companions conceded that if the alliance-building on the NP's left is going to be multiracial, the PFP will be able to make a contribution here, because it has the contacts.

I drew two conclusions from these discussions. One is that if white "liberalism" has shifted to the right, then so has everything else in white politics, in spite of what my companions argued.

The other conclusion is that, in spite of the contention of some of my companions that the CP has reached the limits of its expansion — because it is anchored in a narrow, rural, blue collar worker demographic base — the CP will continue to expand, reform will become more difficult, and the verligtes in the NP more restless.

If this is the direction in which the NP will move — towards disintegration — then its membership will be up for grabs by the CP on one side and the Independents on the other. Then only maximum mobilisation of all verligtes will be sufficient to keep the CP at bay.

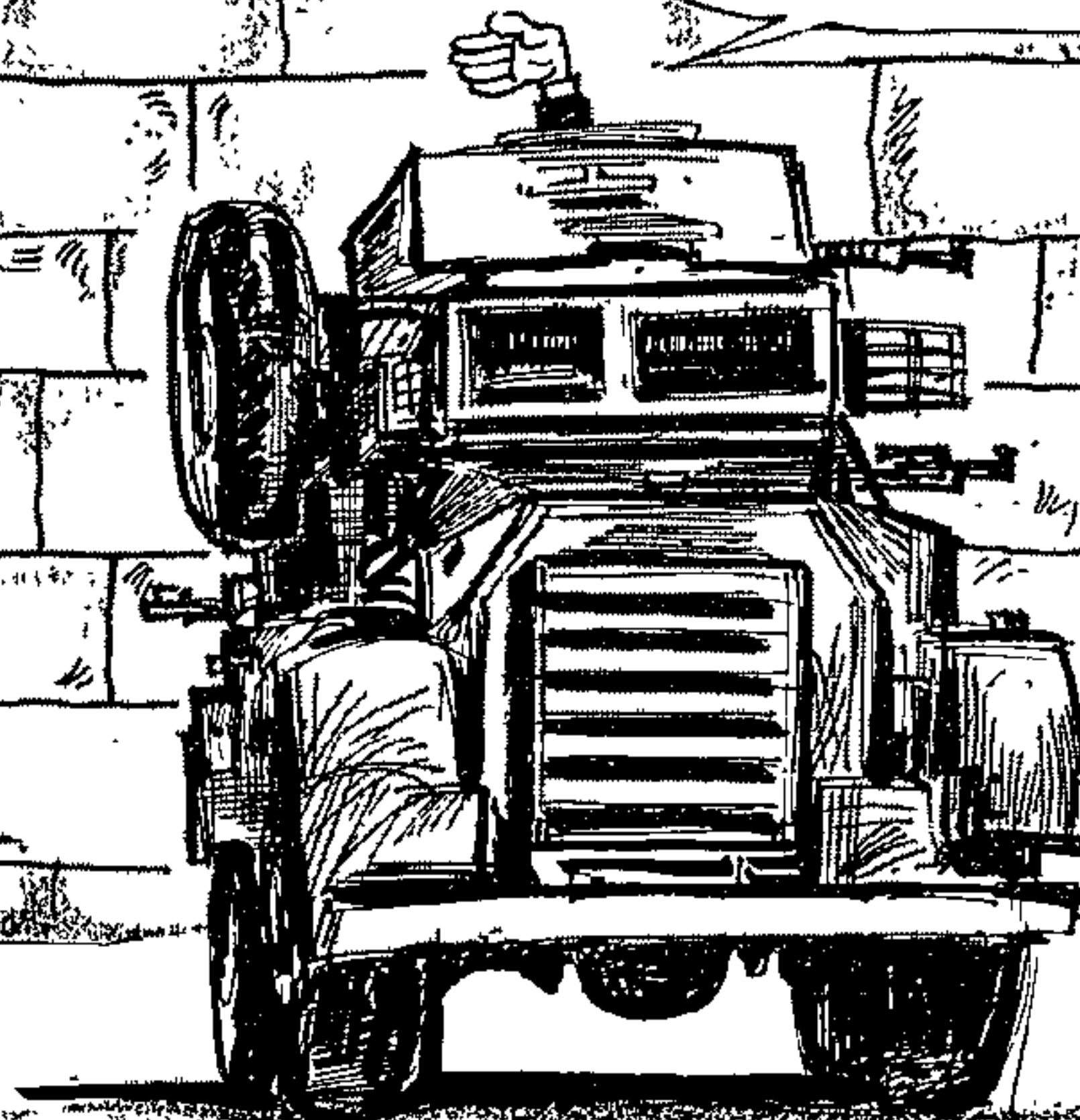
The flaw in this long drawn-out scenario is that the dynamics of change in white politics are out of phase with the dynamics of change in the black struggle.



CMA Trunk 27/5/87

304A

'I EXTEND THE HAND OF  
FRIENDSHIP TO ALL SOUTH  
AFRICANS OF GOODWILL'





Hugo: Don't wait for govt

CAPE TOWN 27/5/87

# Call for grass roots change

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By AUDREY D'ANGELO  
Financial Editor

**BUSINESS** must continue "to lobby with a loud voice for political change" — but that is not all it should do, the outgoing President of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce, Peter Hugo, said yesterday.

He told members at the annual meeting: "We must act now and not wait for government. Business needs to take the lead and encourage a grass roots groundswell of change within its immediate sphere of influence, on the shop floor, in boardrooms, at work stations and in the market place."

