AGENCY FOR INDUSTRIAL MISSION

Address:
P.O. Box 5065, Horizon 1730

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ATLANTIS WORKERS ORGANISATION*

Address:
P.O. Box 21, Westfleur 7349

or
38 Elizabeth Circle, Saxonsea, Atlantis 7349

Phone:
(021) 22 981 / 28 413 / 46 4035

Director:
Fred Peterson

Enquiries
(021) 28413 (Mon, Wed, Fri)

Membership and Constituency:
Workers from various factories in Atlantis

Aims and Objectives:
To inform workers in the area of the importance of becoming involved in the trade unions at their factories. To organise workshops to educate workers about the union movement. To work with established unions in the area.

Current Programmes:
Workshops on various issues pertaining to the workers movement in general.

S.A Govt. Politics

1988

April.

Worrall welcomes former NRP leaders

DURBAN — Dr Denis Worrall, leader of the Independent Party, has welcomed the decision by three former leaders of the now-defunct New Republic Party to accept an invitation to join the national executive of his party.

"I can assure them of the warm support of all members of the IP," said Dr Worrall. "I want them to feel welcome and part of the team."

The three former NRP members who accepted positions on the national executive are the former NRP national chairman, Mr Pat Rogers; Mr Duncan McGregor, the Natal chairman, and Prof Dan Kriek, a political scientist at Unisa and member of the NRP's federal council.

Mr Rogers, 55, is a farmer in the King William's Town district and a fomer MP from 1981 to 1986.Mr McGregor, a Natal businessman, was the NRP candidate in Amanzimtoti.

Professor Kriek has been professor of political science at Unisa for 18 years. Before that, he taught politics at the University of Pretoria.

He is a constitutional expert who specialises in federalism. — DDC

D/D 1/4/88

Where will Goble get 500 helpers, asks AWB branch

(30+A) Daily Dispatch Reporter D/D 14/1/88

EAST LONDON — The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) said yesterday it did not know where Mr Gus Goble would get 500 people to help him stop the next meeting, when no one supported him when he tried to break up the AWB meeting here on Tuesday night.

The vice-chairman of the local burgerraad of the AWB, Mr Johann du Toit, said the support for the AWB in East London was "phenomonal".

"After the meeting on Tuesday night we had a whole stack of application forms that were filled in," he said.

"We also had people who were not members of the AWB who phoned up and said that if we did not sort Mr Goble out they would."

Mr Du Toit said the AWB would not use violence unless it was absolutely neccessary.

"If Mr Goble tries to stop us holding our next meeting, we will get into that hall in any way we can," he threatened.

"We pay a lot of money for the hall and they have no right to stop us from using it," he said.

The chairman of the burgerraad, Mr Andre Vermeulen, said that the AWB did not go around breaking up meetings like Mr Goble.

"When we were with the Nationalists they taught us how to break up meetings, so we can do it as well," he said.

● The second aircraft from Johannesburg to East London that the leader of the AWB, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, planned to take after he missed the first one, was delayed because of technical problems, said a spokesman for the public relations division of South African Airways.

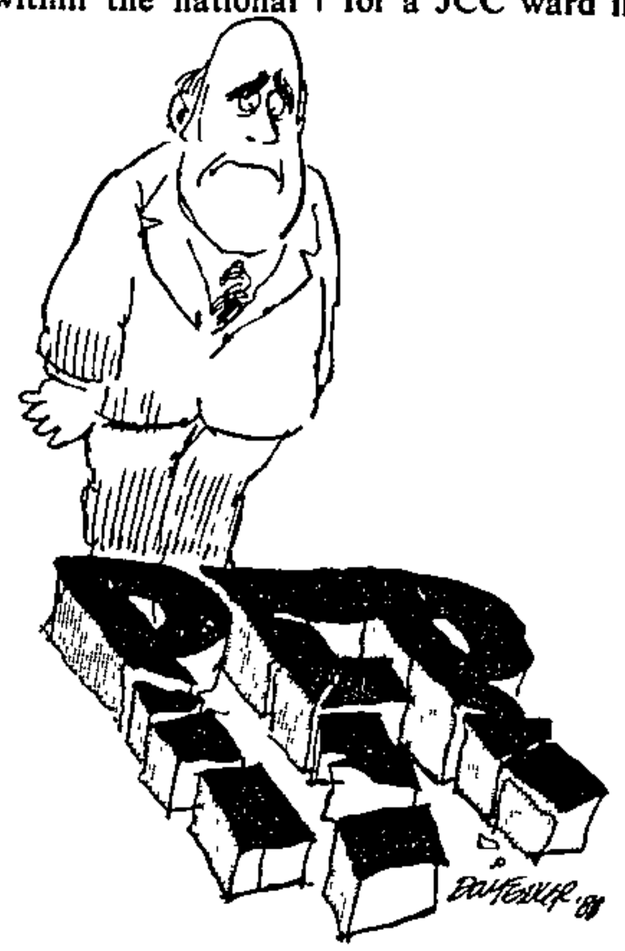
The AWB claimed that Mr Terre'Blanche arrived late for a meeting in East London on Tuesday night because his luggage was searched by airport security and that by the time he was finished his group's seats had been given to other people.

PROGRESSIVE FEDERAL PARTY

Follow my leader

3D4A

Although defections and divisions within the Johannesburg Progressive Federal Party (PFP) are partly about local personalities and politics, the turmoil within the Johannesburg City Council (JCC) over the past week mirrors tensions within the national body.



The JCC PFP has been thrown into disarray following the resignations of JCC caucus leader, Sam Moss, and councillor Harold Rudolph. Rumours that Rae Graham will also resign are rife.

The JCC crisis comes at the same time as other moves on a national level to push the party closer to Denis Worrall's newly-established Independent Party (IP).

It seems that the IP — with the help of PFP insiders — ultimately hopes to split the PFP and absorb most of its current supporters, either within the IP or in a new party. A straight merger with the PFP is obviously not what Worrall wants. Such a move would scare off the New Republic Party and National Party supporters he has won over. But he needs the PFP machine if the IP is to make the sort of progress required to pose a threat to the NP.

PFP sources say those agitating for a deal between the party and Worrall are largely responsible for spreading rumours that PFP leader, Colin Eglin, is to be axed at the party's federal congress in Cape Town in August.

They say there is a strong possibility that Eglin will step down in August — but voluntarily. He is understood to have virtually unanimous support in the parliamentary caucus and strong support in provincial leadership formations. Evidence of this is that the so-called "moderates" — a group which includes some PFP MPs and candidates who failed to retain fairly safe PFP seats in the general election — have not openly forced the leadership issue. They may try to do so in August, but are likely to be defeated.

They say the Moss issue has been simmering for some time, pointing out:

☐ He resented not being selected ahead of Marius Barnard as PFP MP for Parktown;

☐ There had been growing tension between Moss and the "young Turks" led by Tony Leon in the PFP JCC caucus who wanted Moss to adopt a more aggressive approach instead of being conciliatory;

☐ He was recently told by PFP leaders in Parktown that he would not be re-nominated for a JCC ward in the area; and

☐ He was effectively told recently that if PFP Transvaal leader, Douglas Gibson, wins a seat on the JCC in October (as he is expected to do), he (Moss) will have to step down as leader to make way for Gibson. This is believed to have been the "final straw" that caused him to quit. Moss regards the decision as undemocratic and says it pre-empts the caucus which usually elects the leader.

Rudolph has long been regarded as being at loggerheads with the main stream of the PFP. He opposed the party's "No" vote in the referendum on the tricameral constitution; Graham is a Moss loyalist.

Leon's election this week as the new JCC PFP caucus leader is seen as a positive sign. It may lead to further defections, though some argue that a smaller, more dedicated team will put the party's message across more effectively than before.

The degree to which the PFP's problems in Johannesburg will influence issues in other centres is unclear.

The PFP Federal Council decided to leave it to each region to determine local strategy. The Transvaal has long had a tradition of party politics at a local level. The Cape has had an equally long tradition of non-party political involvement in local elections.

Sources dismiss suggestions that the party will not fight the Johannesburg elections on a PFP platform. Last week the Cape western region decided to continue their tradition and not contest October's elections on a party platform. (The National Party and Conservative Party will also not contest most Cape councils on political lines.)

Last week's endorsement followed a lengthy debate on possible participation. According to sources, one group which argued for party participation cited the example of the Liberal Party in the UK which, while only having a few seats in parliament, has some 1 000 local councillors throughout the country. Others, however, considered that the political situation in SA was too removed from that in the UK to duplicate the approach. In particular many felt that a major problem in SA was the PFP making local promises they could not uphold because of national legislation. For example, PFP policy is the abolition of the Group Areas Act but even a PFP-controlled council could not implement this.

There was apparently also a strong traditional school which argued that Cape Town has benefited from being a non-political council. Debate focused on the theory that even councillors who are nominally Nationalist had freedom of movement to become more liberal because they were not tied to a party or party policy.

The Orange Free State and northern Cape will take a final decision on the matter in June. The region is currently canvassing constituents on the issue.

According to northern Transvaal regional director Pierre Coetzee they have decided that candidates in Pretoria can stand either as PFP members or as independents. If a member chooses to fight on an independent ticket the party would continue to give organisational, but not financial support. ■

PFP's 'mean machine' sets sight on poll

Star 2/4/88

SHIRLEY WOODGATE
Municipal Reporter

"It is no longer Young Turks and Old Guard Progs in the Johannesburg City Council but the Progressive Federal Party Mean Machine with its sights set firmly on the October elections."

So says Parktown councillor Mrs Rae Graham, lifting the lid for the first time on the events which almost sank the PFP in Johannesburg.

The events had led to four defections in less than a year, and took her to the brink of resignation as internal feuding eroded the heart of the party.

Rumours persist that she would be the first of several PFP councillors who would stand as a ratepayer representative or go independent when Mr Tony Leon (31) was voted in as leader of the party after Mr Sam Moss's resignation.

"Forget it," she said. "There won't be any more defections, caucus dissension has been wiped out virtually overnight, and instead of hiving off and doing their own thing, all 19 councillors have a positive direction and purpose.

"The PFP has closed ranks behind Mr Leon, who has breathed new life into the warring caucus.

"There has been a lot of unhappiness, jealousy and conflict over the past two years. We lacked direction in caucus and did exactly what a child does when it is frustrated: kicks its mother, in this case Sam.

"He was being hammered from the top after he opposed Dr Marius Barnard in Parktown, and he was being hammered from the bottom by councillors who were intensely frustrated at being relegated to opposition not through lack of ability, but inferior numbers.

"Sam Moss was accused of lacking leadership. That is unfair. There was nobody else to do the job.

"In the end it was the party that cracked. It is not the PFP that has changed. We still stand for the same principles that we supported 10 years ago.

"What has changed is that we have had a blood transfusion at the top that is set to put the fight back into the party."

De Beer backs Eglin

POLITICAL STAFF

CAPE TOWN — Dr Zac de Beer, Progressive Federal Party chairman of finance, has quashed rumours that he intends taking over from Mr Colin Eglin as PFP leader.

There have been rumblings over Mr Eglin's leadership since the party's poor showing in last year's general election.

Dr de Beer said this week: "The rumours are starting to get whiskers, they are so old."

Dr de Beer, a former PFP MP, said he was a friend and supporter of Mr Eglin.

If Mr Eglin fell under a bus or was removed, he would "have to consider my position."

● At the PFP federal congress this year, Mr Eglin dismissed reports that he would step down.

Charismatic orator at soul of the radical right

by DALE LAUTENBACH
Political Staff

SHORTER than you would imagine — much shorter — and stocky; hair thinning, beard greying but well tended; hands square and squat, no watch, arms hairy, short khaki shirtsleeves just tight enough to enhance a bicep; the odd smile which folds back the beard to show large front teeth ...

Does Eugene Terre'Blanche give anything away; are there any clues to determine whether he is mean or manipulative, this charismatic orator and leader of the radical right Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging?

At the Press Club lunch this week the commander-in-chief sips white wine (you didn't expect that) and reaches into a thirties-pack of Lexington (more the image). He smokes constantly and the voice has the rough timbre of toasted tobacco.

Distant blue

His eyes are deeply hooded, buried in folds of skin which create a slanted effect. The eyes might reveal something but you get only glimpses of faded blue. Even close up, close enough to see teeth tarred with nicotine, that blue is distant; it's hard to look into the pupils before they slip away behind the hood.

It's announced that Mr Terre'Blanche will address the Press Club in Afrikaans only. He believes the audience should be conversant in both official languages, we are told. There is a momentarily hostile reaction, people mutter. This is Cape Town. The AWB chief smiles smugly, his Aquila guards straighten imperceptibly at their stations around the room.

When Mr Terre'Blanche rises to speak, you forget all that though. It's the voice you try to fathom. Stentorian yes, hugely booming and commanding. In an unremarkable hotel room — urban, characterless — he chooses to speak of the spoor of the gemsbok, the mark of the jakkals in the sands of the Namib.

He tunes in to crude folkloric sentiment, tapping the collective spirit of the volk which believes in the manly language of bushveld, the poetry of a wild untamed Africa, the romance of the white man victor in a dark continent, indomitable.

The voice rises louder, louder, crescendos then drops into dramatic quietness. With a prayerlike hush it invokes a land for the *boer* ... "*'n eie land waar hy kan groei, waar hy kan stoei*".

It's a crude sort of mesmerising poetry. There's nothing to debate here, this is not politics. It's rhetoric of the most exaggerated kind and the performer is a master of the craft, a super actor not to be judged for subtlety but for gross impact.

There is no content beyond elaborations on the singular and simple message of *boerestaat* and *nasie*. If Mr Terre'Blanche p used to think about what he was saying chances are he would lose the rhythm. There are no ums, ers or hesitations ... it's one long incantation, a battle hymn.

Listening very closely to his address there was one, just one, blinding, terrifying moment when he lost it; for a split second he went blank, he glazed over. With a ham's skill he repeated his last word and that seemed to do the trick; the gramophone was cranked up and off again.

e Press Club audience was amused, feigned mock outrage, some disgust but mostly curiosity.

My table companion laughed: "He's just an inspired and honest Nationalist."

The sick thing, he went on, is that this man is easy to hate, easy to laugh at and make a scapegoat of ... but he's closer to the heart of the Government than one might like to think.

Maybe, but the Press Club audience — Nationalist President's Council members, Cabinet Minister's private secretaries, Labour Party MPs, local and foreign Press and the curious — disappeared into the afternoon armed mainly with a great new anecdote for their next dinner party.

N/E Argus
2 April 1988
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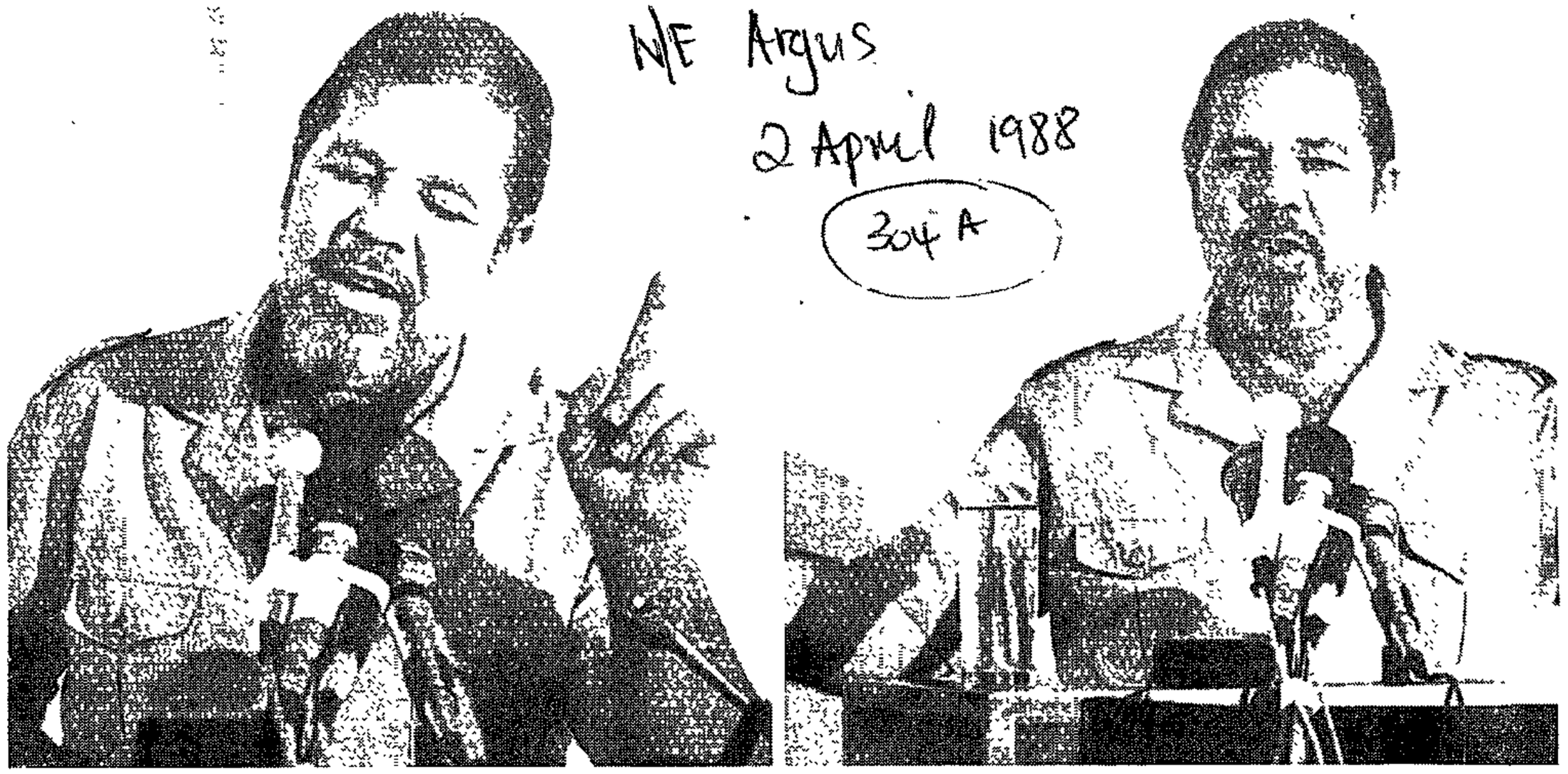


Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche in full spate at the Cape Town Press Club this week.

AWB MEETING 'BETTER THAN THE BIOSCOPE'

by TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

EUGENE Terre'Blanche has powerful vocal cords, strong lungs and a microphone turned on full blast.

He needed these to transmit the ranting and raving which seemed to inspire only a small section of an audience of about 800 in Paarl Town Hall this week. The rest, including a number of Stellenbosch students, had clearly come more out of curiosity and sat there amused, or bemused.

As somebody said, an AWB meeting in Paarl on a Thursday night is "better than bioscope".

Only some 100 of the faithful turned up at the stage afterwards to shake the hand of a demagogue who, at times, appeared like a third-rate comic trying to take off Hitler.

There was even what appeared to be very much an imitation of the flap of the hand which was a Hitler characteristic.

For ham acting, the self-appointed saviour of white South Africa has no equal.

The stage performance consisted mainly of one long recitation of chants against all the enemies of true Afrikanerdom with Mr P W Botha and the "foreign money power" high on the list.

While the AWB leader professes not to be a racist and says his movement does not hate any group, it only loves the white nation, his remarks were full of racial slurs and innuendoes.

Just before the meeting started, The Argus photographer was escorted from the hall by one of Mr Terre'Blanche's Aquila bodyguard. He was told that he would have been welcome had he been white and the fact that he was there as a professional journalist was dismissed.

The stage was decorated with red banners with the controversial emblem on it and with the flags of the old Transvaal and Free State republics.

In the Paarl town hall on Thursday night Mr Terre'Blanche wore what appeared to be an informal safari-type khaki outfit, not quite a uniform. An admirer outside the hall had pinned a red flower to his buttonhole.

After all the screaming and the pounding of the podium, the impression was still that the AWB was not going down as well in the Boland as it did in some parts of the Transvaal and the Free State.

Many at the Paarl meeting would clearly not go a second time — if only to give their eardrums a rest. Their brains would not have been under any strain.

AFTERMATH OF THE TRIPLE HUMILIATION

Nat cry: Stop the rot!

3/4/88 304A STimes

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN

THE NP has been forced back to the drawing board in the wake of three crushing defeats at the hands of the CP.

NP MPs this week admitted they would have to "stop the rot ... and stop it fast" to prevent a CP juggernaut in the October municipal elections.

MPs out to stem CP tide

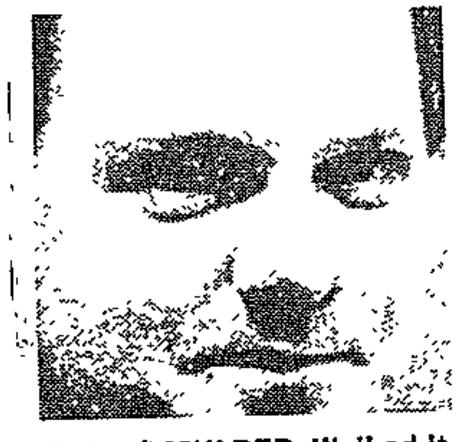
The CP victory in Randfontein did not come as a surprise. The size of it did. Despite a reduced voting percentage, Dr Corné Mulder more than doubled his late father's majority in last year's general election.

NP insiders said a lot of hard thinking had to be done, and even harder decisions taken, if the party wanted to stem the CP tide.

What is now only being whispered will probably be openly shouted once the crisis deepens: What ails the party is a lack of direction and a bad image.

The thrust of the CP onslaught was already evident in Standerton and Schweizer Renecke, but nothing was done to counter it in Randfontein — particularly the lack of clarity on the future of the Group Areas Act.

It was clear the battle for Randfontein was fought and won on the beaches of Durban.



CORNE MULDER: Walked it in Randfontein

In Randfontein, the NP ran a lacklustre campaign, deserted by its newspapers who conducted a high profile battle in Schweizer Renecke and Standerton, and lost.

Randfontein proved what political analysts have suspected since last May's elections — that the CP was stronger in blue-collar constituencies on the East and West Rand than on the platteland.

Nervous

The CP victories have suddenly put a number of other Transvaal constituencies within easy reach — which will make many Nat MPs nervous.

These MPs will no doubt begin to assert themselves in caucus and put pressure on the party leadership to clarify a number of issues.

With an eye on the municipal elections, the main bone of contention will be Group Areas.

Party insiders say the Government would rather stall on this issue, combined with strong-arm action against transgressors of the law, than to announce new moves he[illegible]

There is also a growing belief that Mr Chris Heunis's efforts to get credible black leaders to join the proposed National Council is getting nowhere fast.

MPs said "some breakthrough" was needed to convince voters that the Government could negotiate successfully.

Problems

Several MPs said the party's problems were aggravated by the perception that the Government had become arrogant and insensitive to the needs of the ordinary voter after 40 years in power.

Rumours of corruption in high places, an intolerance of criticism and a saturation of Government propaganda on SABC-TV were also hurting the NP.

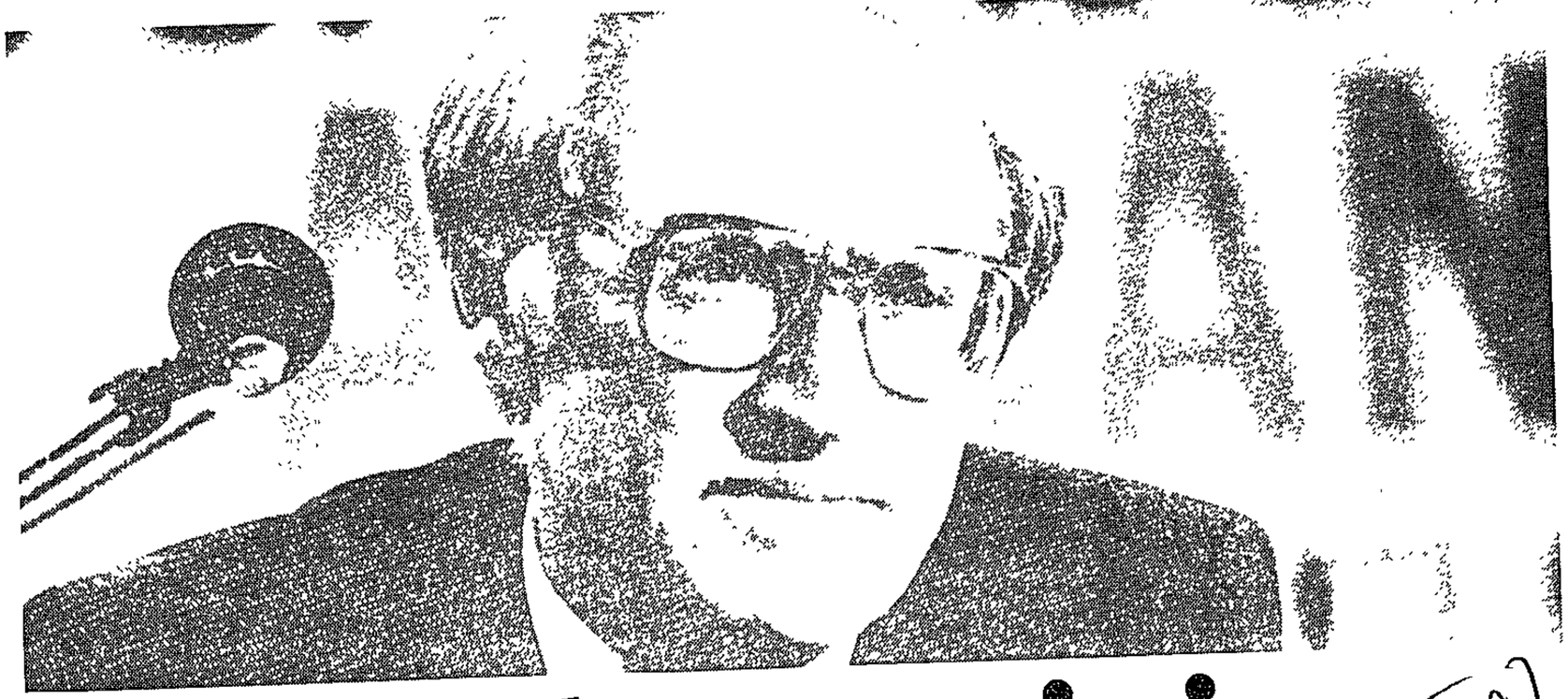
A Nat MP said: "Let's be honest. The voters are plain tired of seeing the same old faces delivering the same old message in the same old arrogant way."

What should be worrying NP veterans are indications that white politics is reverting to the two-party system — with the NP this time taking the place once occupied by its erstwhile arch-enemy, the UP.

And everybody knows what became of the UP!

Unisa political scientist Professor Toeks Kotze said the "middle of the road" image the NP was rapidly accruing, could eventually prove to be its downfall.

Power-sharing



and the crisis of the Afrikaner

3/4/88 3049 S Times

by Denis Worrall

Leader of the Independent Party

AT THE beginning of 1988, Afrikanerdom is in a crisis — a crisis that springs from uncertainty regarding the future and from uncertainty resulting from the process of change itself.

The present ruling party has abandoned classic apartheid but failed to put anything in its place, hence the uncertainty and insecurity that so many Afrikaners (and whites in general) feel, and the growth of right wing sentiment.

The National Party is left pursuing a muddled pragmatism, while a substantial number of traditional National Party supporters have returned to classic apartheid — but without the idealism of the earlier model.

The sweeping confidence that accompanied the earlier policy, with its determination to create States for every black nation, has fallen by the wayside.

The concern now is more with the right of Afrikaners and white South Africans to establish a State of their own.

Experience

This right wing sentiment, and the mobilisation of Afrikaner ethnic support for the Conservative Party, springs directly from the Government's failure to spell out the various options or constitutional choices that South Africa faces.

In the absence of clear choices, whites will be guided by their most immediate experience and, when they look around them at the rest of the continent, they see economic decline, maladministration, corruption and the general failure of democratic politics.

The limited steps (from an external perception and from a black South African point of view) that the Government has taken toward sharing political power raise serious questions for Afrikaners in particular.

Any major sharing of political power in single-State terms would entail the dilution of the Afrikaner character of the South African State, and the uncoupling of the Afrikaans language and culture from the State.

From being a dominant political minority in a single State in which simple majoritarianism applies, the Afrikaners would become not simply a political minority but a cultural and linguistic minority as well.

Mistaken

This is the concern that drives much of Afrikaner politics, and this is the psychological response that has to be reckoned with and accommodated by anybody who wishes to bring about fundamental political change by peaceful means.

Attempts to belittle the tensions within Afrikanerdom by suggesting that they are merely the product of a conspiracy by the Government are mistaken.

This is a question that many of South Africa's external critics brush aside. Some of them wish to see the present political order replaced by a marxist socialist one; others simply wish to translate white minority rule into black majority rule; and others would like to see a nonracial multi-party democracy being established in South Africa.

But this is generally not an aspect on which international critics spend much time. Their goal, whatever the consequence, is to see apartheid ended — an attitude that has both ethical and constitutional implications.

After this litany of difficulties, one might excusably ask: Does South Africa have a future and do

The authors of a 1986 analysis of South Africa come to a cautiously optimistic point of view regarding the future.

Despite the formidable obstacles to a fundamental transition, Adam and Moodley conclude that "there are reasons to hope for a more peaceful resolution in South Africa than in other divided societies."

They base this "realistic hope" on four distinct features of the South African conflict:

First, economic interdependence in a resource-rich country gives all groups a stake in accommodation.

Second, South Africa does not represent a colonial conflict, which can only be solved by the departure or defeat of an alien conqueror. African nationalism recognises Afrikaner nationalism, and vice versa. The terms of coexistence, not the domination of one over the other, are the points of contention.

Tradition

Third, despite the militant rhe-

important role in establishing Press freedom in this country.

It is a fact also that mainly white English-speaking organisations and individuals are still the most vocal advocates of individual freedom and the keenest guardians of individual liberties.

But as important as this tradition is — particularly in the fact of the present nationwide state of emergency and restrictions on basic institutional freedoms — the dominant constitutional and democratic tradition turns on the principle of community self-determination.

The point has been made that Afrikaner nationalism has largely shaped constitutional thinking in South Africa, and the Afrikaner tradition reflects their history of national struggle — the struggle of people, first, against colonial powers, then against the black "nations" and, finally, against the better-educated and economically stronger English-speaking South Africans.

A significant feature of the Freedom Charter, which white South Africans conveniently overlook, is the recognition of freedom in a collective or community sense.

This is a tradition that can be appealed to. It is best expressed by the great Afrikaans dramatist and poet N P van Wyk Louw, in his plays and essays. Van Wyk Louw developed a concept of "liberal nationalism" which reconciles in a most original way the Afrikaners' striving with the multicultural nature of South African society.

Unfortunately, no Afrikaans political party, and no Afrikaner politician of note, has incorporated this thinking into its approach or his programme. But the fact is that it is present and could be activated — the task, obviously, of political leadership.

● Extract from the 1988 Ethics and International Affairs Journal published by the Carnegie Council.

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3/4/88

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gesting that the only thing Afrikaners and white South Africans in general are concerned with is "to protect their property and privileges", are mistaken.

Like the divestment and sanctions campaign, this assumes that white South Africans (and Afrikaners in particular) are influenced by material considerations alone. Certainly these are important, but, as with other nationalisms, Afrikaner nationalism's strength lies in its sense of history, its sense of the justice of its cause, its perception of place and the psychological adjuncts of these realities.

Related to the Afrikaner's natural sense of concern about the future is the question of what constitutes a just and workable political alternative to the status quo.

outsiders have any constructive role in bringing it about? As one writer put it: "In the extreme cases of plural societies, such as South Africa, the outlook for democracy of any kind is poor" but the fact is that South Africa probably has a better chance of achieving some kind of democracy than most countries in sub-Saharan Africa.

It has a long (by African standards) parliamentary tradition, a well-developed and proud legal profession, a judiciary which does not miss an opportunity to assert its independence, and a commercial and independent Press. It also has a highly developed and articulate private economic sector. Admittedly, at the present time, most of these institutions are under tremendous pressure..

toric, the ideological differences between black and white are not as rigid as the colour classification suggests.

Finally, an ethnic technocracy has begun to perceive the rising costs of apartheid domination and has engaged in modifying its control through reform.

Adam and Moodley might also have referred to South Africa's particular constitutional tradition. It is a tradition that is based more on the concept of collective or national self-determination or independence than on an individual civil liberty tradition.

The development of a democratic consciousness based on individual rights was introduced into South Africa by the 1820 English settlers and their descendants, who played a particularly

Political fur expected to fly

Joint debates may be held

Political Staff

Fur is expected to fly in Parliament after the Easter recess if behind-the-scenes negotiations are successful to implement joint debates in the so-called Great Hall.

Until now the partners in the tricameral system have been divided on race lines, sitting together only on certain occasions when they were not required or allowed to make speeches.

Coloureds, Indians and Whites currently conduct their debates separately in three different chambers.

Only Ministers and their deputies have been able to make speeches in chambers other than their own.

Now it is understood that the Government, and the Labour Party majority in the House of Representatives which blocked new rules allowing joint debates, may be within a whisker of finding each other.

If they do, say parliamentary sources, it will mark the end of the sometimes boring level of debate, because for the first time antagonists such as the CP and Coloured and Indian MPs will be able to confront each other directly.

It will also force the Government to stop pandering to rightwing attacks. As a result the NP is likely to appear quite leftwing compared with the Official Opposition.

Said one Coloured MP: "This will stop the Nats speaking with a forked tongue. A Minister says one thing to appease the CP in the House of Assembly and something sweet and verlig to the House of Representatives."

APARTHEID VICTIM

Mr Peter Hendrickse, MP, who is also national PRO for the Labour Party, said: "What's happening now is that white MPs are talking to each other about apartheid. This is just an academic exercise. I will tell them: 'You can talk your heads off about apartheid, but you have to justify it to me. I am a victim of apartheid.'"

MPs will have their votes recorded separately by race, however. Although the new voting system will allow MPs to vote at the same time, their votes will be recorded according to their membership of the three houses.

The Government cannot allow a total-vote system because this raises the spectre of Indian and Coloured MPs ganging up with the white opposition and defeating the Government.

Put Great Trek back into context

This year marks the 150th anniversary of the Great Trek. Peter Colenbrander discusses some of the myths surrounding the historic event.

Of the manifold myths enshrouding the Great Trek, the central one is that it made a white man's country of the South African hinterland. The underlying assumption is that the trek, of itself, fundamentally transformed the social composition and historical destiny of the region. The South African interior could no longer be regarded as the exclusive preserve of pre-colonial African societies, but was brought into the mainstream of white South African history.

Indeed, these claims are often stretched further. The trek is frequently held to be the central historical event in the evolution of modern South African society, and more especially of the politically dominant Afrikaner section of it.

This myth permeates not only the public pronouncements made annually at the Day of the Covenant celebrations, but still tends to inform works of history, particularly those prescribed for use in schools. It has several guises. At its crudest it takes on an unambiguously racist tone. The success of the numerically inferior band of white pioneers against all odds is taken as proof of their intrinsic racial and cultural superiority, and of their special historical mission.

Nowadays, only the ultra-right subscribes to this version of the myth. More common in this age of National Party reformism are its more euphemistic variants. These tend to be cast in terms of the victory of Christianity over heathendom, of civilisation over barbarism, and of progress over primitivism.

Whatever the permutations, the ideological and political agenda attaching to the myth is broadly the same. In essence, its function is to glorify, even to sanctify, the role of the Afrikaner community in South African history; to reinforce its group identity; to bestow upon it unique privileges and leadership responsibilities; and to stake out unassailable claims to special consideration in any future South African dispensation.

Given the pervasiveness of the trek in public rhetoric and school syllabuses, it is hardly surprising that many blacks have internalised and reacted to the myths that surround it. In the process, they have tended to draw very different lessons from them.



From a tapestry at the Voortrekker Monument.

It is not unusual to hear black scholars and students ascribing, in an intensely personalised way, their own disadvantages and sufferings under apartheid to the Great Trek itself. In this sense, the trek is more than a symbol of racial oppression, but is a living reality. Apartheid and the trek are almost seen to be historical synonyms.

There are many points at which both black and white versions of the central myth can be criticised. The long established black communities of the hinterland were hardly mindless savages in need of civilised redemption. Those who argue the contrary, need to go back to the archaeologial and historical studies that have recently appeared, and to examine their cultural and racial prejudices.

In any event the rough and ready, culturally exclusivist, trekkers seemed remarkably reluctant to share their religion or such "civilisation" as they had, with the indigeneous people they encountered.

More fundamentally, the myth represents a huge oversimplification of South Africa's historical evolution. The shaping of South African society (to borrow from the title of a recent

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with the Great Trek. Indeed, in the long view, the trek's significance as an historical turning point has been vastly exaggerated.

What it certainly did **not** do was to decisively shift the balance of history in South Africa's hinterland in favour of the whites. Clearly the trekkers were able to inflict notable victories on their more numerous African adversaries, but they also suffered several military reverses. Beyond that, they simply lacked the resources, the manpower and, for several years after their arrival, the political cohesion, to destroy the independence of the adjacent African polities.

Indeed, recent research has shown that as the newcomers struggled to establish themselves, and to resolve their acrimonious political squabbles, many of their African neighbours not only survived, but prospered. The Zulu state, for example, soon recovered from the defeats inflicted by the trekkers in 1838 and 1840.

In the ensuing decade and a half, it was to extend its overlordship into large parts of southern Mozambique and Swaziland on a perhaps unprecedented scale. It was only a succession dispute in the 1850s that undermined these gains, and even this setback the elaboration and consolidation of the Swazi state proceeded largely unimpeded. The Pedi polity in the north-eastern Transvaal experienced a significant accession of strength, not least through the procurement of firearms from the proceeds of migrant labour. In the Soutpansberg area, the Boer frontier was actually rolled back. Again the acquisition of firearms, this time by former African clients of the Boers, played a crucial role.

In all this regional ferment, the Boer community was but one element and by no means the decisive one.

Furthermore, in ways not generally acknowledged, Boer survival and prosperity was frequently contingent on African goodwill and co-operation. Not only did they provide labour, but they were also trading and hunting partners, as well as political and military allies. Nor were they by any means always the subordinante parties in these associations. On the contrary, they often played he leading role, and had their own agendas.

However, by the end of the 19th century, the tide had turned against the African people. But this owed comparatively little to the trek and very much more to British intervention, and even more fundamentally, the mining revolution after 1870. It is this latter which must surely rate as the crucial turning point of the century.

Overrated as the trek is in purely historical terms, there can be no denying its persistence and potency in shaping the racial and political consciousness of subsequent generations of South Africans.

At one level, what is now required is for commentators, and especially the authors of textbooks, to put the trek back into its historical context. At another it is to the subsequent transmutation of the trek as historical event into a nationalist mythology and sacred ethnic symbol that scholars should turn their future attention.

● *The writer is a lecturer in the department of history at the Uni-*

PARLIAMENT

(304A) B/day 12/4/88

NP sides with old enemies — CP

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.— How far the NP could go with its policies, if it shared with the PFP and the ANC the point of departure that SA should be an undivided country regardless of race or religion, was questioned by David Pienaar (CP Potgieterus) yesterday.

During the Second Reading debate on the Budget, Pienaar said the traditional enemies of the NP were now its friends and the only indication given by the Constitutional Planning Department's year-end report was that the agenda remained open.

Government's economic policy was steering the country towards disaster and for all practical purposes, SA was economically in an emergency.

NP commentators admitted the party had no plan and that as it could no longer rely on Afrikaner support, it needed the English-speaking South African.

The CP, on the other hand, had produced white unity.

But David Graaff (NP Wynberg) said the CP was made up of elements that presented three different constitutional policies to its voters.

One element demanded there should be a "*volkstaat*" — a white homeland smaller than the area covered by SA.

The second element asked that SA remain as big as it was but that people of colour be removed to their own homelands and travel to and from SA to serve their white employers.

"I call this the Bullet Train policy," Graaff said.

The third constitutional policy was presented by the "muddled thinkers" of the CP who believed in "*baasskap*" and independent homelands for coloureds and Indians. — Sapa.

FOCUS

PW expected to clarify Govt policy

Sowetan 12/4/88

304A

Sowetan Correspondent

PRESIDENT Botha is expected to give new clarity on major aspects of Government policy when he addresses Parliament during the debate on his vote next week.

Parliament resumed yesterday amid intense expectations in the National Party and elsewhere that President Botha will make announcements on three main problems in Government policy, power-sharing with blacks, group areas and beach integration.

The National Party's major defeats at the hands of the Conservative Party in the Schweizer-Reneke, Standerton and Randfontein by-elections have clearly shown that these are the vulnerable areas of policy — at least on the right.

The by-election defeats have prompted deep soul-searching in the National Party and there is strong pressure from the party for its leadership to give guidance.

The main problem with the conservative voter is uncertainty about the form that power-sharing will take and an important announcement on this issue is likely to be the keypoint of President Botha's speech.

The National Party Press and other party institutions have been demanding for some now that the Government clarify its position.

The Government's proposed instrument for power-sharing so far is the National Council which has failed to get off the ground because no credible leader will participate in it.

Beach

It is expected that Mr Botha will announce that either the National Council or some other similar institution will now be launched, regardless of whether or not these leaders endorse it.

Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, hinted at this possibility recently.

Some sort of clear policy on beach integration is also expected to figure prominently in President Botha's address.

The "swamping" of especially Natal beaches by blacks over the Christmas holidays clearly drove many conservative Transvaal voters into the CP camp.

National Party sources said yesterday that the Government's solution is likely to be similar to its revised group areas policy — that some beaches will be opened if local authorities want this but that other beaches will remain exclusive to particular racial groups.

In some quarters it is being said that the central government will veto the decision to open beaches to ensure that there are enough facilities to prevent overcrowding.

The Government will also be prepared to pour money into beach development to ensure the same goals.

President Botha is also expected to announce that legislation implementing the Government's proposed changes to the Group Areas Act is imminent.

The Government has accepted the principle of opening some residential areas to all races while retaining exclusive areas for those who want them.

But the CP has been able to exploit the "invasion" that has already taken place illegally in some areas such as Hillbrow.

Influx

President Botha is expected to announce measures to severely control the influx of blacks into white areas.

National Party sources said these would include some way of overcoming Supreme Court orders which have prevented the eviction of blacks from white areas on the grounds that the Government must first find alternative accommodation.

One National Party MP put it bluntly yesterday: "The Supreme Court does not rule South Africa, the National Party rules South Africa."

President Botha may also deal with the question of Namibia in his address following his talks with the transitional government of the territory last week.



PRESIDENT Botha . . . speech.

DID 13/4/88

De Klerk rejects challenge

304A

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Transvaal leader of the National Party, Mr F. W. de Klerk, last night declined to accept a challenge by the AWB leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, to resign his Vereeniging seat and "let the electorate decide".

Mr De Klerk dismissed the AWB leader's challenge as an "absurd" publicity stunt.

However, Mr De Klerk said he would welcome it if the AWB leader stood in Vereeniging in the next general election, as this "will make my seat even safer for the National Party".

He said Mr Terre'Blanche could have stood in any seat under the banner of his choosing during the May 6 elections of last year.

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said he did not believe Mr De Klerk would have the courage to resign.

"In case he does resign, the CP will immediately take the necessary steps."

A spokesman for the party declined to say what these steps would entail, or whether Mr Terre'Blanche might he allowed to stand under a CP banner.

See also page 11

...e said. — Sapa.

...available.

...by Mr Clive Derby-Lewis. — Sapa.

De Klerk scoffs at AWB challenge to contest seat

Sapa 13/4/88 (304A)

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Transvaal National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk has rejected AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche's challenge to a by-election fight in Mr de Klerk's Vereeniging seat.

He said the AWB leader's challenge to him to resign his seat and face a by-election was "ridiculous".

And Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has ducked the question of whether or not the CP would be prepared to stand back for Mr TerreBlanche if such an election took place.

Mr de Klerk said it was clear that Mr TerreBlanche was merely seeking publicity and that he could have stood against him in the May 6 general elections last year "under whatever standard you chose".

"You could have stood in Standerton, Schweizer-Reneke or Randfontein. In the light of this I find your challenge ridiculous.

SAFER SEAT

"I would welcome it if you stood against me in Vereeniging. This would make the seat safer for the National Party.

"But you will have to bide your time until the next general election.

"The sort of political tricks and children's games which you are now trying to play are not part of the National Party's style.

"They are unnecessary."

Mr TerreBlanche's challenge seems to have flummoxed the CP, which sees itself as the parliamentary political arm of their loose alliance.

Mr TerreBlanche told a press conference in Pretoria yesterday that he was negotiating with the CP — either to stand for them, or for them to stand back for him.

LACKING COURAGE

Approached for comment yesterday — before Mr de Klerk rejected the challenge — Dr Treurnicht would only say the CP believed that Mr de Klerk "would not have the courage to resign his seat. If he does resign the CP will immediately take the necessary steps".

The AWB will no doubt consider that it has called the National Party's bluff, as both President Botha and Mr de Klerk have already challenged Mr TerreBlanche to enter the parliamentary political terrain to seek a mandate for his policies.

FW could lose, say experts

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche could unseat Transvaal National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk in the unlikely event of their contesting a parliamentary by-election, political analysts said yesterday.

Mr TerreBlanche yesterday demanded Mr de Klerk's resignation as MP and expressed his eagerness to contest Mr de Klerk's Vereeniging seat.

Political commentators said Mr de Klerk would be unwise to accept the challenge, since Vereeniging had become a marginal seat in the light of the significant CP gains in three recent Transvaal by-elections.

Political analyst Professor Willem Kleynhans said Mr de Klerk would be "foolish" to contest a by-election, as it was clear he could lose.

WORLD R500



Regulations enfranchise millions

Squatters given municipal vote

SQUATTERS will qualify for the vote in the coming October municipal elections in terms of new regulations and legislative amendments.

Officials in the Constitutional Development Department confirmed President P W Botha had, within the past two weeks, signed amendments to the Constitutional Affairs Act which in effect will grant the vote to millions of squatters should they wish to exercise it.

One senior local government official in the Transvaal said: "We were insistent squatters should not be discriminated against. Although most of them squat illegally they have been there for many years."

Three months

In terms of the amendments, anyone who has lived in an area under the jurisdiction of a local authority for three months or more, or has immovable assets in the area, will be granted the franchise.

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

The Black Sash recently estimated there were more than a million squatters in the PWV area alone.

In addition to this development, election regulations for the Transvaal in terms of the Black Local Authorities Act were gazetted last week which now make provision for blacks who do not have ID books to vote.

The regulations make it possible for blacks who qualify for the vote to show any form of identification, including the now redundant reference books, if they have not been able to obtain ID books before the election.

Where ID documents are not available, people wishing to vote or be listed on the voters' rolls, will be able to do so if another person with an ID document is able to vouch for them.

Local government authorities say other provinces are due to gazette similar election regulations soon.

Challenge to NP by AWB leader

PIP 13/4/88

304A

PRETORIA — The leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Mr Eugene Terre-'Blanche, announced yesterday that he had decided to "take the seat" presently held in the Transvaal by the leader of the National Party, Mr F. W. de Klerk.

He said at a media conference here:

"I have decided to take Mr De Klerk's seat in Transvaal, and accept his challenge to test the voters in Vereeniging."

"I ask you (Mr De Klerk) to resign immediately and let the electorate decide.

"When you accept this challenge, I will say in which capacity I will stand.

"We draw the masses and they (the NP) a few, therefore we should give the electorate the opportunity of showing who is right."

Asked which party he would stand for, Mr Terre'Blanche said that was not important at this stage.

"The purpose is to defeat him at the polls."

Asked what the reaction of the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, would be to his announcement to enter politics, Mr Terre'Blanche said: "The President himself has said this would be a democratic approach, but I don't know how surprised he will be."

In Cape Town yesterday the leader of the CP, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said his party was of the opinion that Mr De Klerk would not have the courage to resign from his seat.

If he actually resigned, the CP would take the necessary steps immediately. — Sapa

DID 13/9/88

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SA government rejects discrimination — Heunis

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN —The South African Government has rejected all forms of discrimination, whether on the grounds of race, culture, religion or sex.

This was stated by the The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, yesterday appealed for acknowledgement of this at the opening of the Lebowa Legislative Assembly.

He also appealed for support for the steps which had already been taken by the government to promote the process of negotiation in South Africa.

Solutions that met the requirements of fairness and justice, in co-operation with people and bodies with similar commitments, had to be found.

He maintained that the critics of government were labouring under the misconception that negotiation took place only when parties formally argued their case in public until a compromise was reached.

"Informal negotiation can also make a magnificent contribution to the search for solutions," Mr Heunis said.

He listed several elements he believed contributed to a fruitful process of negotiation.

These included:

- A relationship of trust which was needed, and had to be brought about between all parties;
- The willingness of parties to modify and adapt some of their points of view;
- An understanding for the viewpoints of the other parties involved had to be developed;
- A readiness to give, as well as to take, was also a necessary requirement.

The minister said that widespread support across group and party-political lines existed for basic points of departure such as:

- Effective group protection;
- Full participation in the decision-making process by all, on the basis of an equitable and just sharing of power;

"We have now reached the stage where we can strive for true and enduring equal treatment, also in the constitutional structures which we create together," Mr Heunis said.

"This can only take place, however, among groups that have found themselves, that know who they are and what they desire to become," he concluded.

Parliament

De Klerk turns down AWB call

Cape Times 13/4/88

3044

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Transvaal leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, last night turned down a challenge by AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche immediately to resign his Vereeniging seat and "let the electorate decide".

Mr De Klerk dismissed the AWB leader's challenge as an "absurd" publicity stunt.

However, Mr De Klerk said he would welcome the AWB leader standing in Vereeniging in the next general election, claiming this "will make my seat even safer for the National Party".

Earlier yesterday, Mr Terre'Blanche announced at a press conference in Pretoria that he had decided to "take the seat" at present held by Mr De Klerk.

Sapa reported that he said: "I have decided to take Mr De Klerk's seat in Transvaal and accept his challenge to test the voters in Vereeniging.

"I ask you (Mr de Klerk) to resign immediately and let the electorate decide. When you accept this challenge, I will say in which capacity I will stand."

Asked which party he would stand for, he said: "It is not important at this stage for which party I am going to stand.

"Mr De Klerk said I should enter politics and that is what I am going to do. The purpose is to defeat him at the polls."

'No courage'

Reacting to the latest developments, the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said he did not believe Mr De Klerk would have the courage to resign his seat.

He quickly added: "In case he does resign, the CP will immediately take the necessary steps."

A spokesman for the party declined to say what these steps would be or whether Mr Terre'Blanche would he allowed to stand under a CP banner.

Mr De Klerk said last night that the AWB leader was "purely seeking publicity".

He said Mr Terre'Blanche could have stood in any seat under the banner of his choosing during the May 6 elections of last year. He could also have stood in the recent by-elections in Standerton, Schweizer-Reneke or Randfontein.

"In the light of this I find your challenge to a by-election absurd."

Mr De Klerk added that the "political tricks and child's play" of Mr Terre'Blanche were not NP style.

Mr Terre'Blanche also challenged him to appear in a television debate.

"The AWB is prepared to test its views on TV and with the electorate," he said.

Asked what the reaction of State President Mr P W Botha would be to his decision to enter politics, Mr Terre'Blanche said: "The President himself has said this would be a democratic approach, but I don't know how surprised he will be."

Terre'Blanche tells De Klerk: quit and fight

Beeld 13/9/88 SAPA

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche has challenged Transvaal NP leader F W de Klerk to resign his Vereeniging seat and fight him in a by-election.

Terre'Blanche said: "You challenged me to enter politics and I accept the challenge. If, as you have claimed, the AWB is unacceptable, then let the *volk* decide."

He rejected the attempt to couple the AWB with the CP. The AWB had no intention of entering politics.

However, the CP had been informed of the challenge and negotiations on the issue were in progress.

Asked under what banner he would fight the by-election, Terre'Blanche said the challenge was a personal one and it would be fought on that basis.

□ Sapa reports that De Klerk last night dismissed Terre'Blanche's challenge as ridiculous.

He said Terre'Blanche was welcome to stand against him in the constituency of Vereeniging, but that he would have to wait until the next election.

Black people must react — Minister

CAPE TOWN — The Minister of Information in the Office of the State President, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, says if black people do not react to the opportunities for negotiation created by the Government, opposition in right-wing circles will increase.

Speaking on a telephone-in programme on the SABC's black radio service, Dr van der Merwe said the Government would continue with its reform programme in spite of right-wing opposition.

He said hard work would also have to be done to overcome white indifference to the Government's reform initiative.

Dr van der Merwe said the apparent lack of interest in the proposed National Council could be ascribed to representations about it made by "revolutionary elements" that were not interested in peaceful negotiations.

Doubts about the viability of the council also arose out of a lack of understanding of the urgency of the situation in the country and the Goverment's goodwill. — Sapa.

the cut through a meadlefield is more testimony to the horrible impact

● Picture by Etienne Rothbart.

First joint debate to be held next week

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — History will be made next week when politicians of colour take part in the first parliamentary joint debate with the State President and his colleagues.

Members of all three Houses will gather in the new 340-seat Chamber of Parliament to debate the budget vote of the State President.

For the first time, the Conservative Party, Labour Party, National People's Party, Progressive Federal Party, Solidarity and the United Democratic Party will be able to interact with the National Party and each other in one overall debate.

Sources said today that agreement on the rules for such joint debates between the white, coloured and Indian chambers were imminent.

Basic hurdles in the way of such an agreement had been overcome in an intense round of behind-the-scenes negotiations.

The Speaker, Mr Louis le Grange, declined today to confirm or deny that joint debates would be on from next week, saying: "The final meeting of the committee has to take place today and the report of the committee must then go to the various Houses for final approval."

However, sources said this was, in fact, a formality and that joint debates were on the cards.

The National Party was understood to have made a number of concessions, including that the power to decide on joint debates is no longer to be the sole prerogative of Parliament's Chief Whip. The Speaker will also have to be consulted.

The proposed rule that the Houses would have to vote separately in voting sessions in their own chambers has been revised.

Voting will still be separate, but in the same Chamber of Parliament after each item.

Sophisticated electronic voting apparatus has already been installed in the Chamber.

MPs will address the chamber from a podium and not from their seats, a system used by the US Congress and the German Parliament.

The State President's Budget vote debate will last for three days from next Wednesday. Mr Botha will listen to it throughout and he may enter it as often as he wishes.

2 being held

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ANC important to future in SA, says Nat MP

By DALE LAUTENBACH
Parliamentary Staff

THE controversial National Party MP for Innesdal, Mr Albert Nothnagel, said that all existing black political groupings in South Africa — including the ANC, Azapo and the 17 recently restricted organisations — would have to be addressed and were as important to the political future of South Africa as the various white political groups.

Speaking during the second reading Budget debate in the Assembly yesterday, Mr Nothnagel said the leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, was giving recognition to an important reality when he said the real choice in the South African conflict would be between the African National Congress and the AWB.

"I'm not one of those people who thinks the AWB is important. I think they get too much publicity. But when Mr Terre'Blanche says it's going to be either the ANC or the AWB he is right in recognising that the ANC is a very important part of South African politics."

GUNS, VIOLENCE

Just as the existing white political groupings would be important in determining the political future of South Africa, so would all the existing black groupings, Mr Nothnagel said — "the ANCs, the Azapos and the 17 restricted organisations".

"You cannot bluff yourself that with guns and violence you can erase the political ideals of these people, even the most radical," he said.

Mr Terre'Blanche was right again when he said that a political ideal could not be locked up. He was, of course, speaking for the white man, but the principle that one could not lock up the ideas and ideals of even the most radical leftwinger was correct, Mr Nothnagel said.

"The AWB must tell us whether they think you can put the ideals and aspirations of the black South African behind bars, no matter how radical and how different he is from you.

CITIZENSHIP

"At one point or another you have to address these people politically and that's just as much a fact as we are sitting here tonight," he said.

He said the thing he and many of his colleagues were most proud of was the recent legislation which reinstated citizenship for all South Africans.

"The political party that takes away that reinstated citizenship from black South Africans will be responsible for the most bloody and final revolution," he warned.

"We (the National Party) won't let you (the Conservative Party) send our children and yours recklessly into a bloodbath."

CP challenged to get estimate of cost of partition policy

DIP 15/4/88

3 DEA

from CHRIS FREIMOND

CAPE TOWN — The National Party MP for Cradock, Mr Tobie Meyer, has challenged the Conservative Party to appoint a panel of experts to estimate the cost of implementing the party's policy of racial geographic partition.

Speaking in the Budget debate which continued in parliament yesterday, Mr Meyer said if the CP did this and published the figures he doubted that they would receive the sort of support they won in recent by-elections.

Mr Meyer said the CP's policy meant not only the massive removal of black people, but also the provision of fast commuter transport systems and the establishment of at least 13 parliaments within South Africa.

The borders of the CP's proposed separate areas were such a politically touchy issue that the party was unwilling to make them known.

He said the CP did not cater for English speakers unless they were prepared to associate and identify with Afrikanerdom.

Mr Meyer said the CP would abandon the whites of the Eastern Cape and tell them that they would have to look after themselves. This was because there was no provision for a "Volkstaat" in the Cape and because there was a considerable English-speaking component in the region.



MR MEYER

He said it was absurd of the CP to suggest that it could herd all blacks in a region — including farm workers — into the local black townships and then link the towns to a homeland for the purposes of administration and by so doing create white majority areas.

COMMENT

Go for growth

THE most worrisome feature of the South African political scene is that politics, after a decade of economic stagnation, is becoming increasingly a competition for resources.

This is not the place to cite all the evidence of emerging class conflict — to compound race conflict — but it is plain for all to see that tensions are rising between workers and capital, between trade unions and the unemployed, between public sector and private sector, between manufacturers and traders, between various classes of taxpayers, and so forth.

The reason is that they are all fighting for a bigger share of a shrinking pie. Politics has become to a large measure a debate about the redistribution of wealth, while the need to create that wealth is either taken for granted or dismissed as being impossible to achieve in the face of sanctions.

The case for seeking answers to social problems through rapid economic growth can be reduced to very simple terms: a growth rate of 7% a year sustained for 10 years would double the available wealth in the country. Without any redistribution at all, even the poorest classes might be twice as well off in 1998 as they are today. In theory, it is quite feasible for this country to grow at a rate of 7% a year. Other countries have easily achieved such rates, and Japan has managed 10% or more. So has Brazil. No analogy is perfect, but at least South African debate should begin with the assumption that this country can double its wealth by the end of the century.

The alternative argument — the argument which has prevailed in government circles for the past decade — is that social tensions must be defused by spreading the existing wealth as widely as possible. Government's attempts to do so through the tax mechanism, though partial and inept, have nevertheless — as Saambou MD Christie Kuun remarked earlier this week — had a debilitating effect on the economy. The very poor have become poorer, the very rich have emigrated, and those in the middle have become angry. Except for odd individuals, hardly anybody has doubled his wealth in 10 years. We are not redistributing wealth, but poverty.