Disclosing that the chamber was "seeking to set up an organization where businesses can pool their resources and expertise to develop social action programmes in this region", Hugo said sanctions against SA had "boomeranged in that they have undermined the government's reform programme while giving fresh impetus to the politics of the right wing.

"Another serious consequence has been the withdrawal of foreign companies from this country.

"This not only deprives the economy of key growth generators but also seriously depletes the resources available for educational and socio-economic upgrading programmes.

"These programmes reflect the social commitment of the business community and represent an essential element of the free enterprise system in a mixed economy with a rich diversity of interest groups.

"The wider business community, not just the multinationals and large corporations, must respond to this challenge."

Discussing the economy, Hugo said the growth of the bureaucracy had been one of the most disturbing features this year.

"According to the Commission for Administration statistics there were over a million persons on the State payroll last year — up by more than 50 000 from 1985.

"The sheer size of this bureaucracy is worrying when measured against the dwindling pool of skills that is available to drive the economic growth

that really only the private sector can provide."

Calling for cost-benefit analysis to be applied so that taxpayers would receive value for their money, Hugo said this was being done all over the world.

"In SA the burgeoning public service and its accompanying crippling tax burden cries out for greater efficiency and accountability in public spending.



Retiring president Peter Hugo, left, fastens the chain of office around the neck of the new president, Michael Boyes

Picture: OBED ZILWA

"Few would question the need for more trained teachers, more schools to improve black education, more police to counter the rampant crime problem or for money to be spent on employment and training programmes to cope with our massive unemployment problem."

But Hugo questioned the need for a new black teacher training college in the Peninsula when training facilities for whites were under-utilized, for 14 departments of education when one would do and for "the full staff structures of Provincial Administrations and Divisional Councils to be absorbed into other departments and bodies".

Continued



3064  
Cape Times, Thursday, May 28, 1987 3

## PFP in court bid to expose fraud, overturn results

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The PFP will go to court next week in its bid to expose election irregularities in three constituencies and is confident of overturning the result in at least one of them.

PFP secretary-general Mr Robin Carlisle yesterday confirmed that the court action — “a first stage” of PFP action — is likely to begin next week and will involve electoral fraud.

He said three constituencies would be involved, but declined to name them.

He also declined to elaborate on details and said PFP investigations were at a sensitive stage.

However, it has been reliably learnt that results and alleged irregularities in the Hillbrow and Wynberg constituencies are to be contested.

A senior PFP official is understood to have flown from Cape Town to Johannesburg to investigate but was not contactable yesterday.

The PFP candidate in Hillbrow, Mr Alf Widman, last night declined to comment.

Mr Carlisle said: “There definitely appears to have been cases of fraud.”

It is understood senior electoral officers are at present being questioned in numerous constituencies.

The CP's position as official opposition could well be in jeopardy should the PFP manage to overturn results in two constituencies.



# PW Botha to receive Sharpeville honour

CMT T1075 28/5/87 3064

JOHANNESBURG. — The State President, Mr P W Botha, is to be made an honorary citizen of Sharpeville by the Lekoa Town Council.

A ceremony is scheduled to take place next Thursday, when he visits the Vaal Triangle townships — including Sharpeville, where police opened fire on protesters in 1960, killing 69 people.

He will also visit nearby Sebokeng, where protests against rent increases in September 1984 sparked nationwide unrest.

SABC radio news quoted the area's mayor, Mr Esau Mahlatsi, as saying Mr Botha would be made an honorary citizen for dedication to his office.

Vaal triangle townships have been at the forefront of a year-long rent and rates boycott to back various demands, including the withdrawal of security forces from the townships and the release of political prisoners.

The Sowetan newspaper said the local council would spend about R12 000 to entertain some 1 200 guests during Mr Botha's visit.

It said Mr Botha would hand over a flag to the mayor. Pigeons and balloons will be set free when the flag is hoisted.

Mr Botha became the first South African government head to visit the country's biggest black township, Soweto, soon after becoming prime minister in 1978.

His office declined to confirm the report of next week's tour, saying that on security grounds it did not disclose his future movements.

Aides declined to discuss Mr Botha's itinerary for the ceremonies, but SABC reported the scheduled ceremonies.

"We never discuss the State President's movements, for security reasons," a spokeswoman said in Cape Town.

A spokesman for the Lekoa Town Council yesterday confirmed that Mr Botha is to be given "the freedom of the city".

"It was not supposed to come out yet, so I cannot say any more at this stage," the council official said.

"The mayor will make an announcement on Tuesday with all the details." — Reuter and UPI

## Think British, buy Japanese

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Young winners of a competition organized by the Think British Campaign to promote home-produced goods have received Japanese radios as prizes.

The faux pas arose after children in Cornwall were asked for ideas on encouraging British purchases and job creation.

The Think British Campaign asked the sponsors, the South-Western Electricity Board, to provide British-made prizes for the dozen or so school winners.

A board spokesman said: "There were no British equivalents available."



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PFP secretary-general Robin Carlisle yesterday confirmed that court action — “a first stage” of PFP action — was likely to begin next week and would involve electoral fraud.

He said three constituencies were involved, but declined to name them or to elaborate because investigations were at a “sensitive stage”.

Business Day has, however, reliably learned that results and alleged irregularities in the Hillbrow and Wynberg constituencies are to be contested.

It was not possible yesterday to contact a senior PFP official understood to have flown from Cape Town to Johannesburg to investigate.

PFP candidate in Hillbrow Alf Wid-

# Poll 'fraud' due in court

304A B1 Day 28/5/87

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

man declined to comment.

It is understood senior electoral officers are being questioned in numerous constituencies.

The CP's position as official opposition could well be in jeopardy should the PFP overturn results in at least two constituencies.

□ SAPA reports from Cape Town that a continuation committee for the Helderberg constituency's independent candidate is to be formed.

This was decided at the final meeting of the Denis Worrall campaign organisation in Somerset West yesterday.



# Growing doubts about PW's national council

Dispatch Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — While President P. W. Botha continues to urge black leaders to participate in his proposed National Statutory Council (NSC) yet another self-governing homeland leader has expressed doubts about whether it will ever get off the ground.

The Chief Minister of QwaQwa, Dr T. K. "Kenneth" Mopeli, said yesterday this was because: "The principle of white domination is still en-

trenched in it."

However, he said the territory's cabinet had studied the original NSC bill and, although it had not yet decided whether to participate in the NSC, his cabinet had made written suggestions as to the composition, powers and functions of the NSC.

The leader of another self-governing homeland about to opt for independence, KwaNdebele's Mr Majozi G. Mahlangu, said he had studied the NSC proposals but was waiting for

his cabinet to discuss them before he could make a decision.

A spokesman for the Transkei Department of Foreign Affairs said the NSC had not even come up for consideration in his government.

He said he had no comment on the matter as it had neither been approached by the South African Government nor had Transkei approached SA in regard to the territory's possible participation in the NSC.



# PW's council: More doubts over viability

App 7/11/87 29/5/87

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Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — While President P W Botha continues to urge black leaders to participate in his proposed national statutory council, yet another leader of a self-governing homeland has expressed doubts whether it would ever get off the ground.

QwaQwa Chief Minister Dr Kenneth Mopeli said this was because "the principle of white domination is still entrenched".

He said the territory's cabinet had studied the original council bill and, although it had not yet decided whether to participate in the council, it would consider doing so on certain provisos.

The leader of another self-governing homeland about to opt for independence, KwaNdebele's Mr Majozi Mahlangu, said this week that he had studied the council proposals but was waiting for his cabinet to discuss it before he could make a decision.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman for Transkei said the council had not even come up for consider-

ation in his government yet.

He said he had no comment on the matter, as Transkei had neither been approached by the SA government nor had it approached SA in regard to the territory's possible participation.

Dr Mopeli said the QwaQwa cabinet had made written suggestions as to the composition, powers and functions of the council after having received the original council bill.

He said: "We suggested that as long as membership of the council was loaded in favour of people who are nominated by the State President, it would be difficult for black leaders to participate."

"We indicated it would be very difficult for us to participate in the council as long as it was an advisory body that would make recommendations to the tricameral Parliament."

The QwaQwa cabinet had not yet seen a revised bill following its suggestions on the council and had therefore not yet made up its mind whether to participate in it or not, he said.

He said President Botha's "reform initiatives so far" had been

"unilateral" and not negotiated between leaders of all population groups.

City Press editor Mr Percy Qoboza, has warned President Botha to be wary of the quality of leaders his government has shown are enthusiastic about negotiation.

In reply to the president's recent advertisement addressed to blacks, Mr Qoboza said in an open letter to President Botha that he saw no commitment from the president's officials to a non-violent philosophy.

Mr Botha's advertisement called on blacks to come forward to negotiate a future for SA with the government. Mr Qoboza asked what it was Mr Botha wanted to negotiate and with whom.

"There seems to be nobody around with whom to negotiate. Our leaders are in jail. Just the other day, Walter Sisulu celebrated his 75th birthday — in prison. There is still no evidence of compassion coming from your government... Nelson Mandela is also still in prison," he wrote.

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# English liberals strike new political colours



London Dateline  
BY STANLEY UYS

I HAVE just returned from spending a week-end in the Bavarian woods attending a conference on South Africa in the agreeable company of half-a-dozen Afrikaner academics. Inevitably, during the breaks in the conference, we discussed the election results.

It struck me once again what a major contribution South African academics are making to current political analysis and thinking. There has always been a significant academic input into instant political analysis since 1948, but on nothing like the scale we have today.

Academics who could turn their pens easily to journalism used to be relatively few and far between. They would require days or even weeks to deliver an article and they were to be found mainly in the English-language universities — the Afrikaner academics, with notable exceptions, kept a low profile.

Now the academics, English and Afrikaners alike, are almost putting the journalists out of business.

They deliver their articles promptly and they write with style and a perception that few journalists can match. Their contribution to the daily political debate has been a major one.

My discussions with the South African academics at our Bavarian conference did not always lead to agreement. It surprised me that some of them should argue that the election results were not a shift to the right. As they saw it, the National Party will have to establish a distance between itself and the Conservative Party now — to clarify its identity — and this will force it into a reformist position.

I suggested a different interpretation: that the NP had panicked white voters so successfully with its *swart* and *rooi gewaar* tactics that the stampede not only sent English-speakers into the NP laager, but Afrikaners-speakers into the CP camp — and this surely was a shift to the right.

Far from clarifying its separate identity, the NP would blur it now, until reformism was reduced to a pale shadow of its former self — and that's saying something.

UT the interesting part of our discussions was about the two anomalies in the election: why the PFP's sense of shock over the results should be so out of

seats — which came down from 26 to 19, and why the independents, who won only one seat — and that by the grace of the PFP — should see themselves as the future growth point of left-of-NP politics.