If the past decade has shown anything at all, it is that government cannot with the best will in the world reduce poverty, nor create jobs, nor build houses for the homeless, nor allocate resources effectively, nor create wealth. Government, by its nature, is a net consumer of wealth.

The time has surely come for a national symposium — a continuing symposium of quarterly meetings, perhaps, with a small secretariat to keep the debate moving — to identify the actions required to achieve a 7% annual rate of growth. If it does no more than educate South Africans to the political possibilities that would be unlocked by such growth, it would already offer an alternative to the bleak prospect of ever-intensifying squabbles for a bigger share of a diminishing pie.

Killing competition

EVERYBODY knows that apart- regulation of black-owned taxis, so

Strong centre essential, says Schlebusch

Political Correspondent

If rightwing or leftwing radicalism got the upper hand in South Africa it could be fatal for the country, says veteran politician Mr Alwyn Schlebusch who retired from the political scene at the end of last month.

There was, therefore, the need to strengthen the political centre and to create a strong and balanced force between the extremist alternatives, he said.

In an interview this week he said he believed that, although there were signs of success for the extreme poles in politics — particularly the far right at present — these extremes had a ceiling and most South Africans would be sensible enough to want to build up and stabilise a strong centre.

His recipe for the fight against the far-right extremists is for the middle group especially to put the demographic realities of the country — the population figures now and in the future — to people more strongly and aggressively.

"We must come back to the drawing board on the basis of these sober facts in order to get a political accommodation for all in this country.

"It is as if many of our people are scared of facing these facts, while the rightwing holds out all kinds of misleading formulas which cannot survive any thorough analysis."

Mr Schlebusch said by "the centre" he did not mean only the National Party. Many English people who were not specifically nationalists had voted for the party.

The National Party must spell out and implement aspects of its policy more clearly, he said.

Changes in South Africa would have to be handled carefully as they were all subject to the fact that, as far as the composition of the population was concerned, there were complex problems not faced by any other country in the world. It would be fatal to move faster artificially.

3044A STAR 15/4/88

Big business will back Govt's reform initiative

By Michael Chester

Big business has urged President Botha to press ahead with socio-political reform despite attacks from right-wing critics in the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB).

Mr Hennie Viljoen said in his inaugural address as the new president of the Witwatersrand Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Johannesburg last night that the private sector pledged full backing to Government reform initiatives.

He appealed to the President: "Go ahead on the road to reform. Don't retreat because of what happened in the recent general election. Commerce and industry will support you."

The Government had to do away with criticisms that it was delaying the implementation of its reform plans because of right-wing hostility and election results.



Mr Hennie Viljoen was elected president of Witwatersrand Chamber of Commerce and Industry last night. He succeeds Mr Aubrey Pitt. Mr Viljoen is a director of National Beverage Services and president of the SA Federation of Soft Drink Manufacturers.

Mr Viljoen, also a former president of the Transvaal Chamber of Industries, added: "It is absolutely imperative that the Government maintains its resolve in carrying through its new economic package.

"They have raised hopes for the long-term health of our economy, for a new economic era founded on fiscal discipline and tax reduction.

"We have set off on the road to economic and political reform. We can ill afford detours around a few potholes of political expediency."

He said the need to stick to reform must be fueled by an awareness of unemployment, now running at about 22 percent nationally, and the need to create more jobs.

"It is necessary to highlight the rôle of the informal sector in job creation. There are detractors who point to non-payment of general sales and other taxes but the sector spreads the employment net and genewealth that is injected into the economy."

THE POLITICS OF OPPOSITION

Points of departure

With the confusion in the PFP and the fragmentation of extra-parliamentary opposition to the Left of government, Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse and Independent Party founder Denis Worrall have emerged as key players in mainstream politics. The *FM* asked Worrall to interview Hendrickse, partly to explore any common ground on future reform.

Worrall: Allan, it strikes me that you are very deeply rooted in Uitenhage. The Dale Street Congregational Church — is that still your church?

Hendrickse: No. The church itself was moved under the Group Areas Act. It was of great sentiment to us — it was the church in which my dad was a lay preacher, where he studied and was ordained; in which I was baptised and confirmed; in which I got married and in which my kids were baptised and so on. But when you go down there now it is all gone — the houses have been broken down, the church has been demolished. The only thing that remains is the belfry — almost like a slave bell. The story goes that in order to demolish it, the demolisher had to put a chain around the bell, and then hooked this to his bakkie. But when he tried to pull it over, the bakkie ricocheted and thereafter nobody tried to remove it. It is still standing.

You came from a very achievement-orientated family — your brothers and sisters are all well-educated.

My eldest brother is a gynaecologist and is with a Durban hospital. My second brother was a businessman who died at an early age. But the third brother Paul, was especially talented. He is the chap who became a member of the Royal College and Institute of Gynaecologists and became a world-renowned authority. He was a professor of gynaecology in Nigeria where he died in 1987. I have one sister who is a teacher in Uitenhage and another sister who is an American citizen. She has a doctorate in psychology.

You spent your youth at Uitenhage, and then you went on to Fort Hare where you met some quite outstanding personalities.

My formative years were spent living in a mixed neighbourhood with all kinds of people — English speakers, Afrikaners, Chinese and Indians, and so on. This was sort of capped when I went to Fort Hare — which I believed then, and still believe, is the answer to the South African situation. It was completely integrated. We were all just one big family, particularly figures like Professor ZK Matthews, who eventually became Botswana's representative at the UN. Robert Mugabe was there, as was Gatsha Buthelezi. I was exceptionally close friends with Orton Chirwa — he was subsequently condemned to death in Malawi, but not executed. And my roommate was Dr J Njoroge, who was Minister of the Interior in Kenya.

You learnt the politics of protest in the following years and went into the CRC. In 1976 you spent 60 days in solitary confinement. Would you say that your style was of politics of protest, followed by a period of accommodation? And now are you are back in the politics of protest?

Yes and no. I am still committed to the politics of negotiation, but that does not exclude protest. For example, after numerous protests by the PFP about the segregated dining-room facilities for parliamentarians, we (the LP) staged a protest sit-in for two days and the facilities were opened. Although there were a lot of different reactions to the swimming incident in Port Elizabeth, that was a form of protest. I believe I won internationally on that issue.

Did the incident contribute to the political relevance of the Labour Party?

Yes, very much. We gained relevance, not because of the swimming incident as such, but because the State President deplored it on television for a full 23 minutes!

It strikes me that the distinction between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics is now an acknowledged feature of our political situation. How do you see this distinction and how do you think it can be bridged?

It is only recently that we have got parliamentary participation. The anti-apartheid protest as reflected in, for example, the Non-European Unity Movement, was exclusively extra-parliamentary. My one regret is that we seem now to be in opposition to each other. It is almost as if it is two dogs fighting over a bone when a third one runs away with it. The two spheres ought to be complementary to each other.

There surely is a common objective.

That is so. Participation and non-participation are strategies, but they should complement each other.

Let me put a suggestion to you. I believe that the two spheres can be bridged with a genuine negotiation process. I believe that all the constitutional options, including the more controversial ones, should be put on the metaphorical table. And that all political organisations and parties which are committed to peaceful change should be invited to participate in that process. But for this to work the government will have to drop the idea that black organisations will come into the executive or into existing parliamentary institutions. That is not going to happen.

You are right. The problem at the moment is that the government sees itself as monopolising the process. For example, the National Council, which was a good idea, has been formulated with a structure which is not acceptable to the Labour Party. It is even less acceptable to those outside the system. But it could have been an important point of departure.

If it occurred outside the existing institutions?

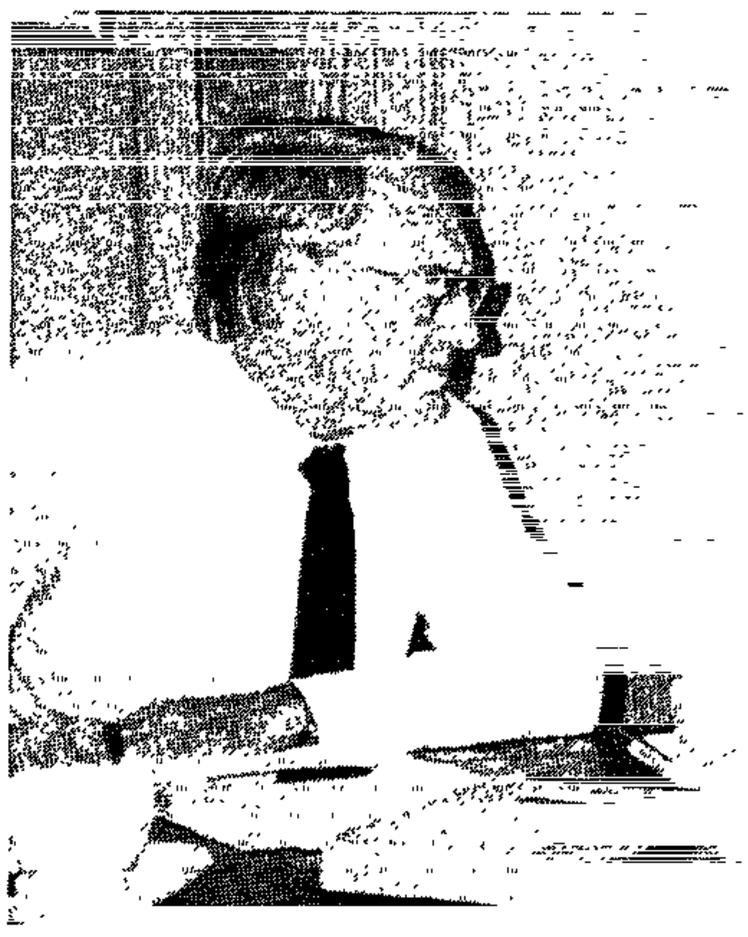
That is correct.

Moving on to your role within the tricameral system, do you feel you have justified your participation?

We said very clearly that our participation had to be justified in terms of dismantling apartheid and uplifting a depressed and deprived community. We have made a contribution to breaking down apartheid through participation on the standing committees, where we have succeeded in bringing about no fewer than 72 amendments to discriminatory legislation. But I think that the growth of support for the Labour Party itself reflects our dedication within the system to progress in education, housing and social and welfare questions. People are seeing things happening and this has justified participation up to this time. However, if reform is going to stand still we will have a problem.

Regarding your role within the government, what effects has your resignation from the Cabinet had?

It was an experience serving on the highest echelon of government, but it was also a shackling experience. We were exceptions among the Afrikaners, and were of course outnumbered 18 to 2. There is of course no vote — decision is by consensus — and therefore one felt shackled again, because any decision made by the Cabinet was binding on you, and this was used against the Labour Party. When we wished to innovate



Worrall and Hendrickse

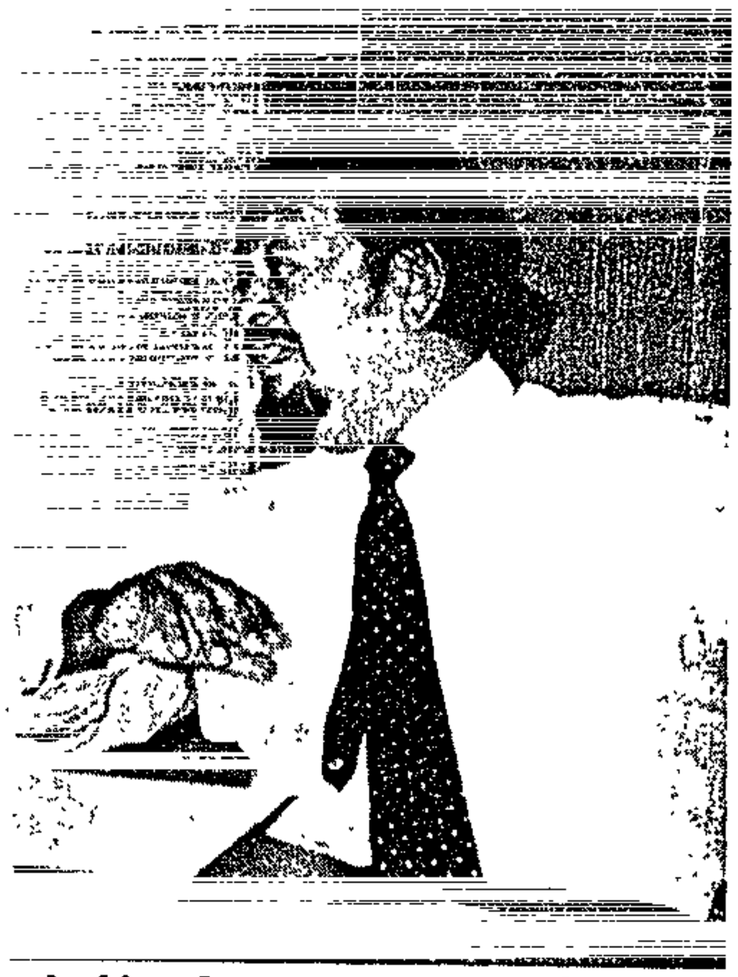
something in caucus or in a standing committee, one of the government guys would come along and say your leader approved of this in Cabinet!

I suspect that your resignation gave you and the Labour Party a greater relevance within the coloured community. Would you welcome UDF participation in elections? And how would you fare?

I have no doubt that we would do well. People are inclined to look at the real issues. They look at the situation in which they live. Within my own community the support for the UDF has declined. When they initiated the organisation in 1984 in Mitchell's Plain, they had an audience of some 25 000 people. Last year they celebrated their anniversary and press reports said there were no more than 3 000 present. This is a question of raising expectations and not fulfilling them. "We want our liberation now" and emotional appeals work among youngsters. But people like Alan Boesak had to change their position. They had to admit that education before liberation was an important preparation for the struggle.

If I were to mention three events that we have talked about — the swimming incident, your resignation from the Cabinet, and your stand on the question of a deferred House of Assembly election — which do you think has given greater relevance to the Labour Party?

Certainly my resignation from the Cabinet. You see, Group Areas will remain a sore point with the coloured community, in which about 100 000 families have been uprooted. But you must also bear in mind that last year was the 21st anniversary of the District Six removal. And you have the development of the community, for example Mitchell's Plain — almost a new community which doesn't know District Six as we knew it. They have established a new character, a new community and a people who don't have the same emotional reaction as the older generation.



• looking for common ground

But you are not suggesting that there aren't individuals who want to live outside their designated areas? It was clear to me at the Labour Party congress in December that this is the point the coloured community feels most strongly about.

You are right, and certainly there are people who wish to live outside their areas. But what I am saying to Afrikaners is that it is perfectly feasible for them to repeal the Act. Aside from the fact that it is difficult for somebody who lives in Mitchell's Plain simply to sell out and buy a property and build a house somewhere else, you do not give up your home, your plans for the future, and your community in order simply to fill an ideological expectation. District Six is again an example. The people who had real grassroots experience of the place are no longer with us. I have said to the State President that there is an opportunity of winning the hearts and minds of the coloured people by declaring District Six open — this would really be a symbol of goodwill. Unfortunately, he replied that District Six was 80% owned by whites and the coloured people were tenants.

It seems to me, given the high priority your supporters place on the repeal of group areas, that there is no way you can agree to President Botha's request to defer the election?

I have no doubt about that.

With a rightwing opposition, many persons perceive the Labour Party to be the major liberal opposition party in parliament and you the most senior parliamentarian. Thus the *FM* has even suggested that you might be leader of the PFP.

The Labour Party won't like that!

But are you ready to play a leading role on the creative opposition side? I ask this because I understand the frustration and irritation which many people presently experience. Are you prepared to be the catalyst?

I think the Labour Party has always seen a role in the South African situation. This is true not simply of the opposition, but also in terms of black and white relations. We see ourselves as being in the middle.

You are co-operating with the PFP in parliamentary matters, and with the establishment of the Independent Party you offered to co-operate — an offer which we immediately accepted. But how do you see this proceeding in practical terms?

We still have to work hard on the whole question of historically determined perspectives which white and black people have.

Are you saying that there is a psychological barrier?

Yes, but I agree with you that we have got to start somewhere.

What about a DTA (Namibia) kind of agreement?

I think it is a matter of a common goal but with separate and complementary strategies.

It seems to me that we could agree on a basis of co-operation within the creative opposition along the following lines: opposition to apartheid and discrimination; recognition of the principle of voluntary association, and that groups will constitute themselves in terms of religious, language and cultural interests; recognition that the future has to be negotiated on an "all-options-open" basis.

Expressed in positive terms, the Independent Party is therefore committed to a non-racial, democratic and free-market SA. Now it seems to me that there are three principle positions that you and I and other people in the creative opposition could share. Do you have a basis here?

I think so. I think we need in particular to emphasise the question of voluntary association. I have no doubt that is why I am here and why others have chosen a different role.

Like me, I think you feel very strongly about the Indaba. Can your relationship to Mangosuthu Buthelezi be patched up?

I think the situation is one of healthy disagreement on his part. I have never felt on a personal level that it was a case of Gatsha Buthelezi against Allan Hendrickse the person. We've met as brothers, and we will continue to meet as brothers and we share certain basic things. Oscar Dhlomo was at the funeral of one of my members recently, and my expression of sympathy to Inkatha and the chief ministers personally on the death of Bishop Zulu was a real identification. The decision of the Labour Party to participate in the tricameral system may have hurt him personally. But I think that today there is a better understanding of what we are trying to do. We also consult with Inkatha, and of course we participated very fully in the Indaba.

How are your party finances?

One of our problems is that the LP originally started as a labour movement and was handicapped in that legislation prevented us from raising money for political purposes. In the late Sixties, whether we could receive money from white businessmen and from overseas was complicated by the Improper Political Interference Act. The result is that we used to take collections as we went from meeting to meeting in elections. The CRC gave us some basis for a party income, in that in 1975 at Umtata we took a decision that public representatives should give some of their income to the party. Today we all give 10% of our salaries to the party. But the corporate sector should look more sympathetically at our position.

This is one of the advantages of us finding some basis of co-operation. One last question. If you had the power the State President has, what immediate steps would you take?

I have no doubt in my mind that the first step would be to release Nelson Mandela and other long-term prisoners. I still regard them as political prisoners. I believe that they would have an influence on the atmosphere of violence that has been created, sometimes consciously but other times as a response to the whole question of apartheid. This is a major obstacle to black leaders serving on statutory bodies, and with their release we would have a fresh start. ■

MG&S 15/4/88 (304A

CITY/NATIONAL

Another top Nat backs call to take note of ANC

By PETER FABRICIUS, Political Staff

TWO National Party MPs have said in as many days that the ANC must be taken into account in any future political dispensation — but the NP claims it has not changed its policy on the ANC.

Mr Albert Nothnagel, MP for Innesdal, raised eyebrows in Parliament this week by saying all existing black political groupings, including the ANC, Azapo and the 17 recently restricted organisations, would have to be addressed and were important to the political future of South Africa.

After an outraged reaction from Conservative Party MP Mr Fanie Jacobs, Mr Con Botha yesterday backed Mr Nothnagel, but also severely qualified what he had said.

Mr Botha explained today that he had tried to distinguish between what Mr Nothnagel had said and how the CP had interpreted it. These two were "worlds apart".

Plain sense

Mr Nothnagel was talking not so much about the ANC as an organisation but about the ideas it stood for, Mr Botha claimed.

"He said these ideas could not be imprisoned and discounted, and I agreed with him.

"This is such plain sense that I don't think it warrants debate.

"It is totally different to Mr Jacobs saying that the ANC must be part of the solution."

President Botha had already stated that the Government accepts the ANC had to be a factor in any discussion about the future dispensation.

He had accepted this when he said the ANC was welcome to join in the debate about future dispensations as long as it renounced violence.

Renounce violence

"Mr Jacobs seemed to be inferring that we were saying the ANC should be brought in irrespective of whether they renounce violence."

Asked what ANC ideas the NP believed would have to be taken into account, Mr Botha said he meant the ANC's "basic concept that it was working for black political rights".

"Any organisation striving for the improvement of the lot of a population group should be given the opportunity to state its case."

Mr Nothnagel was slapped down by the National Party leadership last year when he urged the Government to have talks with the ANC.



Picture: DOUG PITHEY, The Argus.

WALKING THE DOG: Yo-yos are in season again! Showing off a host of new tricks are the world champions, from left, Gustavo Velez, of Colombia and Marcia Fontebasso and Alexandre Silva of Brazil, who will demonstrate their skills at schools and shopping centres during the next five weeks. They will also judge yo-yo competitions.

R1 500 fine for illegal crayfishing

Court Reporter

AN ATHLONE fisherman has been fined R1 500 in the Cape Town Magistrate's Court for illegal crayfishing.

Colin Julies, 26, of Third Avenue, pleaded guilty to:

- Throwing 372 crayfish parts back into sea on January 27, for which he was fined R200 (or 50 days);
- Breaking the tails off 337 crayfish and catching 631 undersized crayfish, for which he was fined R1 000 (or 300 days), of which half was suspended for three years; and
- Landing crayfish from a boat at a place other than a factory, for which he was fined R300 (or 100 days).

He had no previous convictions.



MR NOTHNAGEL



MR BOTHA

NP adopts change of attitude towards ANC

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Senior National Party MPs appear to have adopted a major change of attitude in publicly recognising the political importance of the ANC and other banned organisations.

The outspoken MP for Innesdal, Mr Albert Nothnagel, drew a barrage of Conservative Party criticism yesterday for his budget debate speech.

He had said the ANC and the 17 organisations recently banned by the government were an important factor in South African politics.

In spite of the CP's attacks, a senior frontbencher, Mr Con Botha, the NP chief information officer, came to his defence.

"The ideas of the ANC and the 17 organisations are important. You cannot argue about that," he said, attacking Mr Fanie Jacobs, the CP MP for Losberg, for suggesting Mr Nothnagel had said a solution to South Africa's problems was not possible without the ANC.

What intrigued other opposition MPs yesterday was whether the apparent attitude of certain senior Nationalist MPs was shared by the party hierarchy, particularly in light of Mr Nothnagel being publicly chastised for saying the government would eventually have to talk to the ANC.

Mr Nothnagel also raised the hackles of the CP during his budget speech when he said the NP had got the political myth that whites were a "chosen race" out of its system.

Another myth the party had got out of its system was that the Afrikaner race was more important than the South African nation, he said.

The NP had also jettisoned the myth that there was such as thing as a white South Africa.

He said, defiantly, that CP members had quoted from an article he had written last year about the ANC but he had never withdrawn one word of if.

The controversial AWB was getting far too much publicity but even its own leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, had recognised the importance of the ANC in the political realities of the country.

"As certain as we are sitting here I say that the NP, the PFP, the CP, the NRP, the AWB, and every political grouping which exists, is important on the road ahead for South Africa," said Mr Nothnagel.

"On the other hand, certain organisations which are active in black politics — the ANC, Azapo, Azano and every one of the 17 organisations which were banned — are of political importance and anyone who cannot see this cannot even recognise the political realities of South Africa as Mr Terre'Blanche has.

"Now we can talk about how we handle them.

"We can talk about terrorism, which we all reject with contempt and abhorrence and which we can only destroy with violence.

"As far as radical black politics is concerned we must not bluff ourselves that we can wish it away with rifles and violence.

"Ideals could not be locked up," he said.

Nat rethink on ANC, banned organizations?

Political Staff

SENIOR Nationalist frontbenchers appear to have adopted a major change of attitude in publicly recognizing the political importance of the ANC and other banned organizations.

The outspoken MP for Innesdal, Mr Albert Nothnagel, drew a barrage of Conservative Party criticism yesterday for his budget debate speech in which he openly said the ANC and the 17 organizations recently banned by the government were an important factor in South African politics.

Solution to SA's problems

And, in spite of the CP's attacks, senior frontbencher Mr Con Botha, MP for Umlazi and the party's chief information officer, came to his defence.

"The ideas of the ANC and the 17 organizations are important. You cannot argue about that," he said, attacking Mr Fanie Jacobs, the CP MP for Losberg, for suggesting Mr Nothnagel had said a solution to South Africa's problems was not possible without the ANC.

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Another myth the party had got out of its system was that the Afrikaner race was more important than the South African nation, he said.

"As certain as we sit here tonight, the best way for the white man to destroy himself is to pamper the baasskap myth," said Mr Notnagel. "We in the NP have entirely got out of our system the myth that we can stay standing through weapons and violence."

The NP had also jettisoned the myth that there was such as thing as a white South Africa.

He said defiantly that CP members had quoted from an article he had written last year about the ANC but he had never withdrawn one word of if.

The controversial AWB was getting far too much publicity but even its own leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, had recognized the importance of the ANC in the political realities of the country.

"As certain as we are sitting here I say that the NP, the PFP, the CP, the NRP, the AWB and every political grouping which exists is important on the road ahead for South Africa," said Mr Nothnagel.

'Reject terrorism'

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"Now we can talk about how we handle them.

"We can talk about terrorism, which we all reject with contempt and abhorrence and which we can only destroy with violence.

"As far as radical black politics is concerned we must not bluff ourselves that we can wish it away with rifles and violence."

Ideals could not be locked up, he said.

Call for CP to reveal cost of policy

Political Staff

THE National Party MP for Cradock, Mr Tobie Meyer, has challenged the Conservative Party to appoint a panel of experts to estimate the cost of implementing the party's policy of racial geographic partition.

Speaking in the Budget debate which continued in Parliament yesterday, Mr Meyer said that if the CP did this and published the figures he doubted that they would receive the sort of support they won in the recent Transvaal by-elections.

Mr Meyer said the CP's policy meant not only the massive removal of black people, but also the provision of fast commuter transport systems and the establishment of at least 13 parliaments within South Africa.

Touchy issue

He said further that the borders of the CP's proposed separate areas was such a politically touchy issue that the party was unwilling to make them known.

He said the CP did not provide for English speakers unless they were prepared to associate and identify with Afrikanerdom.

Mr Meyer said the CP would abandon the whites of the Eastern Cape and tell them they would have to look after themselves.

He said it was absurd of the CP to suggest that it could herd all blacks in a region — including farm workers — into the local black townships and then link the towns to a homeland for the purposes of administration and by so doing create white majority areas.

CP has secret plan — Dalling

Cape Times 16/4/88 3064

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

A PFP frontbencher yesterday conceded that the Conservative Party would "radically" affect the electoral fortunes of his party and promised the PFP would use its voting power "should the CP even get close to power".

In what was seen by observers as a highly conciliatory speech towards the government, Mr Dave Dalling (PFP Sandton) noted that the National Party and the PFP were affected by what he termed "the tide of the right wing".

Speaking during the budget debate in the House of Assembly, Mr Dalling warned that the CP would in the short term gain increased electoral support, resulting in a loss of NP seats and a "radical" effect on the PFP.

Allies

Mr Dalling said the CP "of course" had a "secret plan" to collapse the constitution if it should gain a majority in the House of Assembly.

"This will fail — and as sure as we stand here — should the CP ever get close to power, heaven forbid, we in the PFP will use whatever voting power we may have to prevent them coming to government."

However, it was the government's task to abolish apartheid laws and then move on to a better constitution.

"In all these projects we will be the government's allies — for the tide of the right wing affects us, too."

'Discriminatory'

Mr Dalling said conditions in South Africa had changed markedly since he was elected to Parliament 14 years ago. Then, South Africa was "a totally segregated, horrendously racially discriminatory society".

However, President Botha had subsequently said that apartheid was an outdated policy and Nationalist MPs now could "stand up with impunity and say that black political aspirations can only be satsified by representation in the central Parliament".

Mr Dalling said that "much that is positive" had happened in the past seven years. "This represents not just reform but a real change of direction.

"Certainly there is still much that remains to be done. But is equally true to say that a great deal has been done already. And it is not all cosmetic."

(3049 SPM 16/11/88

CP has hatched 'secret scheme'

PETER FABRICIUS

CAPE TOWN — The Conservative Party has allegedly hatched a secret plan to collapse the Constitution by declaring virtually all matters as white "own affairs".

Mr Dave Dalling, PFP MP for Sandton, spelt out the plan in Parliament yesterday.

He said that one MP had queried the capability of the CP to govern within the framework of the present Constitution, or to change it, if it came to power. But the CP had a secret plan to overcome this problem.

Presidency

"It involves using the power of the Presidency to declare all matters — except education, hospitals and housing — to be own affairs for the whites.

"This means Foreign Affairs, Defence, Transport, Justice, etc, thus effectively reverting to the pre-1983 situation, but with Coloureds and Indians taxing their own people to finance their own limited affairs.

"Should the CP even get close to power, we in the PFP will use whatever voting power we may have to prevent them coming to Government," he said.

At the moment each of the three houses has sole jurisdiction over own affairs. All other matters are deemed "general affairs" and any legislative changes have to be passed by all three houses.



High Road

WHAT would happen if the Conservative Party won power? A scenario drawn by Dr WILLEM de KLERK, former Afrikaans newspaper editor and now Professor of Communications at RAU, in an article for the Leadership publication High Road is a frightening one. These, in edited version, are his conclusions — should the day break that the "jackbooted tortoise" mount the throne.

WE need to know what the Conservative Party's policies are before we can construct our scenario. Its fundamental philosophy or ideology has four roots.

The first is the quasi-religious doctrine that the Afrikaners are a chosen people, destined to maintain a separate existence.

The second is the doctrine of racial exclusivity which insists on the maintenance of "own identity" against any mixing with other races, which is presented as a transgression of nature. The initial boundary is the Afrikaner volk. In terms of a wider boundary, other whites — but note, only whites — may associate with the Afrikaner culture.

The third is the utopian point of departure that a permanent solution is to be found in separateness and that a separation of power will settle all conflict.

The fourth is the moral justification that one of the highest values is the right of self-preservation; which provides, in its reverse aspect, the right to discriminate. Nationalism demands exclusion, seclusion, the drawing of boundaries and the concentration of power. Self-determination is a norm and power-sharing conflicts with the proper order of nations.

THE CP is therefore not merely a political party, but a highly-laden ideological movement which insists on a closedness, a refusal to compromise, intolerance and absolutism in basic points of departure. It lays claim to the mystical sanction of a divine injunction.

For these reasons its formulation of policy is extremely rigid; racial partition is fundamental to the whole range of existence: religious, cultural, political, social, education, biological and spatial partition.

It operates on these non-negotiable political principles:

■ SOUTH AFRICA must be divided into separate national states in which every nation will have its own fatherland. This means an "own white" land, as well as a coloured and Indian land and equally an "own land" for the various black nations.

■ SOVEREIGN political authorities must be created in every fatherland, elected on the basis of a franchise reserved solely for the voters' own ethnic authority.

■ IN the own fatherland, political power must be exclusively exercised by its own citizens. There must be no power-sharing of any kind, including any form of federal government. Agreements of co-operation may be concluded between the various countries on matters such as labour and trade, but these may not have any constitutional status.

■ BLACKS and coloured people living in the white state may be granted local governments in their own residential areas, but any further exercise of political rights will be linked to their own fatherlands. Where this should prove impossible, as in the case of Soweto, such areas may be excised from the white areas as entities in their own right (city states?).

■ IF the CP gains power, the initial agenda for negotiation will be aimed primarily at determining how the necessary partitioning will be transacted. This may occur by exchange or by buying and selling land.

■ IN the final analysis, the policy of partition will be enforced by means of legislation by the white Parliament as well as the security forces, should this be resisted in a revolutionary manner.

DRAWING a scenario based on the assumption that the CP takes power is complicated by the fact that the CP is highly reluctant to spell out how its policies will be applied in practice. It continues to move in the sphere of political principles, without coming down to earth — probably a strategy for playing things safe by avoiding having to deal with realities.

But, clearly, a CP government will have to undertake at least the following: first, the dissolution of the constitution by abolishing the coloured and Indian Houses of Parliament. This would entail an overthrow of the constitution if the other two Houses were to refuse to agree.

Then, the repeal of a variety of laws which have abolished discrimination, and the reinstatement of discriminatory legislation. These may include the following: the prohibition of mixed marriages and sex over the colour line, of political interference and of mixed amenities; the re-imposition of separate transport, hotels, theatres, restaurants and a host of other petty apartheid measures, as well as of job reservation, influx control, pass books and a whole range of restrictions on the economic activities of people of colour; the abolition of all multiracial structures such as Regional Services Councils, provincial executive committees and others; the abolition of freehold rights for blacks; the closure of open central business districts; the repeal of provisions for open universities; the re-imposition of the prohibition on black trade unions; the imposition of State-controlled decentralisation of economic activities to border areas and the reimposition of apartheid in sport.

Maree, JJ

Durban Municipal Employees S

THE RIGHT AUTHORITY



"President" Andries Treurnicht, at the State President's lectern ...

The re-division of territory will have to be forced through and will entail the large-scale relocation of people, even though the CP claims it will not insist on forced removals. But how else will they redivide territories and "clean out" black or white inhabitants?

ON May 20 1987, Conservative MP Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg declared that, under the CP, 70 percent of blacks would be back in the homelands in 10 to 15 years. If population growth is taken into account, the implication is that some 11-million people will have to be relocated at an estimated cost of well over R3-billion. In spite of this, up to 8-million blacks will still remain in the "white area".

National states will have to accept independence or subject themselves to central white authority.

All of this has an air of unreality. Viewed in the light of the astronomical sums of money which would be needed for the re-division of land and the building up of independent states, the current political climate in South Africa, world opinion as well as mounting socio-economic threats, then surely CP policy cannot be meant seriously?

In the era of Verwoerd and Vorster, whites constituted 20 percent of the population, blacks were less politically aware and prepared, the outside world was not involved, the economy flourished and white voters were looking forward in hope to separate development. Yet this policy failed. How could it possibly gain credence once again as a solution?

Still, it is happening and the possibility exists that the CP may win an election. They may just walk in one fine morning ...

Then, one of three things may happen.

The first is that they may attempt to enforce the upheaval outlined above by decree and martial law, with no regard for the consequences — the scenario of the catastrophe.

Secondly they may be forced by realities to maintain the status quo and set negotiations in motion to prepare the ground for the implementation of their policies. This would mean the scenario of the ultimate checkmate: on one hand, the final provocation, dashing of hopes and hardening of attitudes of blacks, and on the other hand the bolstering of final white intransigence.

The third possibility would be that they run up against a powerlessness and inability to put their policies into practice — the scenario of political fraudulence.

WHATEVER their strategy, the following scenarios will follow, either immediately after assuming power or in the short to medium term.

The scenario of final racial confrontation: a massive revolution could be triggered off on all levels of society as a result of the interpretation that the whites have finally humiliated the non-whites by voting a CP regime into power. Moderate black and coloured people may transpose this affront into a counter-rejection, especially under conditions of merciless intimidation.

This may lead to the withdrawal action of a total boycott which will bring the country to a standstill, directly followed by further retaliatory acts of lawlessness, sabotage, violence and slaughter.

The white state and its citizens will be forced to fight back, but may, like a besieged city, find itself unable to continue functioning and be overrun by the chaos. White will turn against white in protest against the madness and tear each other apart.

This scenario spells fullscale war, with millions of victims. It will rage on our borders and in the interior. Control exercised by the security forces of the white state may be hampered by foreign military intervention, mobilised in terms of a consensus between East and West that the rights of blacks have to be protected against such a racist regime.

Otherwise, it may lead to a permanent Lebanon-type situation — only on a larger scale. And that is the most hopeful scenario.

The other scenarios then follow of their own accord. With everything spiralling out of control and a total lack of stability, the economy has to collapse, with economic activity, markets, foreign trade and other economic relations and resources short-circuiting one after the other.

This leads to the spectre of a domino scenario in which collapse on one front triggers off the next.

The scenarios may be multiplied from a number of perspectives.

AS far as the outside world is concerned, the mildest one is that of SA being written off in a few dramatic steps or over a period; a harsher scenario is that of total isolation and internal chaos; the harshest is that of intervention from outside.

One may talk of a soft scenario, of a draining-off of whites who will leave the country in an unstoppable stream or of a hard scenario of panic-stricken masses of refugees.

What we are dealing with is a scenario of either hurtling headlong into the abyss or sliding into it.

DO the grounds for such scenarios really exist, or are the possibilities being over-dramatised?

The HSRC study, *South African Election, 1987*, reached the following conclusion: "Four interrelated challenges are currently confronting the Government:

- "FIRST, to reduce the present national conflict situation to manageable proportions;
- "SECOND, to create an orderly and stable social climate for effective reform, aimed at raising the quality of life of all South Africans;
- "THIRD, through realistic reform, to create a socio-political order that is accepted by the majority of the population as legitimate; and
- "FOURTH, to advance the progressive democratisation of the country's basic social, economic and political institutions.

"Bearing in mind both theoretical knowledge and empirical evidence, we can justifiably conclude that there is little hope of meeting these challenges successfully unless a redistribution of political power is brought about within a realistic timespan ..."

IT is clear that South Africa's politics and economy are balanced on a knife-edge. The retroactive radicalism of a CP government, built upon an unacceptable ideology, in a situation where it will no longer be possible to turn back, will inevitably bring on the national and international breaking-point.

Therefore the Scenario of the Abyss.

Partition could only be achieved after protracted and intense violence. It could not be achieved through negotiation and compromise. In the light of the scenarios outlined here, a CP takeover is an appalling prospect.

It becomes a political absurdity to give it any consideration at all. It will amount to nothing less than pulling down the pillars in an act of self-destruction.

But still ... there are those political prophets who say that South Africa is capable of committing this historic act of idiocy. Voting the CP into power.

NP LIKELY TO DISCIPLINE NOTHNAGEL

by TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

NATIONALIST MP for Innesdal Mr Albert Nothnagel faces possible disciplinary action following some of his controversial remarks about the ANC and restricted organisations in Parliament this week.

Following his remarks that the ANC, Azapo and the 17 recently-restricted organisations had to be considered as political factors, there has been reaction from Mr F W de Klerk, the Transvaal Nationalist leader.

This followed an attack from Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, the deputy leader of the Conservative Party. He said in Parliament yesterday that the CP could now tell voters it was Nationalist policy to include the ANC in the central government.

Mr de Klerk said in a statement that he had called for a copy of Mr Nothnagel's speech before Dr Hartzenberg had spoken. This had been as a result of earlier reports. As soon as he had an opportunity to talk to Mr Nothnagel, he would submit his findings on this and on a number of conversations he had had with him to the executive of the Transvaal National Party.

Mr Nothnagel reiterated today that he had made the statement that the people of South Africa could not deny the reality of the existence of radical political groupings such as the ANC and that these realities would eventually have to be addressed.

He said: "I reject the ANC and any other radical grouping's violence and murder with contempt. The viewpoint I put on Wednesday night can under no circumstances be interpreted as a condonation of violence. We must get South Africa out of this spiral of violence.

"What I said, I said as a member of the National Party who fully subscribes to the party's policy."

Mopp queries LP's tactics

CAPE TOWN — The scheduled debates in all three Houses of Parliament on the report on rules and orders for joint sittings were dropped yesterday after the Labour Party indicated that it would adjourn until Monday without debating the new rules.

Yesterday morning the Leader of the House of Assembly, Mr F. W. de Klerk, announced that next week would be given over to committee stage discussion of various Budget votes, including the State President's.

The House was scheduled to debate the Joint Rules and Mr De Klerk had, immediately after the recess, moved a motion to provide extra time for debating the rules on Monday and Tuesday.

The House of Representatives adjourned after the House failed to gain a quorum at the start of business because most Labour Party Members were absent.

The Leader of the House, Mr Miley Richards, said afterwards that the Labour Party had forced the adjournment because members had not been given enough time to study the standing committee report on Rules and Orders for joint sittings before yesterday's scheduled debate.

Mr Peter Mopp, the Member for Border for the opposition United Democratic Party which opposed the adjournment, described the Labour Party move as a childish prank and a delaying tactic.

When the bells rang to start the session, only seven Labour Party members and seven opposition members took their seats.

Twenty-five members are needed for a quorum.

The Leader of the United Democratic Party, Mr Charles Redliffe, and Mr Mopp said at a press conference afterwards that the UDP opposed the motion to adjourn because the LP had not consulted them.

They said that senior Labour Party members had approved all the amendments to the rules and orders for joint sittings in the joint committee meetings this week.

However, according to the UDP's information, the leader of the LP, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, who is out of town, telephoned Mr Richards, to instruct him that the debate on the report should not take place without him.

Mr Redcliffe said Mr Hendrickse was afraid that the members of his party would approve things without his agreement and the instruction to adjourn until Monday was a vote of no confidence in his senior party colleagues.

Mr Mopp said it showed that Mr Hendrickse was a dictator.

It also appeared that the LP was totally ineffectual without its leader.

He said it was strange that LP agreed on things behind closed doors but in public it took a different stance.

Mr Richards denied that the adjournment had been forced because of Mr Hendrickse's absence. — Sapa

See also page 9

Rebel puts Nats in a spot

(204A Times 17/4/88)

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN

MAVERICK National Party MP Albert Nothnagel has placed his party on the horns of a dilemma — any action against him for his dissident views on black political participation could result in an embarrassing by-election.

The CP has already singled out his suburban Pretoria constituency of Innesdal as one of its prime targets in any coming election contest.

Mr Nothnagel this week clashed with his party hierarchy for the fourth time in 15 months. Gleeful CP MPs wasted no time in pointing out the differences between him and his Transvaal leader, Mr F W de Klerk.

Yesterday Mr Nothnagel was unrepentant over the speech that landed him in hot water. However, he vigorously denied that he was seeking a confrontation with Mr De Klerk or the NP leadership.

He also claimed that he had received widespread support for his views from MP colleagues and party supporters. "The list of people who congratulated me reads like a Who's Who of SA politics," he said.

However, he and his family also received a number of death threats from Rightwingers obviously angered by his views. This weekend, police were guarding his Pretoria home and office.

In a bold speech in Parliament on Wednesday, Mr Nothnagel stated that the views of radical black groupings — including the ANC, Azapo and the 17 recently restricted organisations — should be taken into account and were important to the future of SA.

Under attack from deputy leader of the CP, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, Mr De Klerk came very close to repudiating his fronthencher colleague.

It was not NP policy that the ANC be included in the political future of SA, he said.

Mr De Klerk also indicated that the controversial speech and recent discussions he had had with Mr Nothnagel would be on the agenda of the forthcoming meeting of the Transvaal NP executive.

Two of Mr Nothnagel's previous run-ins with the party hierarchy also centred on his dissident views on the future role of black organisations:

- In January last year he stated in a magazine article that radical organisations could not be wished away and should be considered important political factors.

For this view he was taken to task and had to write a letter to Mr De Klerk explaining his stance and allying himself with the official party stance on the ANC and violence.

- Giving evidence before the British Foreign Affairs committee last year, he reiterated his position on the political importance of the ANC but also publicly stated his objection to its strategy of violence.

Once again he was strongly reprimanded by the NP hierarchy.

And late last year, Mr Nothnagel publicly crossed swords with Minister of Education and Culture Piet Clase when he revealed the extent of right-wing influences in Transvaal schools.

Mr Nothnagel then demanded that headmasters who supported the AWB should be censured, while Mr Clase scolded him for raising the issue.

Yesterday Mr Nothnagel said he did not want to become involved in a political slanging match with the NP hierarchy.

"I remain loyal to the NP because I believe it is the only party able to bring about the changes that are necessary to secure our future.

"I believe the issues I raise are important."

Meanwhile, Mr Nothnagel is also embroiled in legal action against the CP arising from his 1987 article. He claims the CP defamed him by quoting from it to substantiate allegations that he supported the ANC's strategy of violence.



ALBERT NOTHNAGEL
"I remain loyal to the NP"

Gleeful CP set to pounce if dissident MP is ousted

Support

Judgement by Mr Justice C P Eloff is expected on Tuesday.

Mr Nothnagel said he acknowledged that he should have qualified some of his remarks in Parliament this week.

But, he added, he stood by his view that the NP could not employ "ostrich politics".

"And I think 90 percent of NP supporters agree with me.

"To deny the importance of organisations like the ANC and Azapo is to walk the road of those in Israel who deny the existence of Palestinians."

Mr Nothnagel said the NP should expect the rightwing to become more radical as more and more fundamental issues were addressed.

"If we allow this to deter us we may as well pack our bags.

"It is also unavoidable that differences in emphasis within the NP will lead to debates."

3044
B/day 18/4/88

SA constitution 'lacks credibility'

ZILLA EFRAT

PRESIDENT P W Botha's suggestion that schoolchildren recite the preamble to the constitution was "excellent in essence" but would be asking them to subscribe to principles not upheld in the legal system, Unisa constitutional law expert Marinus Weichers said at the weekend.

He was reacting to Botha's suggestion at the Huguenot Festival last week that schoolchildren should start their day by reading the preamble to the 1983 constitution, which made him executive president.

Weichers said: "This would be deliberately asking children to subscribe to principles which are not upheld in our legal system and would make it all into a mockery. I don't think that it would be accepted.

"The problem is that our constitution lacks fundamental acceptance as the majority of the people in the country were not involved in drawing up and adopting it. It thus lacks legitimacy."

DIP 18/4/88

Law professor reacts to PW's preamble idea

3049 66

Daily Dispatch Correspondent

PRETORIA — The suggestion by the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, that schoolchildren recite the preamble to the South African constitution is "excellent in essence".

However, this would be asking them to subscribe to principles not upheld in the legal system, a University of South Africa (Unisa) constitutional law lecturer, Professor Marinus Wiechers, said at the weekend.

He was reacting to Mr Botha's suggestion, made at the Huguenot Festival in the Cape last week, that schoolchildren should start their day by reading the preamble to the 1983 constitution that made him executive president.

A spokesman for Mr Botha's office said the president had merely posed the question and suggested it would be up to "education authorities" to take a closer look at it.

Reacting to the suggestion Prof Wiechers said:

"This would be deliberately asking children to subscribe to principles which are not upheld in our legal system and would make it all into a mockery.

"The problem is that our constitution lacks fundamental acceptance as the majority of the people in the country were not involved in drawing up and adopting the constitution. It thus lacks legitimacy.

"As much as one would like to subscribe to the ideals and principles contained in the



MR BOTHA

preamble, these ideals and principles do not coincide with reality and the laws in our country."

A spokesman for the Department of Education and Training which co-ordinates black education said: "This is something that top management of the department will have to consider".

The Department of Education which co-ordinates white education was unable to comment.

A United States Information Service spokesman said the Pledge of Allegiance was recited by school children in the US.

However, he said, it was not mandatory and was no longer common.

The South Afrcian preamble calls for "Christian values and civilised norms" to be upheld, as well as "the independence of the judiciary and the equality of all under the law".

Nothnagel to sue CP paper over ANC link

Pretoria Bureau

National Party MP Mr Albert Nothnagel launched a R75 000 damages claim on Friday against the Conservative Party mouthpiece *Die Patriot* involving an article which linked his name with reported utterances by ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo.

The case, being heard in the Pretoria Supreme Court, involves a front-page article in *Die Patriot* headlined "Albert stem saam" (Albert agrees).

The article dealt with an interview with the ANC leader in which he is quoted as saying that black people were encouraged by the death of white people.

(3044)

Why Botha is losing out

JAN MARAIS, former banker, Nationalist MP for Pinetown and currently a leading city businessman, addresses an open letter to the National Party . . .



Dr Jan Marais

LEADING media, including Government-supporting ones, have highlighted the progress made by the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

It seems to me that they have done it in a genuine manner as a matter of deep concern. So, what are the broadly based perspectives of the ordinary men and women with reference to National Party policies?

Whether your readers love the State President or hate him, the fact remains that he has done more in a few years for reform than all his predecessors together over more than 300 years.

So why are his opponents making such progress? In the opinion of many supporters it is certainly not because of commendable reform but simply because of a long series of practical psychological and public relations-related shortcomings of which the following are but a small sample:

● The vagueness of NP policies as opposed to a clear vision.

For almost four decades I have been pleading for a vision or "missionary" statement or blueprint or "programme of destiny", whatever one wants to call it. It should spell out in an easily understood manner how the Goverment visualises our future and it should be marketed aggressively.

I have been suggesting a movement towards a federation of largely self-governing communities — not a carbon copy of, but very similar to the Swiss canton system.

I believe that we are in fact moving towards such a constitutional set-up. Manifestations of this are the Natal Indaba, independent and self-governing black states, regional services councils and devolution of power to local authorities.

Marketing this concept and relating it to something already in existence and successful in countries as diverse as Switzerland and Yugoslavia would be immensely helpful. Remember that biblical admonition: "Where there is no vision my people perish."

● Loss and lack of humble, service-minded contact with the common man and woman: not shaking hands any more with the farmers' foremen and his other workers; the barman, the chef and the waiters in hotels and restaurants, etc.

Top brass, leading Ministers and other leading personalities are not travelling enough to country areas and meeting and talking to the people.

The State President set a good example in the black context when he visited Soweto, Pietersburg and other black communities.

I remember only too well how I won Pinetown by following the Kennedy formula of "coffee clutches", "dawn dusters" and similar house and face-to-face meetings.

In some parts of the country posters are up all the time publicising meetings of the CP and AWB. These fellows are alive, on the ball and on the attack all the time. They are also specific, whatever they preach whether practical and realisable or not.

● The big business and big capitalist image:

I personally pleaded with many top Government people to enlist the private sector and in fact Carlton, Good Hope and others followed.

However, I also at the same time said: "Please don't make the same mistake as the disintegrating PFP and neglect the small and medium business people and the professions."

Well, with some media all the time accentuating big business, the NP is now also loooked on as big business and a buddy of big business.

In this manner the party gets isolated from the majority, including real entreprenuers, and relates primarily to the top executives of big business, most of whom retire fairly early in life.

● The mighty, big and dominating bureaucracy with, in too many instances, lack of up-to-dateness and lack of helpfulness. This is part of the tragedy of South Africa drowning in "an ocean of laws, rules and regulations".

The State President is trying his best here but the remedial programme is much too slow.

Many have sympathy with the so-called bureaucracy. They are in the first place not of their own making and are often blamed for the sins of others.

Closely related to this point is the sad deterioration in a relatively short period of the services of South African Airways with never-ending delays which are most irritating, disruptive and costly and certainly "estranging". The Government is blamed . . .

● Wasteful, unnecessary events in the eyes of many hard-working people such as the annual "feather shows" in the Cape — the glorious but costly opening of Parliament and similar events boosting and showing off top brass but not essential for a country where so much is needed for food, clothes, housing and education and where per capita productivity is at the bottom of world standards.

Why cannot all these people just arrive and start working?

● What is perceived as a colossal waste of money in and on the independent black states on non-essential and wasteful projects such as palaces for leaders, airports, etc.

All these have at least to some extent to be financed by a heavier tax burden on South Africans.

The opposition parties make sure that the voting public remains conscious of all this.

● There is much gossiping about jobs for pals and lately especially honours for pals.

Whether true or not, the Government should have a clearly defined policy and strategy to prove that its approach in all these matters is always based on real merit and fairness; not on political expediency.

● Irrelevant and useless nonsense over especially TV with too much of murder, rape, accidents, etc instead of worthwhile educational items for which thinking people are crying out. For instance, much more should be known among both our black and white people of how we compare with others; especially with our severest critics. And of course, we should all know more about each other.

● The great talk about controlling the salaries of teachers and others after not so long ago considerable increases for Government members themselves; and the lack of any comparative increases over the last few years. And who's fault is inflation?

What about a little comparison of sacrifices and sufferings?

● General lack of understanding of grassroot psychology and the practical need of attacking and exposing opposition parties on the total impracticability of what they propagate and the dire consequences their policies will lead to.

The Government simply must go on the attack again and remain on the attack by moving forcefully forward with logical and moral reform.

Especially, our Government should not hide behind never-ending commissions and committees while the opposition know exactly what they want, spell it out clearly and push forward.

When emotion and reason go to battle, emotion always tends to win.

Hansard

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

†Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

Extensions to Parliament: total cost

1. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Public Works and Land Affairs:

(1) With reference to his reply to Question No 826 on 22 May 1985, (a) what was the total cost of all phases of the extensions to Parliament as at the latest specified date for which information is available and (b) how is this amount made up;

(2) whether any further expenses are outstanding with regard to this project; if so, what expenses?

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS AND LAND AFFAIRS:

(1) (a) R35 101 352 according to information which was available on 18 March 1988.

(b) Contract 1 —

Excavations and basement structure	R3 070 818
Contract 2 —	
General building work	R15 409 289
Site works	R311 994
Fire extinguishing and security	R1 049 395
Electrical work	R2 614 151
Lifts	R1 122 887
Sound system (including related building work)	R2 717 404
Airconditioning	R3 497 550
Benches and chairs (council-chambers)	R1 056 322
Emergency power installation	R357 024
Kitchen equipment	R404 083
Alterations to existing building	R92 435
Contractual price escalation	R3 400 000
Total —	R35 101 352

(2) It is not yet possible to calculate the final costs of the project. The amount of R35 101 352 is the estimated final costs.

Nelspruit police district: illegal immigrants deported/repatriated

96. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

Whether any persons held at police stations in the Nelspruit police district in 1987 on suspicion of being illegal immigrants were deported or repatriated; if so, (a) to which country and (b) when was each (i) deported and/or (ii) repatriated?

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

If, by the expressions "deportation" and "repatriation", the hon member had in mind the removal of persons from the Republic in terms of the provisions of the Admission of Persons to the Republic Regulation Act, 1972 (Act 59 of 1972), the answer is in the affirmative. However, such removals only took place after a thorough investigation into the residential position in the Republic of the persons concerned and only when it was established that they were in fact illegal immigrants in the country. It is not possible to furnish the required information as statistics in this regard are not kept by the Department. In order to obtain such information, all the relevant records of my Department's Regional Office, Nelspruit would have to be compared with the records of the Nelspruit Police. The magnitude of the task unfortunately renders it impossible.

Christmas cards sent out

607. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Public Works and Land Affairs:

(1) Whether (a) he and/or (b) his Department sent out Christmas cards in 1987; if so, (i) what total number of cards was printed, (ii) to whom were they sent, (iii) what was the total cost of producing and distributing these cards, and (iv) who was responsible for printing them, in each case;

(2) whether postage stamps were used to send out these Christmas cards; if not, how were they distributed?

3047

Worrall slams PFP's offer of aid to NP

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

INDEPENDENT PARTY leader Dr Denis Worrall yesterday criticized PFP frontbencher Mr Dave Dalling for suggesting his party might come to the aid of the National Party to help fight the Conservative Party "wave" sweeping the country.

Mr Dalling conceded in Parliament on Friday that the CP would "radically affect" the electoral fortunes of his party and promised the PFP would use its voting power "should the CP even get close to power".

Dr Worrall said yesterday: "This sort of talk creates all the wrong vibes and reflects a permanent opposition mentality."



Mr Dave Dalling



Dr Denis Worrall

Dr Worrall said the "real danger" to South Africa was not the CP but the Nationalist government.

However, the NP was in a crisis of its own making, suffering from a lack of vision and internal contradictions.

"The NP has the smell of death about it. The party is doomed and has to split.

"The NP must not get any comfort in this situation from the creative opposition.

"Any suggestion that the NP should be assisted is quite the wrong strategy," he said.

Reciting of preamble 'a mockery'

CAPE TIMES 18/4/88 3044

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — President P W Botha's suggestion that schoolchildren recite the preamble to the constitution was "excellent in essence" but would be asking them to subscribe to principles not upheld in the legal system, Unisa constitutional law expert Professor Marinus Wiechers said.

He was reacting to Mr Botha's suggestion, made at the Huguenot Festival, that schoolchildren should start their day by reading the preamble to the 1983 constitution that made him executive president.

A spokesman for Mr Botha's office said the president had merely posed the question and suggested it would be up to "education authorities" to take a closer look at it.

Professor Wiechers said: "This would be deliberately asking children to subscribe to principles which are not upheld in our legal system and would make it a mockery.

"It is important for children to know the preamble and constitution. The problem is that our constitution lacks fundamental acceptance as the majority of the people in the country were not involved in drawing up and adopting the constitution.

"As much as one would like to subscribe to the ideals and principles contained in the preamble, these ideals and principles do not coincide with reality and the laws."

A spokesman for the Department of Education and Training which runs black education said: "This is something that top management of the department will have to consider."

The Department of Education which co-ordinates white education was unable to comment.

The South African preamble calls for "Christian values and civilized norms" to be upheld, as well as "the independence of the judiciary and the equality of all under the law".

entry and if the meat complies with the requirements it is cleared for human consumption. Imported chicken meat must originate from a poultry abattoir in the country of origin which has been approved for export purposes to the Republic by the Chief Meat Hygiene Officer of the RSA. This is in accordance with international practice. Such meat must also be accompanied by a certificate issued by a competent veterinarian of the country of origin in which is certified that —

the meat concerned originates from such abattoir;

the chickens from which the meat was derived, were inspected for signs of diseases prior to and after slaughtering; and

that the meat in the consignment is fit for human consumption.

Chicken meat served on flights of SAA

*2. Mr T LANGLEY asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:†

(1) Whether chicken meat formed part of meals served on flights of the South African Airways on 10 March 1988; if so, on which flights;

(2) whether any of this chicken meat was imported from abroad; if so, (a) from which country and (b) what was its country of origin?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

(1) Yes. SA 033, SA 035, SA 234, SA 252, SA 335, SA 345, SA 367, SA 417, SA 421, SA 518, SA 619, SA 620, SA 621, SA 622 and SA 709.

(2) No. (a) and (b) Fall away.

Pietermaritzburg: discharge of special constables

*3. Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether any special constables in the Pietermaritzburg area have been discharged as a result of their alleged involvement in criminal offences; if so, (a) how many, (b) when, (c) for what alleged offences and (d) in respect of what date is this information furnished;

(2) whether the Police were aware of their alleged criminal offences at the time of their recruitment; if not, why not; if so, why were they employed?

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) and (2)

Persons with previous criminal convictions or, if they have known criminal cases pending against them, are not appointed as special constables. The applications of such persons are normally summarily rejected.

A number of special constables in the Pietermaritzburg area were recently dismissed on various dates. Although they had no criminal records at the time of their recruitment, it was ascertained that they had failed to mention the fact that there were criminal cases pending against them. Investigations by the South African Police revealed this information after the training of the special constables had nearly been completed. When they returned to Pietermaritzburg, they were positively connected with the crimes and immediately dismissed.

Upgrading of Bossiesgif Township, Plettenberg Bay

*4. Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:

(1) Whether he intends upgrading the Bossiesgif Township in Plettenberg Bay; if not, why not; if so, (a) in what way and (b) when;

(2) whether any additional land is required for the purpose of making adequate provision for the accommodation of (a) this township's residents, (b) its overflow population and (c) the squatters currently occupying land adjacent to the main road to Knysna; if not, why not; if so,

(3) whether such additional land has been acquired; if not, why not; if so, (a) where is this land situated, (b) what is the extent thereof and (c) when was it acquired?

†The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

(1) Yes. I refer the hon member to the Press release issued by myself on 15 February 1988.

Rest of question falls away.