The explanation offered by my South African companions — and here I am paraphrasing a variety of views — is that South Africa has seen not only the partial eclipse of "English liberalism" as a significant factor in parliamentary politics, but the emergence of a new "Afrikaner liberalism", although "liberalism" is hardly the word they would choose.

"English liberalism" has faded for various reasons, the most important being that the PFP's support split three ways.

Its older followers crossed over in "droves" (Eglin's words) to the NP, because the NP frightened them into seeking the security of the Afrikaner laager, its younger members responded to the UDF's ambiguous call to boycott the election "circus" and pursue the extra-parliamentary path, and the rest remained in the PFP, depressed and uncertain of their future.

The PFP-NRP pact gave the older English-speakers just the excuse they needed to release themselves from any further commitment to the "English liberalism" which has been such a feature of white opposition politics since 1948.

Many of them had always chafed under this liberalism. It had been evident for a long time, my companions suggested, that these English-speakers had been sailing under false liberal colours, not because they were so far apart politically from the Afrikaner, but because they were separated by a historical language and cultural barrier.

Once this cultural barrier came down, English-speakers would find that they had a natural political affinity with Afrikaners and when this happened on May 6 they stampeded over the language barrier.

As for the young PFP supporters who refused to vote, they felt an urge to identify with the black struggle, not with an "irrelevant" parliamentary opposition. It is still to be seen what form this "extra-parliamentary" activity will take in the new climate of repression that is descending on South Africa, but there it is — the die is cast.

EFFECTIVELY then the PFP has lost something of its soul, and this is why it has gone into such deep psychological decline, from which no doubt Eglin now will begin to resurrect it. Eglin has been very realistic anyway. From the start of the election campaign, he was making it clear that the PFP could no longer pretend to be an alternative government — it was a means to an end, the end being the formation of a left-of-NP alliance which would provide a political home for NP verligtes.



Mrs Helen Suzman ... again a lone voice?



Mr Colin Eglin ... always been realistic.

My South African companions were particularly interesting on the subject of the "Afrikaner liberalism" that, they believe, will take over from "English liberalism".

"English liberalism", as they see it, has been almost wiped out by black radicalism. Increasingly, the white "liberal" opposition was being held in thrall to black radicalism, the most striking examples being Cape Town and Witwatersrand universities.

The symbiotic relationship which the PFP enjoyed with these universities has been partly destroyed.

Helen Suzman, for example, was barred from the Wits campus, but Helen Joseph and Winnie Mandela were welcomed. The expulsion of Dr Conrad Cruise O'Brien from UCT campus is quoted as an example of how a relatively small number of young black radicals hold that campus in thrall.

My companions believe that white "liberalism" has shifted substantially to the right. In its new Afrikaner-orientated setting it will not allow black radicals to set either its content or its pace. As one of my companions put it, it will be a much "tougher" liberalism.

This of course has always been the dilemma of white "liberalism" in South Africa: credibility with the white group has been at the expense of credibility with the black group, and vice versa. Nemesis finally caught up with the PFP.

My companions foresee further problems for English "liberalism".

"The English-language universities, they predict, will be more vulnerable to government pressures now that they are seen, even by the PFP, to be in the grip of black radicalism. And whites who tread the extra-parliamentary path will discover that with the PFP's influence as a defender of civil rights diminished, they will feel the cutting edge of the government's whip more painfully. My companions suggested that black radicals

should also take heed of the election results, in spite of their disposition to regard them as irrelevant.

By comparison with what lies ahead for them, the past three years could be seen as an era of permissiveness. The setback suffered by the PFP will not be without its consequences for the black struggle.

It was also suggested to me that the ANC, and other black organizations, should rethink their "hard-line" stance on white politics. Dealing with white South Africans is going to be a much tougher struggle from now on.

Another factor which counts against the PFP in the alliance-building that is taking place left of the NP is its (unwarranted) image among Afrikaners of being anti-Afrikaners and pro-black.

This, my companions suggest, will reduce its bargaining powers with the independents. Well, I asked my companions, does this mean the PFP is back to where it started — with Helen Suzman campaigning for civil rights? A lone, purist voice in the wilderness?

NO, they said, not necessarily. Alliance-building was still the name of the game, but the PFP would have to accept that, psychologically if not in numbers, experience and professionalism, it was the junior partner now. And once the alliance was established, it would have to revert to the South African tradition of electing an Afrikaner as its leader.

If the alliance's aim was to provide a political home for NP verligtes, there could be no other course.

My companions conceded that if the alliance-building on the NP's left is going to be multiracial, the PFP will be able to make a contribution here, because it has the contacts.

I drew two conclusions from these discussions. One is that if white "liberalism" has shifted to the right, then so has everything else in white politics, in spite of what my companions argued.

The other conclusion is that in spite of the contention of some of my companions that the CP has reached the limits of its expansion — because it is anchored in a narrow rural/blue-collar worker demographic base — the CP will continue to expand, reform will become more difficult, and the verligtes in the NP more restless.

If this is the direction in which the NP will move — towards disintegration — then its membership will be up for grabs by the CP on one side and the independents on the other. Then only maximum mobilization of all verligtes will be sufficient to keep the CP at bay.

The flaw in this long drawn-out scenario is that the dynamics of change in white politics are out of phase with the dynamics of change in the black struggle.



## Black children hand out AWB leaflets

THE EXTREMIST right-wing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) has been using black children to distribute its pamphlets.

Two Somerset West children aged between seven and eight were paid R1 each to hand out the pamphlets outside a restaurant in the area.

But the existence of such pamphlets was denied by the AWB's Cape leader and Conservative Party election candidate for Bellville, Mr Johan Leibold.

An outraged Somerset West resident, Mr Isaac Hendricks, said he was handed one of the pamphlets on Saturday night.

"I was furious because there they were asking a child that they didn't even regard as an equal to distribute their propaganda."



# The arithmetic of power

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On the face of it, the National Party (NP) has won a resounding electoral victory — gaining 117 out of 160 elected seats for the (white) House of Assembly. The largest opposition grouping, the Conservative Party (CP), gained a paltry 22 seats, while the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) was cut back to 19 — from 27 previously.

Yet, for those with long memories, the Conservatives' achievement, in terms of votes as well as seats, casts the biblical shadow of "the cloud no bigger than a man's hand."

In 1943, Jan Smuts' pro-War coalition achieved a result pretty close to the NP's recent victory in terms of number of seats won. But only five years later it lost power to the coalition of D F Malan's HNP (predecessor of the NP) and Klasie Havenga's Afrikaner Party.

Malan's victory was achieved with a popular vote of near 40% — only around 1958 might the Nationalists be considered to have gained majority voting support in the white electorate. In terms of measurable results, the 1960 republic referendum gained the Nationalists a majority of only 70 000-odd.

What is the relevance of this ancient history to current political dilemmas? Simply this — that the distribution of votes accruing to rightwing parties in the recent election

**An electoral system which includes elements of proportional representation should be considered. It would be one way of assuring that the reform process does not become altogether stalled.**

resembles to a disturbing extent the voting pattern of 1943. This pattern — of rightwing support among Afrikaner farming and blue-collar sectors — corresponds to the voting base established by Malan in 1943.

## Brake on reform

For every four seats won by the Nationalists in 1943, they rendered marginal nearly as many again. These swung in 1948 to create the wafer-thin majority.

The disturbing implication is that the next election — whether held on schedule in 1989 or deferred by some constitutional procedure — could bring a replay of 1948. This hypothetical outcome would imply a victory for Andries Treurnicht (standing in Malan's shoes) with electoral support of substantially less than 50%.

Even if the worst does not happen, it is a real fear that the NP government — with its own intense memories of 1948 — will be

frozen into immobility like the proverbial bird and the cobra, for fear of encouraging further leaks of fundamentally verkrampste support to the Right.

SA can ill afford so complete a brake on reformist initiatives. Still less could we afford the accession to power of a narrowly based rightwing party with irrational and atavistic hopes of solving our problems through partition.

Three inter-related issues are raised by these considerations:

- ☐ How real is the prospect of Treurnicht winning the next white election on a minority of popular votes;
- ☐ What, if anything, could be done to prevent the repetition of so undemocratic an outcome; and (a relatively technical issue)
- ☐ What mechanisms could be used to amend the constitution either to adjust the electoral system to prevent seriously distorted results or extend the life of the House of Assembly just elected beyond a two-year term?

Whether the Conservatives could muster enough well-distributed votes (which in the nature of things would be largely Afrikaner support) to win a parliamentary majority in 1989, or later, is a matter of contention.

Wits University's Lawrence Schlemmer says that some 30% of the NP's current



support — about 15% of the electorate — could be classified as a potential accretion to the Afrikaner Right. If we set current support of the Right at 30% of the whole, then — at least under political conditions favouring the Right — Treurnicht could command some 45%. It is assumed, of course, that the Right by then would be unified under Treurnicht's leadership.

Among the optimists, however, we must align Dirk Laurie, Professor of Mathematics at Potchefstroom University. He argues that the Conservatives have made little or no gain in terms of popular vote since 1982 — that they have effectively mobilised their full constituency of farming and blue-collar support. According to Laurie, the most the CP could



**President Botha ... another Smuts?**

hope for under the existing delimitation would be a total 60 of seats in the next Assembly. He does not allow Treurnicht much support outside the Transvaal.

Prudence suggests weighing our judgment towards the worst case. The whole history of modern SA argues for the stubborn persistence among Afrikaners of conservative opinions on ethnic issues.

#### **New delimitation**

We must also assume that present constituency divisions will by 1989 have been superseded by the results of a delimitation to be held soon. But it must not be thought that a redelimitation under existing rules would favour the Nationalists — some of the seats to disappear would be Cape and OFS seats where NP prospects would be better than in additional blue-collar seats to be established within an enlarged level of representation for the Transvaal as a whole.

Some estimates indicate that Treurnicht could win another 50 seats under the existing delimitation. The problem is no longer so much the unloading of rural seats after approximately equal representation has been re-established between the provinces, as the effects of heaping up middle- and upper-class support in pockets in the main metropolitan regions. At the same time, conservative voters are spread around the country.

This distributional effect of a single-member system is important. Take one example: the UK. There, the Labour Party has in the past, and could again, gain power on a minority of the popular vote.

The only way to avoid this is some element of proportional representation (PR). There are many hybrid systems which would not reflect the impersonality of the pure "party list" arrangement used in many parts of the world. West Germany, for example, uses a mix of single member seats and the party list.

The *FM* urges government, before it appoints the next delimitation commission, to give careful consideration to modifying the present single-member system.