Advertising campaign in Press promoting Government's proposed economic policy: cost

*5. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Information, Broadcasting Services and the Film Industry:

What was the cost of the current advertising campaign in the Press aimed at promoting the Government's proposed economic policy for the Republic as at 1 April 1988 or the latest specified date for which information is available?

†The MINISTER OF INFORMATION, BROADCASTING SERVICES AND THE FILM INDUSTRY:

R453 413,32 as at 1 April 1988.

†Mr P W COETZER: Mr Speaker, arising out of the reply of the hon the Minister, I want to ask him whether he is of the opinion that it is essential for an objective image of State policy to be disseminated in view of the fact that the Supreme Court has just found the CP to be responsible for the spreading of libellous untruths . . .

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Look who's talking! [Interjections.]

†Mr P W COETZER: . . . , and also what his opinion is as to what influence the libellous untruths spread against the hon member for Innesdal is having on the propaganda war of the ANC.

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the reply to that is that an informed public is a safe public and that it is an age-old technique to divide the population with misinformation and distorted information, just as it has for years already been a proven strategy of the ANC to divide particularly the moderate White population in South Africa through misinformation.

†Dr W J SNYMAN: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, I want to ask him whether the amount of nearly R0,5 million that was spent is in accordance with the newly announced policy of saving on State expenditure.

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, that is indeed the case in the sense that if we can succeed in conveying to the population the spirit of the hon the State President's opening speech and his economic policy, the country will derive immense benefit from it in the financial and economic fields.

Mr D J N MALCOMESS: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, does he not think that in view of the fact that this is a Government department talking about Government policy, the advertisements that are placed are likely to be subjective and not objective?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, in this case subjectivity and objectivity are usually things that are weighed in the mind of the observer. It is therefore very difficult to furnish a decisive reply to that question, but when one considers the spirit conveyed by the State President's speech and what is reflected in the advertisements, one sees that there is no difference between the two. Therefore it is in fact objective in the sense that it conveys exactly the same message as the hon the State President did.

†Mr F J LE ROUX: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, is he aware of the fact that the idea exists among the general public that this is NP propaganda for which the taxpayer has to pay? [Interjections.]

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, we did scientific research on this aspect. [Interjections.] A majority of the respondents are indeed of the opinion that the State is entitled to communicate in this way, and that money spent in that way is money well spent. [Interjections.]

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, is he prepared to make available also to opposition parties the details of that research project which was evidently carried out at public expense? [Interjections.]

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I can assure the

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National Council Bill looks set to go through

Political Staff

THE Government has indicated it will try to push the controversial and much-delayed National Council Bill through Parliament as soon as possible.

The Bill is to be discussed by the parliamentary joint committee on constitutional affairs every day for two weeks starting on Monday.

National Party sources will not say what the Government has in mind but opposition politicians believe the intense programme of committee meetings indicates that the intention is to force the Bill through.

The Bill, which embodies the Government's power-sharing policy so far, has been held up for nearly two years, chiefly by the failure of the Government to persuade credible blacks to participate.

DISASTROUS

But recent signals from the National Party and some cabinet Ministers are that the Government now intends to go ahead with it, regardless of whether or not credible blacks are aboard.

The NP has attributed its disastrous performance in the three recent Transvaal by-elections to voter uncertainty about its plans to share power.

Professor Nic Olivier, the Progressive Federal Party spokesman on constitutional affairs, said today it appeared the NP had changed its mind and had decided to try to force the National Council Bill through.

"My impression until recently was that they were not keen to push it through.

"This programme of committee meetings on the Bill indicates otherwise."

● The proposed National Council is a forum on which nine elected black representatives from "white" South Africa as well as representatives from the self-governing states will advise the Government as well as negotiate with it a new constitution.

To equip students with the knowledge and skills required to function effectively as managers. In particular students will be

PW's 'final word' on ANC

19/4/88

Political Staff

The "final word" on National Party policy in respect of the ANC was contained in a speech made by President Botha in 1985, said **Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis**, concluding the parliamentary debate during which Nationalist Party MP Mr Albert Nothnagel made his controversial ANC speech last week.

Replying to his budget vote yesterday, Mr du Plessis referred to a speech delivered in Springs in October 1985 by Mr Botha.

Mr Botha had said that if the ANC wanted to talk to the Government it would have to lay down arms, stop bombings and terrorist activities and cut ties with communism, said Mr du Plessis.

"No man has the final word," interjected Conservative Party MP Mr Koos van der Merwe.

In the course of the budget debate last week, Mr Nothnagel made a speech in which he said the ideas of the ANC and the 17 recently restricted organisations were indisputably important to a political solution in South Africa.

Existing black political organisations and groupings were as important to this end as were the various white groupings, he said.

Chief NP information officer Mr Con Botha was seen to support Mr Nothnagel when he said no one could dispute the importance of the ANC's ideas.

Worrall looks to municipal polls

Busy time as IP sets up its new party branches

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

INDEPENDENT Party leader Denis Worrall is being kept busy with an almost daily schedule of setting up branches of his new party on a countrywide basis.

It is understood the present rush for the IP to be launched nationally is an attempt to provide Worrall with an infrastructure which he can use in terms of negotiating deals with other parties for the October municipal elections.

Senior PFP sources said, in terms of his activities, Worrall was consolidating his power base in order to present it for discussions for possible electoral strategies.

"There is no way we can talk to an individual about strategy. We said show us what you can do then we'll talk again," said a senior source.

Discussions between Worrall, the LP, PFP and various opposition groups and parties to the left of government have been underway for some time in order to formulate what Worrall terms a "creative opposition".

With last night's IP launch in Durbanville, there are no less than 10 IP launches planned countrywide, in towns which include Wynberg (Cape), Maritzburg, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Hermanus, Grahamstown, East London, King William's Town and Cape Town.

The IP has already been launched in Somerset West and Durban and other launches in Port Elizabeth and Bloemfontein are in the process of being planned.

IP chief secretary dealing with organisation of the party Keith Gurney yesterday stressed the setting up of IP branches was not merely a process of recycling former NRP infrastructures.

"We have 5 000 people of our own already, most of whom date back to the May election when support for the independents grew."

He said former members of the NRP, NP and PFP were involving themselves in setting up IP branches.

"Many people had a wait-and-see approach to the independent movement. Now that it has formed a party we've received a tremendous amount of advice and offers of assistance from high powered quarters," Gurney said.

He did not want to elaborate on this, save to say assistance to the IP was coming from political analysts and "high powered advertising firms".

D|D 19/4/88

Like the Bourbons we forget nothing and learn nothing

3048

KEN OWEN: JOHANNESBURG

A correspondent in Tokyo reports that the Japanese television news service is livening its reports on South Africa with dramatic snippets from Sir Richard Attenborough's movie, Cry Freedom, and that the movie itself has generated immense pressure on Japanese companies to reduce trade with South Africa.

If Japan ever joins the sanctions campaign, the story of Steve Biko's death will have played a major part in it. It may be time to take an honest look, just for a change, at how the sanctions campaign actually works.

Local businessmen have mounted a campaign for a "martial law" — the proposal is said to be on the State President's desk — to prevent publication of commercial information that might play into the hands of the sanctioneers.

It is fairly easy to predict what will happen if the State President accedes to their request. Firstly, government's legal draftsmen will find it impossible to come up with precise definitions of what should, and what should not, be published. Confronted with a thousand loopholes, they will resort to language so wide and general as to make the law unworkable, like the Defence Act and the Police Act and the Prisons Act.

The next step — provided government does not ask Learned Stoffel Botha, our book-reading Minister of Home Affairs, to make up the rules as he goes along — will be to form liaison committees with the Press to figure out ways to circumvent the law without really breaking it.

The reason for doing so is that suppression of the news tends to have nasty side-effects. The Prisons Act is the classical example. It was intended to prevent newspapers from disclosing the disgusting treatment of prisoners at the old Johannesburg Fort but it had the effect, after the conviction of the editor of the Rand Daily Mail, of simply putting an end to all reporting on the prisons. No newspaper was prepared to take the risk.

Whether this contributed to the death of Biko or dozens of others whose treatment in prisons and lock-ups became a state secret is a matter of speculation; some people think so. Since Biko's death the prisons department has become so accommodating towards the Press that, in effect, it has ceased to enforce the fierce provisions of the Prisons Act. The price of secrecy has proved to be higher than the price of openness.

A "martial law" for commercial information will have another side effect: it will instantly create a black market for the information which can no longer be published. News which is now available for the cost of a daily newspaper will still be available to those who need it, but at a price.

Indeed, some businesses will prosper under the martial law, especially those whose fathers or brothers occupy high positions in government. They will have quickest access to reliable information, and they will know what it is worth. After all, if you can't trust your Broeder, who can you trust?

Among less fortunate businessmen, it is fair to predict, there will be a scramble to make friends with officials, some of whom will find themselves the recipients of alarmingly attractive offers. It will be enough to test the moral fibre of the nation.

One thing, however, the martial law will not do: it will not stop sanctions.



PRESIDENT BOTHA ... his actions have anti-apartheid movements falling about with glee.

Take the effect of Cry Freedom on Japan. Think back to how it all happened.

Steve Biko should not have died under interrogation. He should certainly have been protected by the law and the medical profession. He should not have been driven, dying and naked, across the length of the country. Perhaps nobody intended him to die.

But things go wrong and he did die. At that point, responsibility passed from the police and the doctors to the legal and medical authorities. If his death had been followed by the prosecution and punishment of those who caused him to die, or contributed to his dying, the sense of justice of most reasonable, civilised people would have been satisfied.

Indeed, if only Jimmy Kruger had been fired for saying "It leaves me cold", the Nationalists might have salvaged something of their moral reputation from the affair.

Instead, Kruger brazened it out, the inquest delivered a verdict that left most reasonable, civilised people stunned with disbelief, and even the medical authorities had to be dragged into court before they administered a light reprimanding tap on the wrist. The status of neither South African justice, nor of medicine in this country, has recovered. Perhaps it never will.

Worse, government set out to suppress information about Biko's death and when the then editor of the Daily Dispatch, Donald Woods, persisted in carrying on about it he was gagged, banned, and isolated. His children were subjected to cruel practical jokes. Woods eventually went into exile and wrote the book of the movie which is now driving the sanctions campaign in Japan.

The idea that South Africa can cover up its faults and lie its way out of trouble goes back, one supposes, to the days when Eric Louw was foreign minister, or even earlier. Among the first actions of the Nationalists when they came to power, among them the young P W Botha, was to appoint a Press commission that sat for 13 years without solving the problem of making South Africa look good while its government acted in such a beastly fashion.

The only answer that ever presents itself is to cover up, and to lie. The result, as our Washington correspondent Simon Barber observed last week, is that nobody believes our government any longer. Barend du Plessis' best after dinner joke is, "We will stay within the Budget".

Indeed, no white South African has retained sufficient credibility abroad to challenge Archbishop Desmond Tutu's call for sanctions, not even Helen Suzman. Alan Paton, towards the end of a life of courage and honesty, was tainted by South Africa's mendacity and was dismissed as having strayed from the path of democracy, simply because he opposed sanctions.

President Botha, like the Bourbons, learns nothing and forgets nothing. He has recently intervened to stop the trial in Windhoek of soldiers accused of murder, while at the same time refusing to show clemency to the so-called Sharpeville Six. The juxtaposition is so irresistible for propaganda purposes that anti-apartheid movements around the world must be falling about with glee.

When fresh sanctions come, as they will do, government and business will join together to blame the newspapers, and to thump them into silence, as Jimmy Kruger tried to thump Donald Woods into silence. President Botha is not the only person in this country who, like the Bourbons, forgets nothing and learns nothing.

Begins! ... sure you get a copy of the Daily ...

DD 19/4/88

Congress hears of need for revenue



The mayor of East London, Mr Robert de Lange, left, with the Administrator of the Cape, Mr Gene Louw, the president of the Cape Province Municipal Association, Mr S. Immelman, an honorary life vice-president of the association, Mr Robbie de Lange, and the CPMA's secretary, Mr P. Colombo, at the opening of the CPMA's annual congress in East London last night.

Daily Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The provincial administration desperately required new sources of revenue or increased governmental subsidies, the Administrator of the Cape, Mr Gene Louw, said yesterday.

He was speaking at the official opening of the annual congress of the Cape Province Municipal Association.

Delegates were welcomed to the city by the mayor of East London, Mr Robert de Lange.

The mayor's father, Alderman Robbie de Lange, is an honorary life vice-president of the CPMA and was publicly thanked for his service to the province.

Mr Louw said the growth of government subsidies was less than the rate of inflation, which placed a severe restriction on new developments.

Arbitrary staff cuts had been made, but the stage had been reached where this was no longer possible.

A reduction of capital expenditure was a short-term solution, but meant a postponement of much needed facilities or services, he said.

Referring to the implementation of Regional Services Councils (RSCs) in the Cape, Mr Louw said the Demarcation Board for Local Authorities would be sitting from April 25 to 29 in Graaff-Reinet, Cradock, Burgersdorp, Aliwal North, Queenstown and East London.

He said the handover of regional functions to RSCs would take place with great care and deliberation. RSCs would handle only general decisions, while municipalities would continue to decide on issues of local concern.

"While divisional councils were largely service organisations, RSCs are development bodies," he said.

Mr Louw added that the provinces, through their administrators, should be given the right to sit on the State President's Priorities Committee in order to make direct representations regarding their ever-increasing needs.

The government's current evaluation of its departments would result in local authorities becoming increasingly responsible for decision-making.

Although this would be welcomed by many, the fact that the final decision used to be taken by a higher authority, had, to many others, been a source of complacency and security.

Mr Louw encouraged municipalities to undertake a similar step within their administrations.

"Apart from the fact that you owe it to your ratepayers to be efficient, it is also essential in terms of the national goals to rationalise and streamline the whole of the public sector."

Provincial government had become more important than ever in the last few years, due to an attempt to provide increased services to an increasing population, while remaining outside politics, but within state policy, he said.

The devolution of powers from central to provincial government had increased the Cape's budget by R896 million over the past two years to R2 722 million.

The number of posts under the Cape Provincial Administration's control had increased from 54 000 to 68 000 during the last 18 months.

"It is important to note that many superfluous posts in my administration have been discarded through rationalisation and that the net increase in posts is due purely to the new powers granted through the government's policy of devolution," he said.

Regarding salaries paid to city councillors, Mr Louw stressed that the amount paid was entirely at the discretion of the local authority, as long as it did not exceed the maximum laid down by the Cape Provincial Administration.

He added that, despite financial constraints, new regional ambulance services had been established in the East London/Kaffraria and Queenstown/Stormberg areas during the last six months.

More reports page 3

DD 19/4/88

Speaker: no longer signs of better approach to SA

Daily Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The greater the pressure exerted on South Africa by the international community, the more the government would retreat into its "laager mentality".

This was stated by the director-general of the South Africa Foundation and former South African representative to the United Nations, Mr Kurt von Schirnding, last night.

Mr Von Schirnding, who was guest speaker at a meeting of the East London branch of the South African Institute of International Affairs, spoke on Reflections of South Africa's International Relations and their consequences.

He said the international community was being "crassly over-simple" in pressing South Africa to reform.

He said he had thought until six months ago there had been signs of a better approach to this country by the international community.



MR VON SCHIRNDING

the bannings of the 17 organisations in February.

This put South Africa under pressure once more.

The confrontation with church leaders would also create adverse effects abroad.

For the first time in 40 years there was white opposition to the right of the present government moving towards greater authoritarian control, which is reflected by the style of government we have at present."

The problems in SWA/Namibia and Angola had not been resolved, and it was becoming increasingly difficult for South Africa to extricate itself from the "Angolan problem".

However, the situation here should not only be looked at pessimistically and people should not be overcritical of achievements that had been accomplished.

"We must give credit where credit is due."

Social and economic reforms were also important, as political liberation without economic liberation did not mean much.

It was not possible to achieve what the outside world would like to

said South Africa now found itself in a dangerous position.

For the first time at a United Nations Security Council meeting, West Germany had abstained from voting on the sanctions issue, while Italy had voted in favour of them.

Both countries were important trading partners.

The UN had a Department of Public Affairs which spent about ten per cent of its annual allowance on anti-South African propaganda.

This was the only source of information on South Africa for some countries, which did not hear about any of the positive aspects.

He felt that organisations such as the South Africa Foundation were doing good work by "keeping doors open which would otherwise have been closed".

Mr Von Schirnding also replied to questions from the audience.

Mr Von Schirnding was introduced by Mr Jonathan Schewitz and

A accident victim named

Louw, the president of the Cape Provincial Municipal Association, the vice-president of the association, Mr Robbie de Lange, and the CPMA secretary, Mr P. Colombo, at the opening of the CPMA's annual congress in East London last night.

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He said the international community was being "crassly over-simple" in pressing South Africa to reform.

He said he had thought until six months ago there had been signs of a better approach to this country by the international community.

Even well-known newspapers had begun to think again about sanctions.

However, the government then announced



MR VON SCHIRNDING

the bannings of the 17 organisations in February.

This put South Africa under pressure once more.

The confrontation with church leaders would also create adverse effects abroad.

For the first time in 40 years there was white opposition to the right of the present government.

This fact had not gone unnoticed in the international community.

"Perceptions abroad are that the country is moving towards greater authoritarian control, which is reflected by the style of government we have at present."

The problems in SWA/Namibia and Angola had not been resolved, and it was becoming increasingly difficult for South Africa to extricate itself from the "Angolan problem".

However, the situation here should not only be looked at pessimistically and people should not be overcritical of achievements that had been accomplished.

"We must give credit where credit is due."

Social and economic reforms were also important, as political liberation without economic liberation did not mean much.

It was not possible to achieve what the outside world would like to see achieved in this country as "those elements could never be satisfied".

Mr Von Schirnding said South Africa now found itself in a dangerous position.

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Mr Von Schirnding also replied to questions from the audience.

Mr Von Schirnding was introduced by Mr Jonathan Schewitz and thanked by Mr Leo Borman.

Mr Borman said it was the best turnout the local branch had had.

EAST LONDON — A [illegible] acquitted [illegible] Mr Deacon, of Nahoon

PW gave the final word on ANC — Minister

From DALE LAUTENBACH
Political Staff

THE "final word" on National Party policy on the African National Congress was contained in a speech made by President Botha in 1985, said Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis, concluding the parliamentary debate during which NP MP Mr Albert Nothnagel made his controversial ANC speech.

Replying to his budget vote in the House of Assembly yesterday, Mr du Plessis referred to a speech delivered in Springs in October 1985 by President Botha.

TERRORIST ACTIVITIES

Mr Botha had said that if the ANC wanted to talk to the South African Government it would have to lay down arms, stop car bombings and terrorist activities and cut international ties with communism, said Mr du Plessis.

That was the National Party viewpoint and the "final word" on the ANC, he said.

"No man has the final word," interjected Conservative Party MP Mr Koos van der Merwe.

In the course of the budget debate last week, Mr Nothnagel made a speech in which he said the ideas of the ANC and the 17 restricted organisations were indisputably important to a political solution in South Africa.

Existing black political organisations and groupings were as important to this end as were the various white groupings, he said.

● See page 6.

DIP 19/4/88 3049

MP wins damages from CP

PRETORIA — The National Party MP for Innesdal, Mr Albert Nothnagel — who is at the centre of a new political controversy about his views on talking to the ANC — was yesterday awarded damages of R15 000 and costs in respect of a defamation claim brought by him against the Conservative Party.

The claim arose from an article which appeared in the CP newspaper, Die Patriot, on February 6 last year.

Mr Nothnagel claimed the CP had misrepresented his views published in an article on negotiating with the ANC in Inside South Africa, and had associated him with ANC violence. — DDC



Andrew says NP toying with new apartheid

Political Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — The National Party (NP) had accepted that old-style apartheid did not work but could not bring themselves to face the logical and inevitable consequences of that realisation, the MP for Gardens, Mr Ken Andrew, said last night.

Addressing a meeting in Port Elizabeth, Mr Andrew said that instead, the NP was "toying around with a makeshift new-style apartheid".

He said the government was making a "terrible mistake".

"On the one hand, new-style apartheid does not satisfy the legitimate aspirations of black South Africans while on the other it introduces confusion among fearful whites and is therefore grist to the mill of the Conservative Party."

The NP was making the fatal mistake of trying to appease whites by suggesting that new-style apartheid was as good as the old and would provide them with the same security.

However, many traditional NP supporters did not believe it especially as no alternative vision was being offered.



MR ANDREW

Mr Andrew said that democracy could work in South Africa and "provide lasting safeguards for minorities".

To achieve this, however, the constitution could not be based on race, ethnicity or any other enforced group classification.

Freedom of association, the rule of law and an independent judiciary were essential elements in such a democracy.

It was equally imperative that a new constitution be the product of negotiation and not imposed by one group on others.

The role of the PFP was to keep alive basic democratic values and present distinct and practical alternatives to the NP's apartheid policies.

this gap and to move back to the old ties.

Govt adopts strategy to foster 'sound values'

CAPE TOWN — A national youth strategy containing objectives aimed at ensuring that young people "worked together positively in shaping the future of South Africa" has been accepted by the Government, the Minister of National Education, Mr F W de Klerk, said yesterday.

A President's Council report on the country's youth contained valuable information for all private and public bodies involved in youth work, Mr de Klerk said.

The Government realised that although parents were primarily responsible for the education, the State also had a responsiblity to the youth.

The actions of the youth and resulting problems extended to a number of areas which involved both the public and private sectors.

OWN AFFAIRS

The Government had decided to adopt a youth strategy comprising a number of objectives by means of which the activities of specific departments of State would be guided and directed without infringing on the autonomy of the Own Affairs departments.

The objectives accepted by the Government were that sound values and positive attitudes, including knowledge, acceptance, understanding and appreciation, should be inculcated in all young people.

"Young people must be given the opportunity to practise leadership, to develop themselves and to acquire potentially productive skills."

They should be given the opportunity to take part in sport and to become involved in community development.

"Young people must develop love and loyalty towards that which is their own at community level, as well as towards that common cultural heritage which derives from the interfaces between the respective cultures."

He said young people should be motivated to a common appreciation of, and loyalty for South Africa and its people. — Sapa.

NDM to hold first congress

CAPE TOWN — The National Democratic Movement (NDM), led by Mr Wynand Malan, will hold its first congress in Randburg on May 6, according to a statement issued in Cape Town yesterday.

At the congress, the basis for the party's active participation in elections will be spelled out.

The congress, aimed at the "practical development" of the movement's policies, will be attended by members and committees of the movement, as well as representatives and supporters from all parts of the country.

"The congress will offer an opportunity for frank discussions on South African politics and for making decisions on a practical political strategy for the movement," — Sapa.

CP to fight in eight wards

The Conservative Party has announced it will contest eight of the 13 wards in Verwoerdburg in the October 26 municipal elections. — Sapa.

We're pandering

(304A) Bldoy 20/4/88

The new realism: power politics replaces reform

ANDRÉ DU TOIT in Die Suid-Afrikaan

IT IS CLEAR that we have entered a new political era. Its nature and likely extent, however, are not yet properly understood. Political commentators state repeatedly that the second state of emergency "is working". And that the "unrealistic" revolutionary expectations in the townships, which shot so high in 1985 and 1986, are making way for a more sober analysis of the long road which still lies ahead for the *struggle*.

But the change in the political climate goes much further than merely ending the cycle of protest, boycotts and violence which dominated the scene for two years and more from September 1984. It is becoming clearer that the whole era of reform politics is past.

Whatever government's plans for the National Statutory Council may be, it plays no real role in the political debate. Nobody still demands a "declaration of intent" and there is no more talk of possible negotiations with the ANC.

Debates in extra-parliamentary ranks about the nature of a "post-apartheid SA" now seem somewhat premature. Also, som.e business leaders are clearly following a harder line, and there is talk that key aspects of the apartheid reforms since Wiehahn and Riekert will be undone.

At the regional level, the era of the Nkomati Accord has made way for SA's undisguised involvement in the Angolan war.

The new realism is in itself an indication of the changed situation. In white ranks and goverment circles there is an understandable feeling of relief that the wave of political unrest and rebellion in black residential areas has again been brought "under control".

We can be sure that those in power in SA have in no way lost their will for political survival. The seriousness of the political crisis in 1985-86 certainly did not pass them by, and all the multiple powers of the State will be used to prevent a recurrence. The critical question is only *how* it will happen.

Since the beginning of 1988 there already have been two strong indications of this: the restrictions on 18 extra-parliamentary organisations and the change in our involvement in Angola. It is thus necessary to examine closely the implications of these moves.

The nature of the action against extra-parliamentary organisations was obviously carefully considered and calculated. On the one hand, it was not merely a repetition of the earlier bannings of the ANC and the PAC in 1960, or of the black consciousness organisations in 1977.

Seen in retrospect, those bannings were also in some aspects counter-productive for goverment.

In time, the ANC was able to build an organisation from foreign bases, and the ban on black consciousness movements in 1977 left a political vacuum in black politics which gave the Congress movement the opportunity to make a strong internal comeback.

On the other hand, the authorities, in terms of comprehensive security legislation and the declared state of emergency, already have at their disposal all the necessary powers to deal effectively with political activists, and this is being done. Long before the recent restrictions, numerous key figures in UDF organisations were detained and/or politically neutralised.



☐ **MALAN . . . controversial offer**

The "restrictions" (rather than bannings) have a precise and calculated aim. The organisations concerned are not denied their *legal* right to exist. But on the other hand, it is precisely these *legal* organisations which are restricted in their political activities.

While the existing security legislation and emergency powers are used to counter illegal and undermining activities (in the widest sense), the new "restrictions" are directed specifically at legal organisations and their activities.

This represents an important shift in the political conflict and power confrontation. The obverse of government's reform politics of the early Eighties was that it allowed a certain political space for extra-parliamentary activities. It has now been consciously decided that the Congress movement and its associates can no longer be allowed to use (or "misuse") this political space.

The proposed legislation against the funding from overseas of *any* political activity is intended at the same time to turn the tap tight on a wide spectrum of legal projects and publications. The power of the State from now on will be employed not only against violent and revolutionary attacks, but also against *political* opposition and resistance.

Regarding Angola, we are seeing a similar move away from a basis of international law to an undisguised power play. It was not very long ago that "*non-interference*" in the internal affairs of others was the cardinal principle of SA's foreign policy.

When the SADF got involved in conflicts across our borders, it had to happen in secret (as in Angola in 1975) or how could it be reconciled with the principle of non-interference to which SA, as an international pariah state, attached such profound importance?

What is now happening in Angola is quite a different story. Not only is SA's direct involvement in the war strongly played up, but the whole non-interference principle has been thrown overboard.

In General Magnus Malan's controversial "offer" to the Soviet Union at the beginning of March, it was simply stated that the SADF was fighting in Angola to protect the country's interests, and that it could not be expected that strategic gains could just be given up.

An important question, naturally, is whether it in fact serves SA's best interests to conduct a war hundreds of kilometres inside Angola. But equally important is the shift from a foundation of constitutional and international law for our foreign policy to one of regional power politics.

In the short-term, these sort of shifts can probably "work". The South African State is powerful enough to make short shrift of the attacks of a vascilating resistance movement and a fragmented opposition. And in regional power politics, SA can make things difficult for the major powers and cause considerable disruption and devastation in its neighbouring states.

But what is the outlook for the new South(ern) Africa that is developing before our eyes in these circumstances?

The new realism in our political climate, the muting and demoralising of "unrealistic" expectations, is thus also the other facet of the general deterioration in political vision and hope for the future.

For the present, it may appear to mean greater order and calm. But for the eventual task of building a new nation and working out a political future together, it is necessary for the scope for *political* struggle and conflict to be extended and not further restricted.

Power politics without vision and hope offers no real future.

☐ *Professor Du Toit lectures in the Department of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town.*

Worrall: IP seeks link-up to other groups

CAPE TOWN — The Independent Party (IP) was not an end in itself but would seek to link up with other elements in the "creative opposition."

This was said by the party's leader, Dr Denis Worrall, at a gathering of 200 people in the Durbanville Town Hall.

He said this was why the party sought the support of members of the disbanded New Republic Party.

The IP would also try to link up with other groups such as the Labour Party.

The IP would not merely be a debating society — it would seek power at parliamentary and local government level.

The foundation stones of the party's policy were a non-racial, democratic and a free-market South Africa.



DR WORRALL

Dr Worrall dismissed suggestions that the National Party should be helped against the Conservative Party.

The real problem in South Africa was the National Party from which the CP had grown.

The NP said it was abandoning "classic" apartheid but had failed to put something in its place.

The party was directionless with no sense of how to handle the problems of South Africa.

Dr Worrall predicted that the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, would come up with some constitutional concoction in parliament later this week which would be rejected by black leaders.

Without reform South Africa would become increasingly ungovernable. — Sapa

Managers 'aloof from SA's Third World market'

Executives running companies in South Africa are First World people.

Most live in privileged surroundings in the better suburbs of Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban or Port Elizabeth.

An editorial in the latest issue of Markinor's *New Perspectives* questioned whether these people were aware of the growing and inevitable Third World market that has already arrived in South Africa.

Have they ever visited a squatter area? Do they realise that 600 000 people are moving to the cities every year? Have they realised that the market of the future is encapsulated in those squatter camps? Have they realised that they must invest in that future market now?

Many companies are currently more preoccupied with improving current profitability.

They ignore the fact that unless they invest now in new products and brands that will appeal to this Third World market, their future performance and profitability will decline.

And so it is essential that forward-thinking companies come to terms with the inevitability of the future. The inevitability demonstrated by population statistics, migration to the cities, and the growth in the squatter population.

Information is available on the trends, and often research is available about the needs of this growing Third World metropolitan society in specific product and service categories.

The missing element is the commitment of top management to this view of the future.

How can this commitment be obtained? There needs to be a greater investment in time, talking about the future and about long-term strategies to develop products and services for the Third World market.

There needs to be more research into the Third World metropolitan market's needs and attitudes.

Management must stand back from the problems of today and concentrate more on the development of healthy business from this different Third World market of tomorrow.

PW faces Namibian anger

304A

WINDHOEK — Relations between Namibia's internal government and SA reached a new low yesterday when five of eight Cabinet members threatened to resign if they were not satisfied with fresh consultations with the SA government.

The Cabinet members yesterday issued a statement seeking urgent talks with SA, claiming President P W Botha's vesting of greater powers in his representative, Administrator-General Louis Pienaar, had breached an earlier

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

agreement between the Cabinet and SA.

Botha is expected to raise the issue in Parliament today.

The statement was issued after a Cabinet meeting attended by Pienaar, who said he felt President Botha had merely confirmed powers he already had.

The statement, issued by Cabinet

B1day

● To Page 2

20/4/88

Namibian Cabinet wants meeting with PW

chairman Andrew Matjila, said Botha's recent proclamation conferring greater powers on Pienaar contradicted the principles of the right of Namibians to national self-determination as well as the Bill of Fundamental Rights.

Democratic Turnhalle Alliance chairman and Finance Minister Dirk Mudge — who did not endorse the statement — said if individuals resigned from the Cabinet it was likely their parties would replace them.

"I will not advise my party (Republican Party) to resign from the government. What is the point of handing back powers to the AG?" he asked.

The statement was also not signed by the National Party and Rehoboth Bevrydingsparty.

It said Botha's unilateral amendment of R101 had stripped the national assembly of certain powers, giving others to the AG against the wishes of the cabinet and contrary to recent statements of the AG.

Bl day

● From Page 1

20/4/88

"R101 was the product of a negotiated agreement between the parties of the Multi-Party Conference on the one hand, and the SA State President on the other. It cannot properly be amended unilaterally," the statement said.

The SWA-NP Agricultural Minister Jannie de Wet warned it was within Botha's power to dissolve the general assembly and cabinet in light of the statement, if he so wished.

De Wet was yesterday axed from the cabinet by NP leader Kosie Pretorius who announced he would stand in De Wet's place.

Although De Wet could not comment on his political future, he said Pretorius's decision had not been unexpected because Cabinet was now taking over the "constitutional process" and it had been decided that party leaders and not their representatives should be involved.

Parliament and Politics

PW to carry on reform?

CMG Times 20/4/88 306A

Political Staff

PRESIDENT P W Botha is expected to take the wraps off the government's immediate reform plans during the debate on his vote which starts in the House of Assembly today.

Heading the agenda are the Group Areas Act and the proposed national council.

Reform has virtually been at a standstill since the general election on May 6 last year when the Conservative Party became the offical opposition.

The government has denied that it has turned its back on reform.

In his response to the President's Council report on the Group Areas Act and related legislation, Mr Botha said the government had to make at least some provision for those people who wished to live in open areas.

At the same time he reiterated the government's commitment to retain segregated areas for those groups who wished to reside in their own areas.

In the course of the next three days Mr Botha is expected to spell out just how the open areas policy is going to work.

Speculation is that it will apply only to new suburbs in that a tough set of rules are likely largely to prohibit the opening of areas currently zoned for occupation by one group.

There has also been the suggestion, not denied in government circles, that Mr Botha may announce the government's intention to make implementation of the Act an own affair.

Effectively this means that decisions on whether to open whites areas will be taken by whites, coloured areas by coloured people and Indian areas by Indians.

Whites will also have responsibility for black areas.

As far as the national council is concerned, Mr Botha may announce the government's intention to proceed with the council, in spite of opposition to the body.

What lends support to this contention is that meetings of the Standing Committee on Constitutional Affairs have been called for every day next week and for the first four days of the week after — a sure sign that the Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Mr Chris Heunis is to make a determined bid to get the two reform measures debated before the end of this session.

MP: CP will try to win control of local authorities

JOHANNESBURG — The Conservative Party will try to win control of local authorities in the October municipal elections to implement a drastic reversion to Verwoerdian apartheid, the party's deputy leader and MP for Lichtenburg, Mr Ferdi Hartzenburg, said while releasing the CP's election manifesto yesterday.

The manifesto comes on top of the warning by Mr Hartzenberg, in Pretoria this week that the CP would try to force a general election by taking over local authorities.

More than 1 000 people attended Mr Hartzenberg's meeting to launch municipal election campaigns for Verwoerdburg, Akasia and Pretoria, Sapa reported.

The manifesto stresses the significance of the municipal elections, saying the government has delegated political powers to local authorities to make decisions on open facilities, central business districts (CBDs) and residential areas. It says local councils also play a crucial role on the regional services councils (RSCs), "which are an attempt to give white taxpayers' money to other race groups".

Points in the manifesto include:

- Each racial group is to have its own local councils;
- The CP will prohibit any racially mixed residential areas;
- The CP will reintroduce influx control, the abolition of which it blames for higher crime rates;
- Law and order will be a priority, with the CP favouring the reintroduction of the curfew;
- There must be separate public facilities for different race groups, includin parks and beaches;
- The CP is against allowing blacks to own and run shops in "white" areas;
- Each race group must pay rates to its own council;
- The presence of black workers in urban areas will be "strongly controlled and limited";
- The CP will get rid of RSCs;
- The CP will "repossess" black property rights in urban areas:
- White housing and white unemployment will be priorities. — DDC

304A B/day 21/4/88

Treurnicht slams Nothnagel and ANC

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — The ANC and its politics could not be divorced from violence and terrorism, Leader of the Opposition Andries Treurnicht, said yesterday.

Speaking first in the State President's Vote, he said the article by Albert Nothnagel (NP, Innesdal) published in Inside South Africa, parts of which he quoted, had embarrassed the National Party.

Since then, Treurnicht said, Nothnagel had said there was not a single word in the article he had retracted or ever would retract.

"He says that he, like most Nationalists, view it as a myth that a lasting solution can be obtained without also involving the ANC in the process or obtaining black participation without releasing Mandela and other political prisoners.

"He also says he and these Nationalists can identify with the total liberation struggle of the Black man."

Nothnagel had also criticised two previous prime ministers, Malan and Verwoerd, for their refusal to meet the ANC in their time as "a most serious political blunder".

Treurnicht said the ANC was infested with communism. — Sapa.

304A B/day 21/4/88

PARLIAMENT

A place for all groups in future SA, says Nothnagel

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — For the NP, the future of SA as a whole was more important than any one part of it and that included the Afrikaner, Albert Nothnagel (NP Innesdal) said yesterday.



● NOTHNAGEL

"As an Afrikaner nationalist, and as much as I love the Afrikaner and other groups in the country, the Afrikaner's socio-political aspirations and all he claims are not more important in the SA of tomorrow than the interests of all in SA," he said in the Budget debate on the State President's vote.

The Afrikaner and the whites alone could not have the total say.

Nothnagel referred to attacks on him by the CP after a recent speech he made in Parliament in which he said the ANC and the 17 organisations which were restricted in February were "important" to SA's future, and after a magazine article he wrote on the ANC last year.

The NP's stand on the ANC was very clear, and this was it would not negotiate with the organisation before it foreswore violence.

"I have no problems with this."

The government insisted political prisoners renounce violence before they could be released and he agreed with this.

His use of the phrase "total liberation struggle" in his speech last week had been used in the sense of black South Africans' social and political aspirations and had nothing whatsover to do with being in favour of violence or communism and the ANC, as the CP was trying to portray, Nothnagel said.

On CP attempts to besmirch him with their references to his article on the ANC last year, Nothnagel said the official Opposition propagandists were ignoring the fact he had started with the words "No peaceful solution is possible without . . ."

Fair

Also, the article should be read in conjunction with a speech he made in the House last year after the article appeared and after he had had consultations with the Transvaal NP leadership.

The whole essence of the NP's policy was to move towards a situation where there was fair and just treatment of groups and individuals.

"Everyone must feel he is free to take part in political and economic activity and that discrimination is not part of our policy . . . it will not help the CP to try to associate any of us with the ANC, communism or violence."

Moving

The NP's constitutional policy was one for all the people of SA to have a right to participate in political structures on a group basis.

It was no secret that the NP did not have all the structures yet, but it was moving towards them on the basis that the whole was more important than any one part.

Referring to the statement by Ferdie Hartzenberg in the House that he (Nothnagel) had said it was a myth that any solution in SA would not be acceptable to the blacks unless the ANC was included, Nothnagel said he would say outright it was a lie to anybody who repeated this outside Parliament. — Sapa.

Political Staff

ed with communism. — Sapa.

with the organisation before it foreswore violence.

to move towards a situation where there

liament. — Sapa.

White security will lead to new problems

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — The NP was developing an ideology of permanent white security which could lead to even greater problems than the apartheid ideology it replaced, National Democratic Movement leader Wynand Malan said yesterday.

He said security was a necessity but the method of achieving this should not make one lose sight of one's goals.

Malan said a person who talked about democracy was told this was the language of Eastern Bloc countries and that he must therefore be a communist.

Referring to protests by churchmen, he said they had a right to protest. — Sapa.

Eglin accuses govt of arrogance

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — Government was becoming increasingly "intolerant, arrogant and secretive" — and more aggressive to anyone who stood in its way, PFP leader Colin Eglin said yesterday.

Eglin listed what he called signs of increasing "arrogance and imperialism" after 40 years of NP rule:

☐ The "petulant attitude" of P W Botha towards church leaders, particularly Archbishop Desmond Tutu;



● EGLIN

☐ The manner in which Botha phoned the SABC, during a news bulletin dealing with Allan Hendrickse's resignation from the Cabinet, to alter the contents of the programme;

☐ The "selective psychophantic" coverage of SABC TV;

☐ Government's use of paid copywriters to produce advertisements on issues which were being contested in elections, or being debated in Parliament;

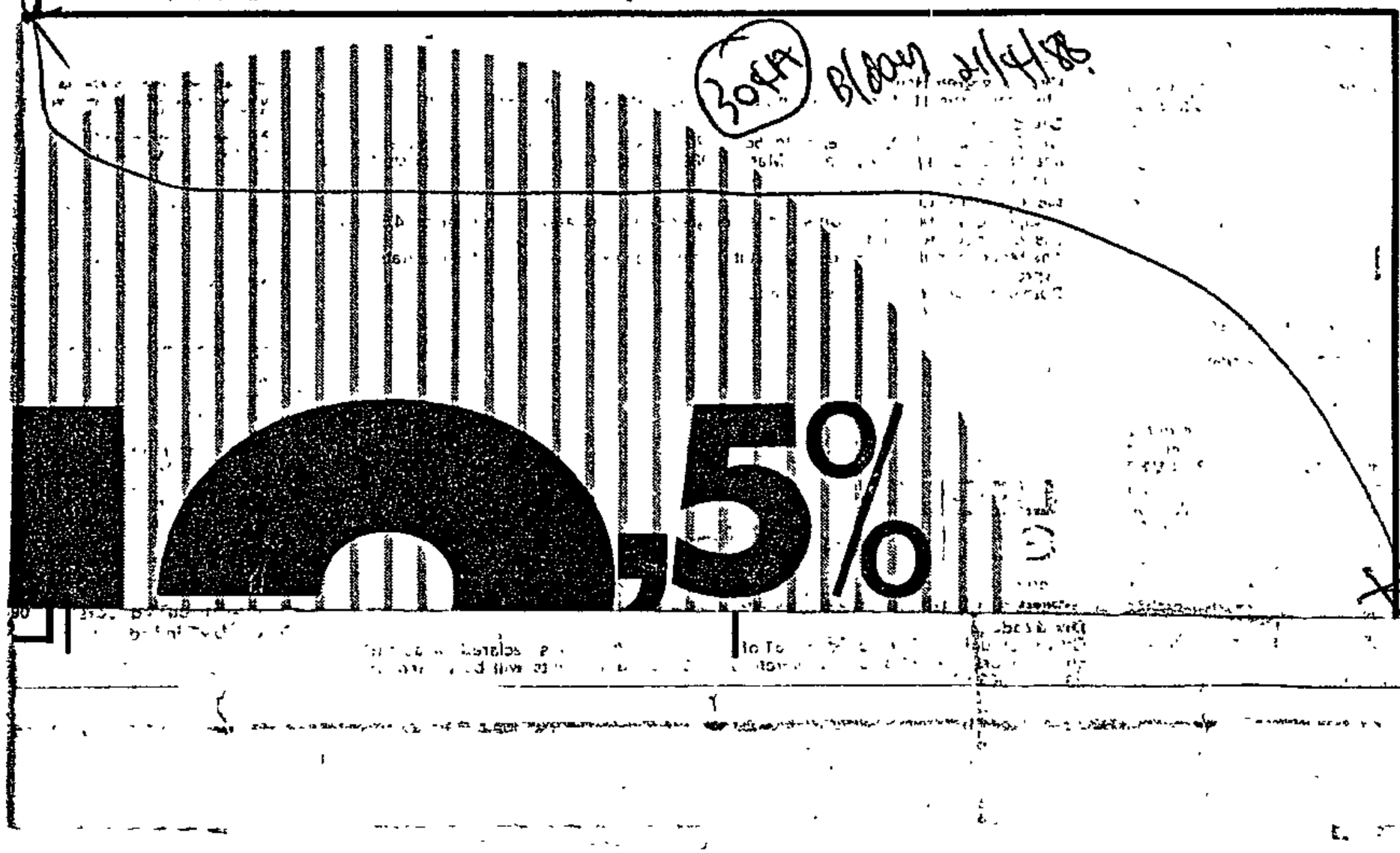
☐ The lack of frank and open communication with the citizenry, combined with an increasingly "imperial style of government".

Eglin asked why Botha did not hold "no holds barred" interviews and media conferences like other Western leaders.

He said government was stranded "in an ideological no-man's land" between one Rubicon and another.

Government had in recent years caused the situation to deteriorate in a number of areas.

It was an "ugly reality" that black people — who represented 73% of the population — did not have a single representative in the central Parliament.



Radicals share a purpose

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — Left- and right-wing radicals were political bedfellows because they both believed in imposing a solution on the country, Andre van der Walt (NP Bellville) said yesterday.

Speaking in the State President's vote committee stage debate of the Budget, he said the most important question facing SA was whether a political solution was going to be negotiated or whether it was going to be arbitrarily imposed.

No matter how much the CP and the HNP on the right of the political spectrum differed from the ANC on the left, they both shared the belief that their particular political models had to be forced on the country.

Although their methods differed, both the radicals on the left and those on the right both were in favour of a White or Black dictatorship .

The ability of all moderates and those who rejected violence to negotiate a solution would determine whether there would be peace or violence in SA. — Sapa.

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A TIMES MEDIA PUBLICATION

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3044 B/day 21/4/88

CP gives its manifesto for a future SA

THE CP will try to win control of local authorities in the October municipal elections to implement a drastic reversion to Verwoerdian apartheid, the party's election manifesto shows.

The manifesto, released yesterday, came on top of the warning, by CP deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg in Pretoria this week, that the CP would try to force a general election by taking over local authorities.

Sapa reports that more than 1 000 people attended Hartzenberg's meeting to launch municipal election campaigns for Verwoerdburg, Akasia and Pretoria.

The manifesto stresses the significance of the municipal elections, saying government has delegated political powers to local authorities to make decisions on open facilities, central business districts (CBDs) and residential areas. It says local councils also play a crucial role on the regional services councils (RSCs), "which are an attempt to give white taxpayers' money to other race groups".

It says CP candidates will fight "to protect white rights".

ROGER SMITH

Points in the manifesto include:

☐ Each racial group is to have its own local councils — there are to be no racially mixed councils;

☐ The CP will prohibit any racially mixed residential areas;

☐ The CP will reintroduce influx control, the abolition of which it blames for higher crime rates;

☐ Law and order will be a priority, with the CP favouring the reintroduction of the curfew;

☐ There must be separate public facilities for different race groups, including parks and beaches;

☐ The CP is against allowing blacks to own and run shops in "white" areas;

☐ Each race group must pay rates to its own council;

☐ The presence of black workers in urban areas will be "strongly controlled and limited";

☐ The CP will get rid of RSCs;

☐ The CP will "repossess" black property rights in urban areas and warns that any black buying property in a "white" town or city "does so at his own risk";

☐ White housing and white unemployment will be priorities.

In his speech, Hartzenberg said the CP wanted control of local authorities in order to freeze the budgets of the RSCs. This would leave President P W Botha "helpless".

The announcement of a general municipal election this year was like "manna from heaven" for the CP.

Municipal elections had turned into fights with political foundations, created by the NP in its reform programme.

Hartzenberg said the CP wanted to reverse the degradation of standards which was taking place throughout SA society — in schools, residential suburbs and in Parliament.

Politics was becoming more radical.

Mansions of many colours in the house of apartheid

Christopher Hope, well known as a novelist, has written an account of his South African homeland during the recent whites-only election. It is a strange, somewhat eerie book describing, in measured tones, a country in which the government has taken complete leave of its senses. Often this lunacy reaches heights of Kafka-like comedy.

In the house of apartheid there are, it seems, many mansions, designated by a wide variety of colours. Under the Population Registration Act, it is possible to change your colour with permission from a special government department.

The following figures are taken from statistics issued by the Minister of Home Affairs. In the year 1986 nine whites became coloured, two whites became Malay, 87 coloureds turned Indian, 61 Indians went Malay, 12 coloureds were declared Chinese, seven Chinese became whites, 87 coloureds became Indian and 560 coloureds turned white.

But, and this proves that even the most surprising of racial miracles has its limitations in South Africa, no blacks turned white.



Fear of other races is common to mankind, observes John Mortimer reviewing WHITE BOY RUNNING, by Christopher Hope (left)(Secker & Warburg, pp273), but when the fear is reinforced by moral fervour and sanctioned by law, it becomes terror.

Banana throwers

I was reading Mr Hope's book when I turned on the television news. A game of football was in progress, and one side was distinguished by a single black player. He performed brilliantly to the accompaniment of the racialist baying of a British crowd which flung bananas at him. The difference between our country and Mr Hope's would seem to be that, in his, banana-throwing has been erected by a dotty government into a kind of civic duty.

The great value of **White Boy Running** is that it shows the awful effects of apartheid, not only on its victims but also on its perpetrators. Indeed the victims, in some senses, suffer less. They are, in the face of torture, dispossession and injustice, able to keep their pride. They know that history, that fickle dispenser of favours, is on their side.

For the South African whites, going through the meaningless formalities of their minority election, the situation appears hopeless. Their strange laws and tribal customs have left them with no future, a loneliness which is the strongest feeling to come through in Mr Hope's book.

Christopher Hope starts his story in a run-down hotel in a small Transvaal town. Election posters flap in the wind, that of the Conservative party reads "Stop Integration. Save the Nation", for the Conservatives of South Africa regard Mr Botha as a dangerous liberal and the Nationalists as in imminent danger of producing a multiracial society.

In the bar of the Balfour Hotel, woozy snooker players, drunk on brandy and Coke, are knocking the balls off the table. Mr Hope describes a fat man in a little blue pork-pie hat drinking triple cane spirits and lemonade, talking of the trouble he has been put to by a black worker.

"In the end I had enough. I got up on the wheel and I knocked that uppity Kaffir right out of the cab. Just like that!" He mimics assault and shows the driver tumbled into the road by swaying dangerously on his bar stool.

"Nothing but bloody trouble," his friend agrees.

"What could I do?" Pork Pie demands plaintively. "I told him nicely, but he didn't want to listen!"

Mr Hope takes from his revealing scrap of dialogue a message of doom to all those who think that apartheid can be broken down by some sort of moral persuasion, because to the man in the pork-pie hat knocking the uppity Kaffir down was a profoundly moral act.

"The white Afrikaner," says Christopher Hope, "is divinely charged with the protection and moral uplift of his black brother, but ... instead of co-operating in his salvation the black man proves stubborn, perverse ... and try as you may to help him, he finds ways of resisting.

So it is finally more in sorrow than in anger that one is forced to, well, *chastise* the simple soul in order to improve his thinking and his demeanour."

The lesser breeds without the law need continual coercion for their own good, and the Boers fought their war as another Englishman, Rudyard Kipling, regrettably said, for their divine right to "kick their own nigger".

A Catholic Irishman and so, in many ways, an outsider in South Africa, Mr Hope passes through a number of towns (Pretoria is described as a city with "one foot in the 19th century and the other in Woolworths"), observing, speaking to rather few people and finding little joy and not so much to laugh at, although people must fall in love, make jokes and enjoy the sunshine, even in South Africa.

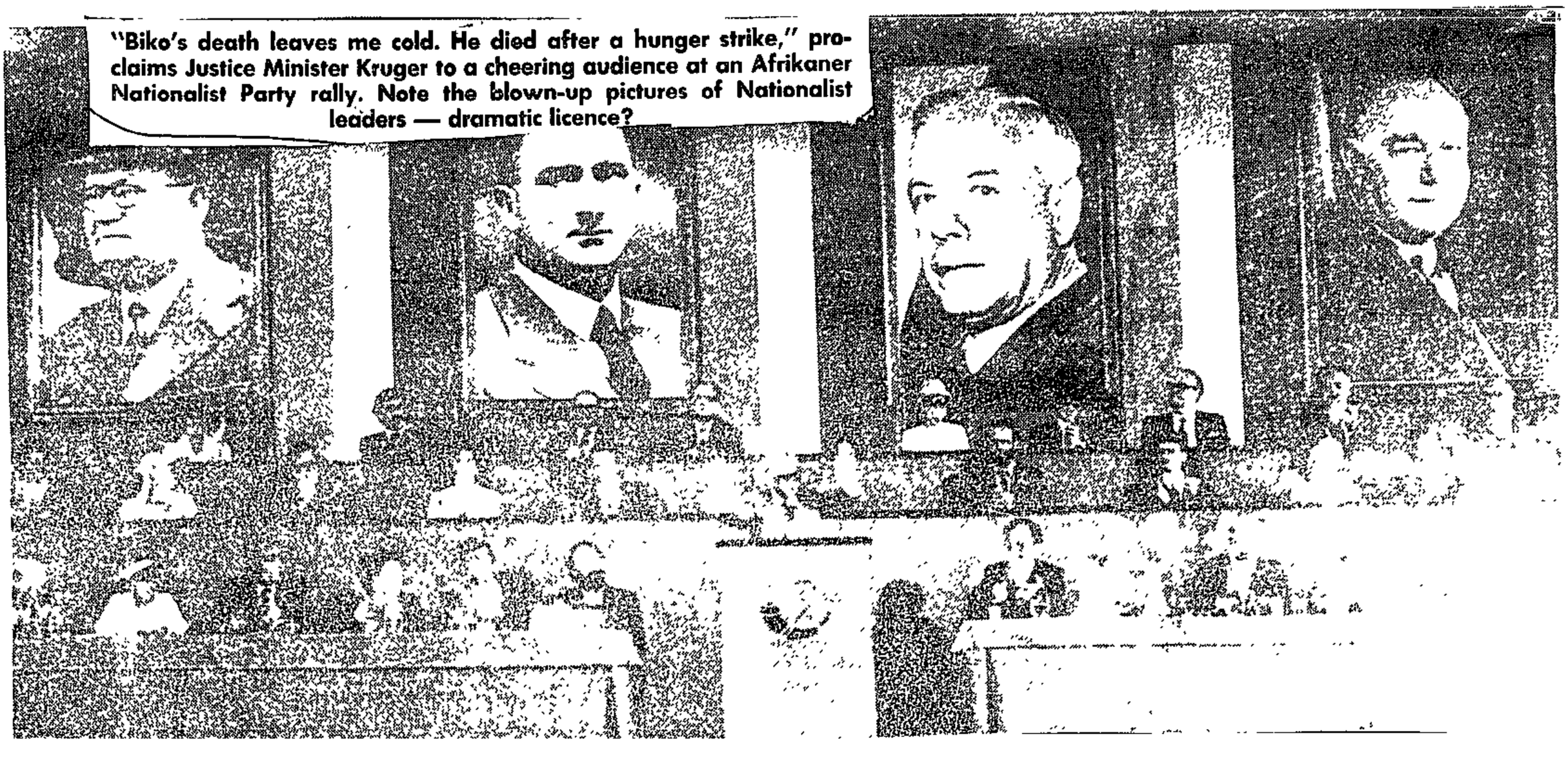
The sense of doom is all-pervasive, and such jokes as these come with the tired smile the author must have worn when he discovered that the Japanese are declared honorary whites.

Foolish argument

One of the most foolish arguments against the critics of South Africa is that you cannot judge a country without going there, as though it is not possible to decide that Paris must have been fairly uncomfortable during the Terror without having lived two centuries ago, or as if you could not denounce Belsen without having been a prisoner in it.

Mr Hope, with a sort of sad detachment, provides invaluable evidence about South Africa. There is little comfort in it. The cruelty which comes from a fear of other races is no doubt common to mankind. When it is reinforced by moral fervour and sanctioned by law it becomes terror, as it has in South Africa, as it seems in danger of becoming on the Gaza Strip. The time to beware is when someone who considers himself to be without sin casts the first banana. —

Sunday Times, London
— John Mortimer



"Biko's death leaves me cold. He died after a hunger strike," proclaims Justice Minister Kruger to a cheering audience at an Afrikaner Nationalist Party rally. Note the blown-up pictures of Nationalist leaders — dramatic licence?

DID 21/4/88. 304A

Political terror not a partisan matter

Political Perspective

by Andre du Toit



In the South African political conflict what news we are getting from the front lines is becoming ever more grim. The front-page picture of a seriously injured Albie Sachs crawling away from his bombed-out car is but the latest jolt in what is already a long list.

Consider such reports as the following:

- Troops raid homes in a residential area, killing 42 people of whom at least 12 are civilians, including women and children (Maseru, December 9, 1982).
- A car bomb explodes in a busy street outside the Defence Headquarters during the afternoon rush hour, killing 19 and injuring 215 (Pretoria, May 20, 1983).
- Planes bomb suburban homes, a day-care centre and a jam factory killing six people, including two women and two children (Maputo, May 23, 1983).
- A double car bomb near the magistrate's court kills three policemen and injures five more as well as nine civilians (Johannesburg, May 21, 1987).
- A powerful car bomb outside Wits Command headquarters in the central city injures 68 people, all civilians (Johannesburg, July 31, 1987).
- A car bomb explodes in a shopping complex injuring 17 people, four seriously of which two are political activists (Harare, October 14, 1987).
- A powerful bomb explodes before the magistrate's court, killing three and injuring 20 (Krugersdorp, March 17, 1988).
- Raiders attack an ordinary house in the middle of the night, killing four people, douse their bodies in petrol and setting them on fire, totally gutting the house (Gaborone, March 28, 1988).

The list is far from complete and could easily be extended. Some of the particulars are disputed. But these hardly affect the general pattern: the increasing use of political terror without regard to civilian casualties.

Many people are coming to accept this as simply part of the southern African situation. Many are also prepared to condone such indiscriminate violence if it serves the right cause. This leads to a selective and partisan approach to the incidents reported on our list. For some of the attacks and raids listed have been executed by members of the South African defence or security forces as necessary to combat the "terrorist onslaught" against the country. And the ANC has accepted responsibility for some of the bombings listed as a necessary part of the "armed struggle" for liberation.

Each party, of course, condemns the atrocities of the other, and justifies the extreme measures needed to counter this.

And so the cycle continues and the cancerous growth of political terror spreads through the fabric of our public life. We remain numb and silent, or we only denounce the atrocities committed by the other side. A society which wants to retain any shred of public self-respect cannot allow this to happen. For what the list makes clear is that, whatever else may be said about their respective causes, both sides are using essentially similar methods.

In fact, in this murky world actions tend to become almost literaly interchangeable. Thus bombings officially blamed on the ANC are sometimes claimed actually to have been the work of agents provacateurs sponsored by the government. And Minister Pik Botha readily suggests that the recent shooting of Dulcie September in Paris and the car bomb that almost killed Albie Sachs in Maputo may actually be due to internal conflicts between rival ANC factions.

We are scarcely in a position to know what the truth of the matter is in these cases. What is certain though is that both ANC operatives and government agents have in the past used essentially similar means against their chosen targets.

That is why it is an instructive exercise to study the list of incidents on a non-selective basis. It is their basic similarities which are most disturbing, and which matter more than the ostensible rationales differentiating them. In the car bomb explosion in the Harare shopping centre ANC activists were among the victims; similar car bombs exploding in busy Johannesburg streets are claimed to be the work of ANC operatives. Does this make one bombing an atrocity, and the other not? Surely the point is that in both cases innocent civilians were the main casualties of deliberately indiscriminate violence. In the recent Gaborone raid the bodies of the slain were doused with petrol and burned: Should we be any less morally outraged than with regard to the infamous "necklaces"?

The Gaborone raid was a military operation. It was officially described as having been executed "with surgical precision". Much has also been made in this case of the claims that one of the four victims was an ordinary civilian, Charles Makoena, as against the counter-claims that he was a regional commander of Umkhonto We Sizwe, Solomon Molefi alias Paul Naledi. More important, surely, is the apparently undisputed fact that the other three victims were mere bystanders, innocent civilians.

What we can expect from operations executed with "surgical precision" is precisely that they should differentiate between specific military targets and innocent civilian bystanders. But in this case we do not even get an explanation as to why loss of life was not minimized by capturing the suspects, instead of such indiscriminate killing. For that, after all, is the crucial moral line which divides legitimate acts of war from war crimes and political terrorism.

Over the past few years there have been a number of explicit statements of the government's position in this regard, especially from General Malan. Thus he warned neighbouring countries in a major statement in 1983 in the following terms: "No matter what methods we have to use to fight South Africa's enemies in those countries. . . we will have to do it. . . If these organisations conduct sabotage, must we sit back with folded arms and simply warn them diplomatically that they must stop?" General Malan reaffirmed this only last year: "I want to tell our neighbouring states that if there are any terrorists, we will sniff them out. And we will give them a hiding."

What is conspicuously lacking from such threats is any commitment to observe the basic distinction between combatants and non-combatants, between "hard" military targets and "soft" civilian and political victims. Thus there may well not be any evidence linking the government directly or indirectly with the attacks on Dulcie September and Albie Sachs. But this kind of action is also not specifically ruled out by the thrust of General Malan's policy statements. The remedy is clear: The government should in word and deed distance itself from those who perpetrate political terror of this kind.

For its part the ANC professes to subscribe to the Geneva Convention and insists that its commitment to the armed struggle does not mean that it is waging a campaign of terror against civilians. At the controversial meeting in Dakar in July 1987 the internal South African delegation challenged the ANC that in line with this approach it should also be prepared publicly to denounce indiscriminate bombings when these occur. For a variety of reasons the ANC was not prepared to do this. The return of the internal delegation to South Africa was closely followed by the Johannesburg bombing of July 31, 1987 which has not been disowned or denounced by the ANC.

We have already gone too far down the road to an entrenched war of terror. It is not too late yet to say the killing and maiming of civilians must stop. It is not a partisan matter.

(Professor Du Toit teaches in the Department of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town.)

3044

21/4/88

Sowetan

Improvement among blacks noted

DESPITE sanctions and disinvestment, there has been a marked recovery in economic activity, and in the black urban areas there seems to be some improvement in the quality of life.

This was said by Mr Julian Ogilvie Thompson, the chairman of De Beers Consolidated Mines, in his annual review.

"The governemnt's major concern now is to embark on a wide-ranging reform of the economic system," he said.

"That is certainly as important as it is welcome, but it has to be realised that economic progress and political reform go together," he said.

"One effect of the recent bannings (on 17 organisations) may be to intensify sanctions and disinvestment, counter-productive though they have proved to be politically, and damaging as they are to the livelihood of those they ostensibly seek to help."

It is urgently necessary to negotiate and implement a constitution which can provide equal opportunity and political participation for all, protected by an entrenched Bill of Rights, Mr Thompson said.

He says legislation removing job reservation in the mining industry has been passed, but not yet brought into operation.

Safety continues to be a high priority on mines, and while a nil rate must always be the target it was pleasing to note that the fatality and injury rate have remained low.

The major strike on the gold and coal mines last year inflicted pain and damage on both sides, but at least it was settled between the parties by negotiation.

Govt to push Bill through

Sowetan 21/4/88

304 A

THE Government has given indications that it will try to push the controversial and much-delayed National Council Bill through Parliament as soon as possible.

The Bill has been set down to be discussed by the parliamentary joint committee on constitutional affairs every day for two weeks starting on Monday.

National Party sources will not say what the Government has in mind but opposition politicians believe the intense programme of committee meetings indicates that the intention is to force the Bill through.

The Bill, which embodies the government's power-sharing policy so far has been held up for nearly two years, chiefly by the failure of the Government to persuade credible blacks to participate on it.

But recent signals from the National Party and some Cabinet Ministers are that the Government now intends to go ahead with it, regardless of whether or not credible blacks are aboard.

The NP has attributed its disastrous performance in the three recent Transvaal by-elections to voter uncertainty about its plans to share power with blacks.

Since then there has been strong pressure on the Government from the party to put these plans into action to dispel the uncertainty.

In some NP quarters there is expectation that President Botha may make some announcement in this regard when his portfolio is debated in Parliament this week.

Professor Nic Olivier, the Progressive Federal Party spokesman on constitutional affairs said yesterday that it appeared that the NP had changed its mind and had decided to try to force the National Council Bill through.

Meetings

"My impression until recently was that they were not keen to push it through.

"This programme of committee meetings on the Bill indicates otherwise."

The proposed National Council is a forum on which nine elected black representatives from "white" South Africa as well as representatives from the self-governing states will be able to advise the Government as well as negotiate with it a new constitution.



Mr P W Botha



Mr Albert Nothnagel

Nothnagel 'no friend' of terror — PW

Political Staff

PRESIDENT P W Botha last night came to the defence of his outspoken frontbencher Mr Albert Nothnagel, MP for Innesdal, who was facing possible disciplinary action over his controversial speech last week about the political importance of banned organizations.

PRESIDENT P W Botha is expected to make a major statement on the Group Areas Act today and allow for certain areas to be declared "open" for occupation by people of all races. At the same time, however, he is expected to state that the provisions of the Group Areas Act outside the open areas will be applied more stringently than is the case at present.

Describing him as his "friend from Innesdal", Mr Botha said: "I do not think he is always careful enough about what he says, and I have told him so. But I have the highest regard for his competence and sincerity.

"He is not a friend of terrorism or violence and on that I will defend him. He knows I think he is sometimes overhasty in what he says, but we all sometime let our tongues run away with us."

To page 4

From page 1

P W Botha's vote

Taking the adjournment on the first day of the debate on his budget vote, Mr Botha referred to Conservative Party attacks on Mr Nothnagel and statements on the ANC, but went on to repeat his willingness to talk with the ANC if it laid down its arms, stopped its violence and came to the negotiating table.

This in effect backed up what Mr Nothnagel has said.

He thanked Dr Andries Treurnicht, Leader of the Opposition, for what he had said about the ANC.

Opposition parties clashed over Mr Nothnagel's speech.

While Dr Treurnicht, rampant after three CP by-election victories, tried to hang the government on charges of wanting to consort with the ANC, Progressive Federal Party leader Mr Colin Eglin praised Mr Nothnagel. If Mr Botha wanted to find an alternative to apartheid he should turn to Mr Nothnagel rather than attempt to outbid the Conservative Party in "the market of white privilege", Mr Eglin said.

Mr Nothnagel replied by saying CP speakers conveniently omitted to say that he had spoken of a "peaceful' solution and the fact that his article should be read in conjunction with a qualifying statement.

He said he still stuck by the party's policy that negotiations could not be conducted with organizations which used violence as a means to a political end. He also wanted nothing to do with communism.

"I remain loyal to the NP because I know its leaders will do what is best," said Mr Nothnagel.

How our too-quiet business responded to Tucker: QUIETLY



Bob Tucker: The Angola war, starvation, forced removal ... none of these are on the business agenda

LIBERAL business people responded with caution to the recent comments of SA Perm MD Bob Tucker's comments that business in South Africa had been "co-opted" by the government.

But few actually rejected his arguments outright. They said that on the whole his arguments did not necessarily hold, or he had overstated his case.

And in one sense at least they were probably right.

There has been striking evidence for Tucker's argument in recent weeks. In a climate of increasing repression and renewed disinvestment pressure, little has been heard from business people.

In the face of a series of events which have put South Africa back on to the front pages of the world's newspapers and have re-opened the sanctions debate, there has been silence from South African business people.

But there was a fallacy in Tucker's argument. Business in South Africa has never been a consistent advocate for a more equal society, at least not loudly and not for any length of time.

In an important sense, therefore, it always has been "co-opted". Business people have generally been outspoken only when the operations of business itself look really threatened: in late-1985/early-1986, for example, when township uprisings and the imposition of sanctions, by countries and by bankers, were impossible to ignore.

The question raised by Tucker's comments and the responses to those comments is what business people can do effectively to promote change.

Tucker made his remarks at a University of the Witwatersrand arts faculty graduation ceremony. "It behoves all of us to remember that the contribution which each one of us makes *is* relevant to the course of events in this country," he said.

"As business leaders we are frequently asked, 'What can you do to bring about a more just society?' Conventional wisdom gives the answer as 'very little if anything'."

But, he said, this was a result of the co-option of the business community over a period of time.

Tucker said debate in boardrooms today probably centred on the implications of Minimum Tax on Companies or on privatisation and the government's economic package. "The fact that we are in our 21st month of a continuous State of Emergency, that we are at war with Angola, that the programme of forced removals continues, that R1 is spent on the education of a black child for every R8 spent on the education of a white child, and that a civil war is raging in Natal/KwaZulu is not on the agenda

"And yet the implications of these latter issues are potentially of far greater significance than any change in the tax legislation or participation in an economic package," Tucker said.

Business' avoidance of these issues meant it had little capacity to influence events in South Africa, he said. "The challenge is to avoid co-option which . . negates our capacity to influence the course of history towards a more just society."

Prominent business people who responded to Tucker's comments some days later defended business, although they did not reject his comments outright.

Anglo American director Zac de Beer said he felt businessmen did have the opportunity to expose the mechanisms by which apartheid was the enemy of good business.

Pick 'n Pay's Raymond Ackerman said businessmen were fighting for change in their own businesses.

When the Perm's Bob Tucker accused business of failing to speak out, the business response was predictably cautious: some polite dissent, and some dissenting silence.
HILARY JOFFE
on why business prefers to speak softly

FCI president Hugo Snyckers said there had been concern about the kinds of things Tucker mentioned but there were different ways of dealing with these things.

Seifsa director Brian Angus said Tucker was oversimplifying the business community's position.

The thrust of all the comments seemed to be that business people were doing things — even if they weren't doing them loudly

Many would argue rhetoric is not the best way. But the question then is whether business is doing enough away from the public eye, either to change business itself or in terms of social action outside the factory/office gates.

Public statements *are* important in South Africa now. And these have been in short supply from business recently.

The restrictions on 18 organisations and on Cosatu were followed by statements from the usual business organisations. But they were muted statements, hardly amounting to protest.

And their thrust was more to do with fears that collective bargaining would be impeded than with unequivocal protest against the bannings.

A joint statement by Assocom and the FCI fell far short of condemnation: "While the employer organisations are not in a position to evaluate the security factor inherent in the latest set of restrictions, they regret that circumstances have led the government to impose stringent measures to restrict the activities of certain organisations and individuals."

They expressed fears about the international repercussions and about the possible impact of the measures on the collective bargaining process.

The Chamber of Mines expressed its belief in freedom of speech and the rule of law, finding it "regrettable that the South African situation had deteriorated to the extent that the government found it necessary to further erode fundamental pillars of democracy in order to preserve stability.

"The chamber's perception is that the threats to law and order posed by these organisations could be adequately addressed through due process of existing law."

It added that "the long term solution clearly lies in addressing the fundamental problem of full political participation for all".

The Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut did not make a statement.

The Urban Foundation pointed to the way in which its own work would be undermined with the clampdown on community organisations

Apart from this, however, there has been no social/political comment by business people — at least none reported in the press — for some months.

The reasons are not hard to come by.

The apparent economic boom and the quiet in the townships are a major factor

Ironically, too, one business commentator argues, the imposition of sanctions and the need for ways to get around them have pushed business and government closer together — and that includes liberal business people who would otherwise not choose that closeness

And of course, two of the most outspoken business leaders have had their voices muted — First National Bank's Chris Ball by the public onslaught of the Munnik Commission and the Premier Group's Tony Bloom by his decision to emigrate.

Business people have other reasons for wanting to avoid high political profiles. They may depend on government for some of their turnover.

And they often have a problem carrying people in their own organisations along with them.

Many believe that high profile activism does not achieve much. And, it could be argued, it loses its effectiveness after a while.

A major problem is that business seldom speaks with one voice, which

Living in Yeoville



Suburban South Africa Street urchins, shop keepers, children in parks, stray dogs. Scenes so familiar you've ceased to notice. But at the Market Theatre gallery this month, the familiar has been transformed into the startlingly unfamiliar.

Photographer Gideon Mendel (you've seen his superb news pictures in the Weekly Mail) has given hum-drum everyday life an unconventional twist. Those who can't make it to the 'Living in Yeoville' exhibition can still share Gideon's quirky vision A set of twelve post cards based on the exhibition have been printed — ideal for sending to friends abroad Plus, there's a poster of the exhibition, which displays fifteen of Gideon's best pictures. *Fill in the form at left and mail your friends abroad a bit of Yeoville!*

	SA and Southern Africa	Airmail Britain/ Europe	Airmail USA/ Canada
Postcards	R1.5	£0	$1.2
Poster	R10	£5	$8
Both the above	R24	£13	$20

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15-21/4/88

W/Mail

Ramaphosa on deafening silence' over labour Bill

By GAYE DAVIS, Cape Town

IT is no surprise that business has greeted the Labour Relations Amendment Bill with an almost deafening silence, says Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers.

He told a conference on "Laws against trade unions and political organisations", organised at the weekend by the University of Cape Town Labour Law Unit, that the first draft of the Bill had hit union leadership like a bolt from the blue — before they recognised something "strangely familiar" about some of its clauses.

"They had almost all been demanded by various managements during recognition agreement negotiations: an end to sympathy strikes, no-strike clauses for the duration of an agreement, unions to be responsible for management losses during industrial action..."

Brought up on short-term profit incentives, South African businessmen were not known for their ability to take the long-term view. "It is then no surprise that business has greeted the Bill, on the whole, with a deafening silence."



NUM's Cyril Ramaphosa

There could be no doubt that capital generally supported the Bill, which tilted the balance of power in favour of management in a blatant attempt to breathe new life into employer prerogatives, Ramaphosa said.

"No state would be able to pass such a Bill in the face of stern opposition by both labour and management, particularly in South Africa where both groups are very powerful ones."

However, for those employers opposed to state interference in the collective bargaining arena, he could offer two courses of action.

The first and most obvious was to lobby the state, either directly or through employers' associations, to ensure its more noxious aspects did not become law.

The second course would be to enter into a new series of collective bargaining arrangements with unions.

In turn, trade unions would have to ensure strikes were orderly and would have to address the pressing question of violence, Ramaphosa said.

"The right to strike has to be established; rules for the regulation of strikes need to be accepted; forums for the resolution of disputes outside the Industrial Court — most crucially arbitration — would have to be a part of this new deal."

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limits their effectiveness, and makes it easy for the government to use divide and rule tactics.

And business people tend to be rather under-educated when it comes to politics and society (and even macro-economics).

But the question then is whether South African business leaders, eschewing public platforms, are doing much about change in private, either in their own organisations or in the communities from which they draw employees and customers ("stakeholders" is the popular term).

Social responsibility programmes have certainly been boosted in the 1980s — one estimate put social spending at R500-million last year.

But there is also evidence that not enough is being done, and not fast enough.

Even if Tucker's colleagues disagreed with him, it would serve his purpose if his speech re-opened the now rather neglected debate on business' political role — whether it be high or low profile.

Let ANC join talks, say Nats

15-21/4/88/Mail

304A

Two amazing 'verligte' speeches by Nat MPs spark a rumpus in the House

THE banned African National Congress, the Azanian People's Organisation and the 17 other recently restricted organisations would have to be a part of South Africa's future — that's what two senior National Party MPs said this week.

On Wednesday, controversial National Party MP Albert Nothnagel caused a stir in parliament by saying all political groupings, including the ANC and the restricted 17, will have to be included in the negotiation process.

He also said although people could be locked up and organisations restricted, ideas could never be locked up.

And last night Con Botha, senior NP information officer and MP for Umlazi, said he agreed with Nothnagel that the ideas of the banned and restricted organisations were important to a solution of the South African dilemma — as important as the various white political groups.

This comes just two months after the government banned these organisations from any political activity and at a time when there are extremely severe penalties for "enhancing the image" of the ANC. It also comes after Minister of Home Affairs, Stoffel Botha, has threatened newspapers with closure for writing about the ANC — even if it is in a negative light.

Nothnagel, who shortly before last year's white election wrote that most Nationalists accepted they would have to negotiate with the ANC, defiantly said this week that he had not withdrawn a word of the article, nor would he ever do so.

Conservative Party MPs reacted to his speech with shock: former trade unionist Arrie Paulus said he imagined the speech had been delivered by someone from Mamelodi rather than the MP for Innesdal.

Schalk Pienaar, MP for Potgietersrus, accused Nothnagel of being "a ventriloquist for the ANC".

Nothnagel said Eugene Terre'-Blanche, "the arch-*verkrampte* and the arch-Boer", had said it was either the AWB or the ANC and through this had acknowledged that the ANC was a "terribly large factor in the political reality of South Africa".

He believed every political grouping was important, including the NP, PFP, CP, NRP and the AWB.

"On the other hand, every single organisation which operates in the black political terrain — the ANC, Azapo and every one of the 17 organisations who were restricted — are of political relevance.

"As far as radical politics is concerned, we must not bluff oneself that a person can wish it away with guns and violence."

The ideals, aspirations, strivings and ideals of a black man — no matter how much one differed from him — could not be locked up.

"I say now a person cannot do it."

The contents of this edition have been restricted in terms of the Emergency regulations

Deadlock at Kuwaiti airport

ALGIERS — One of the Kuwaiti hostages aboard a commandeered airliner at Algiers airport said yesterday that the hijackers "will kill us all" unless their demands were met.

The hostage, Zaid Ahmed, radioed this call to the airport control tower after mediators had resumed negotiations to free 32 hostages now in their 10th day on the plane.

However, earlier reports quoted the editor of a local newspaper saying even if they kill all the hostages the Kuwait government would not meet their demand to release 17 pro-Iranian militants jailed for bombings in Kuwait.

By late yesterday, there was no sign that the hijackers would wave their demand. However, they earlier agreed to move the plane to a remote taxiway to avoid embarrasing visiting Zambian president, Kenneth Kaunda.

Two hostages have so far been killed.

PFP youth launch media campaign

CAPE TOWN — A national campaign on media oppression has been launched by the Young Progressives, the national chairman, Miss Toni Petra, announced here yesterday.

Miss Petra said in a statement that the campaign would focus on two areas: the bias of the SABC and the restrictions on the South African media.

Public meetings and publicity tables would be held in all major centres and postcards protesting media oppression, and addressed to the state president, would be available from these tables, she said. — Sapa

Hitler's anniversary celebrated in SA

PRETORIA — What would have been Adolf Hitler's 99th birthday was celebrated in Pretoria yesterday, the leader of the Afrikaner National Socialists (ANS), Mr Koos Vermeulen, said here.

But only "carefully screened guests" were invited to the secret celebrations.

A Pretoria city councillor, Mrs Merle Karp, who lost relatives in the Holocaust during World War II, said she found it "utterly disgusting and reprehensible" that people still celebrated the birthday of "a monster such as Adolf Hitler".

"Have they no sense of compassion for the millions of people he killed?" she asked. — Sapa



ADOLF HITLER

(3) Yes.

(a) On a continuous basis.

(b) Under-utilized equipment is shared with other departments or transferred to other institutions if it can be used there.

Printing contracts awarded to two companies

834. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Water Affairs:

(1) Whether his Department awarded any printing contracts in 1987 to two companies, the names of which have been furnished to the Commission for Administration for the purpose of the Minister's reply, or to their associated companies and printing operations; if so, (a) in respect of what publications or printed matter, (b) how many copies of each publication or item were ordered from each company and (c) what are the names of the companies concerned;

(2) whether these contracts were put out to tender; if not, (a) why not and (b) what was the total amount paid by his Department in respect of each of these contracts; if so, what was the (i) tender price originally accepted, and (ii) total amount paid out, in respect of each contract;

(3) whether his Department subsidizes any publications published by the above companies; if so, (a) which publications and (b)(i) why, and (ii) what is the amount of the subsidy, in each case;

(4) what total amount was spent by his Department in 1987 on printing and publishing involving (a) the above companies and (b) any other specified companies?

The MINISTER OF WATER AFFAIRS:

(1) No.

(a), (b) and (c) Fall away.

(2) Falls away.

(3) No.

(a) and (b) Fall away.

(4) Falls away.

Applications for social pensions

848. Mr J J WALSH asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:

In respect of each of the latest specified five financial years for which information is available, (a) how many Blacks applied for social pensions, (b) how many applications were refused, (c) what were the reasons for these refusals and (d) how many pensions were cancelled for reasons other than death?

The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

The administration of social pensions was taken over by the different Provincial Administrations during 1987. It was previously administered by various departments on an agency basis and therefore it is not possible to supply figures earlier than 1987.

CAPE PROVINCE

(a) 11 546

(b) 1 380

TRANSVAAL

(a) 34 372

(b) 3 809

ORANGE FREE STATE

(a) 4 277

(b) 156

NATAL

(a) 6 958

(b) 870

(c) Reasons for refusal were:

— had not reached qualifying age.

— income was in excess of the qualifying amount.

— medically fit for employment.

(d) Records of this particular issue are not kept.

Diepkloof/Meadowlands: provision of 20 000 houses free of charge

964. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:

(1) Whether the administrator of Diepmeadow recently announced a plan to the effect that approximately 20 000 houses were to be provided free of charge to residents of the Diepkloof and Meadowlands residential areas; if so, (a) when, (b) where, (c) what is the name of the administrator concerned and (d) what is the estimated value of the houses involved;

(2) whether the Minister authorized this plan; if so, (a) when and (b) why; if not, (i) by whom was it authorized and (ii) what action has been or is to be taken in this regard?

The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

(1) Yes.

(a) 6 March 1988.

(b) By way of an article published in the "Sunday Times".

(c) Mr D N Thebehali.

(d) ±R1 000 000.

(2) No.

(a) and (b) Fall away.

(i) The plan was not authorized by the state or the Provincial Administration.

(ii) Mr Thebahali was reprimanded by Mr J S A Mavuso, MEC, Transvaal Provincial Administration, whereafter a press release was issued on the matter.

NATIONAL UNION OF SECURITY OFFI

Founded: 1978

Not Registered - no further inf

'Great Indaba' on blacks in cabinet

PW speaks of blacks in cabinet

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha yesterday hinted that blacks may be brought into the cabinet, the President's Council and the electoral college that chooses the president.

Mr Botha also suggested the establishment of regional elected bodies for blacks that could eventually form the component building blocks for a revamped National Council — now dubbed the "Great Indaba" — to discuss future constitutional changes.

Speaking during his budget vote in Parliament, Mr Botha devoted much of his address to ways he hoped to encourage greater black participation in government-sponsored structures and discussions.



Mr P W Botha

The Leader of the Opposition, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said Mr Botha's statement only confirmed what the CP had been saying for years — that once coloureds and Indians had been involved in the decision-making process, blacks could not be excluded.

The proposals were vague and a form of tokenism which the CP rejected.

"They are however a first step. The blacks who are brought in will have a claim to ultimate representaton on the basis of numbers, for that is how the present dispensation is structured," said Dr Treurnicht, suggesting that Mr Botha was sacrificing white control over their own affairs.

Meanwhile, other constitutional options Mr Botha mooted were:

- The appointment of a prime minister by the president who act as chairman of ministers running the day-to-day affairs of the country;
- The disbanding of the President's Council in its present form and the establishment of a part-time council in which provision would be made for other councils like the Economic Advisory Council, the National Manpower Commission and other specialized part-time councils;
- The establishment of a smaller body to take over the President's Council's current functions relating to parliamentary legislation; and
- Encourging general meetings of community leaders — possibly numbering up to 60 people — for discussions on

To page 2

P.T.O

A student Nkomati as Jeugkrag meet Frelimo

By KAREN EVANS

DETAILS have emerged of an extraordinary meeting in Maputo between a Frelimo youth brigade and an Afrikaner youth group — intended, it is claimed, to facilitate talks between Jeugkrag and the African National Congress.

Jeugkrag (Youth for South Africa) leaders announced this week that in response to an invitation from the Organizacao da Juventude Mocambicana (OJM), an official state youth brigade, a delegation travelled to Maputo on December 16 last year for three days of talks, ceremonies and videos.

Jeugkrag is a youth political organisation formed in 1986 in response to the constitutional stipulation that the Afrikaanse Studentebond (ASB) eschew politics. It is regarded as a "pro-reformist" grouping within white politics in South Africa and has had sporadic contact with the Inkatha Youth Brigade.

At a press conference in Johannesburg, Jeugkrag chairman Marthinus van Schalkwyk said the group had achieved its two main aims: "We conveyed our standpoints about fundamental issues — the Nkomati Accord, destabilisation and their role in achieving peace in Southern Africa — and we built better relations with the youth of a neighbouring country."

However, Jeugkrag flatly rejected the OJM's proposal to arrange talks between them and the ANC.

Cedric de Coning, Jeugkrag's director of fund-raising, said it was clear the OJM supported the ANC "because they believe the ANC will be the next government. (Therefore) it would be strategically wrong for them not to support the organisation. They have no choice."

Attempts to contact the OJM for its interpretation of the visit and its impressions of the Jeugkrag delegation were unsuccessful. However, the Jeugkrag delegation claimed the OJM had difficulty in understanding "how they could be against apartheid and not support the ANC".

In a "hi-tech" exchange, the South Africans showed their hosts two American video programmes "on the ANC and the cruelty of necklace murders". They claimed the recordings "opened the eyes" of members of the OJM to "another side of the ANC".

For its part, the OJM showed a video documentary about South Africa's "continued support for Renamo (the rebel Mozambique National Resistance) and its responsibility for destabilisation in Mozambique".

The Jeugkrag delegation said it accepted that the South African government "helped Renamo and operated a training camp in the Kruger National Park" but greeted claims of continued support with scepticism.

The video, they said, depicted bridges being blown up and battles being fought, but "there were no prisoners of war, no eye-witness accounts", said executive member Debbie Marchard.

The highlight of the visit to Maputo, according to the Jeugkrag executive, were the formal discussions held in the City Hall. During these talks they were given a detailed perception of their hosts' opinions on South Africa — much of which they disagreed with.

The groups also disagreed on destabilisation, which the OJM insists is a result of apartheid policies. Marchard said: "Mozambique inherited a healthy infrastructure at independence — now the face of Maputo tells a sad tale. Primarily bad management, and not apartheid, is to blame."

22-28/4/88 W/Mail

304A

Blacks 'will be wary of new PW plan'

Star 22/1/88

Staff Reporters 304 A

The State President would have difficulty selling his ethnically defined "Great Indaba" to blacks, analysts and politicians agreed last night.

The Progressive Federal Party MP for Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman, said she did not believe there was any intention of turning the President's Council into a legislative body, and it could therefore not be said that blacks were being included in the legislative process.

Chief Minister of kwaZulu and president of Inkatha Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said black participation would depend upon the freedom of all black leaders to decide whether or not to participate.

He said the era of political prescription, in which whites dictated to blacks, had passed.

Professor Deon Geldenhuys, head of the Rand Afrikaans University's department of political science, said the announcement of a policy body comprising the leaders of the different communities seemed to be based on race and ethnicity which implied force group identification. It would thus not be easy to obtain b support for such a body.



President Botha

Into stalemate

By TOS WENTZEL,
Political Correspondent

REACTION today to President Botha's speech in the Assembly in which he postulated major constitutional reform options ranged from elation to a "new initiative" to derision that they are "vague and unsatisfactory".

While Nationalist MPs said they were happy because he had again firmly gripped the reform initiative, his opponents from the right and the left described his proposals as vague.

Opposition reaction was that it went too far on the way to drawing in blacks and that it did not go far enough.

Black Ministers, blacks in an electoral college to choose the President, elected regional black authorities for "own affairs" and flexibility on the consultative National Council concept were some of the possibilities that emerged from the speech.

Tokenism past

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the electoral college idea was difficult to understand.

There was a black majority in the country but the President and the National Party did not admit its existence.

The point had been passed where tokenism could be of any value.

On the other hand the President, with his proposal, was defying the right. It would be used against him by them.

The Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, said today that Mr Botha's speech contained nothing important in terms of reform.

It appeared to be a perpetuation of the present system which had already been shown to be unworkable.

The country's urgent need was for black participation in all decision-making at all levels.

A symbolic presence on a restructured President's Council was not acceptable.

"Great Indaba"

Changing the name of the National Council to the "Great Indaba" would not make it more acceptable because no recognised and accepted black leader would participate.

Referring to Mr Botha's remark that a new constitution could not be produced in a hurry, Mr Hendrickse said a new constitution was in fact an immediate essential.

He pointed out that the House of Representatives had proposed three years ago that a commission of experts should be appointed to consider constitutional alternatives.

Dr A P Treurnicht, Leader of the Opposition in the Assembly, said that Mr Botha had confimed what the Conservative Party had said — that once the coloured and Indians had been brought into the decision-making processes blacks could not eventually be excluded.

In the final analysis it was numbers which counted — and therein lay the Achilles heel of the new proposals.

Issue avoided

Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, said Mr Botha had once again avoided the cardinal issue of South African politics — participation of blacks in the sovereign central Parliament.

Until he grasped this nettle he would continue to be unable to give the country the lead it required.

The PFP would examine all concrete proposals but even black participation in the Electoral College would mean absolutely nothing if the college was structured so that blacks were prevented from becoming part of the majority which elected the President.

● See page 8.

Park on Tuesday night reaped such a high dividend.

ANC funeral is restricted

Police have imposed restrictions on the funeral of an African National Congress insurgent, Mr Vuyisile Bixa, who was killed in a shoot-out with the South African Defence Force on March 25.

Mr Bixa (23) is due to be buried in Katlehong near Germiston tomorrow.

The East Rand Divisional Commissioner, Brigadier J P Olivier, ordered that the funeral take place between 7 am and 10 am and the ceremony must be conducted indoors.

He also ordered that political speeches and the singing of political songs by mourners were prohibited; the coffin is to be transported to the ceremony by vehicle on the shortest route to the Roman Catholic church from where the funeral is to be held; not more than 200 mourners may attend and no flags, pamphlets or posters should be displayed.

Brigadier Olivier said the funeral should be conducted by an ordained minister and the procession is to move by car from Mr Bixa's house at 8 Credi Section to the church in Nthlapo Section. No photographs or videos will be permitted.

Mr Bixa was killed near Thabazimbi with two other insurgents.

'Right-wing' head is backed

Staff Reporter

Parents at Pretoria's Hoerskool H F Verwoerd — whose headmaster is facing a disciplinary hearing — decided last night to consider taking legal action against the Transvaal Education Department (TED).

About 300 parents and teachers attended a protest meeting at the school in support of the headmaster, Mr Johan van Niekerk. He appeared at a disciplinary hearing in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court this week on charges arising from a speech given by a former church minister to a Standard Nine youth-preparedness class last year.

Speakers at the meeting claimed Mr van Niekerk was being used by the education department to show what would happen to anyone who allowed "right-wing politicking in schools".

Several parents told how their children were asked questions by TED inspectors about their parents' political views after the "right-wing" lecture by the Reverend G A Cruywagen to a class in the presence of Mr van Niekerk.

Samcor strike enters 8th day

By Claire Robertson, Pretoria Bureau

About 3 000 workers at the Samcor motor plant are on strike for the eighth day today as their union leader arrived in Pretoria in response to their request for "an explanation" of a deal struck over the distribution of share dividends.

A Samcor spokesman confirmed that workers were again on strike today, but refused to comment further. Production at the plant is at a standstill.

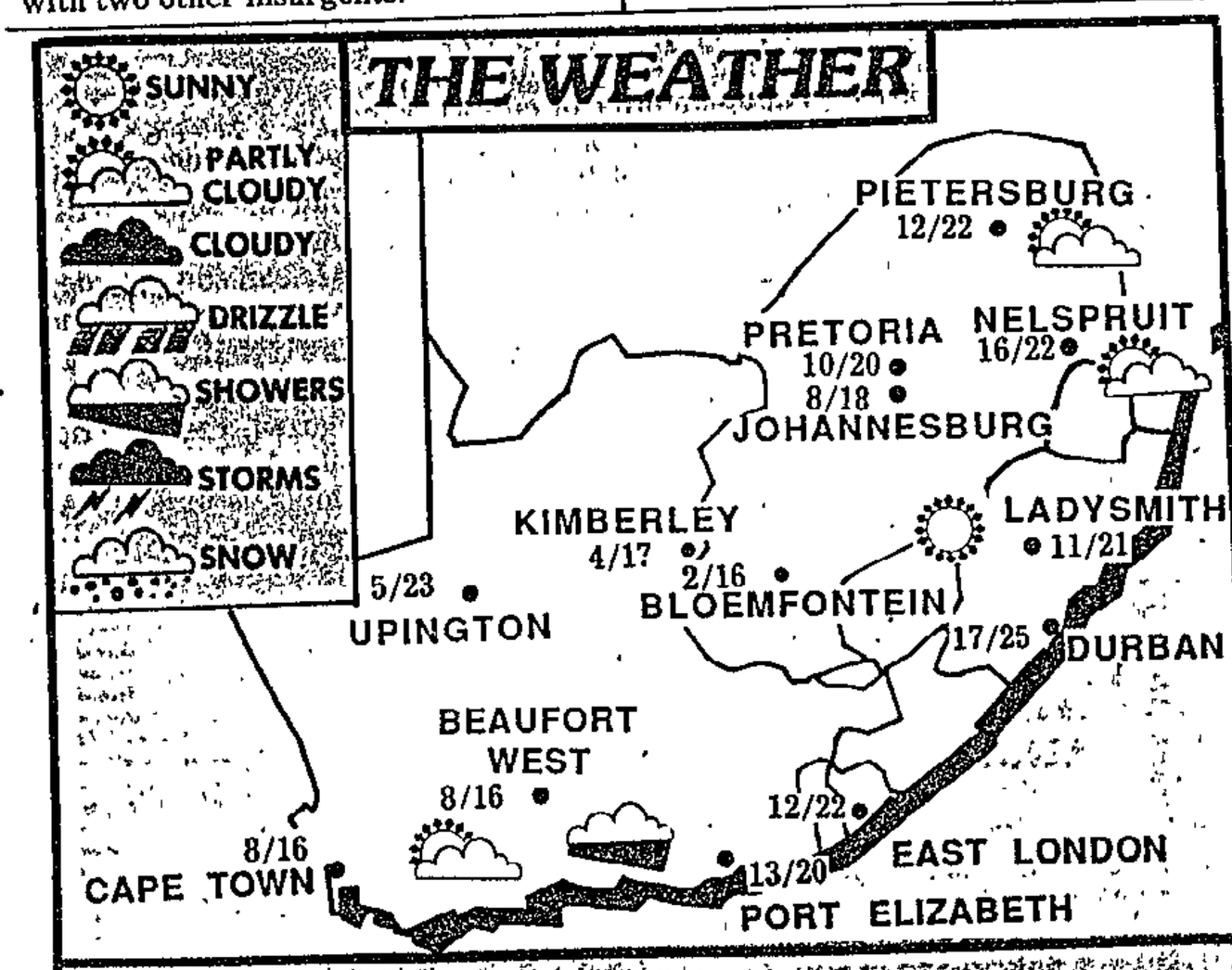
Mr Fred Sauls, general secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers (Numsa), travelled to Pretoria from union headquarters in Port Elizabeth yesterday in an attempt to defuse the strike. He is expected to meet workers today.

The strike centres on the apparent dissatisfaction of workers over an agreement signed by Numsa last week in which the dividends from shares bequeathed to the workers by the disinvesting Ford Motor Company last year would be channelled into a community development trust.

Numsa rejected having the shares go to the workers as this would weaken the union.

Workers at Chrysler Park said yesterday they had told union officials to send Mr Sauls a telex requesting him to "explain the agreement he signed with management without our knowledge".

Numsa officials insist, that they signed the agreement with the support of members.



TRANSVAAL — Fine and mild.
JOHANNESBURG CENTRAL — Today: 8 am 10 deg C; yesterday: max 21 deg C; min 7 deg C; rainfall — mm; so far this month 24,9 mm; so far this year 390,2 mm; average rainfall for April over 92 years 54 mm; average annual rainfall 769 mm.

LATE EDITION

'Vague' proposals shot down

First moves expected soon on PW's plans

Star 22/4/86

304A

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent
Cape Town

The first steps towards President Botha's new constitutional plans could be taken in the next few weeks if Parliament approves legislation to set up the National Council.

Draft legislation to this effect is currently being discussed by a standing committee of Parliament, and the Government hopes it will be approved by all three Houses by the middle of June.

Once this has been established, the Government is likely to proceed with the delimitation of voting regions — probably nine in total — in which blacks can elect representatives to the National Council.

It is not clear whether the same voting regions would form the geographical entities for President Botha's proposed elected black regional authorities responsible for own affairs of black communities.

Parliamentary parties to the left and right of the National Party, however, today shot down President Botha's new constitutional initiatives.

The chief complaint from all the parties was that the proposals were too vague.

However, senior Government sources were putting out the word that they formed part of a bold new plan to break the deadlock in constitutional progress. According to one spurce, the Government has now embarked on a two-pronged approach to share power with blacks.

The first initiative continued to be the National Council, which may now be called the Great Inda ba.

The second, and new, initiative was the creation of elected regional authorities for black communities, the amendment of the Constitution to allow for some form of black participation in the election of the State President and the creation of some kind of forum in which the State President could consult the leaders of the different communities on matters of policy.

Blacks may be also appointed to the Cabinet or in executive capacities as Deputy Ministers to assist in the administration of black education and constitutional development.

Exempt

The source said the Government would be prepared to exempt restricted organisations from any legal impediments in order to take part in elections for the new regional authorities or the National Council, provided this did not further the cause of revolution

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht slammed the moves. "The announcements were just what the CP had been predicting for a number of years — the inclusion of blacks at central government level."

Progressive Federal Party leader Mr Colin Eglin said: "Once again, Mr Botha avoided the cardinal issue of our politics, and that is the participation of blacks in the sovereign central Parliament of our country."

● See Page 11.

New initiatives to precipitate power-sharing

304A

Star 22/4/86

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President Botha yesterday proposed several new constitutional initiatives designed to precipitate the National Party's plans for sharing power with blacks.

At a glance, these are:

- The creation of elected regional authorities to allow black communities outside the homelands autonomy over their "own" affairs.
- The new regional authorities could form the components of black representation in the National Council, which may be renamed the Great Indaba.
- The Government is not wedded to the name, composition, form and functions of the National Council. However, it remains committed to the concept of a forum for deliberation.
- The day-to-day administration under Ministers should continue under the chairmanship of a Prime Minister appointed by the State President.
- Attention may also be given to the composition of the executive authority, to give the State President leeway in using persons from outside Parliament.
- The State President should in future mainly concern himself with matters of general national interest and policy.

He should be able to chair meetings of the Ministers, but normally he should chair a general meeting of leaders of the different communities to discuss policy matters.

It is not clear whether this general meeting will take the form of the National Council, or Great Indaba, or whether a separate policy-making body would be created.

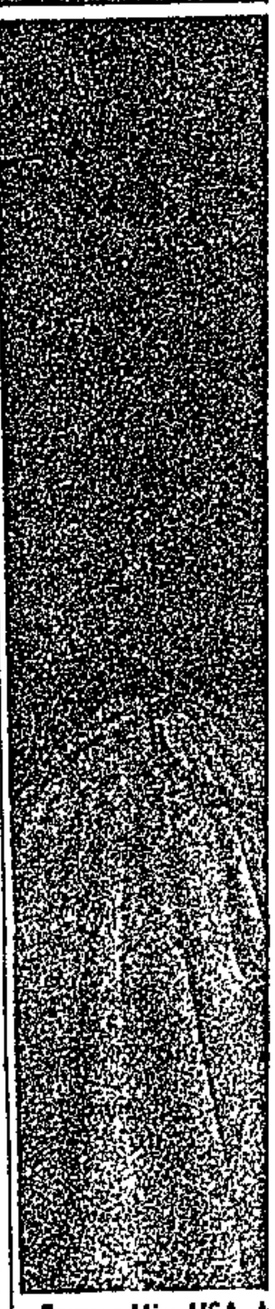
Government sources have said that such a body would deliberate on broad policy but would have no executive authority.

- The present electoral college which elects the State President should be broadened to include black leaders, possibly from the elected regional authorities or from the National Council, so that the State President may be more a State President of all the people.
- The President's Council should be restructured, and blacks could be represented on it when its present term expires at the end of the life of the present Parliament.

The Council will incorporate other advisory bodies such as the State President's Economic Advisory Council and the National Manpower Commission, essentially becoming an advisory body.

Its functions in the parliamentary system to arbitrate on deadlocked legislation would be removed and given to a smaller new body.

Dream



Former Miss USA, M
flew into South Afri
Oosterbroek

She's not bothered b blacklist

By Melanie Gosli

When you meet an tress who is famous, and stunningly beau it comes as a surpri find she's also very n

Such is Deborah ton, alias Mandy Wi J R's sultry mistre "Dallas", who is her week to promote City's Wheel of Fortu

She's chatty, sm interested and re bers your name being introduced.

"Ah, your're we that beautiful new from London," she spered, touching skirt. (I was too ash to confess I had re it from a friend's b clothes for Ope Snowball.)

Botha's new plan for blacks in Govt

GREAT INDABA

Sowetan 22/4/88

304A

PRESIDENT Botha yesterday announced Government proposals for a multi-racial policy-making body at central Government level and for a new post of Prime Minister.

Giving new shape to the Government's power-sharing plans, Mr Botha said the Government wanted to appoint black community leaders to government from outside Parliament, revise the President's Council and revamp the stalled National Council, possibly under the new name of The Great Indaba.

Speaking in the House of Assembly vote on his portfolio, President Botha also hinted that blacks might be given a say in both the election of the State President and on the President's Council.

He suggested that the State President would be elevated to head a new multi-racial body including blacks from inside South Africa and the self-governing territories.

A new Prime Minister would then head the present parliamentary structure.



PRESIDENT Botha

SOWETAN Correspondent

New elected regional bodies could be created to give blacks outside the self-governing territories a say over their "own affairs".

These bodies could then send representatives to a central forum for "deliberation" with whites on policy.

Draft legislation to implement these initiatives would be formulated in consultation with the black communities concerned and submitted to Parliament.

The detailed implementation could be worked out further in the proposed National Council — which could be renamed The Great Indaba at the suggestion of black leaders.

President Botha saw the National Council body as similar in function to the European Parliament, with representation on a federal basis of black communities inside South Africa as well as the self-governing territories.

President Botha also suggested re-creating the post of Prime Minister which disappeared when the 1983 Constitution was adopted.

He said that combining the posts of Prime Minister and State President had created problems.

He thought the State President should be concerned with matters of general national interest and policy — such as population relations, foreign affairs and security, macro-economic policy and financial priorities and ceremonial and conventional functions.

The day-to-day administration under-ministers would be the function of a Prime Minister appointed by the State President.

The State President would occasionally chair these meetings but would normally chair general policy meetings of leaders of the different communities.

This appeared to be a reference to the new policy-making forum he proposed elsewhere in the speech.

He said that the State President could still be elected by the present electoral college —

To Page 2 ☞

P.T.O.

President's Council

• From page 1

consisting of representatives of the white, coloured and Indian Houses of Parliament — but with a "slight change".

He did not specify this change, but taken with other suggestions, this could refer to giving blacks a say in the election of the President.

President Botha hinted that blacks could serve on the President's Council which would be re-organised to separate its functions.

In its advisory function it could become a part-time body expanded to include other advisory bodies such as the Economic Advisory Council.

A new smaller body would then be established to take over the President's Council's other function of vetoeing parliamentary legislation.

President Botha stressed throughout that none of these proposals could be implemented without consultation with other communities.

He also made an appeal to churches to end the growing Church-State confrontation.

• See also Page 12.



SAMUEL Kolisang.



PHIL Mthimkhulu.

Leaders hit out at P W's plan

3047

Sowetan 22/4/88

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

A NUMBER of black leaders have scoffed at the proposal by State President, Mr P W Bótha, to create a multi-racial policy making body which will include blacks in Parliament.

They feel that the deal would include those blacks who work in Government-created institutions and would not satisfy the broad mass of people who want to see their jailed leaders elected to Parliament on a one-man-one-vote system.

Political analyst Mr Phil Mthimkhulu, who lectures at the university of South Africa, said blacks would find the new plan confusing as much as the Government's confused constitutional plans.

He said many blacks would not be interested in participating in such a body as it was tantamount to being offered small concessions.

What would satisfy blacks, he said, would be universal franchise, the unbanning of political organisations and the release of those leaders who are languishing in jail so that they should come and take their place among the people.

Question

He felt that the majority of blacks would question the existence of the President's Council and resist participating in a body that they had no hand in planning.

The Centre for Enrichment in African Political Affairs (Ceapa) felt the proposal was one of trying to create a quadra-cameral Parliament.

The organisation's organising secretary, Ms Thembi Mbobo, said people were not interested in advisory bodies but wanted to participate fully in Government.

The former mayor of Atteridgeville, Mr Z Z Mashao, said the proposal would not be relevant as long as true leaders were still languishing in jail.

He said: "Unless the government released all political detainees, unbanned all political organisations and individuals the proposal would not serve any purpose."

The leader of the newly formed Vaal Residents' Representative Party, Mr Samuel Kolisang, said the move was welcomed, but asserted that the government should consider releasing all political detainees.

NDM ready to renew its political campaign

Star 22/4/88

304A

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — After months of consultation the National Democratic Movement is ready to start the second phase of its campaign.

At a national congress it plans to hold in Randburg on May 6 it will start to "go public" on the practical political side.

Recently, there has been some uncertainty among potential followers because of the NDM's low public profile since it was founded in October last year.

This was especially so because the other splinter of the original Independent Movement, the Independent Party, has already held public meetings.

The topics in Randburg will include the basis for active participation in elections and in parliamentary politics.

There appears to be some ambivalence in the approach to the parliamentary as well as the extra-parliamentary field. The NDM's reasoning has been that it regards itself as a movement with a broader approach than a political party only.

The NDM has three MPs.

Mr Wynand Malan, MP, leader of the movement, said yesterday that the movement was involved in on-going discussions with people right across the political spectrum in order to establish differences and common values.

The NDM had established a credibility and attention could now be given to the second phase.

The NDM stood by its stand on the need for emergency powers for the government, any government, but not without checks and balances.

Mr Malan indicated that the movements's main target would now be to attract traditional Nationalist supporters but that it could not shun Opposition supporters.

It was a fallacy, he said, to speak of a shift to the right in politics.

The policies the National Party stood for in the early '70s were precisely what the CP stood for now.

PW giving serious attention to 'Great Indaba' name

Plan for multiracial government

Star 22/4/88

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

President P W Botha yesterday announced plans for a new form of multiracial government, with himself as chairman of a policy-making body comprising the leaders of the different communities and an executive authority which would include people from outside Parliament.

He hinted at a broadening of the basis on which the State President would be elected if such plans were implemented.

He also proposed that black South Africans living outside the self-governing territories could govern their own affairs by means of elected regional authorities.

Formal forum

These bodies could also serve as a basis for their participation in a formal forum for deliberation.

Mr Botha further announced:

- The Government was not committed to the name, form, composition and functions of a body such as the proposed National Council, but that it still intended proceeding with such a forum to negotiate a new constitution.

It was giving serious attention to calling the council the Indaba or Great Indaba, as requested by certain black leaders.

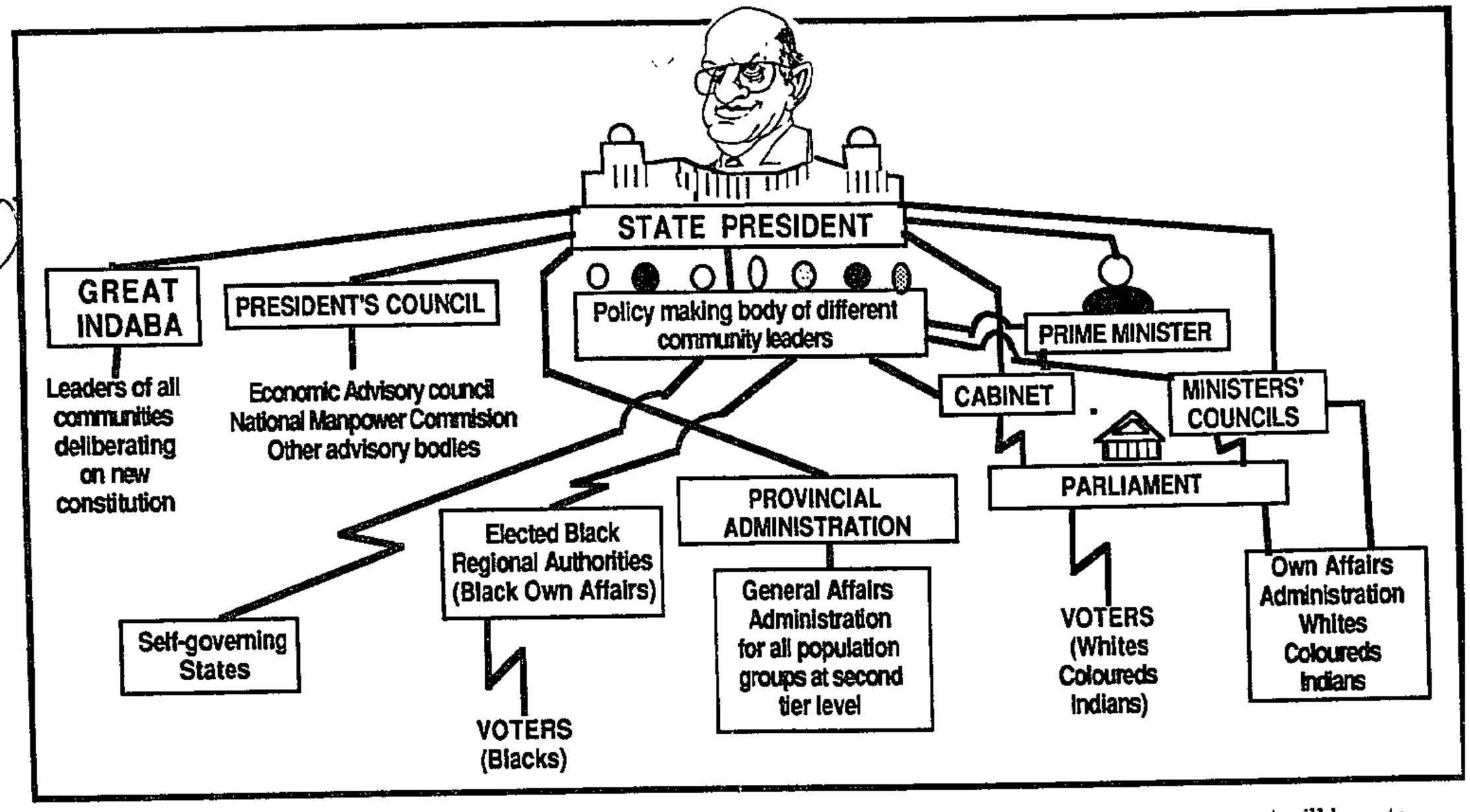
- The composition and functions of the President's Council should be reviewed when its present term expired.

Part-time role

He said he had always believed the President's Council should be organised in such a way that it was a part-time council in which provision was made for activities of other councils such as the Economic Advisory Council, the National Manpower Commission and other part-time councils.

In the case of such a change, a smaller body would be established to take over the President's Council's function with regard to decisions relating to parliamentary legislation.

Speaking during the debate on the vote of the State President in the House of Assembly yesterday afternoon, Mr Botha said the State President should be mainly concerned with matters of general national interest and policy, such as population relations, macro-economic policy and the determination of financial priorities, security and foreign affairs, as well as ceremonial functions and functions developed by convention.



The day-to-day administration under Ministers should then rather continue under the chairmanship of a Prime Minister appointed by the State President.

Mr Botha said: "On occasion, the State President should be able to chair such meetings, but normally he should chair a general meeting of leaders of the different communities to discuss policy matters.

"The question will arise about how this State President would be elected.

"I am of the opinion that the present electoral college could serve this purpose after a slight change.

"Until a satisfactory basis has been determined in this regard, the existing arrangement will have to continue.

"In the process, attention may also be given to the composition of the executive authority to give the State President greater leeway to appoint persons from outside Parliament."

Premier could be from outside Parliament

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

304A

Star 22/4/88

CAPE TOWN — Government plans to create a post of Prime Minister responsible for the day-to-day administration of the country is certain to cause some jockeying for position within the National Party.

The State President, Mr P W Botha, proposed during his speech in Parliament yesterday that a Prime Minister be appointed to alleviate the burden of the President.

He said the President should mainly concern himself with matters such as population relations, macro-economic policy and other important national issues.

Mr Botha also suggested giving attention to the composition of the executive authority, in order to give the President greater leeway to appoint people from outside Parliament.

National Party sources said last night this opened the way to Cabinet appointments for blacks as well as outside experts in various fields. The Prime Minister could therefore come from outside Parliament.

The person who held that job would not necessarily be regarded as successor to the throne, the sources added.

If Mr Botha's proposal is accepted, it would require a change to the Constitution. It would be unlikely then that a Prime Minister could be appointed until late next year.

Mr Botha may also wish first to go to the polls with his plans regarding elected black regional authorities and a policy-making body of leaders of all groups under his chairmanship.

The Prime Minister may then not be appointed until 1990 or 1991.

Although in theory the Prime Minister could be appointed from any party or even outside the political world, in practice he is likely to come from the National Party and to be a contender for the leadership of the party.

The following NP members could be considered eligible for the position:

- Mr F W de Klerk, Transvaal NP leader and chairman of the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly.
- Mr Chris Heunis, Cape NP leader and Minister of Constitutional Development.
- Dr Gerrit Viljoen, a deputy chairman of the Transvaal NP and Minister of Development Aid.
- General Magnus Malan, a deputy chairman of the Transvaal NP and Minister of Defence.
- Mr Pik Botha, also a deputy chairman of the Transvaal NP.
- Rising stars who would be unlikely to make it at this stage, but who are regarded as potential candidates in a few years' time, include Mr Barend du Plessis, Minister of Finance, and Mr Adriaan Vlok, Minister of Law and Order.

Botha sets out his vision of power-sharing

By David Braun

LIAMENT — President Botha erday set out his vision for er-sharing with the black communities om a local level to a European iament-type concept of co-government itional level.

lected regional bodies that offered k communities authority over their affairs were part of this vision, osed in his speech during the House of mbly debate on the budget vote of the e President, yesterday afternoon.

dependence for the black communities ained an ideal, but one that would not ed on anyone, he said.

r Botha said: "Recognition of the pendence of such states will be ognated by reasonable people from other tries, as already happens. No-one in his t mind wants to, or is able to, undo this, pt revolutionary elements who are fferent towards the outcome.

There are also six self-governing itories. This, too, cannot merely be reversed.

"Legislation is, therefore, before Parliament which aims to grant greater autonomy to these regional governments."

Mr Botha said with regard to the various black communities outside the self-governing territories, he believed that provision should be made for their political participation inside the Republic.

AUTONOMOUS

For this purpose, provision had already been made for autonomous local governments for these communities. Large-scale housing, training and social reform was taking place in this regard.

Through these authorities, they also participated meaningfully in Regional Services' Councils.

At the provincial level, they were represented on the provincial executive committees, in the same way as the other population communities.

Mr Botha said: "A logical step that should follow, is to consider further forms of self-government and autonomy for these communities.

"Black communities, outside the self-governing territories, increasingly demand structures that would afford them participation in governing processes.

"This could for example take place by means of elected regional bodies that offer these communities authority over their own affairs that affect them.

"Since a representative basis will have to be found for participation by these communities in deliberations, these bodies could also serve as basis for their participation in a formal forum for deliberation.

"Draft legislation in this regard will be formulated in consultation with the black communities concerned and be submitted to Parliament."

TALKS WITH BLACK LEADERS

Mr Botha said the Government was continuing with discussions. In this regard, he had received various invitations from leaders of black communities at various government levels. These would be followed up in the near future.

"Whichever steps we agree upon, it is clear that we in South Africa are in the process of developing a system that contains elements of several models.

"Co-operation with the independent TBVC states takes place according to confederal principles.

"Right from the start, the system of self-governing territories contained strong federal features.

"This also applies to the Constitution Act 1983, in terms of which a division of power is made between own and general affairs."

The proposed National Council, he said, could lead to co-operation on many matters of mutual interest, as well as assist in ensuring constitutional progress.

For example, it held the possibility of a development process by which all peace-loving leaders of the different population communities could be involved in matters of mutual interest — on the same principle as for example the European Parliament — without interfering with or destroying the national character of members of the communities concerned.

"From discussions with black leaders, it has become evident to me that they are in favour of the principle of dialogue.

"They thus support the principle of such a council, but they are not satisfied with th name 'National Council'.

Some leaders had asked why the name "Indaba" could be used, or the "Great Indaba".

"I reflected on the matter and consulted my colleagues about it. We are of the opinion that it derserves serious consideration.

"The Government is not committed to the name, composition and functions of such a body. The Government is, however, committed to the concept of a forum for deliberation.

"I wish to emphasise that the proposed legislation is not a prescriptive step. The Council will be a formal forum within the framework of which the Government wishes to continue its politics of consultation."

Mr Botha further proposed that the President's Council should be stripped of it function in arbitrating on deadlocked legislation in Parliament, which would the be given to a new smaller body specially created for this purpose.

DID 22/4/88

PW offers new deal

- Bigger black voice
- Confederal style of government
- Prime minister reintroduced
- Dialogue through Great Indaba

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President P. W. Botha hinted yesterday that blacks might be brought into the cabinet, the President's Council and the electoral college that chooses the State President.

Mr Botha also suggested the establishment of regional elected bodies for blacks that could eventually form the basis for a revamped National Council to discuss future constitutional changes. He proposed that the council be renamed The Great Indaba.

Speaking during his budget vote in parliament, Mr Botha devoted much of his address to ways he hoped would encourage greater black participation in government-sponsored structures and discussions.

Other constitutional options Mr Botha mooted were:

- The appointment of a prime minister who would act as chairman of ministers running the day-to-day affairs of the country.
- The disbanding of the President's Council in its present form and the establishment of a part-time council in which provision would be made for other councils like the Economic Advisory Council, the National Manpower Commission and other specialised part-time councils.

Black communites outside the national states were increasingly demanding structures that would afford them participation in the governing processes.

"This could, for example, take place by means of elected regional bodies that offer these communities authority over own affairs that affect them."

Mr Botha suggested that these regional bodies — described by a government source as a type of provincial council for blacks — could serve as a basis for participation in deliberations in a "formal forum" at the first tier, presumably the National Council or the revamped Great Indaba.

Government sources indicated that this could lead South Africa closer to a federal-type political structure in which ethnicity could play a less important role.

D|Dispatch
22/4/88

304 A

● The establishment of a smaller body to take over the President's Council's current functions relating to parliamentary legislation.

● Encouraging general meetings of community leaders — possibly numbering up to 60 people — for discussions on policy matters with the government.

While detailing these possibilities, Mr Botha stressed that South Africa "cannot afford to draw up a final new constitution" and that constitutional matters were not something that could be dealt with "quickly" in South Africa.

He also emphasised that if deliberations led to any "far-reaching constitutional adjustments" these would always be submitted to the white electorate for their approval before being implemented.

Outlining possibilities for greater black involvement in government, Mr Botha said the State President could be given "greater leeway" to appoint persons from outside Parliament to the executive.

A senior government source indicated this meant that blacks could be appointed to the cabinet or co-opted into minsterial positions.