#### **Vote share**

One objection would be that the NP is now the major beneficiary of the distributional effect, since it enjoys the largest popular vote. If the latest election had been held under a pure PR system, the governing party's representation would have been much reduced (in line with the popular vote), almost to a point where it could only govern with the assistance of one other grouping in the Assembly.

The rejoinder must be that it would be sound politics to reform the system now before a shift in the popular vote produces the reverse result.

For the more remote future, it could be timely to move away from a "winner takes all" system towards a coalitional type of government more capable of reflecting shades of opinion in our diverse population. When all is said and done a modified PR system would echo the consensual elements in the tricameral arrangement.

What of the technical issue of amending the Constitution, either to extend the life of the white Assembly, or to introduce other electoral changes?

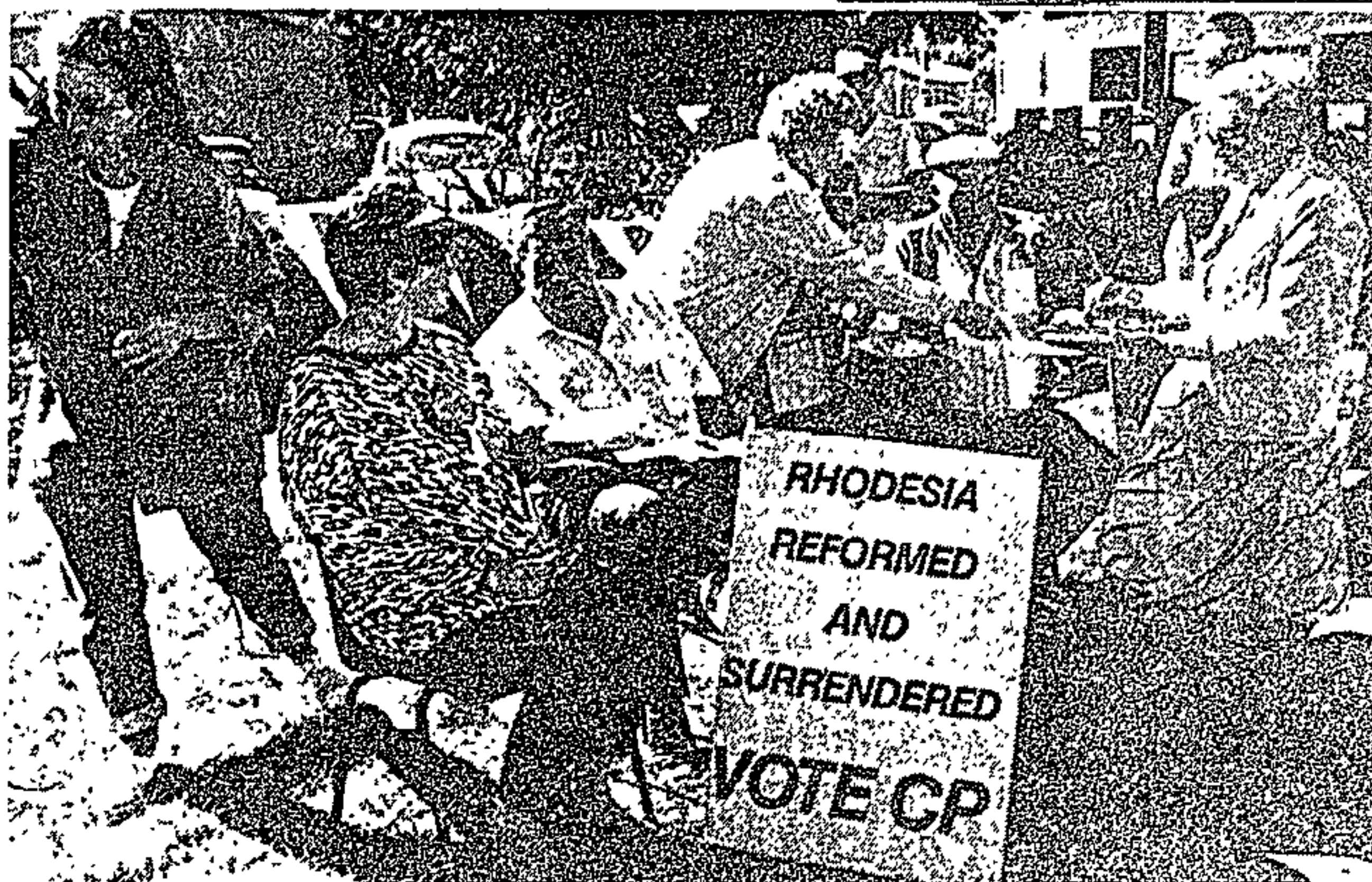
In terms of the current Constitution (embodied in Act No 110 of 1983) "parliament" may repeal or amend any provision (Section

99) — with a special two-thirds majority needed for a change to language rights.

If a Bill to extend the life of the Assembly beyond 1989 or to amend the method of parliamentary representation were to be passed by the Assembly, but then rejected by one or both of the other two houses, it would be referred (under Section 32) to the President's Council, which has the authority to override the rejection.

Given the influence of the State President on the composition of the President's Council, it hardly seems that a Bill passed by the Assembly would fail to find approval within the same session of parliament — as needed.

It is probable too that a Bill to prevent the Right from gaining power on a minority white base would attract strong support both in the coloured and Indian houses. So constitutional technicalities should not be seen as a major obstacle.



**CP table, Treurnicht (above) ... repeating the triumph of 1948?**



# Death squad fears

304A  
execution.