Mr Botha said that members of "other population groups" might, for example, be appointed to help the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning or the Minister of Education.

He said he was of the opinion that a "slight change" could be made to the present electoral college for the election of State President.

This could entail "recognised black leaders" being included in the electoral college, which currently comprises members of the majority party in each of the Houses of the tricameral Parliament.

Mr Botha said there "is a view" among some leaders of black com-

Turning to the possible re-introduction of a prime minister, Mr Botha said: "In my opinion, the State President should mainly be concerned with matters of general national interest and policy."

He cited as examples "population relations, macro-economic policy and the determination of financial priorities, security and foreign affairs, as well as ceremonial functions".

The prime minister would take over much of the routine administrative functions.

In his address Mr Botha also:

● Reiterated that the state was not looking for a confrontation with the church but said he was aware certain members of the clergy deliberately pursued a path of confrontation.

● Rejected an insinuation that the instruction to oust Mr Riaan Eksteen as director-general of the SABC had come from Tuynhuys.

● Expressed his displeasure with the business community for failing to respond to his appeals for wage, salary and price restraint in an effort to combat inflation.

See also page 9

period for air traffic controllers in South Africa was reduced for reasons of adequacy from 39 to 33 months with effect from 1 February 1988.

Printing contracts awarded to two companies

829. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Finance:

(1) Whether his Department awarded any printing contracts in 1987 to two companies, the names of which have been furnished to the Commission for Administration for the purpose of the Minister's reply, or to their associated companies and printing operations; if so, (a) in respect of what publications or printed matter, (b) how many copies of each publication or item were ordered from each company and (c) what are the names of the companies concerned;

(2) whether these contracts were put out to tender; if not, (a) why not and (b) what was the total amount paid by his Department in respect of each of these contracts; if so, what was the (i) tender price originally accepted, and (ii) total amount paid out, in respect of each contract;

(3) whether his Department subsidizes any publications published by the above companies; if so, (a) which publications and (b) (i) why, and (ii) what is the amount of the subsidy, in each case;

(4) what total amount was spent by his Department in 1987 on printing and publishing involving (a) the above companies and (b) any other specified companies?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

(1) No.

(a) to (c) Fall away.

(2) Falls away.

(3) No.

(a) and (b) fall away.

(4) (a) Falls away.

(b) The Government Printer printed publications and printed matter for the Department to the amount of R3 338 221,14.

Senior citizen bond scheme: investors issued with certificates

850. Mr J J WALSH asked the Minister of Finance:

Whether all investors in the senior citizen bond scheme have been issued with certificates; if not, (a) why not and (b) what was the total number of certificates outstanding by month of application as at the latest specified date for which information is available?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

No.

(a) As a result of the unexpecedly large number of applications for investment in Senior Citizen Savings Bonds and the fact that preference was given to the registration thereof in order to ensure the timeous payment of interest, the issue of certificates was unfortunately unavoidably delayed.

(b) Outstanding certificates as at 31 March 1988 were:

July 1987	21
August 1987	29
September 1987	9
October 1987	3
November 1987	4
December 1987	2
January 1988	4
February 1988	—
March 1988	—
Total outstanding	72

Senior citizen bonds: interest paid on due dates

851. Mr J J WALSH asked the Minister of Finance:

Whether all interest due to investors in senior citizen bonds has been paid on the relevant due dates: if not, (a) why not and (b) (i) what amounts were outstanding as at the latest specified date for which information is available and (ii) in which months were these amounts due?

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

Yes, with the exception of relatively few applications requiring investigation and in respect of which the interest was subsequently paid.

(a), (b) (i) and (ii) fall away.

Agricultural products: statutory levies

886. Mr R W HARDINGHAM asked the Minister of Agriculture:

(a) What amounts were collected from producers in the form of statutory levies on each specified agricultural product in each of the latest specified three years for which figures are available and (b) (i) what steps were taken in respect of the amounts so collected, and (ii) for what purpose were they used, in each case?

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE:

The audited particulars are published in the various reports of the Auditor-General (which are tabled in Parliament) on the accounts kept in terms of the relevant provisions of the Marketing Act, 1968 (Act 59 of 1968).

Surplus agricultural foodstuffs distributed to under-privileged/welfare organizations

887. Mr R W HARDINGHAM asked the Minister of Agriculture:

Whether any surplus agricultural foodstuffs grown or produced in the Republic and marketed through control boards were distributed to (a) the under-privileged and (b) welfare organizations during the latest specified 12-month period for which figures are available; if so, (i) what foodstuffs, (ii) what quantity of each foodstuff and (iii) what was the total estimated value of the foodstuffs so distributed?

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE:

(a) Yes

(b) Yes

(i)	Period	(ii)	(iii) (R)
Bananas	1/7/86 – 30/6/87	200 × 20 kg containers	1 924
Potatoes	1/3/87 – 29/2/88	28 026 × 15 kg pockets	70 000
Rooibos tea*	1/1/87 – 31/12/87	1 015 kg	1 553
Oranges	1/3/87 – 29/2/88	8 000 × 10 kg pockets	9 600
Milk powder**	1/3/87 – 29/2/88	4 597 tonnes	2 090 800***
Processed cheese**	1/3/87 – 29/2/88	350 tonnes	196 000***

* In aid of the flood disaster fund.
** Made available to charity organizations at subsidised prices.
*** Value of subsidy.

Chicken meat imported from France

951. Mr T LANGLEY asked the Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology:†

Whether in the period before Christmas 1987 he gave permission for chicken meat to be imported from France; if so, (a) what is the total mass of the chicken meat so imported, (b) at what price per kilogram was this meat (i) purchased and (ii) offered for sale locally, (c) what is the country of origin of the meat and (d) (i) how many kilograms of it were sold and (ii) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

The MINISTER OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS AND TECHNOLOGY:

(a), (b), (c) and (d) (i): The information is not available.

Import permits in respect of chicken meat are issued by the Department of Trade and Industry on the recommendation of the Department of Agricultural Economics and Marketing and this is done on a rand value basis only. The country or countries or origin are not specified on permits and importers may, therefore, import the goods mentioned in the permits from any country.

During the calendar year 1987 the Department of Trade and Industry issued on the recommendation of the Department of Agricultural Economics and Marketing import permits to a total value of R11,3 million to various importers to import frozen chickens (whole and in portions) to supplement shortages on the local market.

(d) (ii) As indicated above.

Marketing boards; grants for bursary purposes

952. Mr R W HARDINGHAM asked the Minister of Agriculture:

Whether any marketing boards made grants for bursary purposes in 1986; if so, (a) which marketing boards, (b) how many grants were made by each such marketing board and (c) what was the amount of the grant in each case?

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE:

Yes;

(a)	(b)	(c) R
Banana Board	1	1 200
Tobacco Board	4	17 400
Citrus Board	12	54 896
Oil Seeds Board	1	4 200
Deciduous Fruit Board	15	45 000
Cotton Board	2	1 925
Maize Board	13	24 262
Dairy Board	14	56 700
Dried Fruit Board	1	4 200
Wheat Board	6	25 200
Potato Board		
Dry Bean Board	5	17 980
Grain Sorghum Board		
Meat Board	11	44 100
Wool Board	26	84 000
Egg Control Board	5	15 770

W|Mail 2 28/4/88

PW speaks of a prime minister to help him

3D4A

Weekly Mail Reporter

PRESIDENT PW Botha has proposed a prime minister be appointed with responsibility for day-to-day administration.

The president would then be free to be "mainly" concerned with matters of general national interest and policy" and with matters such as "population relations, macro-economic policy and the determination of financial priorities, security and foreign affairs, as well as ceremonial functions and functions which developed by convention".

Speaking during the debate on his vote in the House of Assembly, Botha also said serious consideration was being given to renaming the proposed National Council "The Great Indaba".

In a bid to bolster the government's flagging reform policies, Botha raised the possibility of elected regional bodies for black "own affairs", the appointment of black people to a revamped President's Council and black participation in the electoral college which elects the president.

He was careful not to make specific constitutional proposals but outlined a broad framework.

Botha also said there was a need to involve the "independent homelands" on matters of common concern and held out the possibility of a constitutional arrangement along the lines of the European Parliament.

Black anger: It could be political

THERE is indeed a connection between the frustrations of young black people and their political aspirations, the government concluded in a policy statement this week.

In an official statement in response to last year's President's Council report on the youth, the government said it "realises the necessity of political reform and the accommodation of all population groups, in the political decision-making process.

"There is a connection between the frustration of young black persons and their political expectations."

The state was going ahead with reform and "education and upliftment" programmes.

"The present system already provides for administration of justice in respect of intimidators and politically-motivated juvenile delinquents."

It's a sellout says CP leader



DR TREURNICHT

Daily Dispatch Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The government can expect a strong rightwing backlash to the proposal by the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, to draw blacks into the political process.

Early indication of this was provided by the CP's leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, who rejected the proposals as a sell-out.

He said blacks brought into these bodies would have a claim to representation on the basis of numbers, adding that Mr Botha was on the road to a loss of power by whites over white affairs.

"He is arguing from the assumption that whites will always be in control and that he can dictate the terms."

Dr Treurnicht said that in the final analysis it was the numbers which counted.

The PFP's leader, Mr Colin Eglin, said Mr Botha had failed to address the key issue of blacks participating in parliament.

He said Mr Botha declined to grasp the nettle as far as the issue of black participation was concerned and the presence of blacks on the electoral college was meaningless if the composition of the college prevented blacks from being an integral part of the majority.

PW hints at black education minister

23/4/88

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — President P. W. Botha indicated yesterday that the first black person to be co-opted into government could be a minister responsible for black education.

This follows an earlier hint by Mr Botha that blacks could be brought into the cabinet.

Responding to Conservative Party criticism of his plans to bring "people from outside" Parliament onto the executive, Mr Botha asked CP members if they were not in favour of a black man being in charge of black education.

Mr Botha said while replying to his budget vote that he had told the Minister of National Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, he should "work his way out" of his post because it would eventually belong to a black person.

Dr Viljoen, he said, agreed with this standpoint.

Mr Botha said that if black people could not be "wished away" in South Africa, they would eventually have to have a say in the election of the State President.

But he emphasised that white voters would be consulted if it was decided to bring "recognised black leaders" into the electoral college which chooses the state president.

"White civilised values could not be threatened," he said.

Members of the Conservative Party were making such a fuss about his statement that blacks might be brought into the electoral college but the fact they overlooked was that it was possible under the present system for a "non-white" to be elected state president.

Conservative Party members had voted in favour of the 1977 constitutional proposals and in terms of the present constitution a coloured or an Indian could become state president, he said.

Meanwhile, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, signalled the government's growing impatience with blacks unwilling to participate in government-sponsored talks.

The government, he said, would go ahead with the process of negotiation with those who wanted to participate. Those who wanted to stay outside could stay there.

Mr Heunis said during the State President's vote that too many black leaders were wasting time by being obstructionist.

He also criticised those who wished to see a new constitutional dispensation introduced immediately.

President Botha had emphasised that it was a "utopian dream" to expect that a final constitution could suddenly be implemented, he said.

The government was not engaging in delaying tactics but had chosen the course of evolutionary constitutional development rather than producing a blueprint for change.

Mr Heunis acknowledged that there was impatience among black communties but said it was also natural that there was a need among whites for reassurance on maintaining their value systems.

See also page 17

D|D 23|4|88

Tutu slams proposed reform deal

LONDON — The Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Reverend Desmond Tutu, slammed the decision announced by South Africa's State President, Mr P. W. Botha, to break the reform logjam as "merely making slight adjustments to apartheid".

Archbishop Tutu, on a visit to Birmingham where he opened a school named in honour of Nelson Mandela, said the South african Government was "moving the furniture around in a room that remained the same".

He said Mr Botha could not get rid of the apartheid system by "throwing crumbs of concessions".

Archbishop Tutu appealed to Mr Botha to agree to negotiations with the authentic leaders of every section of the community about ways of dismantling apartheid.

He said it was a waste of time to make apartheid "more comfortable". Apartheid is so evil that it must be removed from the face of the Earth."

The Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) said Mr Botha's announcement had far-reaching significance.

"With the present ratio of whites, coloureds and Indians in the electoral college 4:2:1, blacks outside the self-governing states would also have to gain representation in the con the basis of numbers."

The HNP noted that, "even if they only get 12 representatives, this would increase the number of non-whites to 50 — equal to those of the whites".

"The possiblity also exists that a party with a minority in the House of Assembly could well elect its leader as State President with the support of coloureds, Indians and blacks."

The party said that in prevailing circumstances the National Party could lose its majority position in the House of Assembly, but nevertheless get its State President elected with the support of non-

the electoral college.

It added that "this is apparently the chief motive behind the amendment to the Constitution".

The Director of the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba,



ARCHBISHOP TUTU

Professor Dawid van Wyk, said that Mr Botha's notion of calling a Great Indaba, was to be welcomed as it involved all South Africa's key political leaders.

Prof Van Wyk said the Indaba had already proved the viability of negotiation politics and should serve as a particularly appropriate example.

"The State President's observation that the government is drawing on several constitutional models to develop a uniquely South African system is also encouraging, suggesting that the Indaba proposals should form part of such an initiative."

"Most significant is the State President's continued commitment to reform even in the face of increasingly agrresive right-wing pressures," he added.

The United Municipalities of South Africa (Umsa) reacted optimistically to the proposals.

Umsa said it welcomed, in particular, the recognition by the government that blacks could not be excluded forever from participating in highest level of government.



MR BOTHA

"But, despite the positive aspect of the announcement, we still find it unfortunate that Mr Botha has not spelled out in any great detail what the government intends with the proposed regional councils.

"If these regional councils are intended to become second class legislative bodies in an attempt to direct the aspirations of blacks away from the supreme legislative body in the country, Parliament, the government can expect further opposition organisations committed to democracy," it added.

Umsa said it was far too early to comment on the the proposed participation of blacks in the Electoral College because Mr Botha had not spelled out how the representatives would be elected and how the population ratio for electees would be amended. — DDC-Sapa



Britain mum on speech

D1.0 23/4/88 (304n)

LONDON — The British Government has noted "with interest" the speech to parliament by the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, concerning black participation in government, a Foreign Office spokesman said yesterday.

However, the spokesman said it would be premature to comment until the full details were known.

Sources at Whitehall stressed that Britain was still looking for early and fundamental change to bring about a non-racial and democratically representative system in South Africa.

The sources said Britain obviously welcomed the "change of tone" evident in Mr Botha's speech.

It was also courageous in terms of white South African politics because of the recent inroads made by the Conservative Party.

However, the sources said the speech had to be weighed against the "repressive measures" taken by the South African Government this year.

The British media emphasised that Mr Botha's proposals were a defiant response to right-wing extremists , particularly following his recent by-election failures.

A front page headline in The Independent, declared "President Botha abandons attempt to appease far right".

It also said he was introducing inmnovative initiatives that had ended a year of political paralysis. — DDC-Sapa

Star 23/4/88

'I AM THE S

304A

Political Correspondent DAVID BRAUN assesses the reins of power that

"L'Etat c'est moi, I am the State", arrogant King Louis XIV is reported to have said in 1655.

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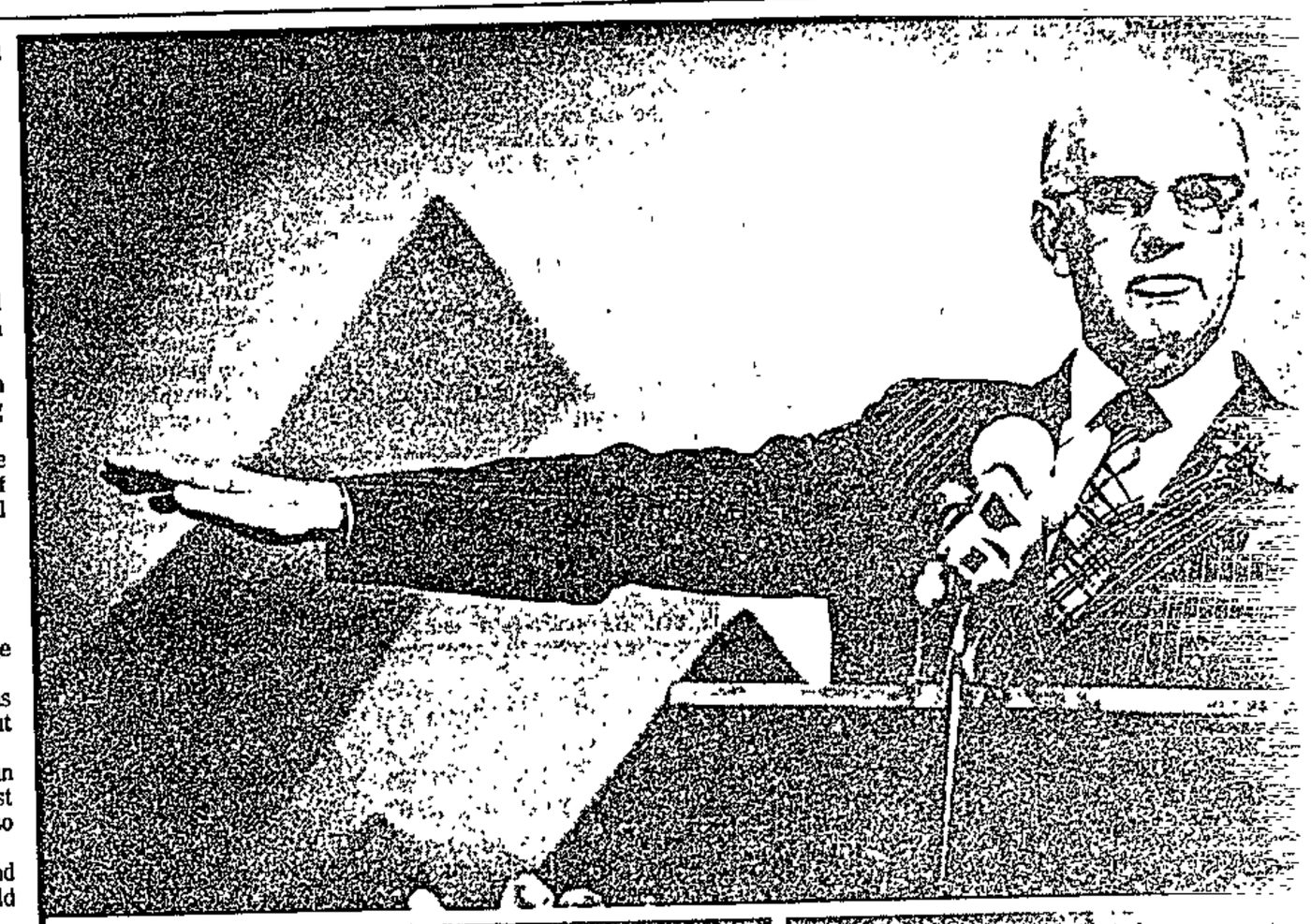
What he really told the French Parliament 333 years ago was "everyone knows how much trouble your meetings have caused my state and their dangerous consequences". He then expressly prohibited parliament from discussing his edicts.

The absolute monarch of l'Ancien regime lived in a different world from that of today's South Africa, so it is not possible to compare him with President Botha.

Yet the steady accumulation of powers in the hands of the South African State President in recent years is to a certain extent taking on shades of "l'etat c'est moi"

In 1983 the white voters overwhelmingly voted in favour of the new Constitution, which provided for the merging of the jobs of Prime Minister and State President, and created a single powerful executive head of state with sweeping powers.



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The State President's job was reserved for retiring senior politicians who would have little more to do than sign documents, hand out medals, open Parliament and receive dignitaries

In 1984, that all changed when the new Constitution was ushered in and Mr P W Botha, then Prime Minister, became South Africa's first executive State President As such he is Head of the Republic and also a member and chairman of the Cabinet

According to the 1983 Constitution all the traditional powers and prerogatives, which until then had vested in the State President would now also vest in the new State President. Among these are the following:

- He is the supreme commander of the Defence Force;
- He may address one or more Houses of Parliament in a joint session,
- He confers honours,
- He receives and appoints diplomatic representatives and consular officers;
- He may reprieve offenders;
- He enters into and ratifies international conventions;
- He proclaims and terminates martial law;
- He declares war and makes peace;
- He makes appointments and forms other functions assigned to him by law.

South Africans have seen in recent years how the State President may also declare a state of emergency and then formulate emergency regulations, suspending at a stroke of a pen civil liberties such as freedom of expression, association, public assembly and even movement

They have also seen how in terms of Defence Act powers the State President may intervene in judicial processes by immunising security force members from prosecution

All these powers were available to Mr Botha at the time he became Prime Minister in 1978, actually, even if he did have to work through the ceremonial State President.

The creation of the executive State President merely combined all the powers in one individual

Since 1984, however, Mr Botha has assumed direct control also of certain functions previously delegated to Ministers.

It could be argued by some people that this means little in view of the fact that the State President has the absolute right to hire and fire Cabinet Ministers without consulting with anyone, and therefore he is able to control any aspect of the Government through his hirelings.

There is a difference, however, in that the transfer of functions directly to the Office of the State President further concentrates powers in the hands of the same powerful chief executive.

Since 1984, President Botha has appointed two full Cabinet Ministers in the Office of the State President.

Through them and directly in his own right, the State President now administers:

- the Bureau for Information;
- the film industry;
- the SA Broadcasting Corporation;
- the Commission for Administration (responsible for the entire public service) and;
- the National Intelligence Service.

The State President further administers Namibia directly through his appointed Administrator-General.

Just recently, Mr Botha assumed sweeping powers of deregulation, enabling him to waive bureaucratic niceties and regulations to enable small businesses to get off the ground.

The entire privatisation programme has also been transferred to his office, along with the interim administration of parastatals earmarked for privatisation, such as Eskom and Iscor

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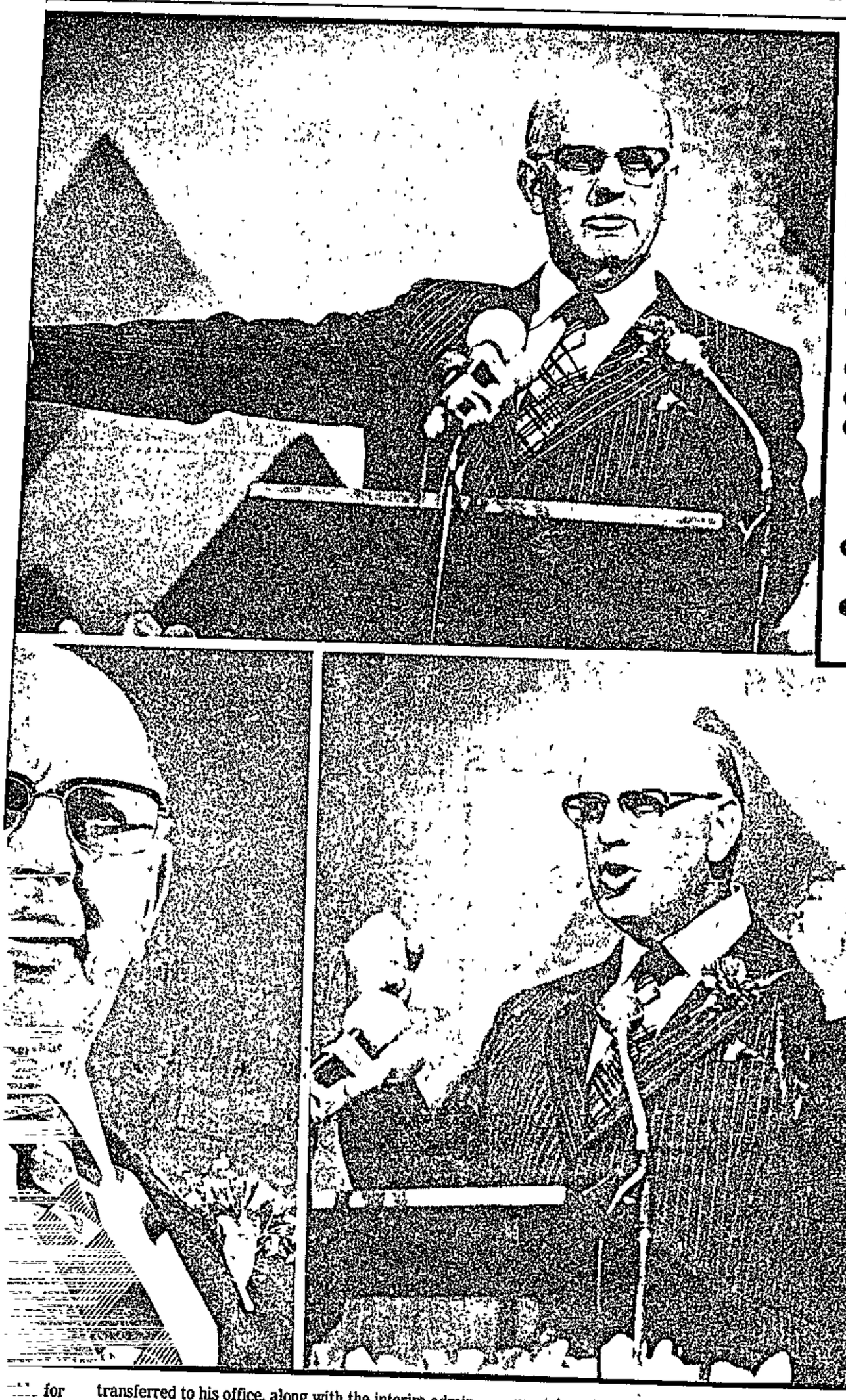
Star 23/4/88

THE STATE'

RAUN assesses the reins of power that are held in one man's hand



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President Botha administers the country through the Cabinet, the Ministers' Councils and provincial Administrators, all of whom he appoints.

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Many of these have virtually taken over the administration of troubled black townships.

Mr Botha is advised by the Economic Advisory Council of the State President on fiscal matters He has taken a firm grip on the Government's overall financial management and no Minister may overshoot his particular budget without the Presidential nod.

His administration functions by way of a series of interlocking Cabinet committees and various liaison structures

Mr Botha is said to have every Government annual report presented to him by the relevant expert officials in a highly condensed form Heaven help any hapless officials who are unable to answer probing questions for details, it is said

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This year alone the Office of the State President will spend close on R600 000 on "policy analysis and advisory services" — liaising with government departments and other authorities concerned regarding specific policy matters, compilation and analysis of information concerning the constitutional, economic and social components of the community and the coordination and monitoring of policy execution in cooperation with the Cabinet secretariat.

(That mouthful is a direct quote from this year's Budget estimates.)

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The Chancery of Orders also resorts under the Office of the State President, determining which South Africans should be decorated for various contributions to the community

P W hits switch to start changes

BRUCE CAMERON and SAPA

New developments indicate that State President P W Botha has already hit the switch to set his new constitutional plans in motion.

Senior National Party sources say legislation is already being prepared to create nine black regional "own affairs" councils next year.

And they say the longer-term Parliament as it is today could make way for a totally new leglislative body which will include all groups.

In the House of Assembly yesterday President Botha said the white electorate would be consulted if it was decided to bring recognised black leaders into the electoral college for a State President.

In debate on his Budget Vote he said that if black people could not be "wished away", as the Conservative Party wanted.

They would also eventually have a say in the election of a State President.

The official Opposition was making a fuss yesterday about his statement that blacks might be brought into the electoral college. "But they overlook that it is possible under the

TO PAGE 2

P W hits the switch

From Page 1

present system for a non-white to be elected State President.

Mr Botha said the conditions for constitutional changes were that the present system would remain in force until agreement was reached, that white values would not be threatened, and that democratic principles would be upheld.

On his statement on Thursday that there should be more than paper guarantees in the constitutional future, Mr Botha said he had meant structures should be created to contain the assurances.

W/G ARGUS 23/4/88 30K4

WEEKEND Argus

April 23 1988

Rugby tour in the balance

THE International Rugby Board's agreement in principle to a World XV tour of South Africa this year was greeted with enthusiasm, but it may turn out to have been little more than a procedural sop to the South African Rugby Board as more key unions distance themselves from such a tour.

So far controlling unions in New Zealand, Wales and Ireland have indicated that they will oppose their players joining the World XV and there can be no denying that their attitude will not only weaken whatever side does come here, but that it diminishes the satisfaction which South Africans might derive from playing them.

New Zealand's opposition is especially disappointing. The All Blacks have been traditional rivals of the Springboks, they have some illustrious players, and they would have been popular members of a tour designed to mark the golden jubilee of the Northern Transvaal Rugby Union and the centenary of the Eastern Province Rugby Union.

Nevertheless, other foreign unions have indicated at least tacit approval of the tour. The English union, while saying it will discourage its players from taking part, has said that it will not formally prohibit them from doing so. The French have discreetly given the nod to their players, as have the Argentinians. The Australians have said the choice is the individual player's to make, while the Scottish union has yet to make its standpoint known.

Clearly, therefore, some sort of World XV could be assembled. But whether or not it will be strong enough to take on the Springboks without players from those unions which oppose the tour, has yet to be seen.

All of this does not hold out the promise of the sort of brilliant rugby which ought to mark what should have been an historic and, with luck, triumphant anniversary year for South African rugby.

HOW PW BOTHA RULES THE ROOST

by DAVID BRAUN, Political Staff

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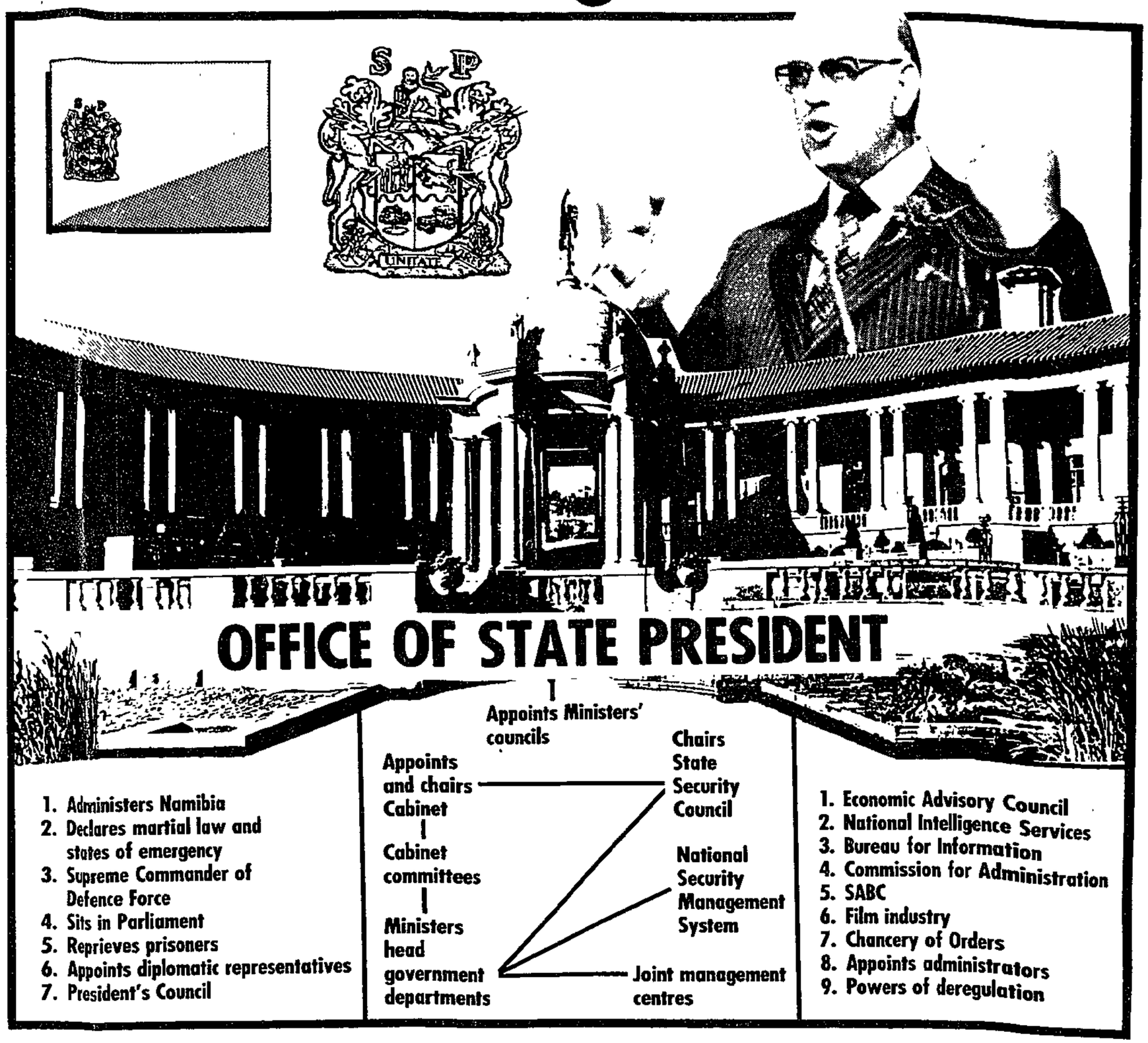
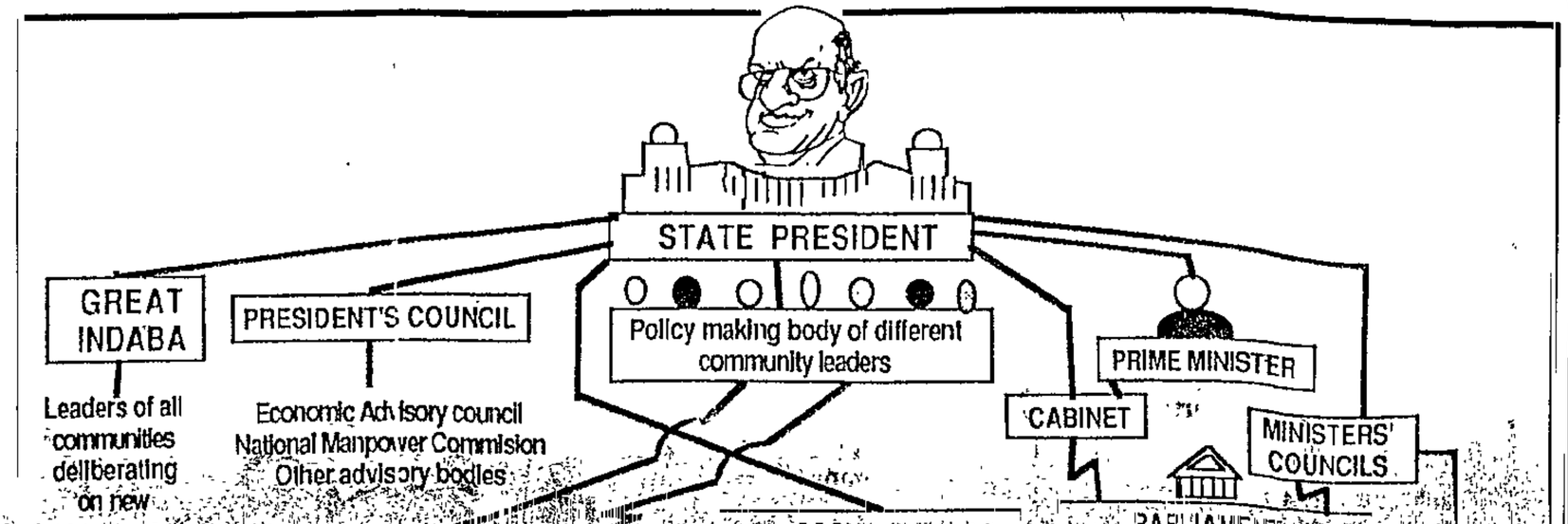


How the new deal works

RIGHT: An impression of how President P W Botha's proposed new constitutional reform option will fit into the power structure of his cabinet system of government.



PRESIDENT BOTHA'S assurances in Parliament this week that the Government was not in confrontation with the churches — and did not wish to be — will not put to rest the differences between him and the clergymen with whom he has been engaged in increasingly sharp exchanges recently. And his suggestions that some churchmen were exceeding the bounds of their calling will evidently find little agreement in those quarters.

But hopefully the somewhat more moderate tones in which he spoke will remove some of the sting and perhaps help restore some much-needed calm to the debate.

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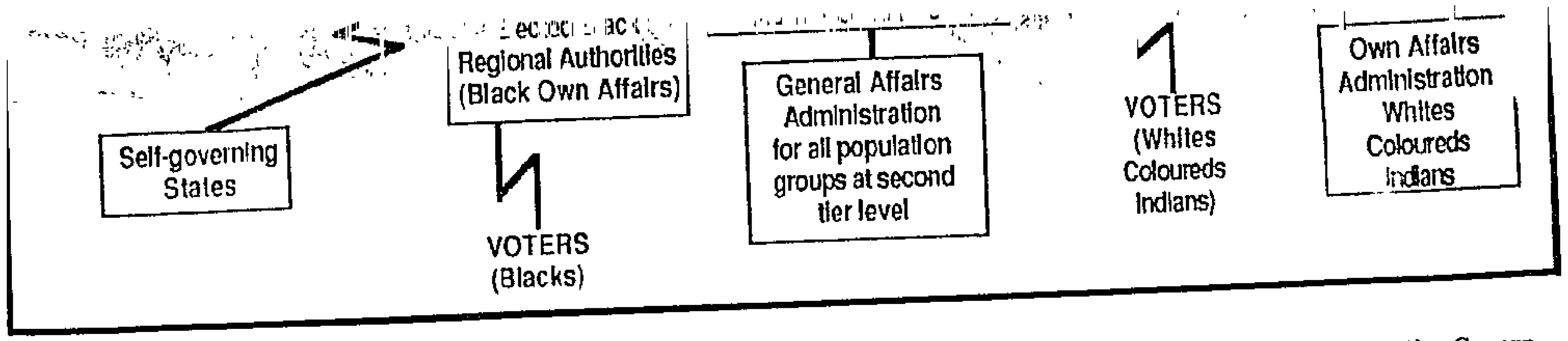

'Teeny-blasters' take arms in US drug war

by RAMSAY MILNE
Weekend Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK — "Teeny Blasters" — baby-faced 12-14 year-olds — are being recruited and armed with semi-automatic weapons in New York's deadly crack war.

"We have a monster on our hands," said one senior police officer after the arrest of three teeny blasters, one of them 12 years-old, and all of them toting semi-automatic weapons.

They are the latest in a string of children arrested in New York suburbs where crack dealers now seem to reign supreme, but the first to be found armed with pistols.

Police believe that the crack dealers are using "baby dealers" as couriers and "steerers" and arming them with cheap 25 calibre handguns because existing drug laws do not provide the same harsh penalties for juveniles as for adults.

The three "teeny blasters" were rounded up when residents in a building in Brooklyn reported that they had threatened to kill a 15 year-old, also thought to be caught up in the drug underworld.

In addition to the weapons found on the youths, 35 vials of crack were confiscated.

Earlier a 14 year-old mobster — armed with the same kind of gun as the 12 year-old — was arrested when he tried to hold up a candy story. Another 14 year-old was arrested when police raided two apartments, known to be "crack factories," where the boy was employed by several adults to sell drugs through an open door.

The similarity of the type of guns with which they were armed has caused police to fear a rash of the six-shot semiautomatic pistol, an adapted Saturday Night Special that can be easily bought at gun stores for 75 dollars each.

"We are pretty sure the older dealers are arming kid dealers for status and to outright shoot the opposition," said a police spokesman.

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Government faces huge challenges in turbulent times, says Con Botha

by TOS WENTZEL Political Correspondent

THE National Party's chief information officer, Mr Con Botha, has accused Dr Jan S Marais of "criticising from the sidelines" and using his recent open letter to the National Party in The Argus to make unfounded charges that Opposition parties resorted to.

He said Dr Marais contradicted himself when he called on the Government to return to the attack only to conclude his comments by stating that "when emotion and reason go to battle emotion always tends to win".

The Government faced huge challenges in turbulent times, not the least being the malicious campaign of disinformation being waged by the rightwing forces.

On Dr Marais's allegation that Nationalist policies were vague Mr Botha said the country was on the road to a participatory democracy.

By its very nature a one-sided "blueprint" or "programme of destiny" as Dr Marais called it was bound to be seen as paternalistic and would risk the whole prospect of black entry into the system. Dr Marais himself cited commendable progress already made.

"We have repeatedly said that our aim is power sharing with people of colour at every level, including the highest. How can we be more explicit about the steps to be taken without jeopardising black participation?"

On Dr Marais's charge that there was lack of contact with the common man, he said hardly anyone could argue with Dr Marais on this point.

"However, it must be remembered that there is a difference between winning an election with American whistle-stop tactics and running a highly sophisticated industrial state.

"Ministers can hardly find the time to attend to their constituencies, let alone to make random sorties into country areas."

REFERRING to Dr Marais's criticism of getting isolated from the real entrepeneurship in the country, Mr Botha said no Government had done more to consult with business leaders than that of President Botha. Conferences had involved business and industrial leaders, also the smaller ones through their representatives in organised commerce and industry.

Dr Marais also wrote about excessive bureaucracy. This, Mr Botha said, was a PFP propaganda ploy in the last election and was simply not supported by the facts.

The President dealt conclusively with this story last year, showing that South African society had no more ministers, deputy ministers or civil servants *pro rata* than other Western nations "in spite of the fact that we have a large population component which can be described as being in a developing phase."

South Africa was not alone and not even in the front line of countries in need of food, clothes, housing and education.

"If other countries regard ceremonial occasions as essential morale boosters, provided that they are staged in moderation, why should we be ashamed to do the same?"

Compared to the excesses indulged in by various African states, South Africa's own emancipated independent states were models of moderation.

"In any case, does Dr Marais suggest that we indulge in a form of neo-colonialism by trimming development aid to our neighbours whenever they refuse to toe our line?"

Referring to Dr Marais's references to gossip about "jobs for pals" and "useless nonsense" over the TV, Mr Botha said he could not comment on unsubstantiated gossip, nor about the policies and standards adopted by the Board of the SABC.

Dr Marais's insinuation that the Government was responsible for inflation was "factually incorrect". This line of thought served no purpose.



Mr Con Botha, the NP's chief information officer.

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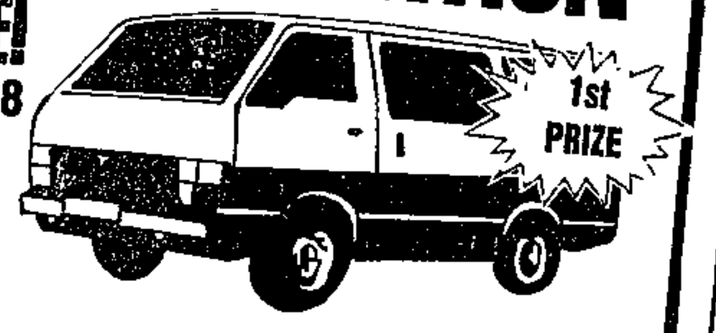

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The Leadership Education and Advancement Foundation is a non-racial, private sector initiative committed to achieving practical solutions to South Africa's educational challenges. LEAF runs pre-university colleges at Kyalami outside Johannesburg and at Bisho near King William's Town.

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Botha sparks a power flutter as he launches the P M Stakes

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT BOTHA has tantalised the Government's power brokers, as well as the top contenders for his job, by setting the stage for his successor — but giving no hint of who the man will be.

The President made it clear that the power to anoint a possible successor would be his alone when he announced this week that the post of Prime Minister would be restored — effectively the State President's deputy, to be appointed by Mr Botha himself.

The announcement sparked tense, but careful early positioning by the leading contenders for the job.

In political circles the names being mentioned this week were Mr F W de Klerk, Minister of National Education and Transvaal leader, and Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning and Cape leader.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, and the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, are also seen as runners, but at longer odds.

The usually stern State President appeared hugely relaxed, even avuncular, in Parliament this week, clearly relishing the power of surprise.

And Cabinet sources said yesterday that the announcement of the PM's post might not be his last surprise — Mr Botha may head off a bruising leadership squabble by bringing in as PM a trusted confidant, in the mould of recently retired Deputy President Alwyn Schlebusch, who will not be part of the eventual bid for the presidency.

Mr Botha's announcement was part of the plans he revealed this week for elected regional governments for blacks and the possible opening of Cabinet jobs for blacks.

Mr Botha also repeated his commitment to a "council of state". It will involve all race groups and arch over the present Parliamentary structure.

The exact nature of the council is to be formulated by the proposed interim National Council — which, he said, may be renamed the Great Indaba.

Secret

Before the announcement to surprised Parliamentarians on Thursday, Mr Botha's plans were a secret closely guarded even from senior members of the NP caucus.

The new prime minister — who informed sources say may be named only next year — will act as chairman of the Cabinet and be responsible for the day-to-day running of the country. Mr Botha will concern himself with policy and ceremonial matters.

Two Cabinet Ministers told the Sunday Times that if the man named for the job is seen as a potential successor to Mr Botha, the job could make him — or break him.

He will immediately become the man other contenders will set out to neutralise.

This has led some Cabinet members and top bureaucrats to speculate that Mr Botha may repeat the move he made when he brought his trusted friend, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, back from retirement to take a Cabinet seat in the Tuynhuys office.

A candidate being named for

□ To Page 2

Warts & all, it IS a start
OPINION: Page 28

Race is on in P M Stakes

□ From Page 1

such a tactic is Mr Hendrik Schoeman, the retired Minister of Transport and leader of the House of Assembly. Mr Schoeman is popular and respected in Government circles.

Government members said yesterday they were encouraged by sympathetic international reaction to Mr Botha's plans.

Much of it interpreted his actions as a defiance of the growing right-wing threat to political reform.

A substantial body of legislation, primarily a Bill to establish the National Council and at least one constitutional amendment, will have to pass through Parliament to make the envisaged reforms possible.

Worrall rejects Botha's 'unrelated adaptations'

Star 25/4/88, 2 — 304A

By Patrick Laurence

Dr Denis Worrall, South Africa's former ambassador to Britain and leader of the Independent Party, last night dismissed President Botha's latest constitutional proposals as "a series of unrelated adaptations" without direction or clarity.

Dr Worrall was addressing about 600 people at the Johannesburg City Hall at a meeting to launch his Independent Party in the Transvaal. The party was established last month.

ALL-WHITE

The attentive audience was entirely white, a fact which Dr Worrall, who repeatedly stressed the multiracial nature of South Africa and the need to come to terms with that reality, regretted.

Mr Botha's proposals, made in his Budget speech last week, included the establishment of black regional authorities to control "black affairs", co-option of blacks to the Cabinet, and inclusion of unspecified black leaders in the electoral college which chooses the President.



Dr Denis Worrall.

But, asked Dr Worrall, why should blacks not assume that their involvement will be no more than tokenism?

He accused Mr Botha of squandering an opportunity to affirm his commitment to genuine reform when he rejected the Indaba proposals for multiracial regional government in Natal and kwaZulu.

Speaking of the warning to *The Weekly Mail* for allegedly publishing subversive articles, Dr Worrall said interference with press freedom was appalling.

"South Africans are mature enough to determine their future on the basis of facts and a free flow of information."

His party was inspired by three fundamental principles: non-racialism, democracy and free marketism.

Referring to the African National Congress, he said: "We have a clear commitment to a negotiated future.

"We would hope, given the importance of the ANC, that it will be involved."

'Abolish all apartheid laws'

Star 28/4/88 — 304A

By Duncan Guy

Progressive Federal Party MP for Sandton Mr David Dalling last night called for the abolition of all remaining apartheid laws before President Botha's constitutional proposals for blacks could be enacted.

Sharing the stage in Sandown with PFP MP for Yeoville, Mr Harry Schwarz, with an audience of fewer than 50 people, he said that only after this was done, would the State President's initiatives of allowing blacks to participate in the governing process have any chance of success.

"Creeping reform, largely by stealth, step by step, bit by bit, with no end or plan or strategy in sight, will never satisfy black South Africans, but it will continue to scare the daylights out of prejudiced and frightened white voters.

Referring to the resignation of Mr Riaan Eksteen as director-general of the SABC, he said he found it hard to swallow that he was made to leave because of his financial administration of the corporation.

"If that was the case, why then has the current financial director, who for the past months has carried direct financial responsibilty for the SABC, been appointed to act in his place?"

Mr Harry Schwarz, in his address, lashed out at progressive politicians who created their own political parties to become leaders.

He said it was necessary for people who were politically ambitious to let ambition take second place for the needs of South Africa.

per-

Botha opens PC door for blacks

24/4/1988 DAY Times

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

PRESIDENT P W Botha last week opened the way for blacks to be included on a restructured President's Council (PC) — after a PC report drawn up at his request was "shelved" last year.

The report into PC composition, functions and the inclusion of blacks was completed last November but was never published or debated in public.

Clear

However, sources said yesterday it was clear Mr Botha's views on a restructured PC dovetailed to a great degree with matters already agreed to by the constitutional affairs committe which complied the report.

They said Mr Botha probably ordered the report to be shelved because of such recommendations as those excluding opposition representatives from the PC.

The opposition representatives had to make way for about 12 people in a leaner PC — a recommendation which would have caused consternation among rightwing parties.

Mr Botha gave little detail during his Vote in Parliament and said: "There was a view among some leaders of black communities that they could make a contribution in the PC."

He said the composition and functions of the PC should be revised when its term expired (with that of Parliament in September next year).

He said he would prefer the PC to become a part-time body which continued its activities through committees.

In such a case, a smaller body would be established to take over the PC's function with regard to decisions relating to parliamentary legislation.

But the sources expressed doubt about the wisdom and practicability of a "part-time" PC.

Order

They said in order for the PC to do its job properly, it needed to be a permanent body as research required full-time reading and comparative studies.

It was understood the report, on which broad consensus had already been reached, recommended the inclusion of 12 blacks.

They would include representatives from KwaZulu, Lebowa, Gazankulu, QwaQwa, KaNgwane and KwaNdebele. The rest were to come from metropolitan areas inside SA.

Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis told Parliament too many black leaders were wasting time by being obstructionist.

He said government was determined to go ahead with negotiations with those who wanted to take part. Those who wanted to stay out could do so.

Ten people now represent opposition parties on the PC; six from the House of Assembly, three from the House of Representatives and three from the House of Delegates.

Mr Botha asked the PC in 1986 to investigate the possible inclusion of blacks.

The report was believed to have recommended that six of the blacks to serve on the PC should come from Johannesburg, Bloemfontein, Durban, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Kimberley.

neo-nazism to take root and [illegible]

South Africa's growth business is bureaucracy

P1D 25/4/88 (304A)

ROGER SMITH
JOHANNESBURG

State President P. W. Botha came to power as Prime Minister 10 years ago pledging to cut government bureaucracy by rationalising it and making it more efficient.

In 1979 he said the number of State departments would be cut from 39 to 22. Now, in 1988, the latest edition of the directory, State Departments of Southern Africa, shows that on the most conservative listing there are 29 State departments.

Include the various "own affairs" departments as separate departments in their own right, rather than as sub-departments of the three administrations of the tricameral Parliament, and the figure immediately swells to 42. Add the four provincial administrations and it takes the figure to 46.

A look at government's own departmental directory provides a figure closer to 50.

But however one juggles the figures, the latest directory, simply by listing all the departments and sub-departments, as well as those of the TBVC and homeland governments, clearly shows a massive proliferation of the bureaucracy in comparison with the position shown in earlier directories

The steady addition over the years of new departments and sub-sections is also borne out by comparison of employee statistics in the 1978 SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) survey and those in the survey just released, Part Two of 1986.

The statistics for central government departments alone show that in June 1978 there were about 314 000 people employed in these departments. In June 1986, there were about 397 000.

In 1978, government said there were 1,3 million people employed in the public sector In 1988 the figure is 1,6 million.

This expansion has taken place despite the fact that in the interim the TBVC countries have taken "independence" and their public sector employees are not included in the 1988 figures.

In 1978, Botha's vision of 22 departments was:

The Office of the Prime Minister;

The Office of the Commission for Administration;

The Directorate of National Security (DONS);

The Department of Finance;

The Office of the Auditor General;

The Department of Transport;

SA Railways and Harbours (SAR&H);

Foreign Affairs and Information;

Industries, Trade and Tourism;

Agriculture and Fisheries;

Water Affairs, Forestry and Environmental Conservation;

Post and Telecommunications (including the SABC);

Internal and Constitutional Affairs;

Justice and Prisons;

Co-operation, Development and Education;

SA Police;

SADF;

Manpower Utilisation;

National Education;

Community Development and Government Auxiliary Services;

Health, Welfare and Pensions; and

Mineral and Energy Affairs

All these departments are still there in some form or another, but almost all have expanded, a number to the point of dividing to form new departments. The name changes alone must have involved considerable costs.

The new State Departments directory shows what has happened.

The most obvious and significant expansion was caused by the introduction of own affairs administrations in terms of the new constitution.

The Department of Agriculture and Fisheries (now the Department of Agricultural Economics and Marketing) has ceded various functions to the new white Department of Agriculture and Water Supply and the new Indian and coloured departments of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture. Including the TBVC countries and the homelands, this brings to 14 the number of departments of agriculture in SA.

A similar picture emerges in other areas, resulting in 14 departments of health, 14 departments concerned with finance or budgetary services and 15 departments of education.

The directory exposes the minor status of the own affairs and homeland departments simply by allowing comparison of their posts and functions with those of the "general affairs" and white departments. In stark contrast to the own affairs and homeland departments, the others are rich in detail on posts, duties and the number of sub-offices.



CHRIS HEUNIS... creating an empire

The new constitution has also seen the creation of a bureaucratic empire under Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Chris Heunis.

A major new department since 1978, the Department of Development Planning, includes four large sub-departments, covering the areas of Urbanisation, Development Co-ordination, Industrial Decentralisation and Constitutional Development.

The department has grown out of being an adjunct to Internal Affairs (now Home Affairs) into what it is now, ditching Coloured Relations and Indian Affairs along the way (incorporated into the tricameral system).

In 1978 there was a Department of Co-operation, Development and Education. Today there are two departments — Education and Training (to deal with black education outside the homelands); and Development Aid (to promote homeland development, including assistance for black education).

Also in 1978, there was Water Affairs, Forestry and Environmental Conservation. Today there are three new departments in this area — Water Affairs; Environment Affairs (which includes forestry); and the white Department of Agriculture and Water Affairs.

In 1978 there was a Department of Foreign Affairs and Information, formed after the collapse of the Department of Information as a result of the Info scandal, but now the Information component has been revived in its own right as the Bureau for Information.

Closer study of the State Departments directory against earlier directories shows that, within most if not all departments, there has been an increase in the number of functions and posts, often with new sub-sections being created and new offices opened.

But while it provides a brilliant exposition of a self-perpetuating, continually expanding, mammoth bureaucracy there is one area on which the directory can shed little light. It is the area, in fact, where the greatest power lies — the security management system.

The directory provides diagrams of the structures of the national security management system, the organisation of a Joint Management Council (JMC) and the areas covered by regional JMCs, but the publishers confess they were refused a single name, address or telephone number for an otherwise comprehensive directory.

● **State Departments of Southern Africa — 1988 is published by Dictum Publishing at R45 or R50, and can be ordered from them at: PO Box 2856, Randburg 2125.**

What the SABC needed [illegible]

CP MP to address meeting

DP 25/1/68

30 JA

EAST LONDON — A Conservative Party member of parliament and economic affairs speaker for the party, Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, will be speaking at the Beaconhurst School Hall tomorrow evening.

Mr Derby-Lewis, a founder member of the CP and the party's press liaison officer, said he would show "the way in which the government incorrectly spends tax money" in his address.

Another major issue would be what the CP will do about mixed residential areas "when they come into power".

Mr Derby-Lewis, who has accused South African Airways of inefficiency and who said he "predicted an incident like the Helderberg", said he arrived here on a delayed SAA flight last night, and would also raise this issue. — DDR

Constitution plan criticised

CRITICAL reaction to President P W Botha's new constitutional plans was voiced over the weekend.

Anglo American director Zac de Beer said the proposal was one of "terrifying complexity".

He said while some increase in black participation was suggested, the proposal did not extend democracy.

"On the contrary, the concentration of real power in the hands of the President becomes even more overwhelming.

"It seems the Nationalists under P W Botha are aiming at some sort of desegregated autocracy."

Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly said the constitutional proposals "should be seen in a positive light".

Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC) secretary-general Smangaliso Mkhatshwa, in a speech at the weekend, said there was no way government's reform programme could succeed when it was not conceived in consultation with the oppressed people of SA.

ROGER SMITH

However, KwaZulu/Natal Indaba director Professor Dawid van Wyk welcomed the idea of a Great Indaba, "provided it involves all SA's key political players".

United Municipalities of SA president Tom Boya said Botha had not dealt with UMSA's preconditions for participation — the release of political prisoners such as ANC leader Nelson Mandela, the unbanning of political organisations, the scrapping of discriminatory legislation and a return to democracy and the rule of law.

tion established by Operation Hunger in the US.

□□□

A NEW trend is emerging in the private goods transport sector favouring a national bargaining unit, Transport and General Workers' Union representative Kally Forrest says.

□□□

MANILA — The Philippine communist leadership said yesterday the foundation for a nationwide rebel government was being laid and urged foreign friends to help them achieve "glorious victory"

REPORTS: Business Day Reporters, Sapa-Reuter.

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Evicted tenants can return

25/4/88 SUE RUSSELL

FOUR black tenants in a Berea block of flats who were evicted last Thursday were able to return on Friday, after an undertaking by the controlling body of the building was made an order of court.

Harrikrishen Govender, Renee Covele, Brian Hendricks and Mary Louise Naidoo brought an urgent application in the Rand Supreme Court against the controlling body of the block, Lyndain, asking that the order made by a magistrate for their eviction be set aside.

All four flats are owned under sectional title.

Political comment in this issue by Ken Owen. Newsbills by Neil Jacobsohn. Headlines and sub-editing by Michael Moon. All of Times Media Ltd, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.

Leon slams CP manifesto

By Shirley Woodgate,
Municipal Reporter

The Conservative Party's municipal election manifesto, which was released last week, has been labelled "an appeal to the darkest impulses of the white electorate" by Progressive Federal Party leader in Johannesburg, Mr Tony Leon.

Likening deputy CP leader, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, who outlined the policy, to King Canute "turning back a tide in a manner which flies in the face of reality," Mr Leon said: "The unrealistic policy of the CP is built on the philosophy which even the Government realised was unworkable 10 years ago.

Even if the CP won control in a few municipalities, Government control over Regional Services Councils was so complete even the CP would not be able to disrupt them. "Short of major social and economic devastation it will also be impossible to reintroduce influx control and curfews," he said.

Calling on the CP to spell out the costs of a return to segregated parks and facilities, Mr Leon predicted the move would bankrupt local authorities.

By contrast, the PFP's vision for the city was of a nonracial city based on security, legitimate neighbourhood crime prevention and the recognition of the rights of all South Africans.

"The real causes of our urban problems lie in the Government's failure to address the needs of housing, unemployment and security." But the CP's solutions would only further aggravate the existing tensions, Mr Leon said.

Shared vision of a just, peaceful SA

Clashing ideas voiced at RAU youth indaba

Star 25/4/86

304A

Two moderate youth organisations, one mainly representing Afrikaners and the other mainly Zulus, held their own indaba at the Rand Afrikaans University at the weekend.

They heard clashing opinions expressed by politicians and academics such as the Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, Inkatha secretary-general Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Wits academic Professor Lawrence Schlemmer and University of Zululand history lecturer Mr Simon Maphalala.

However, the speakers and the 300 delegates at the third annual joint conference of Youth for South Africa and the Inkatha Youth Brigade had one ideal in common — a vision of a peaceful, prosperous and just South Africa.

In spite of varying opinions on how that should be achieved, it was agreed that blacks should be granted political rights to participate in a negotiated future.

Dr van der Merwe stressed the Government's new constitutional initiative, outlined by President Botha last week. He called on black leaders to express their willingness to take part in the National Statutory Council.

Mandela issue

When asked by a delegate why Nelson Mandela was not released from jail — one of the conditions set by Inkatha for participating in the council — he said: "It is so that I prefer to have Mr Mandela out of jail."

However, Mandela had refused to renounce violence, he said.

By Esmaré van der Merwe

Referring to Mandela's release, he said: "There is hope in this regard."

Dr Dhlomo said press curbs, the state of emergency, the Government's rejection of the Natal Indaba and the restrictions on 17 democratic, non-violent organisations made it clear that there were "no prospects of negotiations whatsoever".

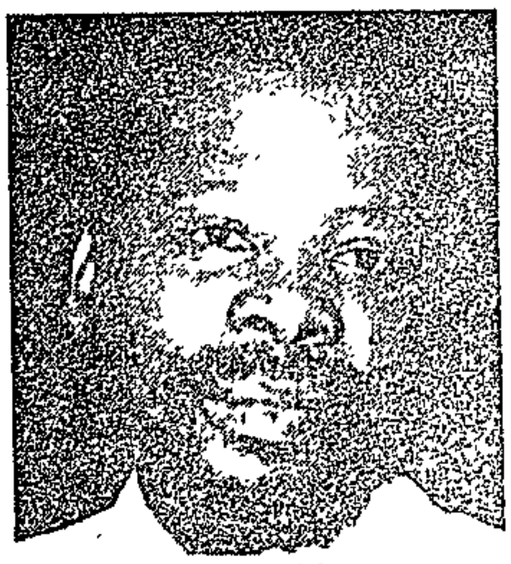
The NP was not interested in negotiation with any black leaders, whether they condoned violence or not. The Government had stopped paying lip service to the concept of negotiations.

He strongly criticised the Government's policy of political rights based on group identification.

"There is nothing to negotiate about if the NP does not want to recognise the principle of inclusive groups based on freedom of association," he said.



Dr Stoffel van der Merwe



Dr Oscar Dhlomo

Professor Schlemmer, director of the University of the WitwatersrandCentre for Policy Studies, said the basic conflict in South Africa was not between race or groups, but between a white ethnic ideology and a non-racial ideology.

A political solution could only be reached through a compromise between these two ideologies.

Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk, national chairman of Youth for South Africa, told The Star that the conference had been more successful than previous ones.

"The white youth, represented by Youth For SA, have made the choice for a future shared with blacks. The black youths, represented by Inkatha's Youth Brigade, realised that it does not help to only blame apartheid, but something constructive had to be done."

BLACK ELECTIONS ARE DUE NEXT YEAR

Sowetan 25/4/88 (304A)

ELECTIONS for nine black regional "own affairs" councils are on the cards for next year.

SOWETAN Correspondent

And in the longer term Parliament as it is today could make way for a totally new legislative body which would include all groups.

According to senior National Party sources legislation is already being prepared to create the councils, mooted last week by President P W Botha.

The Government wants to put the regional council legislation and the National Council "great indaba" through during the current session of Parliament.

The councils are to be given the same powers as the existing white, coloured and Indian minister's councils but they will not form another wing of Parliament.

The powers will include education and culture, health and local government.

Leaders of the regional authorities are likely to be delegated to the "great indaba" and to the proposed policy making body of the State President.

It is still not clear whether the two bodies could be created in tandem or whether the one would follow the other.

Life span

The proposed life span of the national council is however only two years.

The new system will lead to a massive proliferation of government bodies with departments such as education more than doubling in number.

The regional bodies are likely to have their boundaries based on the borders of the nine development regions and will be "black multi-ethnic."



PRESIDENT Botha . . . announced new structures last week.

Govt to move on NC plans

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government intends pressing ahead with its proposed elected black regional authorities and the National Council whether it has the support of credible black leaders or not, National Party sources confirmed today.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Chris Heunis signalled this in Parliament on Friday, when he said the Government would go ahead with negotiation with those who wanted to take part. Those who wanted to remain outside could stay there.

Some leaders had told the Government they were prepared to negotiate, but not until others agreed and certain conditions had been met. Others said they would not be prepared to negotiate the format of structures, but would consider serving in Government-created structures.

The Government had therefore decided to follow a two-pronged approach — it would create structures such as the elected regional authorities and invite blacks to take part, and would continue to try to get black leaders to take part in the National Council.

Black middle class vital — PW

A STRONG black middle class was a hedge against revolution, President P W Botha told Parliament last week.

Speaking in the House of Assembly at the conclusion of his three-day budget vote debate, he declared his support for the building of a strong and growing middle class of black South Africans with job creation, training, housing and land opportunities.

NDM planning to 'go public' with congress

Argus 25/4/88

30(A)

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

AFTER consulting over the whole political spectrum for the past few months, the National Democratic Movement (NDM) is now ready to embark on phase two of its campaign to establish itself.

With a congress it plans to hold in Randburg on May 6, it will start to "go public" more on the practical political side.

There has for the past few months been some impatience and uncertainty among some of its potential followers because of the NDM's low public profile since it was launched in October of last year.

This is especially so in view of the fact that the other splinter of the original independent movement, the Independent Party, has already been founded and is having a series of public meetings in various parts of the country.

Behind the scenes committees have in the meantime been established and supporters from all parts of the country are expected at the Randburg congress.

Among other things, the basis for participation in elections and parliamentary politics will be discussed.

There appears to be some ambivalence in the approach to the parliamentary as well as the extra-parliamentary field. The NDM's reasoning has been that it regards itself as a movement with a broader approach than a political party but with many important elements of the political party all the same.



Mr Wynand Malan, MP

At present the NDM has three MPs.

Mr Wynand Malan, MP, leader of the NDM, said the movement was involved in discussions with people across the political spectrum in order to establish differences and common values.

The aim was to promote what he called "total and inclusive politics" — getting people involved across the political divides of system and struggle.

The political scene, he maintained, must be seen as a whole and no one could afford the luxury of regarding any part of it as irrelevant.

In the process of consultation, the NDM had established credibility and had put relations and communication on such a footing that attention could now be given to the second phase.

There were differences about participation in the parliamentary system but the NDM believed it had established legitimacy on the question of elections in the political system.

The NDM also stood by its view on the need for emergency powers for the Government, any government, but not without checks and balances as was the case at present.

In the second phase the movement would develop committed support for participation in parliamentary elections while drawing in members who could not at this stage take part in these.

The aim was to widen membership of the movement to all South Africans regardless of colour, culture and language on the basis of the political concept of "inclusiveness".

Mr Malan said the NDM was not in business merely to "rearrange the Opposition furniture" as Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, had put it.

He indicated that the movements's main target would be to draw traditional Nationalist supporters but that it could also not completely shun Opposition supporters. It should be a question of "adding to the Opposition furniture", Mr Malan said.

It was a fallacy, he said, to speak of a shift to the right in politics. If the party tags were taken off, it could be seen there was in fact a shift to the left since the mid-'70s and President Botha deserved credit for this.

The policies the National Party stood for in the early '70s were precisely what the Conservative Party stood for now.

'REFORM TOO LATE'

24/4/88

THE Government's reform programme amounted to too little too late, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, told a Swiss expert on African affairs yesterday.

He was talking to Dr Ulrich Schluer, secretary-general of Switzerland's Study Group for Southern Africa, here to seek his views on reform and other issues.

First steps to get blacks into Government

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE Government will try to push through legislation in this session of Parliament to bring blacks into central Government.

The Government appears to be so keen to pass legislation setting up a National Council and elected black regional authorities that there is increasing talk in parliamentary circles about a second session of Parliament in August.

The move comes after after protracted efforts to sound out opinion on Government proposals for constitutional negotiations.

But the demands of many black leaders that political prisoners should be released and organisations unbanned before negotiations start remain unresolved.

Apart from a National Council Bill there will be a measure to provide for elected black regional authorities.

Elections for up to nine regional authorities may take place some time next year.

These will be second-tier government bodies for blacks outside the self-governing states. They will deal with black own affairs such as health services, education and local government.

DOCUMENTS

From them will come representatives for the proposed consultative council which is intended to negotiate constitutional changes to include blacks.

The plan for regional authorities implies the large-scale registration of black voters, which is necessary in any case for the October municipal elections.

The issue of new indentity documents for blacks, which started in 1986 following the scrapping of the pass laws, can be linked to this.

There are about 11,3-million blacks over 16, including those in the self-governing states, who qualify for these documents.

Up to the middle of this month there were more than 6,3-million applications and more than 5,3-million documents were produced.

The regional councils will represent blacks outside the independent and the self-governing states.

MEETINGS

The proposed National Council will consider, among other things, some of President Botha's options, including black involvement in an electoral college to choose the President and the appointment of black Ministers.

Mr Botha indicated last week that he has in mind a black Minister to be in charge of black education and training.

There is also the proposal for meetings of leaders of the various communties to discuss policy matters.

According to senior Nationalist sources this could become the top policy-making body, chaired by the President.

Its decisions would be executed by the Cabinet under a Prime Minister.

The proposed National Council — President Botha said it could be renamed the Great Indaba — is to have a life of two years, although this could be extended.

The new central government policy-making body could eventually become a central legislative body in which all races are represented.

Nationalist politicians emphasise that there are no plans for a fourth chamber of Parliament.

Blacks on council shelved

SUE RUSSELL 3 04A

A shelved President's Council report had recommended 12 urban and non-independent homeland blacks be appointed to the council, according to the SA Institute of Race Relations.

The SAIRR's latest Quarterly Countdown says the report had been shelved because participating parties were reluctant to give up seats for black appointees.

A spokesman for the President's Council said last night the report had been "temporarily sidelined". He could not say when it would be completed or released.

The report preceded President P W Botha's announcement last week that blacks could be given a place on a restructured council when its term expired at the end of the life of the present Parliament.

B|day 27|4|88

Warmed-up leftovers

2/14/88 Star 304A

How much is really new about President Botha's latest constitutional proposals? PATRICK LAURENCE studies the record.

Mr Koos van der Merwe of the Conservative Party could hardly have been more contemptuous of President Botha's latest constitutional proposals.

"Warmed up leftovers," he pronounced immediately after Mr Botha had completed his important policy speech in Parliament late last week

The extent to which Mr Botha's proposals are innovative is debatable. They represent, to vary the metaphor, an amalgam of orthodox apartheid ideas, adaptations of these concepts, and notions which are new and — for Mr Botha's National Party — daring.

Reaffirming his belief in Dr Hendrik Verwoerd's quest to establish grand apartheid through the creation of independent black states, Mr Botha said: "Independence thus remains an ideal." But, he added, it would not be forced on anyone.

More autonomy

The six partially self-governing "black homelands" would be offered "greater autonomy", Mr Botha said, noting that legislation to achieve that end had already been drafted.

The idea of creating "autonomous black states" occupying a position somewhere between the partially self-governing and the independent states is not new. It was mooted more than 10 years ago by Dr Connie Mulder.

In 1977, Dr Mulder introduced a Bill to create "internally automonous countries" which would have their own heads of state and national anthems. It was not enacted, however, largely because black leaders saw it as an attempt to lure them into de facto independence.

In his speech, Mr Botha raised the possibility of establishing a kind of confederal Parliament — he offered the European Parliament as an analogy — in which South Africa and the independent black states could confer on matters of mutual concern.

That, too, is not a new idea. It has been raised in one form or another by South Africa's last three strongmen.

Dr Verwoerd spoke of a Commonwealth of southern Africa; Mr John Vorster, who succeeded him as Prime Minister, used to talk of a power bloc; Mr Botha himself has previously spoken of a constellation of states and a council of states.

The establishment of black municipalities with powers of local self-government outside the "black homelands" was itself arguably an adaptation to classical apartheid.

They were introduced after the 1976-77 revolt in black townships through the establishment of community councils in 1977 and of town councils in 1983.

But in his speech Mr Botha took the idea a stage further. He mooted the creation of elected regional authorities for blacks living outside the "homelands", making it clear that these regional institutions would exist on the second tier between municipalities at bottom and the central Government at the top.

The idea of black affairs, of separate black schools and hospitals, is, of course, fundamental to apartheid.

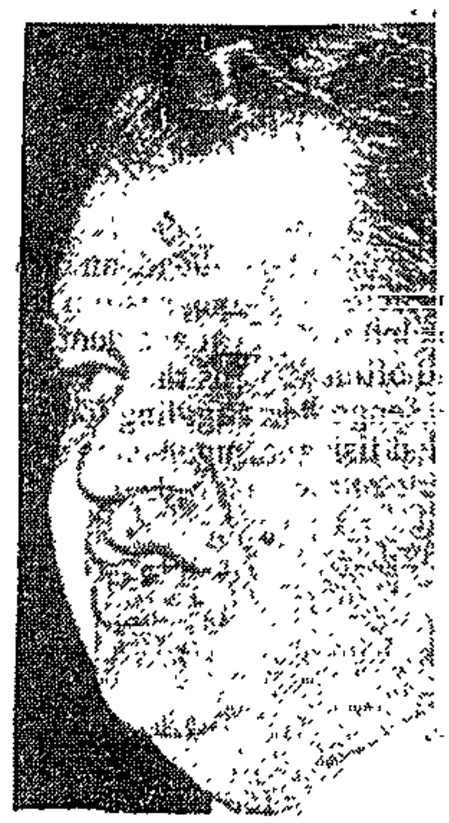
What is new in Mr Botha's proposal is that blacks should control their own schools and hospitals outside their designated "homelands". Under pristine apartheid, as conceived by Dr Verwoerd, that was anathema.

Insubstantial

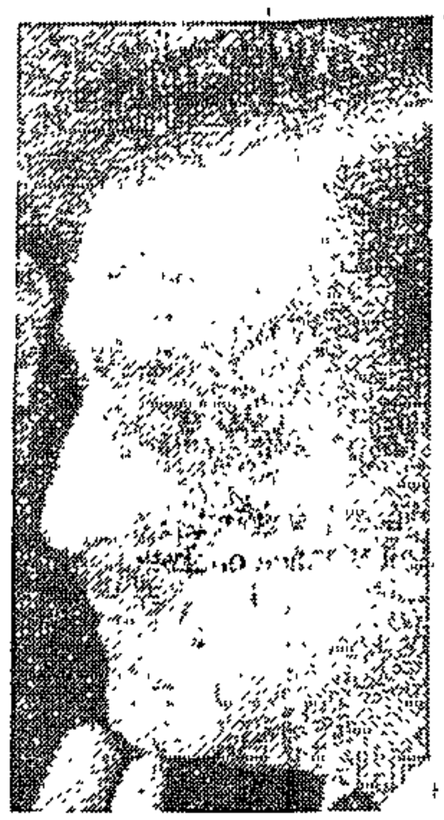
In reaffirming his commitment to establish an institution where the leaders of South Africa's different communities could meet to debate a future constitution, Mr Botha was merely reiterating an existing idea.

His willingness to change the institution's name from National Council to Great Indaba was insubstantial. It has undergone a previous change in nomenclature, from forum to National Council.

Much more innovative was Mr Botha's idea of co-opting blacks into the Cabinet. But on closer examination even that is a mere adaptation of existing apartheid ideology rather than a break from the past. Prospective black Cabinet Ministers will, it seems, be restricted to control of their "own affairs".



The late Dr Connie Mulder mooted the idea of "autonomous black states" ... more than 10 years ago.



Mr Pik Botha's "black President" comment ... out of favour, in favour?

... or a black President?

Star 27/4/88 304A

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

A black South African cannot be a candidate for election as State President in terms of the present constitution, political experts agree.

This is in spite of remarks by President Botha in Parliament last week suggesting it was possible.

Mr Botha caused something of a stir when, in an exchange across the floor with members of the Progressive Federal Party and the Conservative Party, he had the following dialogue:

State President:..."I mean the present electoral college can make provision for this by way of a minor change. I am in favour of black leaders — having a share in that electoral college.

"Then the State President becomes also their State President. As many of them have told me: 'You are our State President. Make it possible for us to show it to you in effect'.

"In any case it is not fair that we say he is their State President while they have no share in it."

Mr Ken Andrew (PFP, Gardens): "Can they choose a black?"

State President: "Listen to that, Sir.

'Now it is being asked: 'Can they choose a black?' That is the parrot cry now being heard.

"It is possible at the moment. It is currently possible that a non-white may be elected."

Mr Koos van der Merwe (CP, Overvaal): "And a black?"

Maintain order

State President: "In terms of the Constitution which was not opposed by those members and indeed in favour of which they voted in 1977, such a thing is possible today."

Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg (CP): "Pik, you won."

State President: "It is further my view that until a satisfactory basis can be found for this, on which such an election can take place, the existing arrangement will have to remain in order to maintain order."

On Friday, further questioned by the CP, Mr Botha conceded that in terms of the present Constitution only a coloured or an Indian (and white) could be elected president.

He said he would go to the voters before bringing blacks into the electoral college.

He said if blacks were not to be conjured away, provision would have to be made for them to take part in selecting the president.

However, this would be subject to certain conditions: that the present system remained in force until a satisfactory result could be found by way of consultation, that white civilisation values were not endangered and that democratic principles were retained.

Politicians said this week that the Constitution was clear — it was not possible to elect a black president.

Furthermore, they said, Mr Botha had taken Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha to task early in 1986 for saying he would be prepared to serve under a black State President in certain circumstances.

Mr Pik Botha had no right to compromise the Government in such a way, the President said at the time.

National Party sources said Mr Botha had not said in last week's debate that there could be a black State President.

He had referred to a "non-white" being elected, which in terms of the Constitution meant a coloured or an Indian.

Seats reserved

Section 7 (5) of the Constitution says: "No person may be elected or serve as State President unless he is qualified to be nominated or elected and take his seat as a member of a House."

The Houses of Parliament are reserved respectively for whites, coloured people and Indians.

And although a member of any of these race groups may be elected State President in theory, in practice the white House of Assembly has a built-in majority in the electoral college on the basis of 50 members, to the House of Representatives' 25 and the House of Delegates' 13.

Govt is emphasising security rather than reform — report

Star 27/4/88

By Martin Challenor (304A)

Two events — the restrictions served on extra-parliamentary organisations and the white by-election results — symbolised political developments in the first three months of 1988, the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) said in its latest Quarterly Countdown.

It was prepared by Mr Shaun Mackay of the institute's policy research unit.

The crackdown confirmed an increasing Government emphasis on security, rather than reform, the institute said, while the voting results confirmed significant white opposition to the erosion of apartheid.

This opposition appeared to limit the Government's willingness to move further along the path of socio-economic desegregation, as shown by its unwillingness to promote further beach desegregation.

State President Botha, the Countdown noted, had said the Government would continue to pursue reform. Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, Minister in the Office of the State President entrusted with information, had suggested that the Government was determined to pursue reform on its own terms.

The Government's "current stress on security measures is designed to ensure that black leadership accepts that," the Countdown said, "but its attempt to initiate reform on its own terms has won little support from black leaders, and Dr van der Merwe implies that it will not make further concessions to win this support.

"Thus there can be little progress towards political reform in the immediate future and further changes are likely to centre around socio-economic issues."

"It (the Government) appears to hope that economic growth will defuse black material grievances and reduce black pressure for a political settlement.

"Whether this will happen remains to be seen, but it is also doubtful whether the Government can ensure economic growth without retreating further from segregation in areas such as housing and education. Its stress on economic reform may therefore bring it under pressure to make further adaptations in these areas," Countdown said.

Significant events of the quarter were:

- 18 extra-parliamentary organisations restricted;
- The CP increased its majority in three by-elections;
- The Labour Party boycotted the Dias Festival and the State President refused to dismiss LP Minister Mr Carter Ebrahim;
- RSC boundaries for Natal, excluding kwaZulu, were announced;
- Extra-parliamentary groups reassessed non-participation in official structures;
- Racial quotas governing admission to technikons were repealed;
- A Bill was tabled to increase the powers of non-independent homelands;
- QwaQwa joined Lebowa in rejecting the National Council;
- The Government reversed its policy on multi-racial school sport;
- the Appellate Division nullified the transfer of Moutse to kwaNdebele.

Changes delayed:

- The establishment of the National Council;
- The tabling of the President's Council report on admission of Africans to the council.

'Blacks should participate fully'

By Esmaré van der Merwe

Sper 27/4/88

The Chief Minister of kwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has rejected the Government's latest constitutional reforms as "an extension of the (National Party's) political idiom" based on minority rights.

President Botha's "innovations" were regarded by blacks as "the political intentions of the politics of prescription", as exercised in the tricameral Parliament.

At a meeting with Mr Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said South Africa's political crises could not be defused by enfranchising urban blacks on a separate voters' roll.

The tricameral system had to be replaced by a multi-party state in which blacks could participate fully.

The NP had to accept that the negotiation process could only get off the ground if "one South Africa with one sovereign parliament" could be negotiated.

CP shocked at 'politicizing of SADF'

Cape Times 27/4/88

Political Staff

THE Conservative Party has called on the government to stop members of the Defence Force addressing party political rallies as Major Wynand du Toit did recently at Piketberg.

General Magnus Malan, Minister of Defence, yesterday told Parliament that requests for officers to address gatherings were considered on merit.

He said in reply to questions by the Opposition's chief defence spokesman, Mr Koos van der Merwe, that Major Du Toit had addressed "an open youth gathering which all members of the public could attend".

Asked if this meant that members of the Defence Force could address gatherings of this nature, General Malan said: "Yes. Requests for talks at youth gatherings by members of the Defence Force are considered on merit."

But, said Mr Van der Merwe, it had been a youth rally to celebrate 40 years of National Party government and had also been addressed by the local MP, Dr Dawie de Villiers, now Minister of Administration and Privatisation, and Mr Barend du Plessis, Minister of Finance.

In a statement later, Mr Van der Merwe said the CP was "shocked" at the SADF's apparent switch in policy.

He said General Malan had said only recently that the SADF could not afford to become involved in party politics through the actions of individuals.

"The sudden change of policy confirms that there is so much panic in the National Party about the result of the Randfontein by-election that even the Defence Force is being recklessly used to salvage the NP ship," said Mr Van der Merwe.

The CP criticized the Minister for "blatantly politicizing the Defence Force".

PARLIAMENT

Du Toit in row over youth rally

By PETER FABRICIUS, Political Staff

CELEBRATED former prisoner of war Major Wynand du Toit has been drawn into a major row between the Conservative Party and the National Party over an address he gave to a Nationalist youth rally.

The Conservative spokesman on defence, Mr Koos van der Merwe, attacked the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, yesterday for allowing Major du Toit to speak at a political meeting.

He said this was "expressly in conflict with existing practice" in the Defence Force.

He said that only last month General Malan had spelt out Defence Force policy when he said that "the SADF cannot afford to be drawn into the party-political arena by the actions of individuals".

Major du Toit was imprisoned in Angola for several years after being captured on a secret mission in the far north of the country.



Major du Toit

PRISONER SWOP

He was the central figure in a highly publicised three-way prisoner swop last year.

Mr van der Merwe asked General Malan in Parliament yesterday if Major du Toit had addressed an NP youth rally in Piketberg and whether Defence Force members were allowed to do this.

He also asked under what regulations they were allowed to do so and, if not, what steps were being taken against Major du Toit.

General Malan said Defence Force members were allowed to address gatherings of this kind and that no action was being taken against Major du Toit.

He added: "Requests for talks at youth gatherings by members of the Defence Force are considered on merit."

Asked by Dr Willie Snyman, Conservative MP for Pietersburg, if Defence Force members would be allowed to address a similar gathering arranged by the Conservatives, he said "yes".

Three principles for a new SA

28/4/88
304A B/day

Denis Worrall last night brought his Independent Party to Johannesburg. In this article, IP joint chairman DAVID GANT sets out the party's vision

IN PROMOTING their concept of a non-racial, democratic, free market South Africa, the Independent Party has been criticised for expounding platitudes and generalities without providing any concrete answers for SA's pressing political and economic problems.

The proper interpretation of those principles and a real commitment to adhere to them, however, imply a marked departure from the current political and economic status quo and present some very specific guidelines as to what kind of SA the Independent Party seeks.

In the first place, a non-racial SA presumes a society based not on colour, creed or class but on merit.

Secondly, democracy implies that all peoples of the country participate in the establishment of political and economic strategies, either directly or by representation in a government that is dedicated to the right of individuals to achieve maximum expression of their own economic, social and political potential.

Lastly, a free market SA implies an economy that is the least interfered with by government and which can be best be described as "market-related," allowing the forces of supply and demand to regulate the creation and distribution of wealth rather then the authoritarian imposition of artificial stimuli or restraints which tend to benefit one sector to the detriment of another.

Illness

The Independent Party seeks to build the new SA based on these principles and within the proper framework of law and order.

Even those who view the current situation through the rosiest of glasses must concede that our economic growth rate, our pace of reform and our inability to satisfy the slightest aspirations of even moderate black and coloured leaders leave a lot to be desired and that, day by day, opportunities to prosper and flourish are denied us.

Those who blame our current economic dilemmas on sanctions, disinvestment, financial hostility from the world at large and lack of consumer and investor confidence must ultimately realise that these are the symptoms of an illness and not its cause.

It is the political status of our country that has exaggerated the need for excessive spending on defence and internal law and order, that has undermined confidence and halted investment, that has promoted labour unrest and inconsistent labour practices that, in turn, have led to too much capital-intensive, labour-saving production methods, that has led to sanctions, costlier marketing, disinvestment and, sadly, the emigration of so many who could have contributed so much to the economy of our country.

No substitute

The lament is not a businessman's cop-out — it is a sad reflection of reality. Economic reform is welcomed, and there can be no question but that government is serious in its intentions.

However, economic reform is no substitute for political reform — it is merely a complementary process — and economic reform, despite government's protestations, will remain a matter of words until the political constraints are removed via a negotiated political settlement, which to be acceptable can only be based on the principles of democracy, non-racialism and a free market economy.

Whilst not professing to have reinvented the wheel or being unappreciative in any way of the contribution of so many to the more admirable aspects of the SA of today, the Independent Party believes that the country now finds itself in a no-winner political and economic stalemate, which can only be broken out of if a new team of men and women of quality, integrity and enthusiasm evolve the right sort of new policies and with fresh, inspired leadership provide a new-found ability to govern the country.

The vision of a non-racial, democratic, free market, peaceful, prosperous and proud SA can become a reality. It must if we are to leave this country with any form of clear conscience and hope to future generations of South Africans.

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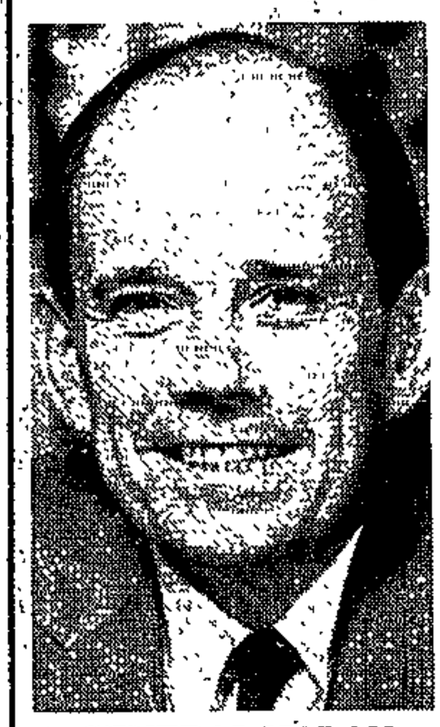
CP calls for halt to SADF members at rallies

Daily Dispatch Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Conservative Party has called on the government to stop members of the South African Defence Force (SADF) adressing party political rallies as Major Wynand du Toit did recently at Piketberg.

The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, told Parliament that requests for officers to address a youth rally would be considered on merit.

He said in reply to questions by the opposition's chief defence spokesman, Mr Koos van der Merwe, that Major du Toit had addressed "an open youth gathering which all members of the public could attend."



GENERAL MALAN

Asked if this meant that members of the defence force could address gatherings of this nature, General Malan said: "Yes. Requests for talks at youth gatherings by members of the defence force are considered on merit."

Mr Van der Merwe said it had been a youth rally to celebrate 40 years of National Party government and had also been addressed by the local MP, Dr Dawie de Villiers, now Minister of Administration and Privatisation, and the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis.

Mr Van der Merwe asked: Could the CP also ask a member of the SADF to address one of its rallies?

General Malan said the defence force would be happy to consider invitations.

In a statement later, Mr Van der Merwe said the CP was "shocked" at the SADF's apparent switch in policy.



MAJOR DU TOIT

He pointed out that General Malan had said only recently that the SADF could not afford to become involved in party politics through the actions of individuals.

"The sudden change of policy confirms that there is so much panic in the National Party about the result of the Randfontein by-election that even the defence force is being recklessly used to salvage the NP ship," Mr Van der Merwe said.

The CP criticised the Minister for "blatantly politicising" the defence force.

He called on General Malan to change his attitude on this matter because, he said, it would inevitably lead to CP and Progressive Federal Party officers addressing political gatherings.

This would not be in the interests of the country.

A defence force spokesman said Major Du Toit, as with any other SADF officer, had strict orders not to talk politics.

"Major Du Toit has a story to tell and is in great demand for public appearances," the spokesman said.

Partition of SA is inevitable — CP MP

3069

DID 28/4/86

LONDON — The Conservative Party's Chief Whip, Mr Koos van der Merwe, said yesterday the differences among the people of South Africa were so big that partition of the country was inevitable.

In an interview published in The Scotsman, he said the bottom line of CP policy was that cultural and historic differences between whites and non-whites were too big to accommodate them in a single unitary state.

Mr Van der Merwe said "with respect" that blacks were different.

"For example, they like to make babies — but where are we going to get the money and resources to support them?

"I fear the loss of our standards and a descent into Third World standards."

Mr Van der Merwe said the CP did not want to share power, "because the moment we do that we shed power."

When questioned on what answers the CP was offering the white electorate for South Africa's problems, Mr Van der Merwe said: "We have a scientific plan and the strength to carry it out," Mr Van der Merwe added.

"We say the differences here are so big that they warrant a separate state for whites and that it's inevitable that we'll come to a partition of the country." — Sapa

Ulundi slams PW plan

Own Correspondent

ULUNDI. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has slammed State President Mr P W Botha's proposed political dispensation for blacks as an attempt to hold together the crumbling tricameral system.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister told members of the National Democratic Movement (NDM) that it was disturbing that the National Party thought it could defuse the national crisis in South African politics by enfranchising so-called urban blacks on a separate voters' roll.

It was equally disturbing that despite intense attempts to teach the NP about democracy, it still clung to the absurd distinction between own affairs and common affairs.

Criticizing the NP's adherence to the misconception that South Africa was a "country of minorities", he said the tricameral system had failed and that it had to be "exorcised" out of South African history before it irreparably damaged the politics of negotiation.

Instead of scrapping this system before it resulted in the creation of an authoritarian, one-party black state, the NP was attempting to hold it together.

Thumbs down!

304A

From MONO BADELA

JOHANNESBURG. — Anti-apartheid leaders this week gave the thumbs down to the government's new proposals aimed at introducing a token African presence in the Cabinet and electoral college.

Apartheid was immoral and immorality could not be reformed, Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, said.

"The new proposals will provide a few more black faces in a government where the whites will continue to call the shots, and where the State President in particular will take on the mantle of an absolute ruler," she said.

Mr Mark Swilling, Wits University lecturer, said the proposals were a recipe for a race federation which would give the appearance of multi-racialism while maintaining group rights at the same time.

"It is totally unacceptable to the majority and will not resolve the government's legitimacy crisis."

A spokesperson for the Southern Transvaal Youth Congress said: "The government is kidding. The only meaningful reform we shall recognise will be the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners and the unbanning of the African National Congress.

"The exiles must be able to come back home. Anything other than that is waste of time."

Dr David Webster, a Wits academic and spokesman for the Five Freedoms Forum, said: "The proposed plans, couched in very vague terms, are characteristic of the government's floundering style and their inability to provide a clear vision.

The government had to negotiate with the ANC and other banned organisations that represented the aspirations of the majority of the people in this country, he said.

The Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (Jodac) said: "The black faces in the government will be those chosen by Botha and ultimate power will still rest with the majority party in the white house."

Independent Party launch

(304A) B/day 28/4/88

THE Independent Party aimed to establish a creative coalition of parties across the colour line as well as bridge the divide between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics, its leader Denis Worrall said last night.

Speaking at the Johannesburg launch of the IP, Worrall added: "We will go for power in parliamentary elections and municipal elections and we will work in the extra-parliamentary sphere in promoting regional negotiation initiatives like the Indaba.

"The IP is not an end in itself. It is part of a process. We said at the outset we would seek these objectives on a basis of co-operation with all creative politicians and organisations."

The IP's coalition would also give unhappy Nationalists a place.

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

While he did not specify with whom the IP would create a coalition, it is known Worrall has forged relations with KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse, while also maintaining contact with the PFP.

The IP had demonstrated its co-operative intentions in relation to the NRP and in welcoming its members had represented "the tradition of an overriding South Africanism which joins all the people of this country and which will be continued within the IP".

AR645 28/4/88 (3044)

Black cannot become President — experts

By DAVID BRAUN, Political Staff

A BLACK South African cannot be a candidate for election as State President in terms of the present Constitution, political experts agree.

This is in spite of remarks by President Botha in Parliament last week suggesting that it was possible.

Mr Botha caused something of a stir during this exchange across the floor with members of the Progressive Federal Party and the Conservative Party:

State President: ... **I mean the present electoral college can make provision for this by way of a minor change. I am in favour of black leaders — recognised black leaders — having a share in that electoral college.**

Then the State President becomes also their State President. As many of them have told me: 'You are our State President. Make it possible for us to show it to you in effect.'

In any case it is not fair that we say he is their State President while they have no share in it.

Mr Ken Andrew (PFP, Gardens): *Can they choose a black?*

State President: **Listen to that, sir. Now it is being asked: Can they choose a black? That is the parrot cry now being heard. It is possible at the moment. It is currently possible that a non-white may be elected.**

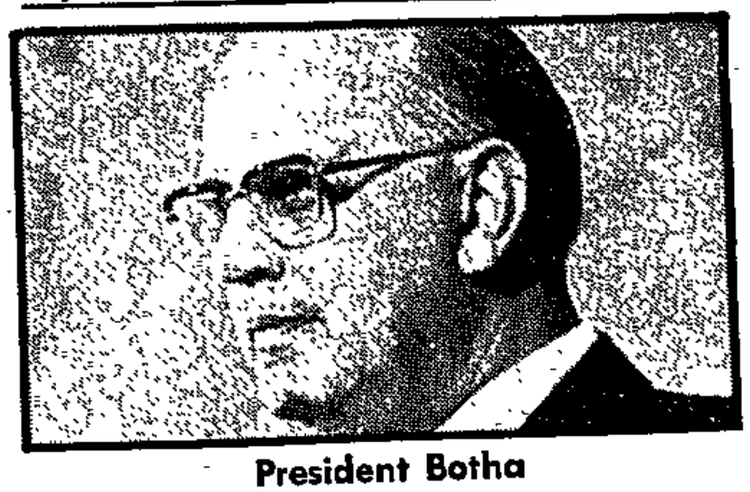
Mr Koos van der Merwe (CP, Overvaal): *And a black?*

State President: **In terms of the Constitution, which was not opposed by those members, and indeed in favour of which they voted in 1977, such a thing is possible today.**

Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg: *Pik, you won.*

State President: **It is further my view that until a satisfactory basis can be found for this, on which such an election can take place, the existing arrangement will have to remain in order to maintain order.**

On Friday, on being further questioned by the CP, President Botha conceded that in terms of the present Constitution only a coloured person or an Indian (and white) could be elected President.



President Botha

He said he would of course go to the voters before bringing blacks into the electoral college. If blacks were not to be conjured away, provision would have to be made for them to take part in selecting the President.

However, this would be subject to certain conditions: That the present system remained in force until a satisfactory result could be found by way of consultation, that white civilisation values were not endangered and that democratic principles were retained.

Politicians said later the Constitution made it clear that it was not possible for a black to be elected President.

Furthermore, they pointed out, President Botha had taken the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, to task early in 1986 for saying he would be prepared to serve under a black State President in certain circumstances.

Mr Pik Botha had no right to compromise the Government in such a way, the President said at the time.

There was no immediate reaction from the Office of the State President in Cape Town.

National Party sources, nervous about saying anything on the record, said President Botha had not said in last week's debate that there could be a black State President. He had referred to a "non-white" being elected, which in terms of the Constitution meant a coloured person or an Indian.

Section 7 (5) of the Constitution says: "No person may be elected or serve as State President unless he is qualified to be nominated or elected and take his seat as a member of a House." The Houses of Parliament are reserved for whites, coloured people and Indians.

And although a member of any of these race groups may be elected State President in theory, in practice the white House of Assembly has a built-in majority in the electoral college, on the basis of 50 members to the House of Representatives' 25 and the House of Delegates' 13.

The PFP spokesman on black affairs, Mrs Helen Suzman, said President Botha's remarks in the Assembly last week were the height of cynicism as everyone knew the majority party in the white Chamber of Parliament had a built-in majority in the electoral college which elected the President.

There was no possibility in terms of the existing Constitution that a black person could even be a candidate, she said.

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Too soon for euphoria

P W Botha's latest moves on the constitutional front do represent reform — as he sees it. It is not so much their sincerity which is in question, as their practicability. Again, it all looks rather like rule through nomination.

The Nationalist government has tried for so long to fool most of the people most of the time that it has become almost impossible to determine if any new constitutional initiative is genuine reform, or merely another attempt at sleight of hand. Maintaining the status quo in terms of political power would seem to remain Pretoria's motive force. The latest constitutional "reform" plan unveiled last week by State President P W Botha begs far too many questions.

There can be no doubt, however, that the "possibilities" Botha mused over during the debate on his Budget vote is the most interesting official political development since the tricameral concept itself was mooted in 1977.

Progress is such a relative concept that to some the prospect of blacks in the Cabinet (even under firm Nat control) is a far-reaching change, while to others it is merely another step up the co-option ladder. But for the first time P W has sketched out a scenario — and not merely spoken in vague terms — of how blacks *can* be represented in central government.

It's not what the African National Congress (ANC) wants; it may not even be what the majority of South Africans want. There is obviously no hint that the National Party (NP) is prepared to loosen its iron grip on political power or to deviate significantly from accepted party policy — but can we really expect anything more at this stage?

In effect, Botha has presented a broad framework within which he wants to negotiate. Some may see this as the closest he has yet come to a "declaration of intent" — an often-demanded political manifest, along with the call for a second National Convention.

The plan has many shortcomings — not the least of which is the continued insistence on racial "group" identity as the basis for constitutional participation. But it is undoubtedly the most open-ended agenda ever offered by the NP.

It was perhaps significant that Botha did not spell out as emphatically as he has done on similar occasions in the past the NP's "non-negotiables" (group areas, race classification and separate schools). By implication he stands by them, but the softer line may mean that he is prepared to talk about them — to remove the "non-negotiable" tag — *if* black leaders accept his offer to participate in the new structures.

The open-endedness of the plan (though within "group" parameters at this stage) is best illustrated by the considerable difference of opinion even within Chris Heunis' Constitutional Planning Department on just what is or is not possible.

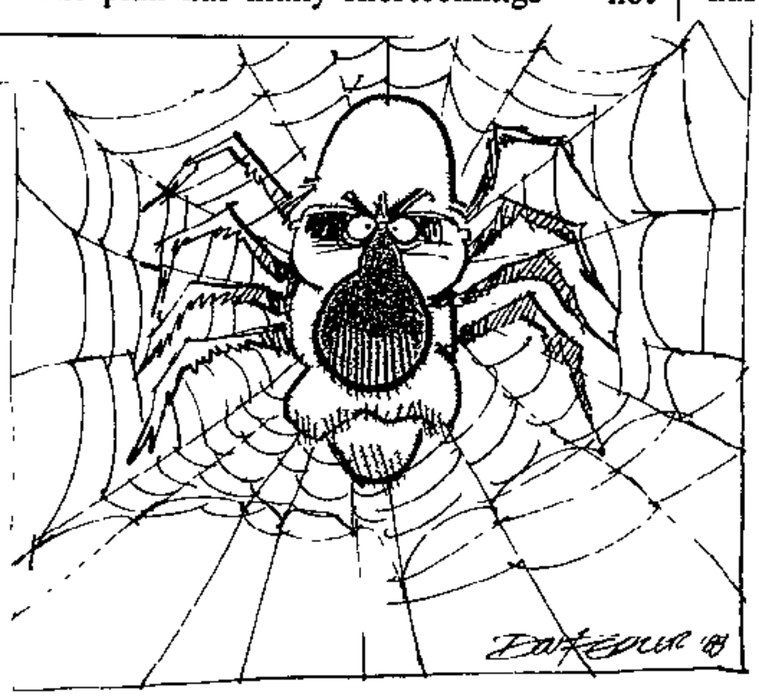
Essentially, as one senior official pointed out, the plan envisages a series of structures within which parallel planning for more widely acceptable solutions can occur. Botha has applied the first brushstrokes and now expects leaders of other communities to add their own.

Officials point out that Botha did not unilaterally announce the plan as a fait accompli, but "suggested" that the concepts he outlined be considered. He now wants an input from "the other side" and is apparently prepared to listen and, if necessary, adapt his ideas to achieve consensus.

There are indications of a new sense of urgency among Nat MPs and government officials. The first enabling legislation is expected to be tabled in parliament this year. If things proceed smoothly, the "new deal" could be well on its way to implementation early next year.

In its tentative way, Botha's plan suggests that (race) federation may be an option for SA. It takes a cautious step away from black ethnicity as a basis for black political development and to this extent can be seen as a move closer to a "fourth chamber" for blacks in central decision-making. It provides for a new tier of directly e[lected] ernment for blacks *outside* the homelands — which means that for the first time they will have a direct say in issues other than garbage collection, dog taxes and township rent.

There is also provision for blacks to participate directly in the election of the State President — possibly through the proposed regional authorities. There is moreover provision for black participation on a revamped President's Council which will take over the functions of the existing specialist advisory bodies such as the National Manpower Commission and the Economic Advisory Council. The council's legislative deadlock-breaking role would therefore continue with black participation, in theory.



While this is all happening the National Council (NC) — possibly to be ridiculously renamed the Great Indaba — will be considering radical constitutional change. The Indaba — representing all communities with delegates drawn from parliament, the regional councils for blacks, the homelands and possibly other organisations and interest groups — may be given a say in central decision-making either by being asked to comment on, or assist in the drafting of "general affairs" laws.

NP leaders say the initiative is not a deviation from party policy and point to a decision at the 1986 federal congress to give blacks control of their "own affairs" and a role in central decision-making to justify the new plan.

They add that it will, therefore, not be necessary to ask white voters for their blessing in either a referendum or a general election before implementing any of the steps outlined by Botha.

A test of white opinion will be necessary, however, if the NC adopts a new constitution. Last week Botha recommitted himself to such a test.

The plan's biggest drawback is its extension of the "own affairs" concept for blacks outside the homelands (currently handled by the provincial councils) to directly elected "own affairs" regional councils.

"Own affairs" government is widely rejected. Botha almost certainly knows this — but it is no paradox that it has again been elevated to a central theme of his new plan. It remains the only way he can move at this stage, to build upon the (flawed) constitutional edifice he presides over. The plan will also obviously cost more money. New regional authorities for blacks will not come cheap. There will be executives and legislatures, administrative departments and officials; the bureaucracy will continue to burgeon.

Blacks could be nominated to the Cabinet. A black minister of black education or housing, or even a black deputy minister of constitutional planning may be the first posts to be created — if the men can be found for the job, another question altogether.

In theory (although highly unlikely) there could even be a black prime minister — a post Botha wants reinstated to leave him free to deal with more overriding issues than the day-to-day administration of the executive. But an examination of the cloudy structure that is emerging (**see box**) suggests that the PM will in fact be no more than a chairman *below* the all-important policy-making body headed by the State President.

Mvubelo, L. 'Opinions and views on African Trade unions' in Industrial Relations in South Africa, Cape Town, Juta, 1976.

Union's Comments:

The National Union of Clothing Workers (S.A.) was initiated in 1962, when the Garment Workers' Union of African Women and the South African Clothing Workers' Union (all male Union) amalgamated to form the N.U.C.W.S.A.

In it history, this Union has fought for recognition of Black Unions, represented the Union in fighting against Job Reservation and Environment Planning Act which was formerly Physical Planning and Resources Act, wich curtailed employment of Blacks in our Industry.

This Union has supported continuation of foreign investments in South Africa. The NUCWSA believes that if foreign companies withdraw from South Africa it will cause unemployment and problems to the black population, who for many years earned low wages and never saved for rainy days.

One Nat leader has acknowledged that the most serious obstacle so far to black participation in government-created structures remains government's refusal to release "political" prisoners, and unban the ANC.

There is no reason why the same obstacles will not also block the path of the new plan. In fact, the plan — if it ever gets legislative form — will most likely founder on this substantial rock.

And even if it gets off the ground, trying to hold elections for regional councils in black communities could spark off a new wave of township violence.

Euphoria may, therefore, be premature. There is clearly a long road ahead and with the NP's record of procrastination and doubling back on itself, it may be many years before the Botha plan bears fruit — if it ever does. ■

Parliament might return for brief spell

Star 29/4/88 (p.20(A))

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Parliament may not be able to complete its workload before the end of June, politicians of a number of political parties are predicting.

Several items of legislation which the Government is known to want processed this session may necessitate Parliament returning for a brief spell after the winter recess in July.

These items include:

- the National Council Bill
- legislation providing for free settlement areas and a tightening of the Group Areas Act.
- legislation to provide for elected black regional authorities.

The various political parties, and especially the National Party, are anxious to get the session over, however, in order to allow MPs to devote their full energies to the municipal election campaign.

The NP is facing a fierce battle in the Transvaal and the Free State as the Conservative Party tries to wrest political control of as many white town councils as it can get its hands on.

In view of this, one way for Parliament to get through its business before the end of June, as originally aimed for, would be to increase the number of evening sittings and to divide particularly the House of Assembly into two extended committees so as to deal with two items at the same time.

Next week, the Assembly will be dealing with a number of departmental budget votes in this way, with part of the Assembly sitting in the old House of Delegates chamber and the rest of it in the Assembly chamber.

- There is renewed speculation in political circles that it would make political sense for President Botha to call a snap general election for Parliament on the same day as the municipal elections, October 26.

Joint House debates in May

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The first joint debates of the three Houses of Parliament are to be held in May — in the four provincial capitals.

By agreement of the three Houses, Parliament can now sit in nine different venues, and in some of them simultaneously.

Coloured, Indian and white MPs will for the first time be able to take part in the same debates, challenging each other and Cabinet Ministers.

The public can attend joint debates on provincial matters. The first take place on May 23 and 24.

each of the zones are added as well as the retail margin to calculate the pump prices in each price zone. In the PWV area, being in zone 13A, the pump prices are as follows:

93 octane 82 c/ℓ
87 octane 79 c/ℓ

In Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London and Durban, all being in zone 1A, the pump prices are as follows:

98 octane 79 c/ℓ
93 octane 74 c/ℓ

(2) No, not on a continuous basis because it plays no role in the determination of the retail price of petrol in South Africa.

(3) 28 April 1988.

Own Affairs:

Reply substituting reply to Question No 101 on 29 March 1988, put by Mr A Gerber: (col 815).

Teachers: candidates for municipal elections

101. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Education and Culture:†

(1) How many teachers attached to schools falling under his Department applied for permission to make themselves available as candidates for election in municipal elections during the latest specified period of 12 months for which information is available;

(2) whether he will make available further particulars concerning these teachers; if not, why not; if so, (a) who are they, (b) to what school is each of them attached and (c) what was decided about their participation in such elections in each case?

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE

(1) 50;

(2) Yes

(a) Name	(b) Institution	(c) Decision
CAPE		
Mr T Kriek	Altona Primary School, Port Elizabeth	under consideration
Mr C J Senekal	Preparatory School, Beaufort West	"
Mr A Nel	High School, Porterville	"
NATAL		
Mr A R Clark	Scottburgh Primary School	approved
OFS		
Mr J D Botha	Dr Viljoen High School, Bloemfontein	under consideration
Mr J A Naude	Voorwaarts Primary School, Kroonstad	"
Mr J J HVictor	Hentie Cilliers High School, Virginia	under consideration
Mr M S Ferreira	Virginia Primary School	"
Mr W A Naude	Primêre Skool A.J. Jacobs, Sasolburg	"
Mr F Terblanche	Primêre Skool Frank van der Merwe, Virginia	"
Mr F R Bezuidenhout	Bloemfontein Teachers' College	"
Mr H H Hollenbach	Villiers High School	"
Dr R van der Merwe	Bloemfontein Teachers' College	"
TRANSVAAL		
E Schnautz	Lichtenburg Technical College	under consideration
D H Visser	Hoërskool Stilfontein	"
H A Combrink	Laerskool Meiringspark	"
P E J Kruger	Inspanskool	"
P Joubert	Germiston Technical College	"
S J van der Walt	Laerskool J.M. Louw	approved
H J G Mostert	Johannesburg Technical College	"
H A Grobbelaar	Laerskool Northmead	"
P W Cornelius	Laerskool Klipfontein 60	"
F J Terblance	East Rand Regional Office	under consideration
P P van der Merwe	Laerskool De Beer	"

J P le Roux	Laerskool Tini Vorster	approved
J J M Prins	Boksburg Technical College	"
J P G Els	Laerskool Doornbult	refused
P C S Benade	Onderwyskollege Goudstad	under consideration
M J Cornelius	Pietersburg Technical College	"
G P van Dyk	Northern Transvaal Regional Office	"
T I Steenkamp	Onderwyskollege Goudstad	"
L J Nel	Brackenhurst Primary School	withdrawn
H J J van Vuuren	Laerskool Piet Hugo	under consideration
A C Meyer	Edith Hinds School	approved
J N Potgieter	Laerskool Kragveld	under consideration
J P Nel	Hoërskool Warmbad	"
H W J Clarke	Laerskool Unitaspark	"
G M Zwarts	Hoërskool Driehoek	"
P de Beer	Laerskool Danie Theron	withdrawn
P v D Pretorius	Boksburg High School	under consideration
J F Nel	Onderwyskollege Pretoria	refused
C J Harmse	Johannesburg Technical College	under consideration
M Gouws	Laerskool Meiringspark	"
Mrs A de Jager	Parkdene Primary School	an enquiry only
D J R Hattingh	Laerskool Rustenburg-Noord	"
L J Lowies	Professional Aid Service (academic)	withdrawn
P J D de Beer	Hoërskool Hans Strijdom	refused
L E Koorzen	Hoërskool Hans Strijdom	"
A F Wheeler	Germiston High School	"
R M Steenkamp	Hoërskool Klerksdorp	under consideration

'Reform proposals not good'

Sowetan 27/4/88 (304A)

PRESIDENT P W Botha's constitutional proposals made in Parliament last week are nothing more than a series of unrelated adaptations to the present constitution with little sense of direction, leader of the Independent Party, Mr Denis Worrall, said at the launch of the party in the Johannesburg city hall on Wednesday night.

"What, for example, is the basis of black participation in the President's Council and the electoral college? Why should blacks not assume that their involvement will be no more than tokenism?"

Furthermore, there was no urgency about these changes, Mr Worrall said. He said the inclusion of blacks in the present council, would only take place when the council's term of office ended and the inclusion of black South Africans in the electoral college would only occur with the election of a new president.

"These proposals do not help the country, or, for that matter, the National Party. They are not sufficiently imaginative or fundamental to attract reputable black leaders, and they are not clear enough in terms of direction or vision to allay the white anxiety which the Conservative Party is so successfully exploiting.

"President Botha could have demonstrated his commitment to reform, and at least gained the co-operation of one important player (Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi), had he accepted the indaba proposal for KwaZulu/Natal or said he agreed that the people of that region should have a referendum on this issue. But there was nothing of the kind in his speech."

He also said nothing about the Group Areas Act, Mr Worrall added.

The vision of the Independent Party is South Africa which is non-racial, democratic and free-market.

Tri-racial debates get go-ahead

Weekly Mail Reporter

AFTER a concerted rearguard fight by the right-wing Conservative Party, parliament has finally agreed to a procedure for joint debates.

When the joint debates take place in the new Great Hall of Parliament — a building which the government estimates has cost more than R35-million — it will be first time that white MPs will debate in public with "coloured" and Indian MPs.

Ever since the tricameral system was introduced in 1984, the three houses have debated and voted separately. The only time they have sat together has been on formal occasions such as the opening of parliament or the budget speech.

The MPs discuss proposed legislation together in joint standing committees — although still voting separately as they are three separate committees — but these meet behind closed doors.

It is not yet clear when the first joint debates will take place as the chief whip of parliament, Alex van Breda, has said it is unlikely to happen this session.

But when it does, the sight of Labour Party and United Democratic Party MPs clashing with CP hardliners over racial issues could make the internecine warfare between the CP and the National Party look tame.

The effect of the move could be to reduce the role of the CP in parliamentary debates. The CP, with its 22 MPs, will be the fourth smallest party, after the NP's 131, the Labour Party's 72 and the National People's Party's 24 MPs.

The Progressive Federal Party, which has 17 white MPs and two Indians MPs, will have 19 representatives in the joint debates and will be the only non-ethnic party.

Although it is possible that a majority of MPs could outvote the government in a debate, National Party control of the system is not threatened: the three houses will vote separately even though they will be able to cast their votes together in the Great Hall.

If there is no "consensus" — that is, the majority in all three houses do not vote in favour of a measure — the NP will be able to refer the measure to the NP-dominated President's Council for approval.

And there will be no representatives of the black majority in joint debates. The leader of the House of Assembly and Transvaal leader of the NP, FW de Klerk, again rejected a fourth chamber of parliament.

While the new system is unlikely to have much significance in the rest of South Africa, it will have an important bearing on parliamentary debate and start breaking down racial compartments in the tricameral system.

29/4-4/5/88 304A

W/Mail

WHO RULES US ALL

Revamped structures of government

STATE PRESIDENT:
- ☐ Elected by Electoral College comprising — on a proportional basis — white, coloured and Indian MPs and "recognisable" black leaders.
- ☐ Functions include chairing Central Policy-Making Body comprising representatives of all groups.
- ☐ Appoints prime minister and Cabinet.
- ☐ May chair Cabinet meetings and National Council on occasion.

POLICY-MAKING BODY:
- ☐ Headed by State President.
- ☐ Comprising designated representatives of all groups and communities.
- ☐ Responsibility for matters such as "population relations," macro-economic policy, financial priorities, security and foreign affairs.

PRIME MINISTER:
- ☐ Appointed by State President.
- ☐ Need not necessarily come from parliament.
- ☐ Chairs Cabinet and handles day-to-day administration of the executive.
- ☐ Answerable to the State President.

CABINET:
- ☐ Appointed by the State President.
- ☐ Headed by the PM.
- ☐ Responsible for "general affairs" portfolios.
- ☐ Members need not necessarily be MPs or members of other statutory bodies and can be black, coloured, Indian or white.

NATIONAL COUNCIL:
- ☐ Effectively an ongoing constitutional conference looking at ways to accommodate the aspirations of all groups. Representatives from all communities nominated, elected or designated by various elected bodies including parliament, the regional councils for blacks and the homelands. The name, form, composition and functions of the council are still being considered and negotiated.
- ☐ While it is sitting the council may have an input into ongoing "own affairs" legislation and in so doing will give blacks a say in central decision-making.

PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL:
- ☐ Appointed by the State President to operate on a part-time basis and deal, inter alia, with matters currently handled by special advisory bodies such as the Economic Advisory Council and the National Manpower Commission.
- ☐ Continues to serve as a parliamentary deadlock breaking mechanism in relation to "general affairs" legislation.
- ☐ Will comprise members who are black, white, coloured and Indian.

NON-INDEPENDENT HOMELANDS:
- ☐ Ethnically-based geographic regions with their own elected legislatures and executives. Limited responsibility to the South African parliament through the minister of constitutional development and planning and the minister of finance.
- ☐ Representatives to be delegated to the National Council.

PM 29/4/88

White Cape democrats find a new political home

W/Mail 29/4-4/5/88 (304A)

By GAYE DAVIS, Cape Town

A POLITICAL home for white people committed to a democratic future for South Africa has been created in the Western Cape with the formation of a new extra-parliamentary party, the Cape Democrats.

The organisation, formally constituted during an inaugural conference at the weekend, will officially be launched at a meeting on Wednesday at 8pm in the Cape Town City Hall.

Its birth arises from the need for a political home for white people disillusioned with parliamentary options who identify with the ideals of the democratic movement.

Last year the United Democratic Front, which has given the new grouping its blessing, was faced with the anomaly that in white residential suburbs, UDF area committees were operating as *de facto* organisations — in conflict with the UDF's character as a front for organisations.

It was decided that membership of the front had to be organisationally based, and the launch of the Mowbray and Gardens Youth Congresses soon followed.

Last weekend's founding conference followed months of consultation, discussions of form and policy, and an informal launch in March. UDF patron and veteran anti-apartheid campaigner Amy Thornton — who spent 14 years from 1959 to 1973 under successive banning orders — was elected chairman of a nine-person executive.

The Freedom Charter was adopted at the Cape Democrats' founding conference at the weekend, attended by about 100 delegates, where it was also decided to seek affiliation to the UDF.

"We don't expect this to be a mass movement," Thornton told the *Weekly Mail*. "But I think there are far more white people than one would realise who want a future in South Africa that is morally, politically and physically safe and who are willing to live in a non-racial democracy."

"Cape Democrats will act as a bridge between white democrats and the democratic movement and also to link up with campaigns being run by various UDF affiliates, such as those highlighting the present crisis in Western Cape schools and demands for the release of political prisoners," Thornton said.

Resolutions taken at last weekend's conference — addressed in his personal capacity by UDF Western Cape president Dullah Omar — included policy decisions that the organisation would support those who refused to serve in the South African Defence Force, and help build non-racialism by bringing whites into the democratic movement.

Resolutions called on the government to dismantle apartheid laws, lift the State of Emergency, release Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners, unban organisations and withdraw troops from the townships.

Resolutions on the current crisis in the educational arena demanded an end to harassment and victimisation of teachers and pupils, the reinstatement of teachers sacked and suspended on "non-professional" grounds and the enrolment of black pupils denied readmission to school this year.