30-15/87 SOUTH

From ELNEWS  
FEARS of a death squad operating in the Eastern Cape have been raised once again with the murder last weekend of Eric Mntonga, a senior official of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa.

The killing of Mntonga, the co-director of Idasa in the Border, carried all the marks of a political

When he was found near his car on a lonely Ciskei road last Saturday, his hands and feet were tied, and he had been stabbed in the heart.

Evidence subsequently unearthed has shown he was abducted by his killers from Mdantsane on Friday at about 10 am, and must have been held the whole day.

A post mortem examination has shown that he was severely assaulted before his death. His body was found to bear extensive bruises, as well as signs of strangulation.

It was also established that the single stab wound he suffered was not the cause of death, as first believed, but was inflicted when he was already dead.

His death was found to have been due to a subdural haemorrhage caused by a blow to the head. Mr Mntonga was last seen about 10.30 am on Friday at the office of a prominent Mdantsane lawyer and UDF leader Hintsa Siwisa.

Siwisa, a close friend of Mntonga, said Mntonga had left his office to see a friend elsewhere in

Mdantsane but never arrived there.

Now questions are being asked about who would have been able to abduct Mntonga in broad daylight in Mdantsane.

Whoever abducted him must have held him somewhere for several hours. Staff at the Sittingbourne Hotel, near where his body was found the next day, were adamant it must have been dumped late on Friday night probably more than 12 hours after he disappeared.

Staff said nobody had noticed his car being pushed off the road. The lonely rural hotel stands alone between Tamara and Mount Coke, about 60 km from Mdantsane.

Meanwhile, arrangements for his funeral are getting underway.

Mr Mntonga's mother, Mrs Rose Mntonga, said the family planned the burial for August 8. She expressed fears that the Ciskei authorities might restrict the burial.

If it is allowed to go ahead, it might be one of the biggest funerals the Eastern Cape has seen since the beginning of the emergency.

Mntonga was not only a senior Idasa official, but also a prominent and popular community leader in Mdantsane.

He was previously the branch chairman of the South African Allied Workers Union and a member of the United Democratic Front's fieldwork committee.

At the time of his death, he was still the chairman of the Committee of Ten, which represented Mdantsane bus commuters during their almost two-year boycott of the CTC Bus Company.

Friends and colleagues this week paid tribute to him:

Siwisa said Mntonga had been firmly committed to the ideal of a non-racial, democratic South Africa.

"He was very honest and upright. He was a kind-hearted human being but he wouldn't flinch in his stand," Siwisa said.

And Idasa co-director Dr Alex Boraine expressed his shock and concern at the murder - another in a series of unsolved deaths of activists in the Eastern Cape and Border.



Police kept a close watch on the funeral in Soweto last week of slain ANC member Peter Motau, also known as Paul Dikeledi who was assassinated with ANC executive member Cassius Make in Swaziland recently. Flanking Mrs Salumi Motau, mother of Peter, on the right, is Mrs Winnie Mandela

# New d



# SA lucky to be living in Alan Paton's shadow

**V**IEWED from the press gallery in Parliament, the political scene has been changed almost beyond belief but there is an atmosphere about it — a decaying smell of the past — that is disturbingly familiar.

The outward, visible changes have been reduced already by journalistic hype to a cliché: apartheid attacked from the right, the NP defending the cause of reasonableness like an ogre in a pretty mask, and so forth.

And indeed it is hard to avoid comparing Connie Mulder's praise for Zulu nationalism with old Daan de Wet Nel's lyrical talk in the Sixties of the "ox-wagon culture" of the Xhosas. The CP's talk of partition is a rerun, slightly out of focus, of the Odendaal Plan for Namibia, which sent veteran observers of the Sixties reeling down the corridors, helpless with laughter.

"Where's your map," cry the Nationalist backbenchers, just as the old UP backbenchers used to cry out for a map. And of course, no map comes forth.

But behind all this, in peripheral vision, lies something else which is even harder to bring into focus: a shadow of the Sixties when the political debate inside Parliament was even farther removed from the realities in the streets than it is today; when Verwoerd's astonishing flights of fancy seemed less comical than Andries Treurnicht's *Boerestaat*, or whatever it is to be called, and when the dreamer was not in Opposition but in power.

Then, as now, the country had been through a period of convulsive violence, culminating in the Sharpeville massacre; then, as now, the currency had crashed as foreign confidence collapsed and exchange controls were imposed to defend the national treasure. Foreign correspondents were clawing their way into the country lest they miss the revolution, and the middle-class whites were clawing their way out.

**T**HE Progressive Party had been slaughtered at the polls, reduced to Helen Suzman alone, and the Rand Daily Mail became — for friend and foe — a revolutionary symbol because it refused to continue calling Africans "natives". That gentle old liberal, Chief Albert Luthuli, was honoured abroad like Archbishop Tutu, and banned at home.

That was the time when John Vorster, an implacable young man with wartime connections to nazism (through the Ossewa-brandwag) that seemed to us much worse than the political pedigree of any of the CP members seems today, took command of the extra-parliamentary forces which Parliament controls: the police, the secret agencies, the security apparatus, the Department of Justice, the law.

And he fashioned them into a machine that ground the extra-parliamentary opposition to dust.