PFP rejects Government 'apartheid rules' — Eglin

3044 SMM 29/3/88

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The Progressive Federal Party refused to be restricted by the "apartheid rules" prescribed by the Government and would operate in areas the National Party did not control, PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin said in Durban last night.

Addressing about 200 people at the first PFP meeting with non-white members of its new parliamentary caucus, Mr Eglin said that in the important informal areas which concerned the majority of people, and where the Nationalists had no support, the PFP was "going to write their own rules".

Sharing the platform with Mr Eglin were former Progressive Reform Party members in the Indian House of Delegates, Mr Pat Poovalingam and Mr Mahmoud Rajab, who joined the PFP this week, giving the party a foothold in the tricameral system, and author Dr Alan Paton.

Dr Paton said he was breaking a 20-year-old "tradition" by speaking at a partisan political gathering. He had not done so since the Liberal Party was disbanded in the 1960s.

"I am here because I support this move."

UPROAR

A minor uproar occurred when the secretary of the Natal Indian Congress, Dr Farouk Meer, asked Mr Eglin how the PFP could align itself with politicians from the House of Delegates, which was "totally discredited".

Mr Eglin replied that though the tricameral system was flawed, he knew Mr Poovalingam and Mr Rajab as "true South Africans".

He said it depended upon how people behaved within the system rather than the shortcomings of the system itself.



Dr Andries Treurnicht and CP candidate Dr Corné Mulder who received a standing ovation from a flag-waving crowd at the CP's final campaign meeting.

CP advocates justice for all — Treurnicht

By Esmaré van der Merwe

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht addressed an excited 400-strong meeting in Randfontein last night on the eve of the parliamentary by-election today in the West Rand constituency.

Dr Treurnicht and CP candidate Dr Corné Mulder received a standing ovation from a flag-waving crowd at the CP's final campaign meeting.

Dr Mulder is the youngest son of Dr Connie Mulder, who had held the seat for the CP until his death. Dr Boy Geldenhuys contests the seat for the National Party.

Dr Treurnicht said today would be an historic day in the history of white politics because it would confirm the growth in right-wing support among white voters.

The CP would not have come to existence if the NP had not become volksvreemd (alienated from its people). The NP should "come back to the hearts and convictions of its people".

If there had not been racial integration, there would not have been a CP or an Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), he said.

Amid cries of "AWB" from the crowd, Dr Treurnicht said: "It seems as if a beloved viewpoint has many supporters."

Devoting much time to the CP's policy of self-determination and partition, he said white people demanded the right to be governed "by our own people in our own land".

To put people of colour in a position of power over whites was not only foolish, but "daring and dangerous".

From a position of power whites would negotiate with and assist other racial groups in obtaining self-rule in "their own states", because the CP "does no longer want to rule over other groups".

The CP stood for political independence but economic inter-dependence.

Dr Treurnicht said the CP was not racist by opposing integration and power sharing.

"The NP accuses us of being racist because they are colour blind. The NP will have a diminishing role to play in the political debate in South Africa because it tries to ignore racial differences."

He said the CP advocated justice to all people, because without goodwill between different groups there would be no peace in southern Africa.

However, there were limits to "efforts to create goodwill".

NATIONAL PARTY

Saved by the boss

Foreign Minister Pik Botha must have relished the moment when State President P W Botha, challenged by Conservative Party members, came to the defence of "my friend, the honourable member for Innesdal." At that stage, Albert Nothnagel was still facing a hearing by the Transvaal NP and provincial leader F W de Klerk on a speech he had made in parliament.

Pik Botha must have thought back two years, when the same P W Botha derided him for having said in an interview with the foreign press that SA may one day have a black president. For, according to government sources, it was De Klerk, facing a barrage of rightwing pressure from party members, who had complained to P W Botha over his colleague's remarks.

Two weeks ago Nothnagel, for long not one of De Klerk's favourite sons, said in parliament that a peaceful solution in SA is not possible without the ANC. The gist of his speech was the same as an article by him which had appeared in *Inside South Africa* two years ago — which also infuriated De Klerk.

So this week the scene was set for Nothnagel's head to be on the block, with De Klerk the executioner . . . till P W Botha stepped in. The State President said that there were times that he and Nothnagel had differed over things that the Innesdal member had said, but he has never questioned his honour, good intentions and love for SA.

FINANCIAL MAIL APRIL 29 1988

[redacted]

It then came as no surprise that De Klerk announced this week that the Transvaal NP had decided not to take any steps against Nothnagel. Who would? ■

INDEPENDENT PARTY

3D4A

Trekking north

Denis Worrall and his newly founded Independent Party (IP) have launched their Transvaal onslaught. And right at the start they should be complimented for cancelling their Pretoria launch, instead of bowing before a conservative city council who insisted that only whites may use its city hall.

The IP statement of intent says that it "dedicates itself to the achievement of a new SA that is just, democratic, peaceful and prosperous; and in which the human dignity of the individual, the family and the community is acknowledged and respected ...

FM 29/4/88

(and) commits itself to the ending of apartheid and the repeal of all laws which discriminate on grounds of race and colour."

It comes as no surprise that the majority of Pretoria's city fathers fail dismally to uphold most of these decent principles. Last year they refused Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party permission to hold its annual congress in the city hall. The only time other races have been allowed to use the hall has been in the case of a religious meeting.

Worrall and deputies Jannie Momberg, a retired Stellenbosch farmer and sports administrator, Keith Gurney, entrepreneur, and David Gant, industrialist, say the IP believes in small government that interferes as little as possible. The IP also advocates maximum deregulation and privatisation of the economy, and the removal of all unnecessary restrictions on private enterprise.

On the international front, it recognises that SA is part of the world community but rejects foreign interference in domestic affairs and condemns punitive economic sanctions which are counterproductive to peaceful change.

It undertakes to collect and publish all major constitutional choices and options facing the country, thus creating a neutral starting point for negotiations to take place.

The IP also calls for the free flow of information, the ending of political censorship and the release of the SABC and the TV network from political manipulation or supervision. The IP supports regional negotiation initiatives such as the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba. ■

PARLIAMENT

304A Bldg 29/4/88

No reliance on Labour for election deferment

GOVERNMENT is not pinning its hopes on a compromise to persuade Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse to agree to the deferring of a white general election, a source close to the Cabinet said yesterday.

The source also says government will go ahead with its legislation to amend the Group Areas Act in the face of possible Labour Party opposition.

Government does not think there is room for compromise with the Labour Party's present demands — for the total scrapping of the Group Areas Act — and says that in any event the amended law will establish a far more liberal situation with the creation of open residential areas.

The President's Council can be used to overcome any House of Representatives opposition.

Once the issue of Group Areas is dealt with, government feels the climate for renewed negotiation and compromise between it and the Labour Party can improve.

The planned amendments to the Group Areas Act will certainly restore the powers of eviction, which has been lost through the court decision which requires the availability of alternative accommodation.

One the other hand, the creation of open areas will also make the general residential situation a lot more liberal than at present.

Existing group areas could be affected positively, the source said.

He stressed that the effect of removing the Group Areas issue from the agenda in this way would only possibly mellow relations with the Labour Party and government was not counting on it as a probability.

"We are not pinning our hopes on some compromise to bring about an agreement to defer the elections," he said. There would, however, be room for compromise on the side of government. — Sapa.

Broeder's urbanisation warning

3044 Pl daily 29/4/88

DIANNA GAMES

BLACK urbanisation was set to increase as much as tenfold in the next 60 years, according to Broederbond chairman J P de Lange.

Speaking in his capacity as chairman of the Council for Population Development at a seminar in Johannesburg yesterday, De Lange noted that the urban black population which stood at 8-million in 1980 could rise to between 57-million and 96-million people by the year 2050, according to one estimate.

The future size of the SA population could exceed the country's capabilities and resources unless strong voluntary intervention was undertaken by both the state and private sector.

De Lange said if low fertility were assumed, SA's population would grow from its present 35,5-million to 94-million in 2035, but it could reach 119-million if high fertility were assumed.

He said the target should be an eventual population of 80-million people.

Women's status, especially of black women, had a direct bearing on fertility rates, he said.

"The development of her skills, employability and entrepreneurial qualities has a direct influence on her status and thus her decisions regarding the number of children she wants and thus on her quality of life."

The latest information indicated the following usage of family planning techniques, he said: whites 83,9%, Asians 78%, coloureds 72,6% and blacks 44%. The acceptable international norm was 75%.

The best way to stem the rise in the population was socio-economic development to raise people's standards of living and ensure greater access to education and health care.

The constitutional carousel

Star 30/4/88

(304A)

(304A)

IF you study the chart below you will see that anything is possible, if you wait long enough.

Thus there remains much room for optimism, even at a time when people are being secretly locked away, and newspapers are being threatened with closure.

When all else fails, we can each plan another Constitution ... though too much emphasis on a Bill of Rights (the sort of document that goes on about habeas corpus, freedom of congregation and freedom of speech) could be hazardous.

The State President's constitutional plans also provide reason for optimism. If you ignore all blueprints; and look only at his moves towards "equality"; and use only one eye; you can actually see encouraging signs of enlightenment.

While many of his intentions have not been specifically stated, a nod and a wink suggest that he is contemplating a multiracial (perhaps I mean "multinational") Cabinet serving under a multinational (or multiracial) supreme body, serving under the Supreme President.

Also, it seems that Parliament, or rather its individual, segregated chambers, will not dominate black voters. On the contrary, as I understand it, there will be even more black chambers than the white and brown ones existing in the present system.

The plan goes further: it is possible, as the Government's constitution evolves, that urban black South Africans will not have to divide into ethnic chambers, but can have a multi-ethnic "Own Affairs" parliament of their own! It will be on a level with homeland and independent national states' parliaments which, in turn, should be on a level with the existing houses of parliament.

At any rate, that's how I understand the scheme. Much of it will have to be thrashed out in a Great Indaba of representatives of all the many sub-parliaments. Presumably the elected delegates to the "Indaba" will then elect, on a racial basis, the decision-making body which will work under the President, and presumably, above the Cabinet.

Now, you are probably asking the same question I keep asking: "Can we see a drawing of this intricate plan?"

The answer is "No". There is no blueprint,

UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS

HARVEY TYSON



because if there were, it would be "prescriptive". It would nail the debate before it can begin.

Does that mean nobody needs follow the plan? Can the "Indaba" forget the whole idea and plan some less complicated, non-racial federal constitution?

The answer to that question is also "No"; not over the Government's dead body.

That raises another solution. But nobody's talking about it.

White voters wishing to be "positive" at any cost might argue that the way to encourage evolutionary progress is to egg the SP along on his "separate but equal" plan wherever it begins to lead to "equal". The separateness will have to be separated out later.

However, political reality suggests that this route is already barred. It seems that few black leaders with any following will cooperate in the suspiciously convoluted government plan. Those black leaders who are co-opted may merely create the kind of friction which the tricameral constitution did on the eve of the State of Emergency.

So — back to the drawing-board. Why not try a *real*, no-strings-attached Indaba? The kind that Natal negotiated with significant success until the Government stepped in?

Or present the plan below, just as a first draft for general discussion — and as a means of lightening the mood and switching perspectives?

The beauty of our "April First" plan last year was that separateness was taken to the ultimate. Every voter could have his or her own canton, which he or she could declare a group area, or have mixed guests for supper. There would be the right to detain oneself in one's own single-cell canton. Each canton-person would have a number of votes, according to qualifications (Can you read constitutional plans? etc), and use them, not only in fruit-machines, but also for voting for a President of All Cantons (PACman).

The Cantonese Legislative Assembly would be designed in the shape of a Wheel of Fortune giving everybody (everybody on the outside, that is) an equal chance.

□ □ □

How would our newspapers headline the ultimate story — the end of the world?

Some samples:

Business Day:
SLIGHT SHIFT IN PLATS SHARES AS WORLD ENDS

Beeld:
GOVT FIRM TO THE END

Sunday Times:
MISS WORLD TOPLESS AS WORLD TOPPLES

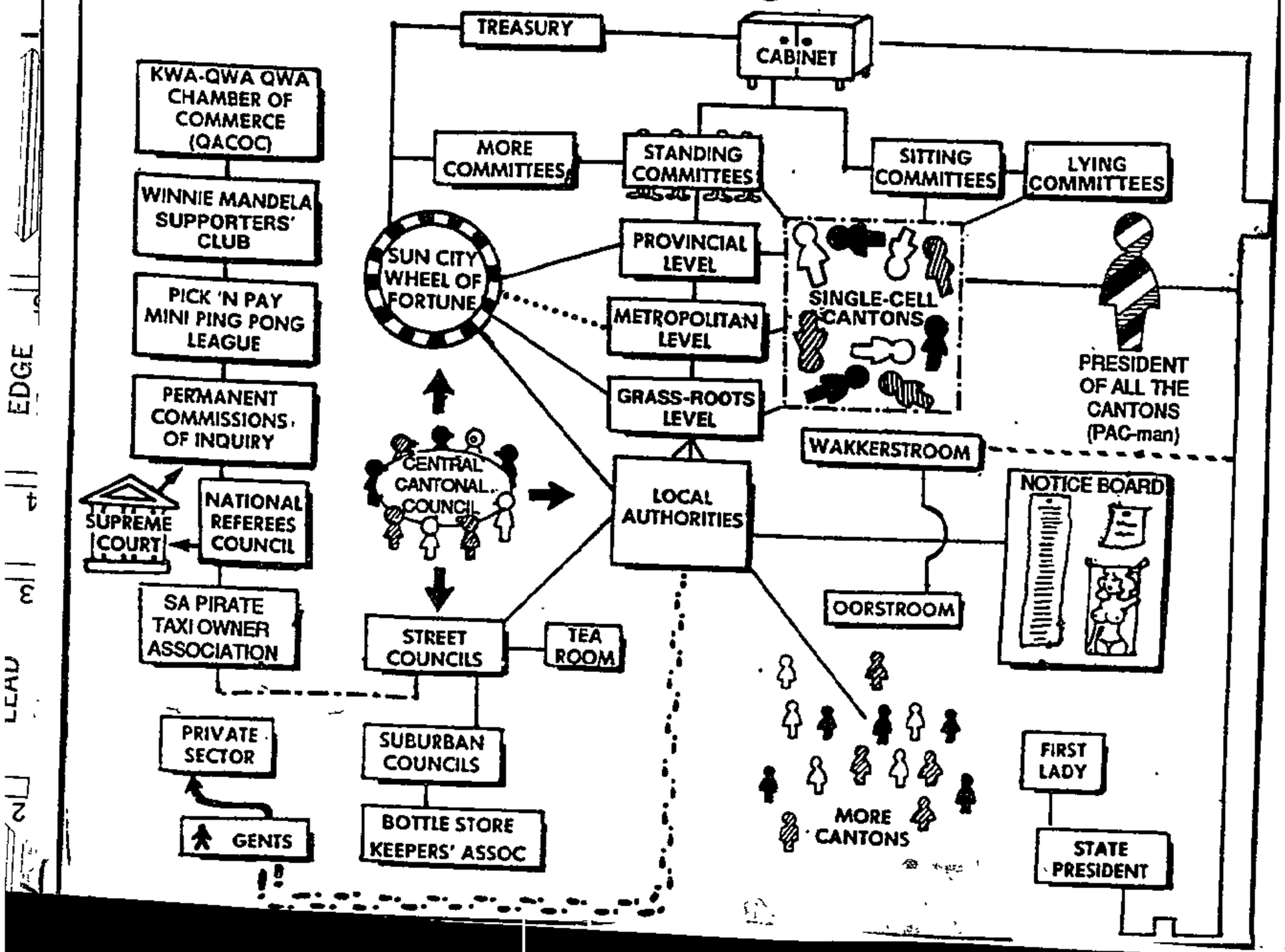
The Star:
WORLD ENDS: GOD SAYS ... THE DEVIL SAYS ...

The Citizen:
ALL'S WELL, SAYS GOVT AS WORLD ENDS

Weekly Mail:

CLOSURE IMMINENT

HOW THE NEW CONSTITUTION WILL WORK
A simplified guide



Simplified guides to constitution-making are hard to find these days, so this remarkably prescient blueprint, published in The Star more than a year before the latest announcements by the State President, is worth close study.

Several points are worth noting:

This is NOT an official plan of the future Constitution.

The authors of this chart, the Federated United Party (Fed-UP), worked without special knowledge of Government plans, and incorporated some excellent innovations of their own.

While it bears some amazing resemblances to the descriptions and speculations only now coming from the Government, hindsight shows some misplaced thinking, and a few misplaced titles in the blueprint.

The fact that this chart was published as long ago as April First, 1987, does, however, give it an added dimension.

(See Undercurrent Affairs)

up noses, others that spin You fancy a pony? Picture: Lionne Kumbun.

We'll defy joint-sitting restriction, says PFP

Star 30/4/88

30/4

BRUCE CAMERON

CAPE TOWN — The Chief Whip of Parliament, Mr Alex van Breda, has ruled that white and Indian members of the Progressive Federal Party may not sit together at joint sittings.

But the PFP intends to defy the ruling.

PFP Chief Whip Mr John Malcomess said last night: "We do seek not confrontation, but we do not intend to respect this ruling. We will seat our Indian MPs in seats with us as there is no rule which prevents an MP from sitting in another MP's seat.

"Once again the racism inherent in the Constitution of South Africa, and thus in Parliament, has become apparent."

The row has been sparked by MP Mr Pat Poovalingam, leader of the now defunct Progressive Reform Party, with his only colleague in the House of Delegates, Mr Mamoo Rajab (MP, Springfield), joining the PFP, and a request being made for all the members of the PFP to sit together.

Mr Malcomess said the request had been rejected out of hand by Mr van Breda on the grounds that each House had been allocated its own seats.

"In other words we, as members of the same party, are to be separated because of the colour of our skins."

... this one

fighting better than when he was world champion.

"He's more dedicated to the sport and has worked hard preparing for this crucial bout," he said.

Manuel said if Weaver won they would stop in Los Angeles on their way home to negotiate with American promoter Don King.

Accept offers

"If Weaver features in Tyson's plans this year we will start preparing straight away, and should they say 'next year' then we will accept offers from people with good records as long as the money is right.

"Weaver hasn't any special interest in taking on Witherspoon. His main goal is to get a crack at Tyson," Manuel said.

"I will select his opponents because a fight against bums will not help him anyway."

Manuel said although Weaver had predicted he would stop Du Plooy between the second and fifth rounds, he was expecting a tough fight as both men have worked harder in training than they had for their first meeting.

PETITION — SEE PAGE 21

... one that has been passed by ... products, they also stand to ...



SOUTH AFRICAN AND SOVIET LEADERS: facing similar challenges, says influential magazine.

PW, Gorbachev 'in same boat'

SATURDAY STAR FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE

LONDON — President P W Botha and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev are two "authoritarian reformers" who face similar challenges, *The Economist* said in an editorial yesterday. But while Mr Gorbachev is a "bouncy 57", Mr Botha is a "tired 72".

"The Russian has the intellectual stamina to pursue his assault on the conservative resistance; when the changes he has made so far prove insufficient, he will shove, wriggle and manoeuvre for more.

"Mr Botha's determination is less certain. Sometimes he seems set on reform, then he sinks back into a conventional defence of white privilege.

Star 30/4/85

Monopoly of power

"Both must ... if they are to succeed, accept the uncomfortable fact that their ultimate goal is to undermine the institutions which gave them their jobs.

"South Africa's townships will not fall quiet until the whites' monopoly of political power is broken. Russia's economy will not flourish so long as the Communist Party goes on bossing it."

The Economist believes Mr Botha's big test will come in the October local elections. If these "yield another dismal poll, Mr Botha will no longer be able to console himself by thinking the majority is with him.

"A boycott in October would make it clear that it is necessary to be bolder, or fail altogether." A bolder Mr Botha would start by taking up the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba proposals and freeing Nelson Mandela, it adds.

Race against time to clear hurdles for local elections

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE,
Weekend Argus Political Staff

OFFICIALS in all the provinces are racing against time to gear up for the October local government elections in which nearly 7 600 municipal councillors of all population groups are to be elected.

The rush is to get a maximum number of the millions of potential voters — including black people — to register before the deadlines for voters' rolls for the various race groups.

Other hurdles in the race include countrywide arrangements for the nomination of candidates and preparations for polling in white, coloured, Indian and black areas.

The elections are historic in the sense that it will be the first time that blacks take part in national elections held on the same day for all groups in South Africa. And the elections will produce the largest number of public representatives yet elected on a single day.

With little more than a month to go before the expected deadline for black voter registration, crucial factors will be the extent of black voting in the elections and the quality of candidates coming forward.

These are factors that could affect the political impact of the elections on black communities and the outcome of President P W Botha's new reform plans such as the election of black regional authorities and the establishment of other structures for black participation in government.

The main preparations for the elections — scheduled for October 26 — are in the hands of a countrywide bureaucracy of election planners, co-ordinators, sub-coordinators, committees and others set up by various Government departments, provincial administrations, and local authorities.

A LARGE-scale registration of black voters has been under way since the beginning of this year and is said to be progressing well.

Telephones are buzzing between Pretoria and the provinces, officials are travelling to and fro, and meetings by officials involved are being held virtually every day on election matters.

PROVINCIAL officials said this week they expected the closing date for black voters' rolls to be set for about the end of May or at the latest mid-June.

A large-scale registration of black voters has been under way since the beginning of this year and is said to be progressing well.

In the Cape Province some municipalities have already closed their voters' rolls. The latest date set for municipalities to close their rolls for whites is May 7, according to a spokesman for the Cape provincial administration.

The latest closing date for coloured and Indian voters' registration is May 21.

The spokesman said he expected virtually all potential black voters in the Cape Province to be registered by the time the black voters' rolls close.

At this stage, he said, no information was available about the total number of registrations so far.

In the Cape Province 524 black councillors are to be elected to local authority bodies in 83 towns.

Apart from the registration of voters, work is also proceeding on the demarcation of wards and other preparations for the elections.

Once the voters' rolls for blacks have been completed, an intensive information campaign will be launched to inform voters on nomination and election procedures.

Candidates are expected to be nominated in August.

ELECTION planning officials say identification of voters will be required at the polls.

Although millions of black people have not yet obtained the new uniform identity documents, the officials say other means of identification will also be acceptable — including the old "reference books" for blacks and, if necessary, sworn statements.

A spokesman for the Department of Home Affairs said this week it would not be possible to issue the new identity documents before the elections to all the remaining black people who qualified for them.

It was expected that by October the new documents would have been issued to about 60 percent of the black population.

The department estimates that there are 11,42-million permanent black residents over 16, including those in the self-governing states, who may qualify for these documents.

The issuing of the new documents began about two years ago.

Up to April 22 there were still an estimated 7,36-million people who had not received the documents.

The total number of applications received by that date was 6,36-million, of which 5,37-million had already been processed and approved. Of the documents approved, 4,06-million had been collected by the applicants.

Mr Gerrie van Zyl, director-general of the Department of Home Affairs, said applications for the documents were still streaming in at a rate of between 8 000 and 9 000 a day. At one stage about 23 000 applications a day were received by his department, but since then the flow of applications had "stabilised".

Until now applications had been received from about 54 percent of the black population. The pace of the ID project was largely determined by the initiative of individuals.

Mr Van Zyl said many black people still had the old "reference books" used before the abolition of the pass system. He confirmed that these were still valid for identification purposes.

The Government has announced that legislation is to be introduced during the present session of Parliament to allow for special votes to be cast in the local government polls.

This system is expected to counteract the threat of intimidation at the polls.

Until now special votes have been allowed only in parliamentary elections.

CON(stitutional)

30/4/A

FUSION

by DAVID BRAUN
Political Staff

IF you are not confused, you do not understand the Government's unfolding constitutional plans it seems.

Somehow, everytime one "sees the light", one is told "No, you don't understand it".

A senior Nationalist MP attempting to explain why the Government's initiatives were so hazy, likened the situation to a man asking another for directions from Trafalgar Square to Picadilly Circus.

"You take this road, turn left at the second road, then left again . . . No, take that road and turn right at the first traffic light, then . . . Actually, you cannot get there from here," is said to have been the reply.

The point was that there was a way to get from *here* to *there*, one just had to start walking to find it. That was what the Government was doing with its latest initiatives, he said, trying to find a way to share power with blacks.

HERE, for us less cerebral citizens, is an attempt to find the way along the Government's constitutional map.

To start, bear in mind the Government's bottom line: there must be power sharing in such a way that no one group may dominate the others.

This should be done on the basis of maximum autonomy for each group on affairs which could be considered its own, such as school education, certain health matters and own community life (which implies segregated residential areas, cultural activities and schools).

On matters of common concern, such as Defence and Foreign Policy at national level and street lighting and water reticulation at local level, there must be consensus administration with each group having a say.

So there are actually two systems: A whole lot of own affairs administrations for the different population groups to govern themselves and a general affairs administration for everyone to share in the overall running of the country.

Each of the systems has three levels: Central (or national), regional (or provincial) and local (or municipal).

LET us look at own affairs central level first.

Already in place are the three racial administrations for whites, coloured people and Indians: Each group elects its Members of Parliament who sit in own affairs chambers known as the House of Assembly, House of Representatives and House of Delegates.

These Houses sit separately when dealing with their own affairs legislation and they are reported to by three separate own affairs administrations — bureaucracies run by Ministers' Councils which are appointed by the State President from the ranks of the respective legislatures.

Each Ministers' Council is headed by a Chairman (the sort of own affairs Prime Minister) and comprises four or five Ministers, such as a Minister of Education and Culture (in charge of school education for that particular group).

The money to run the own affairs administrations comes mainly from the Exchequer in the form of a statutory payment which is supposed to be calculated on the basis of a formula to share out the goodies between the administrations.

It is up to the Ministers' Council concerned to allocate the money to various departments.

OWN affairs at central level for blacks is somewhat more complicated.

On the one hand there are the self-governing states (the non-independent homelands), each of which has its own legislature and budget and a Cabinet and various departments such as Education.

For blacks living outside the homelands, it is now proposed that elected regional authorities be created, probably nine in all to correspond with the development regions.

Such authorities will be responsible for the administration of black own affairs, such as education and culture, in those regions.

No mention has been made of one overall black authority to govern own affairs, but this may still be negotiated.

One problem with the own affairs concept of course is the proliferation of ministries and departments (fully developed, the own affairs system would boast 18 individual education and health departments).

This requires a complex system of liaison in order to ensure uniform standards and optimum utilisation of resources.

It is being done and will be further provided for by way of multi-lateral councils and committees at all levels.

At own affairs regional level, Ministerial Representatives have been appointed to assist the Ministers' Councils of the white, Indian and coloured administrations.

Similar appointments for blacks will probably not be necessary in view of the fact that the proposed elected authorities are already more regional than national.

At own affairs local level the various town and community councils will continue to be ethnically constituted, although it is not clear yet what arrangements are to be made for the administration of the proposed 'open' or 'free settlement' areas where people of different race groups will be allowed to live.

NOW, the general affairs system.

Working from the bottom up, at local level we have seen the introduction of regional services councils (RSCs). This is where the different ethnic authorities in specified regions together determine the development and allocation of resources.

At general affairs regional level are the provincial administrations, Administrators and executive committees appointed by the State President and which comprise members of all four major race groups.

At general affairs central level it becomes most complicated.

Firstly, there is Parliament, a three-chamber institution representing whites, coloured people and Indians.

Each chamber must agree on each item of general affairs legislation before it can become law.

Such agreement is generally obtained by way of Joint Standing Committees of members of all three Houses wheeling and dealing behind closed doors until consensus is reached.

If consensus is not reached, the President's Council, also representative of all three groups, but with a built-in majority of whites, can determine which version of a particular item of legislation should become law.

The three Houses also together appoint an electoral college to elect the State President, but once again the white House has a built-in majority.

BLACKS are yet to be accommodated in some way at central level, although to a certain extent they are already by way of the independent states (the independent homelands of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei).

The South African Government meshes with the TBVC governments by way of multi-lateral summit, ministerial and other-level forums to work out joint policies on Finance, Defence, Health and other important matters.

What the Government is now proposing for non-TBVC blacks at general affairs central level is some form of policy-making body on which they can join the leaders of the white, Indian and coloured groups to find consensus on important matters of common concern.

President Botha has further suggested bringing people outside Parliament (blacks) into the Cabinet, to help administer the general affairs administration.

And he has proposed amending the electoral college so as to allow recognised black leaders a say in electing the State President.

The proposed National Council, or Great Indaba as it may now be called, is not to be confused with the proposed policy-making body, although the Government has not ruled out that it might eventually become one and the same thing.

The National Council at this stage is intended as a forum in which the leaders of all the groups can negotiate a new constitution and structures, and once it finishes its work it will disband unless it decides otherwise.

The proposed policy-making body, unless decided otherwise by the National Council, could become the Government's envisaged 'Council of State', which could be some form of federal decision-making body which makes its decisions by consensus.

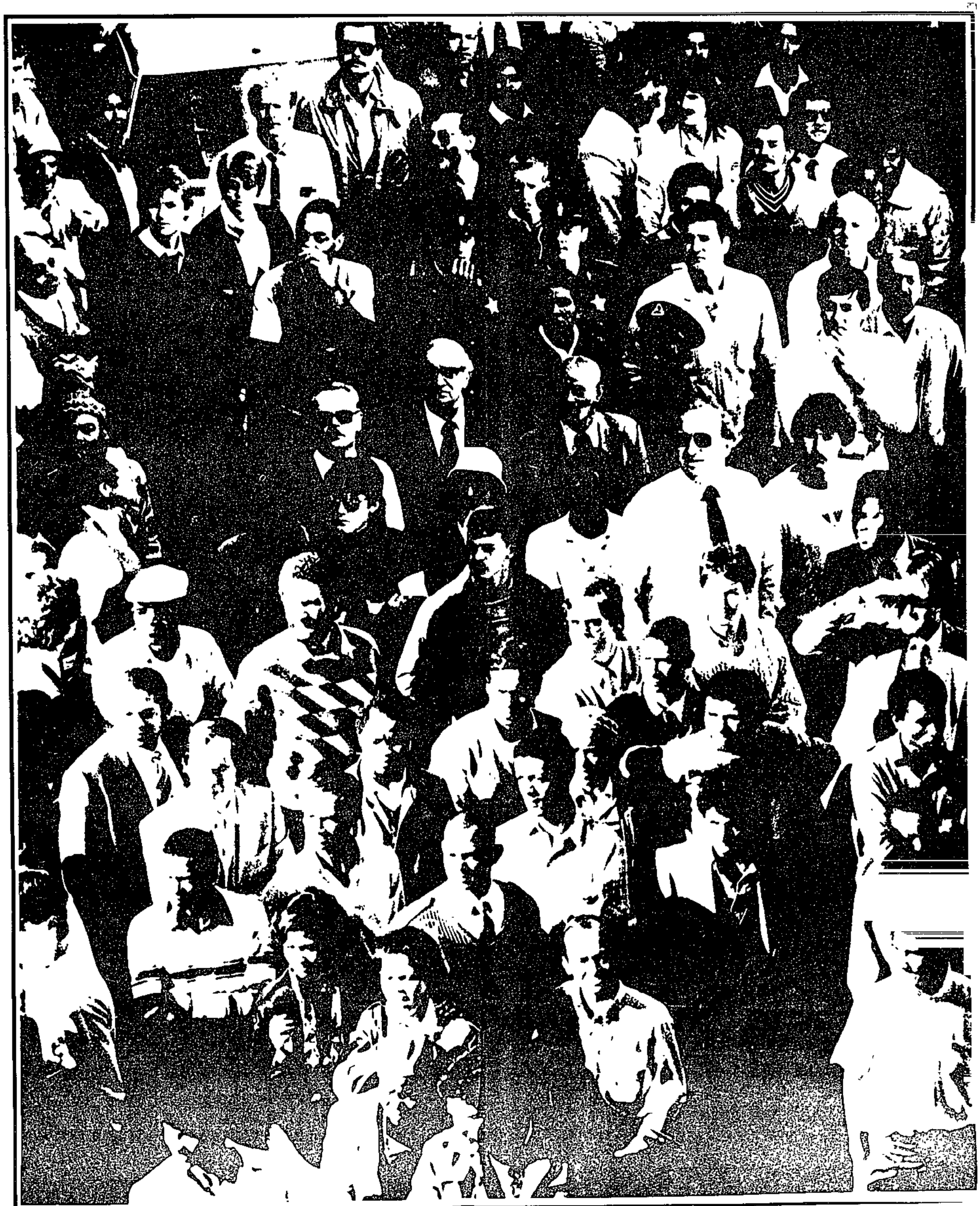
Proposals for the future election of the State President are still extremely hazy, but the theory seems that anyone from any population group could qualify.

In practice probably for a long time to come this is likely to remain a job reserved for whites.

The proposed system, meanwhile, according to Nationalist politicians, will be a sort of confederal-federal model in a unitary state with maximum devolution of power vertically and horizontally.

Anyone know the way to Picadilly Circus?

Which way to go to share power with blacks . . . ?



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Title	Date of Publication	Price
VDU Users Survival Package (6 pp)	1982	30c
Land Valuation (4 pp)	1982	20c
Electricity Struggles	1983	50c
The Struggle for Better Sewerage	1983	50c
Hire Purchase Checklist (5 pp)	1983	25c
Medical Aids Schemes (forthcoming)	1984	

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SOUTH AFRICAN GOVT & POLITICS
1988
MAY

CP set to sweep NP strongholds

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Conservative Party officials estimate the party stands to sweep across National Party strongholds in the Transvaal and win at least 70% of the province's local authorities in the coming October municipal elections.

While reckoning the party would clean up on the platteland, CP chief secretary Mr Andries Beyers said the party even stood a good chance of taking NP strongholds like the Pretoria City Council and had an outside chance in Verwoerdburg.

He estimated also that with increased organization in Vereenigingand Vanderbijlpark (both towns which fall in parliamentary constituencies presently held by ministers Mr F W de Klerk and Dr Gerrit Viljoen) the CP was "in a good position to get a majority".

Mr Beyers said the CP considered it would get a majority of the estimated 2 000 wards in the Transvaal as it was fielding candidates in nearly all of them.

Some of the candidates would, however, stand as independents as they are civil servants who would lose their jobs if identified as CP members, he added.

To date, the CP has managed to dominate only the Pietersburg town council.

NP's municipal elections committee chairman Mr Olaus van Zyl conceded the NP faced problems from the CP outside the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area where, he said, the CP had "proved in the general election it was strong".

He said many NP members outside the PWV area would stand as independents on advice from local branches of the party, "in the interests of the party and people in the areas".

However, he said he could only give a clear idea of where the NP would stand on a party political basis within the next few weeks.

'Left-wing' election pact on cards

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A "left-wing" election pact could be on the cards for the October municipal elections if behind-the-scenes negotiations for co-operation between the PFP, Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party and the National Democratic Movement prove to be successful.

Informal discussions on joining forces in the October 26 municipal elections have been taking place between the political groups over the past few weeks, sources disclosed at the weekend.

The PFP and the NDM in Pretoria are meeting tonight to discuss possible co-operation for the third-tier elections, sources said.

3044 B/day 2/9/88

Reform like a nomad — loot and move on

KEN OWEN

AT SOME point in the middle of an official briefing on President Botha's plans to create nine more councils for Africans, I began to see how change will come in South Africa — not by revolution but by corruption.

Like most people, I had been misled by the idea that government's policies retain some kind of internal coherence, like Verwoerd's mad visions. Like many other people, I have spent the Years of Reform trying to discern the logic in what President Botha does and says.

It has been a waste of time. There is no strategic coherence, no logic, no policy. There is just one vast, expanding bureaucratic pork barrel, with thousands of greedy little snouts pushing and shoving to get into it. You join the rush for the trough, or freeze in the cold.

We used to have a Westminster democracy of sorts, with rather a limited franchise; now we have an oriental complexity of official satrapies, a higgledy-piggledy system of privilege and patronage that would have graced the Turkish empire; a central government with a bureaucracy for general affairs, and three duplicating bureaucracies for own affairs; four independent Bantustans, crammed with newly-minted bureaucrats and seconded white officials; six autonomous Bantustans with their Third World bureaucracies; four provincial bureaucracies; 12 regional services councils in the Transvaal alone; a network of super-bureaucratic joint management centres to get things done; and now nine black councils, all feeding people into a super-Indaba.

"Reform" has turned out to be nothing more than an immense machine for spending money, for spreading the gravy to buy off the revolution. Government expenditure during the Botha decade has grown by 16,7% a year, while the real growth of the economy — gross national product at factor cost in constant rands — has gradually slowed from 5,7% a year in the early Seventies to 3,8% in the late Seventies, and finally come to a stop.

SA, under President Botha, has become a stagnant backwater whose population gets poorer while its officials get richer. Recently, indeed, the country as a whole has been getting poorer: in the five years to 1985, the GNP shrank by 0,2% a year.

At the time of the referendum I wrote (if you will forgive the gloating) that the tricameral system's weak democratic structures were likely to collapse, leaving the powerful executive in total control. That is what has happened.

The Senate, once the wise protector of the people against the schemes of pettier politicians, has long gone, replaced by a President's Council whose name is apt. The provincial councils have been replaced by appointed officials whose arrogance grows in office. The divisional council system of the Cape, one of the more charming and democratic features of our heritage, is being bulldozed into oblivion to make way for regional services councils, which have weakened the democratic local authorities, and narrowed their focus.

Much of the parliamentary legislative process has gone underground, into closed committees, and the whole system is rigged so that the State President keeps control. The public, having become aware of the shift of power from Parliament to Tuynhuys, flood President Botha with letters — thousands a week, one is told — and treat their MPs with patronising scorn.

The simple fact is that the status of elected officials has declined, and the status of the appointed officials has risen.

The reason is obvious. The mandarins in this system are the Keepers of the Trough. Except for the minor exception of the regional services levies, the entire system operates by a kind of trickle-down of revenue. Subsidies fly to and fro in astonishing amounts, enabling the bureaucracy to control the lesser institutions.

Huge amounts are steered to the farmers because they are important voters; to the public servants, who are crucial to the system; to the Bantustan governments which represent, even today, the fading dream of a patchwork SA; to the provinces, because they are necessary to the functioning of many services; and to the local governments, which are intended to give legitimacy to the own-affairs structure.

Anomalies are cropping up everywhere. The white teacher training colleges stand empty, while black schools have no teachers; coloured primary schools are over-supplied with teachers, while black primary schools have none. Some grand hospitals have wards that have never been used, others put patients on the floor. Whites have too many houses, blacks live in hovels.

The system does not work, cry government's critics. Government does not expect it to work. It was not designed to work.

It was designed to spread the gravy. It is a trough.

The thinking behind President Botha's Age of Reform is that of the Transvaal frontiersmen of the last century. Unlike the settled people of the Western Cape, they were semi-nomads, and their main concern was survival. Like our army, they recognised no frontiers when they wished to advance; frontiers were drawn only when they feared attack.

Like our Department of Foreign Affairs, the frontiersmen made alliances with this indigenous tribe against that tribe, and they changed allies as it seemed expedient. They took what land they could, and they abandoned what they could not hold, like Stellaland and Goshen.

Their internal lines of communication were secure, reliable and invisible; to the external world they seemed cunning, secretive and obdurate. In fact, they were marvellously adaptable, flexible guerrilla fighters. In the face of the overriding need to survive in a hostile environment, no theory of statecraft mattered very much. Indeed, no theory mattered very much, whether of law, or taxation, or equity, or justice; survival was all.

It is this nomad view of life, this theory of government as simple survival, that President Botha has brought into the modern world. There is no need to hunt for a unifying theory in his constructions; there is no such theory. For the time being it seems expedient to make councils, and anyway it pays well, so he makes councils by the dozen. Later, he may abolish them.

Meanwhile, the prosperity of the mandarins is teaching all South Africans, of every race, what matters in this game: it is to get your snout to the trough, and to grab as much as you can get.

For the manoeuvrable man, with a flexible conscience, this is the time to get yourself elected to some council or other, or to get astride the floods of money that flow from the fiscus, or simply to pick up the contracts that flutter like confetti at a wedding in the name of "privatisation".

It's not what you know, but who you know. So go for it — while it lasts. When the collapse comes, when the place has been completely looted, you can always pack up your wagon like a good nomad and move back to the Cape.

'101 ways to end apartheid' campaign

The Five Freedoms Forum launches a campaign today aimed at encouraging white South Africans to collect ideas on "101 ways to end apartheid".

Parliamentarians, leading church figures, human rights workers, and radio and press personalities have been invited to the launch. The public can participate.

The launch takes place at seven this evening at the Market Warehouse, part of the Market Theatre complex. Jennifer Ferguson, Nadine Gordimer, and Des and Dawn Linberg will be among the personalities present.

PW may expand on his proposals

Star 2/5/88 304A

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President Botha may shed more light on his latest constitutional initiatives when he speaks in the House of Delegates and the House of Representatives today and tomorrow.

He will be responding to the debate on the Budget vote of the State President in the House of Delegates this afternoon, and in the House of Representatives tomorrow.

Mr Botha announced his latest constitutional proposals during the Budget vote of the State President in the Assembly 10 days ago.

The proposals included having: blacks in the electoral college which elects the State President, blacks in the Cabinet and a new policy-making body under the State President which would include the leaders of all communities.

The President's Council would be revamped to include blacks, and there would be elected black regional authorities, and a Prime Minister appointed to alleviate the administrative duties of the State President.

Mr Botha has told the National Party information sheet *The Nationalist* that the administrative duties of the State President should be reduced to allow him to make a greater contribution towards achieving peace between the different population groups.

He said the electoral college which elected the State President should be expanded to include representatives of blacks.

He suggested the President's Council should be a single institution incorporating advisory bodies such as the Economic Advisory Council.

SAA listens

Worrall to address meetings in Border

3044 D/D 2/8/88



DR WORRALL

Daily Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The leader of the Independent Party (IP), Dr Denis Worrall, will speak at a series of meetings in the Border area next week, beginning in Grahamstown on Tuesday night..

The theme of his speech is the role of English speakers in South African politics.

Dr Worrall said resolutions endorsing press freedom would be passed and the importance of a free media would be emphasised at the meetings.

A meeting will take place in Port Alfred at lunchtime on Wednesday and in the Orient Theatre here in the evening, before Dr Worrall moves on to Queenstown, Cathcart and King William's Town to speak on Thursday.

He said in an interview yesterday that his party hoped to convince English speaking voters that they had a "crucial role to play" in the politics of South Africa.

The National Party's base of Afrikaner support had been divided, and the party was "clearly looking at English speakers for support," he said.

"The NP has run out of steam. I believe the English speaking population has more potential power now that they have ever had. It is important that they use that power wisely."

Dr Worrall said the independent press, a concept which was under "tremendous pressure" from the government, was a legacy of the 1820 settlers.

The IP had taken the view that South Africans needed all the information that was available to be able to determine their choices for the future. The voters were mature enough to exercise the choice for themselves, he added.

"The IP is not an end in itself. It is critical that the creative opposition should get its act together."

Dr Worrall listed the Labour Party, the United Democratic Front, the Progressive Federal Party, the National Democratic Movement, Inkatha, former supporters of the NRP and NP supporters who had "sensed that the government does not have any vision or idealism", as the "creative opposition".

The pachyderms of politics

Star 21588 Political Staff (2677) (3044)

South African diplomats abroad are liable to be abused by Shakespearean actors or have their cars blown up.

So they have to learn to stand up to the knocks they will receive overseas, not by attending karate courses but by learning about some of the realities of South Africa.

Mr Gert Pretorius, head of training at the department, told last week how his cadet diplomats were prepared for their coming ordeal abroad.

They studied the usual subjects that all career diplomats must know, such as protocol, economics and politics. But, in addition, aspirant South African diplomats are given a unique course called "South African Problematics".

Trainee diplomats have to prepare papers on subjects such as "Children in Detention" and "Releasing Mandela" — the sort of issues that will be thrown at them when they receive overseas postings.

Last week the 21 current "second-level" trainee diplomats were exposed to political journalists at a party in Cape Town, and from these political fundis they learnt valuable lessons on how to deal with the press — such as when you fill a newsman's glass you fill it to the brim.

Left moves closer to poll pact

OPPOSITON parties to the left of government are moving closer to an election pact for the October municipal polls.

There have already been behind-the-scenes negotiations for co-operation among the PFP, Denis Worrall's Independent Party (IP) and Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement (NDM).

Informal discussions on joining forces in the October 26 municipal elections have been taking place between the political groups over the past few weeks, sources disclosed at the weekend.

ELSABÉ WESSELS

The PFP and the NDM in Pretoria meet tonight to discuss possible co-operation for the third-tier elections, sources said.

● To Page 2

Parties move closer on local election pact

● From Page 1

The PFP, which holds two municipal seats in Pretoria at present, is keen to retain its position in the city where the NP-controlled council faces a massive CP onslaught.

PFP leader in the Johannesburg city council and chairman of the PFP municipal election committee Tony Leon said the party would "in principle" be prepared to have an election pact.

"We want to maximise the vote to the left of the NP," Leon said.

Denis Worrall, who since the launch of his IP has propagated co-operation in the "creative opposition", said yesterday he did not believe these parties should be in conflict over participation in local government elections.

Worrall said the creative opposition had to find a basis of co-operation. He would not comment on the possibility of an election pact but said the IP would issue a statement later this week concerning its position and participation in the municipal elections.

The NDM's participation in the municipal elections would be discussed at the movement's first congress in Randburg on Friday.

Sources close to the movement indicated there were differences of opinion as to whether the NDM would enter the third-tier elections.

'End apartheid' drive launched

A refusal by whites to get involved in the process of change would be disastrous for whites and blacks, Dr Beyers Naude told the launch of the Five Freedoms Forum's "101 Ways to End Apartheid" campaign in Johannesburg last night.

Dr Naude, a former general-secretary of the South African Council of Churches and head of the Ecumenical Advice Bureau, said non-participation by whites would also delay black-white reconciliation and contribute to the "misguided, but understandable, belief that whites are basically racist".

The co-ordinating secretary of the the Five Freedoms Forum, Ms Adele Kirsten, said at least five activities would be run during the campaign. These were an essay-writing competition, a non-racial sports day, groups being taken to assist at a squatter camp and social history tours.

The Star's column, Starbridge, would be devoted to the campaign.

The campaign would culminate in an open day on May 31, she said.

See Page 14.



President Botha ... violence must be stopped.

'Respect culture of others'

Terrorism thrived on publicity, and when South Africa took steps to prevent this opportunity to them "we are now being called names," *President Botha* told the House of Delegates yesterday in reply to debate on his budget vote.

Terrorism also thrived on people's lack of opportunities but the Government had launched vast programmes of socio-economic development to counter this.

Mr Botha said violence had to be stopped, but there had to be unanimity of purpose among all South Africans.

Referring to the recent incidents in Durban where pigs' heads daubed with Nazi insignia were placed outside a Jewish synagogue and club, Mr Botha said he viewed equally seriously a recent incident in which a gas bomb was thrown into a mosque in Heidelberg.

"Unless we are prepared to respect one another's culture and religious position, we will see South Africa (go) down in flames." — Sapa.

Unions 'use power base for politics'

Political Staff

THE trade union movement has in the past year made increasing use of its power base for political or quasi-political purposes, according to National Manpower Commission (NMC) chairman, Mr Hennie Reynders.

In a foreword to the NMC's annual report tabled in Parliament yesterday, Mr Reynders comments that this trend is burdening the labour relations system with matters that actually do not form part of the relationship between employees and employers.

He notes that the focus of labour relations in SA is largely on the conflict potential between employer and employee and predicts that this will continue to be the case for some time as a result of the circumstances that are peculiar to this country.

This is in sharp contrast to labour relationships in the West where they exploit the co-operation potential including worker participation in management decisions.

PW: SACP link prevents lifting of ban on ANC

D 10 3/5/85 Parliamentary Staff

CAPE TOWN — The State President, Mr P. W. Botha, yesterday ruled out any possibility of unbanning the African National Congress while it remained "totally linked" to the South African Communist Party (SACP).



MR BOTHA

He said there would be no release of political prisoners for as long as they refused to renounce violence, take part in talks and affirm that they would not use violent means to bring about change in South Africa.

Replying to the Progressive Federal Party's MP for Reservoir Hills, Mr Pat Poovalingam, who called for the unbanning of the African National Congress and the release of prisoners, Mr Botha said he was not prepared to allow the South African Communist Party to operate in South Africa because it was dangerous.

During the debate on Mr Botha's Vote in the House of Delegates, the State President said he could not unban an organisation like the African National Congress which claimed to be the partner of the South Africa Communist Party.

Mr Botha said terrorism thrived on publicity and the lack of opportunities presented to people.

It was for this reason that in opposing terrorism, South Africa had launched a vast socio-economic programme "as never before".

The job creation programme was an example of this, he added.

Mr Botha said that pressure from outside and influences which were being brought to bear were the reasons for certain black leaders not co-operating in the government's constitutional initiatives.

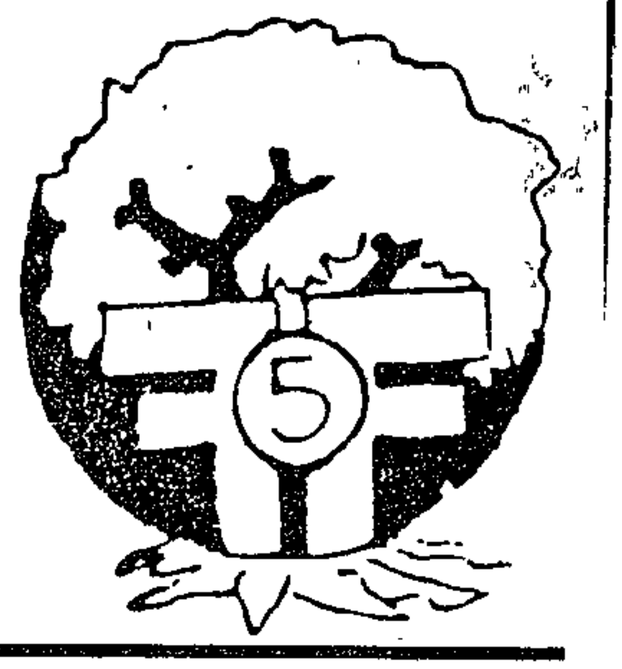
Mr Botha said reform had to be taken step by step and did not simply mean the handing over of South Africa to irresponsible people.



MR POOVALINGAM

Apartheid can be fought without breaking law

The Five Freedoms Forum was born 13 months ago into a South African society struggling in the turmoil of change. But it arrived with the twin commitments to harness and give direction to the struggle for an open and apartheid-free society. Vice-chairman Barbara Buntman provides some insights into the aims, history and objectives of the organisation.



Almost three years ago the Government drew a curtain across the tragedy being played out in South Africa by introducing the first state of emergency.

Since then it has allowed only occasional glimpses behind that curtain and has carefully stage-managed any scenes it has allowed the white audience to see.

In its own version of theatre of the absurd the Government created a quiet calm during which a passive audience has grown increasingly isolated from the events on stage.

It was to this audience that the Five Freedoms Forum (FFF) began to direct its actions in March 1987.

A few months before that — in November 1986 — the idea of creating such an organisation emerged when the Reverend Beyers Naude, Mr Geoff Budlender of the Legal Resources Centre and *New Nation* editor Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu organised a well attended meeting to discuss the problems created by the Government's imposition of the state of emergency. The major objective of the meeting was the development of a unified response against these actions. An important rider was that this response was to be anti-apartheid in nature, not anti-South African. It is a distinction that is not often drawn.

Some four months later the FFF was launched with its own manifesto and, as expressly stated in its name, a commitment to restore to millions of South Africans the five basic freedoms which apartheid denies them.

These freedoms are:

- Freedom from want.
- Freedom from fear.
- Freedom from exploitation and discrimination.
- Freedom of conscience.
- Freedom of speech and association.

In the past two years the Government has made massive inroads into basic freedoms — without which no democratic society can function.

The FFF believes that educating white South Africans about the lack of these basic freedoms is an important task and is committed to addressing the issues of human rights and of raising the level of political awareness among fellow South Africans. People first need to know and understand what is happening around them before they can be expected to take part in doing something about it.

Emergency regulations give the State wide — and unchecked — power to do almost anything it pleases. Newspapers are censored and even closed down, thousands of people have been detained without trial — some for two years and more — and political organisations are banned and restricted.

Against this background the FFF has set itself a series of tasks:

- To inform and educate the white community as to what is really happening in our country.
- To protest against infringements of human rights.
- To give concerned individuals something constructive to do to help create an environment better suited to negotiation.
- To address the fears that whites have for the future and to encourage all white South Africans to "stay and contribute" rather than leave the country.
- To create a situation where black and white South Africans can meet and learn to know each other.

The FFF strives to emphasise the common ground among people and organisations opposed to apartheid rather than highlighting their differences. To this end the FFF has attempted to make itself a wide-ranging movement and at present is an umbrella body for some 25 organisations which include human rights groups, religious bodies, professional bodies, and youth and student organisations.

Individuals are also given the space within the FFF to feel comfortable working for the ideals of a broad-based organisation.

All these groups and individuals have one thing in common — they are all working within the white community to bring about an open and apartheid-free society.

The FFF, however, is not confined to any particular community. It enjoys the respect of and is supported by a wide cross-section of the black community. And as a measure of its wide appeal the forum is also working with people within the parliamentary structures as well as those working outside of these structures.

This was clearly seen in the range of participants in a conference held by the FFF at Wits University in September last year.

It was at that meeting that the commitment to unite and contribute to the ending of apartheid was strengthened.

Since then the FFF has involved itself in several activities in line with its manifesto objectives, the latest of which was launched yesterday.

This campaign — 101 Ways to end Apartheid — aims to create an awareness among whites that it is possible to oppose apartheid without breaking the law, even within the constraints of the present climate.

People are being asked to suggest ideas of how to take positive steps to end apartheid. A booklet will then be produced which will outline 101 constructive ways in which every person can work towards a free and just South Africa.

'Emergency regulations give the State wide — and unchecked — power to do almost anything it pleases'

Four decades of serving Nats' selfish interests

304A

Star 4/5/88

Towards the end of this month the National Party will have been in power for 40 years. Joyce Harris compares the then and the now.

On May 26 1948 the National Party came to power, to its surprise and everyone else's. It inherited a country which had recently emerged from honourable participation in World War 2, at a time when the Western world was moving towards liberal values and the recognition of the rights of the individual, in the wake of the horrors perpetrated against them by the Nazis.

It was precisely then that South Africa parted company with the Western world and turned its face in the opposite direction. At that time our country was a respected member of the Western world. South Africans could hold up their heads and walk with pride anywhere in that world.

South Africa's currency was strong, there was no problem in attracting foreign capital, it was a founder member of the United Nations and welcome within its ranks; its sportsmen and women and its athletes and their teams participated wherever they wished, and its foreign markets were restricted only by its ability to supply.

Theoretically it was on the threshold of growth, progress and prosperity.

This is not to say that everything was perfect. It was not. Black people were discriminated against. They had no direct representation in Parliament. Pass laws restricted their movements. The Land Acts placed severe limitations upon them. The country was by no means democratic and the vast majority of the population was exploited.

But the potential for democracy was there. The constitution made it possible to extend the vote to all the country's people and the opportunities for economic growth were unfettered. There was much to be done but there was nothing to stop a determined and motivated South Africa from marching into the future along with the rest of the Western world.

However, instead a minority of a minority of people voted into power a political party which had no platform other than the preservation of the language, culture and wellbeing of its own volk. It was not remotely concerned with the country as a whole, and by and large that has remained its position.

Everything it has done to make South Africa the "polecat of the Western world" has been done to preserve its own selfish interests. It made the National Party and the State synonymous, and the words, "not in the interests of state security" have echoed down the years.

It has pursued its blinkered apartheid ideology with no regard to its effects on the country and the vast majority of its people. It has carved up the country into a series of splintered so-called homelands, either independent or "self-governing". It has successfully followed a policy of divide and rule.

It has destroyed the rule of law and undermined the judiciary. It has progressively stifled all peaceful opposition. It has muzzled the press. It has used the army against its own citizens.

It has carried out raids and sorties into neighbouring territories and destabilised and antagonised the whole of southern Africa. It has redrawn the constitution to entrench itself and its policies in power while paying lip-service to democracy.

NOT WELCOME

Its arrogance has burgeoned and it has created a bureacratic monster that is throttling the economy, with self-perpetuating self-interest is putting paid to any remaining chance of peaceful change.

We have sanctions. We invite more. We are not welcome anywhere that matters. Our currency has drastically declined in value. Our economy is slowly grinding to a halt. Our country is divided. The opposition is divided. Even the ruling party is divided, the Conservative Party now hoisting it with its own petard. Forty years of National Party rule have brought us to a sorry state indeed.

Ten years ago, on the NP's 30th anniversary in power, the Black Sash issued a pamphlet entitled "Kyk Hoe Lyk Ons Nou" which concluded with the words: "In 1948 we had hope and the respect and friendship of the world, in 1978 we are a divided nation in a fractured country — at odds with the world." Well, kyk hoe lyk ons NOU!

PARLIAMENT

ARGUS 4/5/88

30 RA

'Other leadership' might have been better — PW

By DALE LAUTENBACH
Parliamentary Staff

IF "other leadership" had emerged from the House of Representatives since its inception, relationships between "the whites, the Afrikaners" and "the coloureds" would be much better than they were, President Botha said in his budget vote debate in the House.

Mr Botha said yesterday that if there had been "more balance and more use of opportunities" by leadership in the House of Representatives, "things would have been different".

The Rev Allan Hendrickse, who resigned from the Cabinet in August last year after a number of widely publicised clashes with Mr Botha, is leader of the majority Labour Party and Chairman of the Ministers' Council for the House.

"Following Mr Hendrickse's resignation, this House has had no representation at Cabinet level." Mr Botha said.



Challenged by Mr Peter Mopp of the Democratic Party as to whether this state of affairs was constitutional, Mr Botha said appointments to the Cabinet remained entirely at the discretion of the head-of-state in terms of the 1983 Constitution.

Discipline

Mr Botha believed it was important that a member of the House of Representatives be in the Cabinet, but that the Cabinet had to be a "disciplined body" run according to the rules that he, as head-of-state, determined.

If these rules were ignored there would be "chaos".

Without committing himself in any way, Mr Botha said an appointment to the Cabinet "could" be made from the House of Representatives. There were qualified people in the House and if someone was prepared to obey the rules he might invite that person.

Mr Botha said he had received numerous top-level delegations from African states in the past few weeks and they had drunk tea with him at Tuynhuys.

They would certainly not have travelled thousands of kilometres to speak to him about better relations with South Africa if they believed, as Mr Hendrickse said, South Africa was "out of step" with the rest of the world.

"But the Cabinet knows about this," said Mr Botha, referring to the nature of his deliberations with these African delegations.

"Cruel Act"

In his address to the House, Mr Hendrickse made a plea again for the scrapping of the "ungodly and unchristian" Group Areas Act which symbolised more than anything else the evil of apartheid, the policy that put South Africa out of step with the rest of the world.