He began by founding his own version of the "total onslaught" in the form of an atavistic tribally-based offshoot of the Pan Africanist Congress called Poqo. In a chilling funeral oration at the grave of two white youngsters beheaded in a nighttime Poqo attack on Paarl, he named the liberation movements "the forces of darkness". He went from the graveside to demolish the rule of law, introducing 90-day detention (which turned out to be indefinite detention in practice), and he gradually, systematically, wiped out the extra-parliamentary opposition.

When it comes to extra-parliamentary politics, government holds all the cards, but he did not even use the army.

**T**HAT was a time when left-wingers gleefully pronounced liberalism irrelevant, and set to helping young liberals make bombs in order to "prove their commitment to the cause".

John Harris blew up an old woman on Johannesburg station, and left a young girl to live out her pitiful life behind a mask of terrible scars. Adrian Leftwich, a little weasel of a man, sponsored a conspiracy of violence among his UCT friends, and rattled on them after only an hour in the hands of the security police.

He dragged down with him Bill Hoffenburg, one of the finest medical scientists of our century, who was innocent, but left the country to escape a banning order imposed because Leftwich had named him as being sympathetic; so his

marvellous skills were lost to this country, and the medical students at UCT who might have learned from him are today deprived.

When I saw Leftwich later in New York, as haunted as Judas Iscariot, he was a shell of a man but he survived while his friends served their prison sentences, the lone coloured man among them serving the longest of all.

The active communists, having derided the liberals for their ineffectuality, fled abroad. Albie Sachs, who had helped to shape Leftwich's revolutionary fantasies, was quick to go, along with Brian Bunting, who now counsels South African draft evaders in London, and Frennie Ginwala, now a leading Marxist theorist for the ANC. The Slovos left, and Wolpe and Goldreich, and many others slid out of the struggle, leaving their gullible liberal recruits behind. Within a few years, South Africa had become a political graveyard, sterile and silent.

**T**HROUGH it all, however, one liberal stood like a giant. Alan Paton never flinched, not when the rule of law crumbled, nor when the communists fled, nor when his fellow-liberals betrayed him and their own cause by turning to violence, nor even when his close friends and associates were banned, leaving him standing alone, diabolically untouched.

Alan Paton's liberal convictions are not a springtime thing, to be cast away when the heat rises. He does not say truth has become untrue because it has lost utility. He does not lose compassion nor abandon principle. He does not abandon either hope or struggle.

The PFP members of Parliament sit bleak and gloomy below the official Opposition. Their liberal support has fled, either abroad or into extra-parliamentary allegiance, one constituency counted 1 500 voters abroad; in another, a man of 70 was given the task of putting up posters because no younger help was available. They are mocked from both sides and they are lonelier than Helen Suzman in 1961 because their hopes were higher, and their intellectual support groups outside Parliament are weaker.

There is one comfort: it has been almost 40 years since the values of Alan Paton's world were rejected by the white electorate, and we have gone from Graaff to Botha, from Verwoerd to Treurnicht, but still Alan Paton, the extra-parliamentarian, does not flinch.

From the press gallery, as the smell of the Sixties rises again, a thought takes shape: the communists fled, and Iron Man Vorster broke in the end, and liberals betrayed their heritage, but Alan Paton stood his ground, and we are fortunate, in this faithless century, to live in the shadow of such a man.



By KEN OWEN



Alan Paton ... "does not say truth has become untrue because it has lost utility".



that  
of the South

Matabeleland and rebels  
fighting the marxist govern-  
ment in neighbouring

to unseat him.  
Mr Rajbansi came within an  
ace of losing power and

The letter comes  
when South Africa appears

with even the delegates  
titles a secret.

By IVOR CREWS

THE fight for control of the Johannesburg City Council is on, with political parties squaring up for what promises to be a dirty election battle.

The beleaguered PFP, smouldering over its defeat in the May 6 general election, is determined to gain control of the council after the defection of Mr Mike Sutherland to Australia.

And yesterday Mr Gary Cooney announced that he would stand for the PFP in the crucial Hospital Hill by-election on July 15.

The election is to fill the Ward 25 seat vacated by Mr Sutherland, whose shock decision to quit SA robbed the PFP of a one-seat majority in the council.

The PFP and the NP/Independent Alliance are presently deadlocked with 23 seats each.

The PFP candidate is incensed at the Johannesburg management committee's decision to hold the by-election during the university vacations and has threatened legal action. An estimated 20 percent of the

## Parties square up for a dirty election scrap

ward is made up of students, many of whom would vote for the PFP.

Said Mr Cooney: "We find this totally unacceptable and will probably take the matter to court to get the date changed."

### Confident

The NP and the CP have not yet announced candidates. But Mr Hein Kruger, defeated NP candidate in the Yeoville parliamentary election, is being tipped as the likely NP candidate.

The Progs are confident they will retain the seat, but will face stiff opposition from the Nats who caused a major upset when they won the Hillbrow parliamentary seat.

Mr Cooney said the vital issues at stake were "the fight against crime" in the ward, and the Group Areas Act.

The PFP intended establishing a municipal police force in the area to combat the soaring crime rate, he said.

"The SAP cannot cope, because

they are understaffed, underpaid and in the townships," he explained.

And the PFP was committed to scrapping the Group Areas Act as the residents "resented being used as guinea pigs".

"The Act should be scrapped altogether and not just in the grey areas," said Mr Cooney.

Mr Cooney, a journalist by profession, is regional director of the PFP in the Southern Transvaal. He represented Border in Nuffield schools cricket while at Selborne College, East London.

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GARY  
COONEY  
... to stand  
for PFP in  
crucial  
council by-  
election