He quoted Dr Erica Theron's condemnation of this "cruel Act" to corroborate his plea.

"Whether you deny it or not, apartheid is alive (lewendig)," said Mr Hendrickse.

"Alive and well (spring lewendig)," interjected Mr Peter Hendrickse who in his address warned the Government against any attempt to "ram" changes to group areas legislation through the President's Council, an action the Government is prepared to take, according to recent speculation.

Mr Botha answered all pleas to scrap the Act, saying it was the subject of legislation which would be put to Parliament this session and he did not want to pre-empt it.

"I just want to say though that I think the coloured population is making a mistake in not building up its management committees," he said.

With the new Regional Services Councils through which to deliberate and advance, it was a mistake not to accord greater status and autonomy to management committees.

Minister 'dodging the

Eglin holds talks with Thatcher

Star 4/5/85

LONDON — The PFP leader, Mr Colin Eglin, will tell Mrs Margaret Thatcher today that President Botha's recent promises to give black South Africans a say in central Government are "too vague and too timid to satisfy the aspirations of moderate blacks".

By Sue Leeman, The Star Bureau

Mr Eglin is due to meet the British Premier for today on the final day of his London visit.

He said he would tell Mrs Thatcher "that my impression of Mr Botha's statement (about allowing blacks access to the electoral college and possibly the Cabinet) is that he is thumbing his nose at the Conservative Party, that he is not frightened of them".

"But I will also tell her that what he is suggesting is too vague and too timid to satisfy the aspirations of moderate blacks.

"No concrete steps have been taken."

Mr Eglin said his discussion with Mrs Thatcher would also include sanctions and Anglo-South African relations.

The two would also be discussing the situation in southern Africa.

After leaving No 10 Downing Street, Mr Eglin will call on the Minister of State for African Affairs at the Foreign Office, Mrs Lynda Chalker, and will meet the Labour spokesman on foreign affairs, Mr Donald Anderson, followed by talks with the leader of the Social and Liberal Democrats, Mr David Steel.

Yesterday, Mr Eglin saw the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, and they reviewed recent developments in South Africa and the prospects for reform.

Mr Eglin also spoke to Canon Roger Simon, international affairs adviser to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the general secretary of the Trades Union Congress, Mr Norman Willis.

AWB bad for trade — NP

The radical behaviour of neo-Nazi groups such as the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) was dissuading friendly countries from trading with South Africa, Mr Nicolaas Koornhof (NP Swellendam) said today in the committee stage debate on the agriculture Budget vote.

The perception that AWB leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche was giving other countries of South Africa was a major stumbling block to trade.

"His ranting and raving has made him the third best known living Afrikaner after Mr P W Botha and Mr Pik Botha." — Sapa.

304A B/day 4/5/88

TWO OVERRIDING principles have dictated the shape of Pretoria's constitutional structure, including the new extentions proposed last month by the State President: government's determination to retain control; and to continue the separation of the races.

As regards the former, the official name of Pretoria's constitutional game is devolution of power. In reality, it is devolution of function, as this examination of the structure will show.

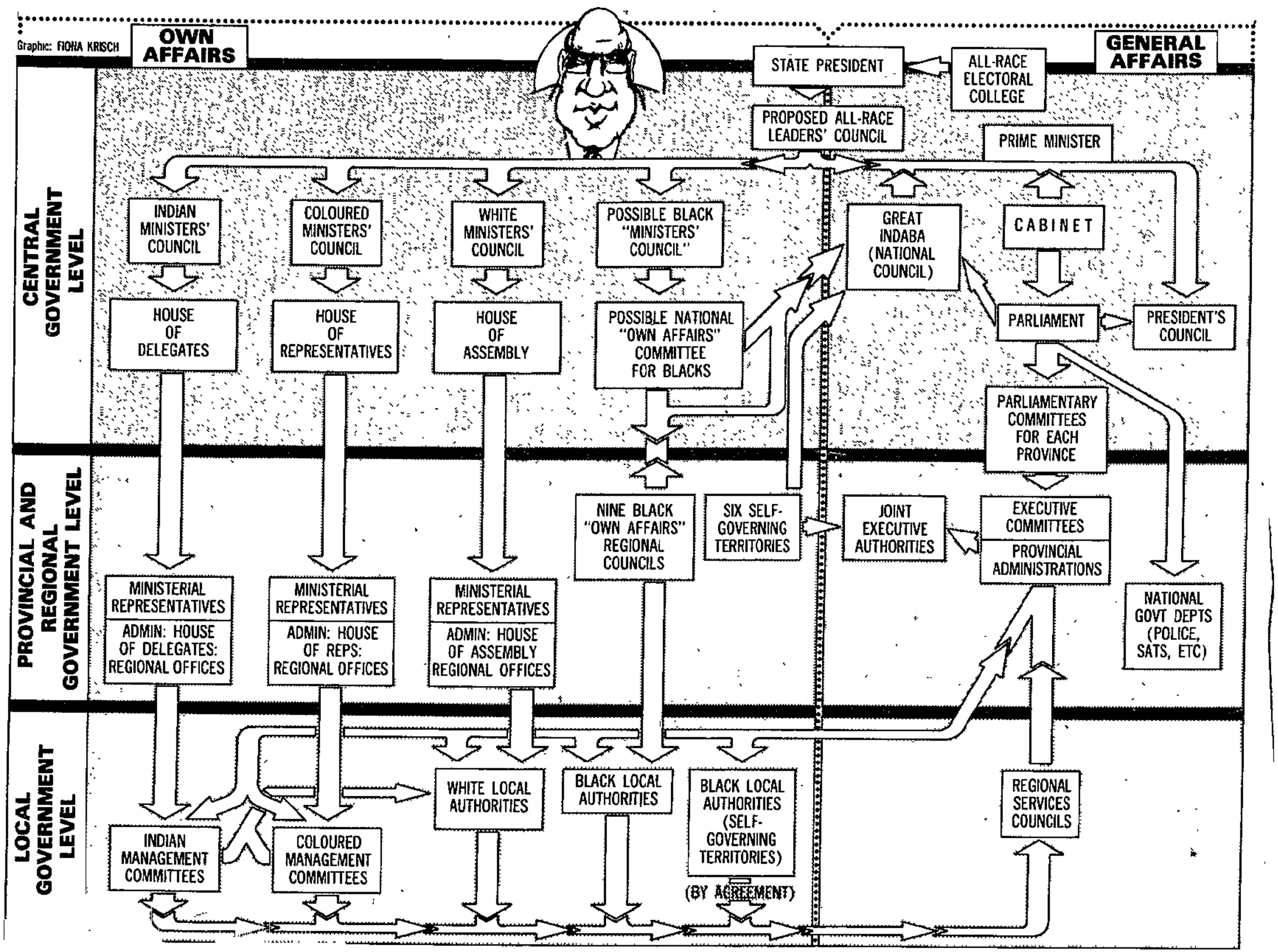
When it comes to the latter, the structure shows that race remains SA's great divide. The "independent" homelands are victims of omission — although very much part of the overall governmental structure, funded by SA and administered to a large extent by seconded SA officials, they are left off the constitutional map entirely.

On the map, the divide splits government horizontally into own and general affairs. The effect is to limit contact between the races to within tightly-controlled formal forums.

Vertically, government operates on three levels: the central; the provincial or regional (the difference will emerge); and the local.

Dominating the edifice is the **STATE PRESIDENT**, whose role will become clear.

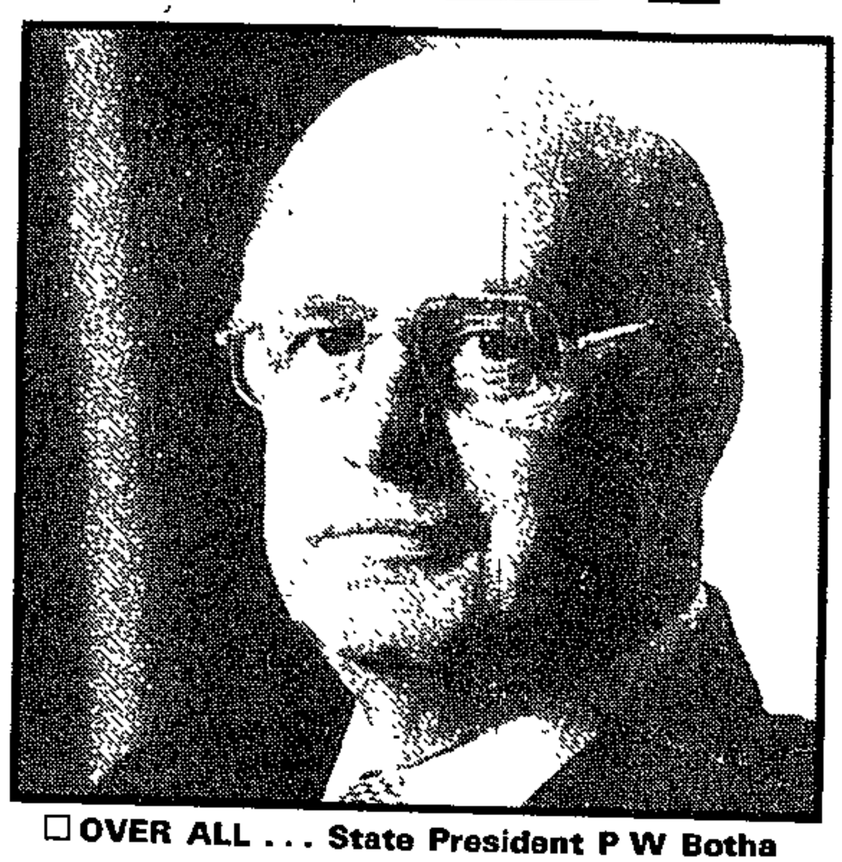
The **GENERAL AFFAIRS** structure, on the right of the graphic, is headed by a **PRIME MINISTER** who, said President Botha last month, would concern himself with the day-to-day running of the country. He would lead a **CABINET** which could include technocrats and other outsiders as well as politicians, and which may include black members.



The new shape of government

B/day 4/5/88 304 A

Few people any longer understand their way around the complicated constitutional structure in terms of which SA is governed. Deputy Editor NEIL JACOBSOHN seeks a way through the maze



□ OVER ALL . . . State President P W Botha

The proposed **GREAT INDABA** — the suggested name for the National Council — would operate alongside the Cabinet. In terms of the proposed legislation now before Parliament, its duties would be threefold: to negotiate a new constitution; to provide black input to government, for example by comment on draft legislation and by giving general advice; and work towards improving inter-race relations.

PARLIAMENT would continue to function in three houses, while the **PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL**, in which blacks could be included, could become a part-time advisory body through which organisations, such as the Economic Advisory Council, would report. Many of its present functions could be assumed by the Great Indaba.

Spanning the gap between central and provincial government are the existing **PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEES** for each province. These consist of MPs from the three Houses, who supervise and scrutinise the activities of the **PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES** (Excos) appointed by the President. These control the greatly-expanded provincial administrations (many functions have devolved from the central to the provincial level). They already have black members, and replace the previously-elected provincial councils.

KwaNatal-type **JOINT EXECUTIVE AUTHORITIES** could be established in the Transvaal and Free State to link SA and the six self-governing territories (there are none in the Cape).

At the bottom of the general affairs network are the **REGIONAL SERVICES COUNCILS**, made up of nominated local councillors from black, white, Indian and coloured municipalities. RSCs are a horizontal general affairs extention of the local authorities (which are own affairs bodies) and not a superior form of government. They have limited taxation authority, and are charged with developing regional infrastructures and providing bulk services to local authorities. They report upwards to the Provincial administrations, and their overall objective, according to a government pamphlet, is "an equitable distribution of income, development and influence from the more developed to the less developed communities in a region".

Also into the general affairs camp fall the **GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS** operating on a national level, such as Police, Defence, SATS, Posts and Telecommunications and Manpower.

The **OWN AFFAIRS** structure, on the left of the graphic, is much more complex.

The existing structure consists of the three Houses of Parliament, each led by an own affairs **MINISTERS' COUNCIL**. The decisions of each house are executed at ground level by separate **MINISTERIAL REPRESENTATIVES** in a series of separate administrative **REGIONAL OFFICES**.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES form the third level. At present, coloured and Indian **MANAGEMENT COMMITTEES** report through white local authorities. Provision is made for their autonomy, but so far the Coloured and Indian houses have declined local autonomy on an ethnic basis.

Black councils, where functioning, already have autonomy. Their counterparts within the self-governing territories can, by agreement, operate within the structure by joining RSCs and making use of provincial infrastructures.

The missing strand is black representation above local authority or RSC level, and outside the self-governing territories. The own affairs solution is to establish nine **REGIONAL COUNCILS**, to be elected by blacks in the nine economic development regions.

These could function as black own affairs administrations in the same way as the regional administrative offices of the three Houses of Parliament. Government says blacks must ask for these structures; it will not impose them.

The members of these committees may decide to elect a **NATIONAL OWN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE** for blacks, which government then sees operating alongside the three Houses — although not as a "fourth chamber" but as the constituent body for the Great Indaba and as the means to report back down the line to urban blacks.

Provision could also be made for this committee to appoint leaders from within its ranks: in effect, a **BLACK MINISTERS' COUNCIL**. The existing white, Indian and coloured councils control (for their own race group) a budget which is spent on education and culture, health and welfare services, agriculture, housing and local affairs; government sees the possible black council performing the same role.

What ties it all together?

Botha and other government spokesmen have envisaged a new, all-race policy-making body, a **LEADERS' COUNCIL**, sitting astride the own and general affairs lines. Very little is known at present about how this body would function, what powers it would have and how its members would be selected.

Ultimately, all the threads come together in the hands of the State President, who would command great power and favour as executive head of State and leader of the ruling party in the Assembly. He would be appointed by an **ELECTORAL COLLEGE** in which blacks could serve.

Reform needed to curb inflation

Unless government presses ahead with structural reforms, any reduction in the inflation rate will be short-lived, the Federated Chambers of Industry (FCI) warned at an executive council meeting yesterday.

The FCI council said in a statement that it pledged full support for the State President's initiatives to reduce inflation and government expenditure.

The statement said FCI members had agreed "to continue to do everything possible to contain those cost increases over which they have direct control and to keep price rises below the present level of inflation."

However, as "every business is subject to different pressures in regard to its competitiveness and the reactions it makes to changes in material and employment costs, exchange and interest rates, loss of staff or other inputs, no general limit can be set.

"We must also repreat our view that government must press ahead with the structural reforms so necessary to our economic well being for the longer term future.

"If this is not done, any short-term reduction in inflation will not persist."

FCI said it would be discussing the matter in greater detail with government representatives "In the near future..."— Sapa.

CP is poised to pounce

Star 4/5/88 By David Braun, Political Correspondent 304A

CAPE TOWN — The Government may be heading for a crisis of high proportions if it proceeds with proposed legislation to "improve" group areas laws.

It could find itself in a far worse situation than now, both on the Left and Right, say opposition politicians.

In the process of what may develop into an ugly political brawl between the NP and the CP, thousands of hapless victims — people of colour — may find themselves on the streets as they are booted out of their homes in white areas.

Although legislation has not yet been introduced in Parliament, Government sources have already confirmed that two Bills are on their way. One provides for the opening of areas for the ownership and occupation of people of all race groups.

The Government envisages opening new townships to all groups at the discretion of developers.

Existing townships may be opened after consultation with legal residents, investigations by the Group Areas Board, and after consultation with the Own Affairs administration concerned, and the State President

The Government has already made it clear that it would like to see "irretrievably integrated" areas, such as Hillbrow in Johannesburg, opened

The other Bill provides for the Government's promised crackdown on contraventions of the Group Areas Act in areas reserved for exclusive use of a particular race group.

That is the NP's sop to the CP, which has made much political capital out of what it claims is the Government's inability or unwillingness to implement the law in recent years.

In terms of the proposed legislation, it is understood, the Government will be able to circumvent a previous court ruling which prevented offenders of the Group Areas Act being evicted from their homes if no alternative accommodation was available.

The Bill would retain existing — but never-used — provisions empowering the authorities to confiscate and sell property used in contravention of the law.

As there is an acute housing shortage for blacks, coloured people and Indians, and a surplus of accommodation for whites, it is not difficult to see why the authorities have been unable to move against offenders in recent years.

A trickle of offenders has apparently turned into a flood as the housing shortage worsened Today, it is estimated by one expert, that an estimated 100 000 people of people are living illegally in white areas.

The Progressive Federal Party MP for Green Point, Mr Tian van der Merwe, has made an analysis of the group areas situation in recent years.

He said in an interview that if the Government persisted with the proposed legislation, he believed it would end up with a situation worse than the one it had at the moment.

The procedures announced by President Botha on the opening of areas would be politically highly traumatic for the Government, he predicted. This was because the CP would no doubt use every opportunity to turn group areas hearings into political circuses, designed to cause maximum harm to the Government

Mr van der Merwe predicted that in time the procedure of opening areas would grind to a halt because of this.

He believed that within the first year of the legislation being on the Statute Book, only two or three areas would have been opened

This would not be sufficient to accommodate more than about 10 percent of offenders of the law If at the same time the Government introduced harsher measures to act against offenders, about 90 000 people could find themselves liable to be acted against.

"If the Government is serious about applying harsher restrictions, it is going to cause an unspeakable mess," said Mr van der Merwe

He said everyone acted against by the Government in terms of the new law should fight all the way — and the PFP and other groups would help

The problem for the Government is that the CP has already made it clear it will use the new machinery to force the authorities to clamp down on offenders

One CP source said it would take an active role to organise complaints against offenders of the Act.

One inner-circle CP source said that if the Government opened Hillbrow to all races officially, the party would encourage white property owners to sue for damages.

He said "Why should we foot the bill for the world's highest population explosion"



Residents mill around the pavement after being evicted, under the Group Areas Act, from a block of flats in Johannesburg last year.

Govt may face crisis over group areas

kwaNdebele indemnity Bill challenged

By McKeed Kotlolo, Pretoria Bureau

Legal experts believe that by passing an indemnity Bill, the kwaNdebele government might have gone beyond its legislative powers.

On Friday the homeland's Legislative Assembly passed the kwaNdebele Indemnity Bill which protects it or its employees and agents from any civil claims arising from the territory's 18 months of unrest between December 1 1985 and June 11 1987.

Professor Marinus Wiechers of the University of South Africa's Faculty of Law said he had the feeling that by passing the Bill "the Legislative Assembly might have gone beyond its legislative powers because the police powers in that territory are delegated, and the Assembly does not have powers either to restrict a jurisdiction of the courts or amend the State Liability Act.

"For these reasons I doubt the validity of the Indemnity Act," he said.

Professor John Dugard of Wits University's Faculty of Law said the Assembly's action was contrary to the principles of justice.

"The action taken might be legally effective but still runs contrary to the principles of justice."

Professor Dugard, who represented Moutse residents in the Appeal Court case against the incorporation of the area into kwaNdebele, said the Act did not indemnify the homeland's government from Moutse cases arising between December 1 1985 and June 11 1987 "because Moutse was never part of kwaNdebele".

He said it had been proved in a court of law that incorporation of this territory into kwaNdebele was unlawful.

The now-defunct government watchdog, the Mbokotho vigilante group, has been named in legal actions.

'PW causing split in LP'

Star 9/5/58

304A

Political Staff

The Labour Party leader, the Rev Allen Hendrickse, accused President Botha today of trying to cause divisions in his party.

Some remarks which the President made yesterday were seen in Labour Party circles as a continuation of National Party efforts last year and earlier this year to cause a split in the party.

They were, among other things, the spreading of rumours of divisions in the party's parliamentary caucus.

Mr Hendrickse rejected Mr Botha's suggestions that relations between whites and coloureds could have been better had there been a different leadership in the House of Representatives.

Mr Hendrickse made it clear that no-one from his party would serve in the Cabinet under present circumstances.

Speaking in the debate on his vote in the House of Representatives yesterday, Mr Botha indicated that he would like to have a member of that House in the Cabinet.

Mr Hendrickse resigned from the Cabinet in August after sharp differences with Mr Botha.

He said today it was a fallacy that relations would have been better had he still been in the Cabinet.

Mr Hendrickse said Mr Botha had been responsible for the break.

First R½-m

NDM meets to focus on political strategy

(304A) Political Staff Star 4/5/88

The National Democratic Movement's first congress to be held in Randburg on Friday will focus on a political strategy for elections and for its participation in politics as a whole.

The congress, says an NDM statement, will have discussions on extra-parliamentary politics as well as parliamentary and election politics.

There will also be a discussion on "lasting security", dealing with issues such as law and order, emergency powers, human rights, the economy and constitutional guidelines. The congress will deal with political strategy and organisation.

The statement points out that when the NDM was formed in October last year, the leadership made it clear that it would function as a broad movement but would also actively participate in election politics.

The congress will therefore focus attention on the NDM's political activities.

Experts in white as well as black politics will analyse the present political situation in South Africa and against this background decisions will be taken regarding political strategies.

Whites urged to help end apartheid

Sowetan 4/5/88

304A

By MZIKAYISE EDOM

WHITES were this week urged to play an active part towards ending apartheid in South Africa.

This message was delivered at a Five Freedoms Forum (FFF) meeting held at Market Theatre's Warehouse Hall on Monday night.

About 200 people, mostly whites, attended the meeting whose theme was "101 Ways to End Apartheid".

Speakers at the meeting included Dr Beyers Naude, former general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, author Nadine Gordimer and Dr Webster, an executive member of the FFF.

Dr Naude said it was not too late for whites to play an active part towards ending apartheid.

"There are more than 1 000 ways of ending apartheid. But if whites, who are in the minority, do not participate in ending this apartheid, they will delay the process of change in South African whereby all races in the country, black and white, will live in a democratic and non-racial society," he said.

Dr Naude added that the reforms the State President, Mr P W Botha, was talking about, will not work until apartheid was abolished.

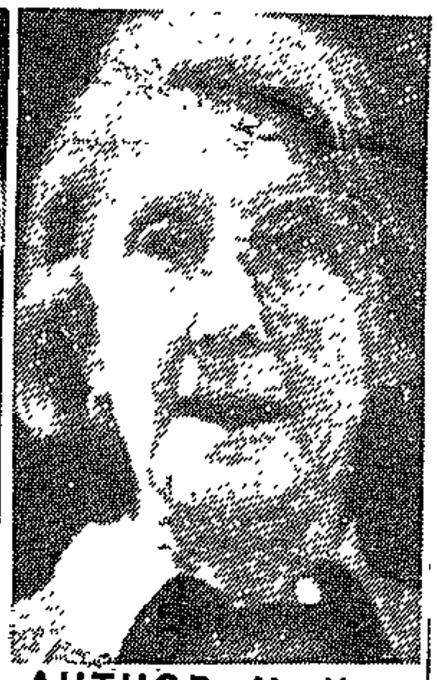
"This is not an easy task to achieve. It may take between 10 and 15 years to do this," said Dr Naude.

Nadine Gordimer said the curbs introduced by the Government were killing the freedom of Press in South Africa. She also called on whites to start playing an active part to end apartheid.

Dr Webster said the FFF was formed to fight for the freedom of all people in South Africa.



Dr BEYERS Naude



AUTHOR Nadine Gordimer.

Worrall talks on role of IP in local vote

DIA 4/5/88

30/4/9

Daily Dispatch Reporter

GRAHAMSTOWN — Military conscription must be subject to the principles of conscientious objection, Dr Dennis Worrall said here last night.

"We do not believe this should be a solely military matter, but a political decision," he said in answer to a question.

He was also questioned on the matter of the Independent Party contesting local government elections in October.

"The feeling in Grahamstown is that party politics should be kept out of local elections," a former Grahamstown city councillor, Professor Rodney Davenport, said.

"We have not formulated our position on local government elections, but we will contest these on a selective basis," Dr Worrall said.

October's local government elections would however, revolutionise local politics, he said.

These would be mini-parliamentary elections. The Conservative Party was making them an issue and the National Party had responded.

"I am conscious that certain communities do not want party politics introduced."

Asked whether the IP would put up a candidate against the former MP for Albany, Mr E. K. Moorcroft, in a future election, he said: "We hope to form a creative opposition. This is reflected in our constitution. Thus we can work out a basis of a viable alternative to the National Party."

Dr Worrall paid tribute to Mr Moorcroft as a friend and parliamentarian.

On IP's opposition to the Progressive Federal Party, he said: "I dont think there are difference in fundamental values with many other organisations".

With the PFP, there were differences in constitutional approach.

"We believe we have the cutting edge into traditional Nationalist support".

The chairman of the meeting was a former Grahamstown mayor, Dr Brian la Trobe.

The former NRP MP for King William's Town, Mr Pat Rogers, and the former chairman of the NRP in Natal, Mr Duncan McGregor, also shared the platform.

See also page 18

need for a constitution in which Perchance to dream ...

tavern made famous by actor Jamie Farr in the television show M*A*S*H.

Reform: another way of spending money

D10 4/5/88

304A

Ken Owen: Johannesburg

At some point in the middle of an official briefing on President Botha's plans to create nine more councils for Africans, I began to see how change will come in South Africa — not by revolution but by corruption.

Like most people, I had been misled by the idea that government's policies retain some kind of internal coherence, like Verwoerd's mad visions. Like many other people, I have spent the Years of Reform trying to discern the logic in what President Botha does and says.

It has been a waste of time. There is no strategic coherence, no logic, no policy. There is just one vast, expanding bureaucratic pork barrel, with thousands of greedy little snouts pushing and shoving to get into it. You join the rush for the trough, or freeze in the cold.

We used to have a Westminster democracy of sorts, with rather a limited franchise; now we have an oriental complexity of official satrapies, a higgledy-piggledy system of privilege and patronage that would have graced the Turkish empire; a central government with a bureaucracy for general affairs, and three duplicating bureaucracies for own affairs; four independent Bantustans, crammed with newly-minted bureaucrats and seconded white officials; six autonomous Bantustans with their Third World bureaucracies; four provincial bureaucracies; 12 regional services councils in the Transvaal alone; a network of super-bureaucratic joint management centres to get things done; and now nine black councils, all feeding people into a super-Indaba.

"Reform" has turned out to be nothing more than an immense machine for spending money, for spreading the gravy to buy off the revolution. Government expenditure during the Botha decade has grown by 16,7 per cent a year, while the real growth of the economy — gross national product at factor cost in constant rands — has gradually slowed from 5,7 per cent a year in the early Seventies to 3,8 per cent in the late Seventies, and finally come to a stop.

SA, under President Botha, has become a stagnant backwater whose population gets poorer while its officials get richer. Recently, indeed, the country as a whole has been getting poorer: in the five years to 1985, the GNP shrank by 0,2 per cent a year.

At the time of the referendum I wrote (if you will forgive the gloating) that the tricameral system's weak democratic structures were likely to collapse, leaving the powerful executive in total control. That is what has happened.

The Senate, once the wise protector of the people against the schemes of pettier politicians, has long gone, replaced by a President's Council whose name is apt. The provincial councils have been replaced by appointed officials whose arrogance grows in office. The divisional council system of the Cape, one of the more charming and democratic features of our heritage, is being bulldozed into oblivion to make way for regional services councils, which have weakened the democratic local authorities, and narrowed their focus.

Much of the parliamentary legislative process has gone underground, into closed committees, and the whole system is rigged so that the State President keeps control. The public, having become aware of the shift of power from Parliament to Tuynhuys, flood President Botha with letters — thousands a week, one is told — and treat their MPs with patronising scorn.

The simple fact is that the status of elected officials has declined, and the status of the appointed officials has risen.

The reason is obvious. The mandarins in this system are the Keepers of the Trough. Except for the minor exception of the regional services levies, the entire system operates by a kind of trickle-down of revenue. Subsidies fly to and fro in astonishing amounts, enabling the bureaucracy to control the lesser institutions.

Huge amounts are steered to the farmers because they are important voters; to the public servants, who are crucial to the system; to the Bantustan governments which represent, even today, the fading dream of a patchwork SA; to the provinces, because they are necessary to the functioning of many services; and to the local governments, which are intended to give legitimacy to the own-affairs structure.

Anomalies are cropping up everywhere. The white teacher training colleges stand empty, while black schools have no teachers; coloured primary schools are over-supplied with teachers, while black primary schools have none. Some grand hospitals have wards that have never been used, others put patients on the floor. Whites have too many houses, blacks live in hovels.

The system does not work, cry government's critics. Government does not expect it to work. It was not designed to work.

It was designed to spread the gravy. It is a trough.

The thinking behind President Botha's Age of Reform is that of the Transvaal frontiersmen of the last century. Unlike the settled people of the Western Cape, they were semi-nomads, and their main concern was survival. Like our army, they recognised no frontiers when they wished to advance; frontiers were drawn only when they feared attack.

Like our Department of Foreign Affairs, the frontiersmen made alliances with this indigenous tribe against that tribe, and they changed allies as it seemed expedient. They took what land they could, and they abandoned what they could not hold, like Stellaland and Goshen.

Their internal lines of communication were secure, reliable and invisible; to the external world they seemed cunning, secretive and obdurate. In fact, they were marvellously adaptable, flexible guerilla fighters. In the face of the overriding need to survive in a hostile environment, no theory of statecraft mattered very much. Indeed, no theory mattered very much, whether of law, or taxation, or equity, or justice; survival was all.

It is this nomad view of life, this theory of government as simple survival, that President Botha has brought into the modern world. There is no need to hunt for a unifying theory in his constructions; there is no such theory. For the time being it seems expedient to make councils, and anyway it pays well, so he makes councils by the dozen. Later, he may abolish them.

Meanwhile, the prosperity of the mandarins is teaching all South Africans, of every race, what matters in this game; it is to get your snout to the trough, and to grab as much as you can get.

For the manoeuvrable man, with a flexible conscience, this is the time to get yourself elected to some council or other, or to get astride the floods of money that flow from the fiscus, or simply to pick up the contracts that flutter like confetti at a wedding in the name of "privatisation."

It's not what you know, but who you know. So go for it — while it lasts. When the collapse comes, when the place has been completely looted, you can always pack up your wagon like a good nomad and move back to the Cape.

Govt plans new set-up for blacks

Business Day Reporter

GOVERNMENT is proposing the establishment of nine new regional "own affairs" administrations for blacks, based in the nine economic development regions.

The scheme forms part of government's latest constitutional plans.

Provision is also made for a black own affairs "ministers' council".

An added proviso is a national forum, which would operate on the same level as the three Houses of Parliament.

Other implications are an all-race "Leaders' Council" and a Cabinet of technocrats.

In the first of a series of articles on government, Business Day today examines, both in words and graphically, the hugely complicated SA constitutional structure and attempts to unravel some of its mysteries.

See Page 8

Democratic Movement to decide on political future

Star 8/5/88 By Esmaré van der Merwe 30(a)

At the first congress of MP Mr Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement (NDM), to be held in Randburg tomorrow, a new stage in the development of this breakaway political group, formed in October last year, will be introduced.

On the agenda is an election strategy for future participation in parliamentary politics — an issue that will be spelt out for the first time.

The congress will be attended by about 250 delegates.

Experts in white as well as black politics will analyse the present political situation and, against this background, decisions will be taken regarding future political strategies.

Issues that will be dealt with include "lasting security", law and order, emergency powers, human rights, the economy and constitutional guidelines.

During the six months since its formation the NDM has kept a low public profile, concentrating on its first aim of establishing contact with various extra-parliamentary political groups.

In an interview with The Star, Mr Malan said that the NDM was ready to pursue its next goal of mobilising parliamentary support with a view to the next general election.

"We have had discussions with virtually every extra-parliamentary group in the country. We made very significant breakthroughs and received widespread support for our philosophy."

This philosophy involves a replacement of "systems" and "struggle" politics by "process" politics, aimed at reconciling all parliamentary and extra-parliamentary groups in preparation for meaningful negotiations about the country's political future.

"The only legitimate politics is inclusive politics. We cannot afford the luxury of division, of two regimes. All political groups should work together in establishing one South Africa."

Mr Malan said that, during the NDM's first six months, about 40 branches had been formed.



Mr Wynand Malan . . . a significant breakthrough by the year's end.

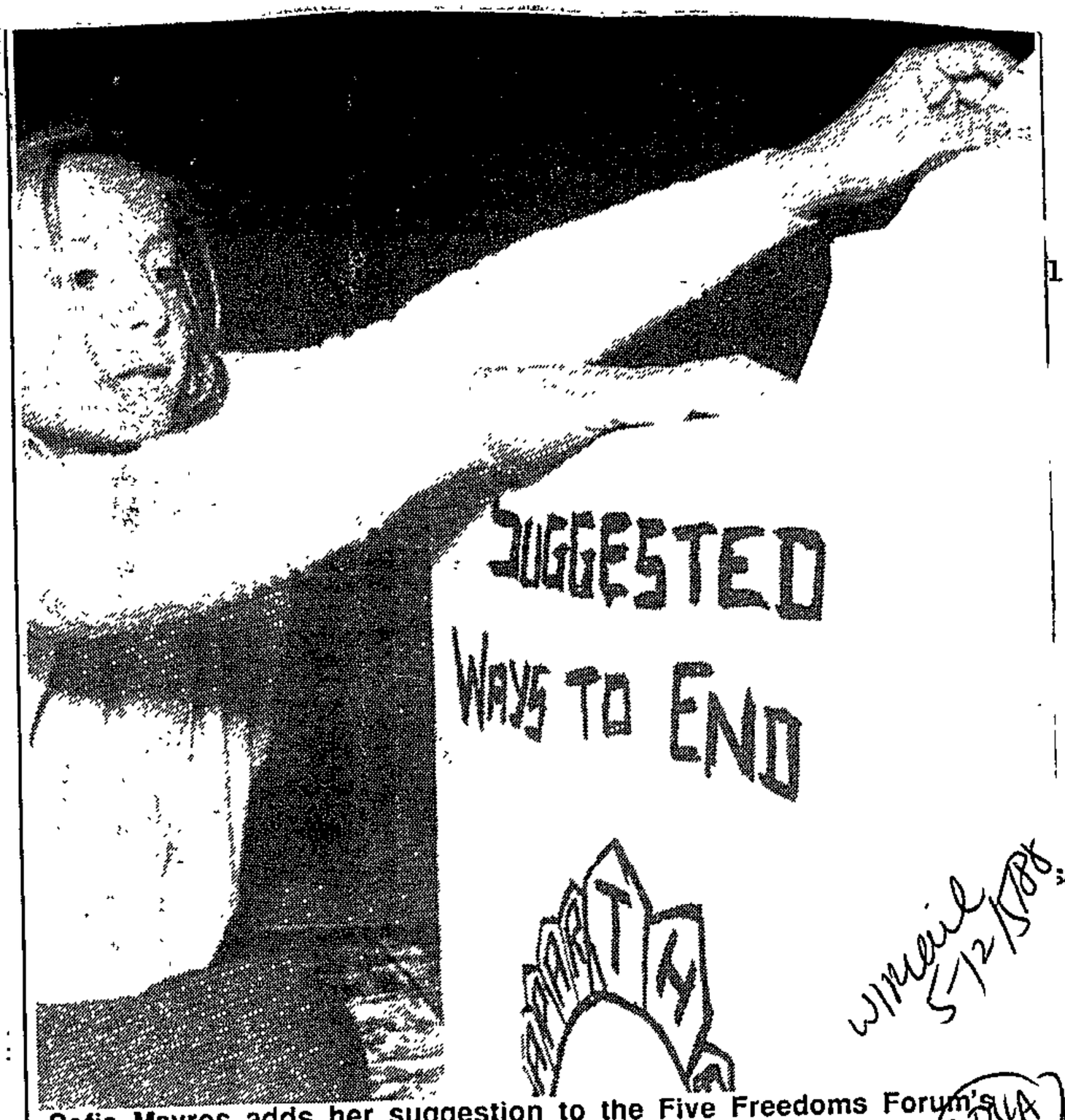
"Thousands of people" supported the movement's ideology although "the recruitment of active commitment" had not been a priority.

This infrastructure would be developed further during the next six months and members would now actively be signed up.

The NDM would identify constituencies where it had strong support "with a view to winning parliamentary seats". He wanted to break new ground in traditional NP strongholds.

"Our potential powerbase is not PFP supporters, but voters who have traditionally voted NP.

"At the end of the year we will make a significant breakthrough in terms of our acceptability in parliamentary and extra-parliamentary circles," Mr Malan said.



sations

Sofia Mavros adds her suggestion to the Five Freedoms Forum's "101 Ways to End Apartheid" campaign

Picture: WALTER DHLADHLA, AFP

Price

How to slay a dinosaur? Smile

By KAREN EVANS

A DINOSAUR labelled "apartheid" was used to advertise a Five Freedoms Forum meeting this week entitled "101 ways to end Apartheid".

"By the time the campaign is over, we hope the dinosaur will be a skeleton," said Adele Kirsten, FFF co-ordinating secretary.

At the meeting — which attracted a wide range of businessmen, diplomats, editors, students and academics — individuals took the stage at the Market Theatre Warehouse to add suggestions to a list of ideas for ending apartheid.

The campaign, said FFF vice-chairman David Webster, is "an attempt to address the frustration of those whites who are looking for a way to contribute actively to change in our country, but find that their traditional channels of expression provide no real answers", according to a campaign pamphlet.

A number of people announced their suggestions for ending apartheid, then wrote them on a banner on the stage. Suggestions ranged from teaching children not to say "garden boy" or "girl in the kitchen" to transporting a busload of church-goers from the northern suburbs to a service at Soweto's Regina Mundi.

Other suggestions were to:

- Ask Richard Attenborough to dub *Cry Freedom* into Afrikaans and distribute it on a pirate video
- Hold discussion groups in schools
- Promote "worker power"
- Teach every white pre-school child a song in a black language
- Find ways for landlords to "explore the law" in terms of the Group Areas Act
- Take along a child of another colour when one is taking out one's own children
- Smile
- "Follow in the footsteps of Joe Slovo"
- Ask for more foreign pressure
- Not say "black" or "white", but simply "person"
- Write letters to newspapers and parliament.

An American member of the audience asked if there were any plans "to topple the government".

"Bring in the marines," shouted singer Jennifer Ferguson.

The FFF was started in September 1986 when a group of concerned citizens decided something had to be done about the State of Emergency. With black organisations well-established, the founders of the Five Freedoms Forum felt it would be presumptuous to organise the black community.

CP model for us — Van Zyl Slabbert

CAPE TOWN — Anti-apartheid groups could learn from the rise of the Conservative Party, the head of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, said yesterday.

He was speaking at the first rally of the Cape Democrats, a new anti-apartheid group aimed at whites.

What could be done to promote a non-racial democracy in South Africa?

"When I ask myself this question, I think of a political party . . . that uses every opportunity to register members, to mobilise support and get control of institutions and organisations . . . that does not allow internal differences to divert it from its main goal, to get rid of this government. (That party) is the Conservative Party in Parliament."

More than 1 000 people attended the meeting at Cape Town City Hall. — Sapa-Reuter.

South Africa's largest daily newspaper.

Blacks in elections a drastic step — PW

Sta 5/5/88

304A

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The inclusion of blacks in the election of the State President would be a "drastic step" which would have to be tested with the public, President PW Botha said in radio and television interviews last night.

But he indicated the step would also require consultation with blacks probably through the proposed National Council.

He appeared optimistic that the National Council could be launched within a year depending on the progress made by the parliamentary committee dealing with the legislation at the moment.

It would appear from his remarks that this could mean elections for blacks next year.

Rains wreak havoc in Natal

ville Berkowitz believes that de-

man.
NRC45 5/5/88 (30kB)

Take a lead from CP, Democrats urged

Staff Reporter

SUPPORTERS of non-racialism should look to the tactics of the Conservative Party if they wished to oust the Government, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert of Idasa told more than 1 500 people at a public launch of the Cape Democrats in the City Hall.

Speaking for the first time on the same platform as veteran anti-apartheid activist and United Democratic Front patron Mrs Helen Joseph, Dr Slabbert described the CP as "a party which knows that rhetoric and slogans are no substitute for hard work".

Referring to the CP's commitment to assuming control of as many committees and cultural organisations as possible, he said the party was made up of dedicated professionals "driven by their desire to get the Government out of power".

As a guide

While those working towards democracy might not have access to the same opportunities as CP supporters, their tactics were worth examining as a guide to what could be done to promote non-racialism.

Dr Slabbert urged the Cape Democrats, a new movement aimed at involving whites in extra-parliamentary politics, to talk not only to like-minded people "but also to those whose views differ profoundly from your own".

In doing so it was important not to be arrogant and patronising but to address the real fears that people had, he said.

Mrs Joseph, 83, walking with the aid of crutches, was given a long ovation as she was helped to the podium. She is a listed person and may not be quoted.

Father Smangaliso Mkhatshwa, secretary of the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference for the past 18 years, said that whites who committed themselves to non-racialism were likely to be criticised and called names such as "kaffirboeties", but this was "surely a small price to pay".

"The cumulative effect of all our efforts will be to transform this country into a completely new society," he said.

Mr Lungile Daba, chairman of the Joint Langa-Nyanga-Guguletu Parent-Teacher-Student Association, speaking on the problems in black education, said the reasons that about 1 300 black pupils were now "locked out" of Peninsula schools were political, not educational.

He criticised the Department of Education and Training for refusing to allow school committees to hold meetings on school premises.

"Responsibility for education needs to be in the hands of parents, teachers and pupils — not in those of politicians," Mr Daba said.



Pictures: PETER STANFORD, The Argus

SINGING FOR DEMOCRACY: Johannesburg-based singer Jennifer Ferguson entertains the crowd of more than 1 500 who packed the Cape Town City Hall.

Eglin, Thatcher meet to discuss SA developments

P1D 5/5/86

30 YA

Daily Dispatch Correspondent

LONDON. — Leader of the PFP, Mr Colin Eglin, yesterday met with British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher to discuss developments in South Africa, sanctions and British Government involvement in the frontline states.

The meeting followed similar discussions between Mr Eglin and British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe on Tuesday.

Mr Eglin, in London for a two-day visit en-route to Lisbon, was not available for comment but a spokesman for Mrs Thatcher said they had a "friendly but brief" 30 minute meeting at 10 Downing Street.

He said they discussed "developments in Southern Africa" but declined to be specific.



MR EGLIN

Mr Eglin held a 40-minute meeting with Mr Howe on Tuesday. "It was an exchange of views and an updating of views," Mr Eglin said.

They "touched on assessments and developments in South Africa".

These included President P. W. Botha's recent reform announcements, sanctions, the banning of 17 anti-apartheid organisations, greater restrictions on civil liberties and relations between Britain and South Africa.

"I found a fairly level-headed approach," Mr Eglin said of his meeting with Mr Howe.

Mr Eglin explained his views on Mr Botha's recent reform announcements which included bringing blacks into Cabinet, black members for the President's Council and regional governing bodies.

"My view is that on the one hand Mr Botha was thumbing his nose to conservatives but not presenting alternatives to moderate blacks."

Mr Eglin also met with Mr Norman Willis; Mr Michael Walsh and Mr Tony Shaw from the powerful Trades Union Congress; Mrs Lynda Chalker, the junior minister in the Foreign Office; Mr Donald Anderson, the Labour party spokesman on Foreign Affairs; and Canon Roger Simon, an advisor to Archbishop Robert Runcie.

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Hundreds hear Worrall

Daily Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — An audience of several hundred attended a meeting in the Orient Theatre last night to hear the former South African ambassador to the United Kingdom and leader of the Independent Party (IP), Dr Denis Worrall.

In introducing Dr Worrall, a former National Party office bearer and co-founder of the IP, Mr Jannie Momberg, said although he used to believe that the NP held the answers for the future, he had since realised that it was "the largest obstacle in the path of reform".

"No party that treats large sections of its population the way it has or takes such action against the press and says 'Do your damnedest' to the world, is willing to abandon apartheid or its position of power.

"It can never bring about real reform because it does not enjoy the trust of non-white South Africans," he said.

Full reports page 2

NP used Hitler-type tactics before the last election says IP organiser

Daily Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — A Natal organisor of the IP, Mr Duncan Mc Gregor, said last night the National Party had used the same tactic of "fear politics" in the last election as Adolf Hitler used to mobilise the German people before World War II.

Mr Mc Gregor, also a former Natal National Republican Party chairman, was speaking during the Independent Party meeting held at the Orient Theatre last night.

"Before we judge the people with whom we must try to negotiate, we must realise that they are under tremendous pressure from their own people.

"I have been told by moderate black leaders that they cannot be seen to have sat at the same table as the oppressor if they wish to survive in a future South Africa," Mr Mc Gregor said.

During question time after the meeting, Mr Ntsikana Tuntulwana asked how the IP could include black people in the political process without being labled a "kaffir-boetie party".

This, he said, would result in white supporters being driven away.

Dr Worrall said this was "a chance we are prepared to take" as it was important for any party in South Africa to develop relations across the colour line.

"It is the task of both the white and the black leadership to convince their supporters that we are all humans with the same fears and aspirations," he said.

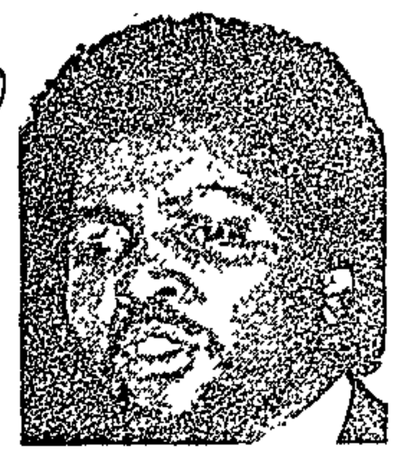
A city councillor, Mr Donald Card, asked how the IP would be able to attract black supporters of the United Democratic Front, as the organisation had said it would not negotiate with any party that was part of the system.

Dr Worrall said he disagreed with the former leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert, when he said parliamentary politics was irrelevant.

"What the UDF describes as "the system" is important because the appeal to end apartheid is directed to white South Africans who hold parliamentary power and are still capable of changing the status quo," Dr Worrall said.

★ A city councillor here and former NRP supporter, Mr Eric Whitaker, announced at the meeting that he had officially joined the IP.

In welcoming Mr Whitaker to the party, Dr Worrall said there were many people, including NP supporters who had become disenchanted with the government's lack of direction, who were politically homeless and were going across to the IP



MR TUNTULWANA

Huge cocaine discovery

TAMPA (Florida) — More than four tons of cocaine was discovered inside a hollowed-out Brazilian lumber, federal authorities have announced.

NEW INTEREST RATES FROM UNITED

TRANSMISSION ACCOUNTS
Calculated on the minimum monthly balance, paid annually 4,0% p.a.

ORDINARY SAVINGS ACCOUNTS
Calculated on the minimum monthly balance, paid annually 4,0% p.a.

	*Effective	Nominal
HELP-U-GO	11,02% p.a.	10,50% p.a.
HELP-U-PLUS†		
R 2 000 to R 3 999	6,70% p.a.	6,50% p.a.
R 4 000 to R 4 999	6,70% p.a.	6,50% p.a.
R 5 000 to R 7 999	8,30% p.a.	8,00% p.a.
R 8 000 to R 9 999	8,30% p.a.	8,00% p.a.
R10 000 to R14 999	9,11% p.a.	8,75% p.a.
R15 000 to R19 999	10,03% p.a.	9,60% p.a.
R20 000 to R24 999	10,03% p.a.	9,60% p.a.
R25 000 to R50 000	10,47% p.a.	10,00% p.a.

HELP-U-PLUS BONUS INTEREST†

1 – 3 months	0,75%
4 – 6 months	1,00%
7 – 12 months	2,00%
13 – 24 months	2,25%
25 – 60 months	2,50%

STATE ASSISTED HOME-OWNER SAVING SCHEME
(Maximum investment R20 000 per homebuyer) 21,82% p.a. 12,00% p.a.

FIXED DEPOSITS (Taxable)
12-17 mths 11,75% p.a. 18-23 mths 12,25% p.a.
24-35 mths 12,75% p.a. 36-60 mths 13,25% p.a.
Investors over 60 years of age add 0,5% to above rates. Interest paid on maturity, annually or half-yearly. Quarterly or monthly rate available on request.

SPECIAL SAVINGS ACCOUNTS

	*Effective Rate	Nominal Rate
R 200 to R 999	5,12% p.a.	5,00% p.a.
R 1 000 to R 3 999	6,70% p.a.	6,50% p.a.
R 4 000 to R 4 999	6,70% p.a.	6,50% p.a.
R 5 000 to R 7 999	8,30% p.a.	8,00% p.a.
R 8 000 to R 9 999	8,30% p.a.	8,00% p.a.
R10 000 to R14 999	9,11% p.a.	8,75% p.a.
R15 000 to R19 999	10,03% p.a.	9,60% p.a.
R20 000 to R24 999	10,03% p.a.	9,60% p.a.
R25 000 to R50 000	10,47% p.a.	10,00% p.a.

	§Effective Rate	Nominal Rate
• **FIXED PERIOD DEPOSITS** (5 years – Partly tax-free)	15,27% p.a.	12,00% p.a.
• **TAX-FREE INDEFINITE PERIOD DEPOSITS** (Maximum investment R20 000 per taxpayer)	13,64% p.a.	7,50% p.a.
• **INDEFINITE PERIOD DEPOSITS** (Partly tax-free)	12,73% p.a.	10,00% p.a.
HANDS OFF SUBSCRIPTION DEPOSITS (Maximum tax-free investment R50 000 per taxpayer)	13,64% p.a.	7,50% p.a.
HANDS OFF SUBSCRIPTION DEPOSITS (Partly tax-free)	12,73% p.a.	10,00% p.a.

BONUS DEPOSITS (Taxable)
12-17 mths 11,50% p.a. 18-23 mths 12,00% p.a.
24-35 mths 12,50% p.a.
Investors over 60 years of age add 0,5% to above rates. Interest can be paid monthly, quarterly, half-yearly, annually or on maturing.

NEW HOME LOANS
Domestic property 14,00% p.a.

UNITED BANK SHORT TERM FIXED DEPOSITS

Balance category	30 days to 2 months	Up to 3 months	Up to 6 months	Up to 9 months	Up to 364 days
R 500 – R 15 000	8,50	9,00	9,00	9,50	10,00
R 15 001 – R 50 000	8,75	9,25	9,25	9,75	10,25
R 50 001 – R100 000	9,00	9,50	9,50	10,00	10,50
R100 000 and more	RATES AVAILABLE ON REQUEST				

NOTICE DEPOSITS

	30 Days		60 Days		90 Days	
Balance Category	*Effective	Nominal	*Effective	Nominal	*Effective	Nominal
R15 000 to R50 000	9,11%	8,75%	9,38%	9,00%	9,65%	9,25%

*Calculated on the daily balance and paid monthly.
†Bonus interest will be earned from R2 000 and above, based on the period the balance is kept in the account.
§Equivalent taxable interest rate assuming a 45,00% marginal tax rate.
• Interest is paid half-yearly, monthly rate available on request.

Remember! The first R1 000 of interest and dividends accruing to each taxpayer per tax year and not otherwise exempt from tax, is tax free.
Interest rates may be changed without notice.

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YOUR HELPING HAND FOR LIFE
(Reg. no 86/04794/06)

Blacks adopting same strategy as Boer leaders — Worrall

Daily Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — Black organisations unwilling to negotiate with the government were adopting the same strategy as Boer leaders after the South African war, the leader of the Independent Party (IP), Dr Denis Worrall, said last night.

Dr Worrall was speaking at a meeting in the Orient Theatre, one of a series of talks in the Border region that began in Grahamstown on Tuesday, where he discussed the role of English speakers in South African politics.

He said last night that the Boers had refused to participate in constitutional experiments, because they knew that their participation would give legitimacy to a system of government that fell far short of what they wanted. They therefore bided their time, knowing that circumstances would favour them.

"Black leaders today sense that demographic, economic and psychological factors will eventually work in their favour, too."

Dr Worrall slammed the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, over his confrontation with the leader of the Labour Party, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse.

"It is the president who is at fault. Apart from his attempted public humiliation of the LP leader, he tried to break him by splitting the party in January this year, just because Mr Hendrickse said "no" to a delayed white election.

"The president's remarks show a condescension and paternalism which explains why he and his government are so unsuccessful in getting along with leaders of other communities," he said.

It was clear that the government's most recent attempt at getting reform going had failed. Chief Buthelezi had turned down the proposals, as had the LP, and no reputable black leaders had come forward.

"President Botha and his cabinet must also realise that they have not benefitted from these consitutional adaptations from a white point of view.

"The Conservative Party will use the proposed inclusion of blacks in the election of the state president to the NP's detriment.

"This is so because there is no vision or sense of constitutional destination."

The reason for the failure was that the NP government wanted to monopolise the process of negotiation.

The two major problems that prevented full political participation were the black distrust of government leaders and white politicians in general, and white fears and insecurity regarding the future, he said.

The IP was trying to develop a "politics of solutions" and many South Africans were concerned at the continuing constitutional stalemate.

Mr Botha and his cabinet were unable to involve black leaders and organisations of repute in the process, and there was a growing white reaction to the constitutional reform process, based on insecurity and fear.

"The position that we have consistently espoused is that the government should accept that the process of discussion and negotiation, which is required for a new constitution for our country, has to occur outside existing institutions."

White South Africa, which was becoming an increasingly smaller proportion of the total population, (in the year 2000 the South Africa population would number over 50 million; of whom less than five million would be white), would also become poorer and increasingly less able to sustain the kind of military force needed to maintain the status quo.

"What is needed in this situation is for the NP government to mandate the chief justice to begin that process of discussion and negotiation. This he should do by drawing together all the major proposals — including the more contentious (a white Afrikaner state on the one hand and the Freedom Charter on the other) — and then, with the use of facilitators, get the process going.

Dr Worrall said the alternative course, to try to "govern ourselves into reform", was the way of co-option, authoritarianism and eventual failure.



The former Cape leader of the now defunct New Republic Party, Mr Pat Rogers (left), and the leader of the Independent Party, Dr Denis Worrall, on their way to the meeting held in the Orient Theatre last night.

Star 5/5/88

What Crocker would tell SA Cabinet

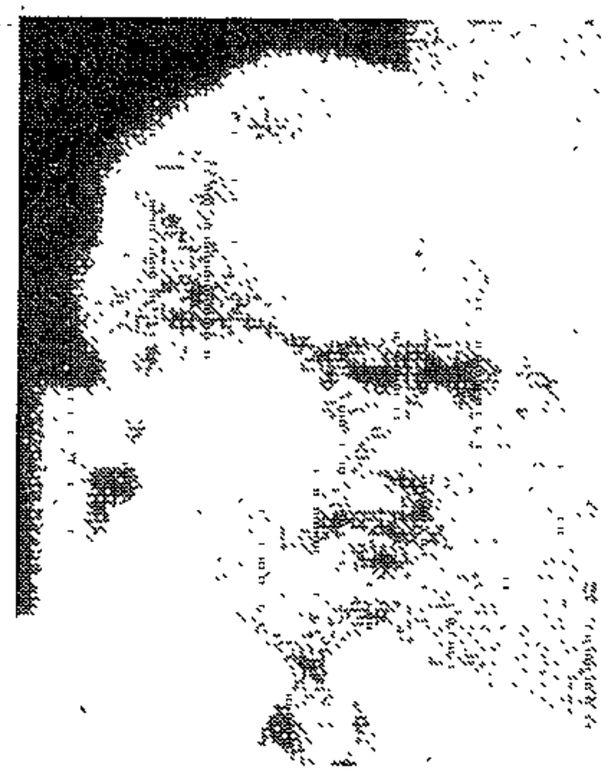
Extracts from an interview with Dr Chester Crocker, US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, by Neil Lurssen of The Star's Foreign News Service on behalf of Leadership magazine. 304A

Lurssen: The Reagan Administration is in its eighth and final year and next year there will be a new Assistant Secretary of State for Africa unless, of course, the next President invites you to stay on in the job. Does the approaching transition give you a sense of urgency about achieving US policy goals in South Africa?

Crocker: A great many foundations and structures have already been built and accomplished and are in place in terms of our policies. And I think many have stood the test of an appropriate and proud response to the circumstances for the region and the circumstances of our own national interests. I don't see it as a question of the clock ticking toward the final two minutes, of sand running through the hourglass, of the fourth quarter of the game.

There are a couple of exceptions to that. I think the most obvious is the Angola/Namibia negotiations. Once our country gets involved fully in its political transition with all that implies, an opportunity could well be lost for all those who have the most at stake — South Africa, Angola, Namibia, the Frontline states. And it could be some time before the opportunity comes again.

In other respects, our message to South Africans about what we care about and what we stand for remains clear. Obviously, we would like to see bold moves by South Africa's leadership, both governmental and non-governmental, to move ahead again on the agenda of change negotiations. But if that doesn't happen, our values and our



Crocker ... "Open the windows of promise for the future."

principles, what we stand for, what we try to do, remain very clearly articulated. We are not the losers.

If you look more broadly in the region, there have been some very difficult times, but there have been times when things were getting done. We obviously want South Africa and its neighbours during the course of this year and beyond to come to realistic assessments of the need to co-exist on some basis. And there is some evidence that that is already happening — though there are real challenges and real problems too.

I guess, to answer your question, I don't see it in terms of sand in the hourglass but we are going to pursue, as long as it seems worthwhile, this very operational effort to complete a negotiation in which much has been accomplished already ...

This administration has paid a price for the courage of its convictions and we have no regrets in that regard because history will prove us right. I have no doubt about it — history is already proving us right.

History is proving you right? Are your referring to your warning to the Congress that US economic sanctions would cause a reduction of American leverage in South Africa?

Yes, but also to something deeper — that with reflection, in time, many of the most ardent advocates of sanctions will come to see their limits. And some already have seen it.

People will come to see that a South Africa which is without restraint, which does not feel under obligation to be judged by Western standards, which has a contracting economy if that is the long-term result or, indeed, a less vigorous one, is not a South Africa in which black advancement is going to come and in which black bargaining power is going to be advanced.

If you had an opportunity to address the South African Cabinet, what advice would you give them about holding off more sanctions this year or tough actions by a future Administration?

I guess I would say that the imperative for movement and decisions is first and foremost one that is based in South Africa itself and I would not counsel any government to do things in order to try to stay out of our newspapers or try to curry favour with majorities in the Congress or what have you. Foreign policy in our country is very much part and parcel of domestic politics and I just don't think that would be a credible argument to make to the South African Cabinet.

What I would say is that it is in South Africa's interests to get its house in order and to open the windows of promise for the future which are not currently open, to chart a course, to define strategies, create facts that will get the attention of people and capture their imaginations and focus attention away from destructive strategies.

If that were done, it would have good consequences as well for South Africa's external relationships but, above all, it would have good consequences inside South Africa.

We see that in the light of what has happened since late 1984. The illusions of imminent revolution have been shown to be hollow in South Africa. The staying power, in purely physical terms, of the white structure there has been made pretty clear. The determination of the black majority to keep going with the struggle for equality and freedom has also been demonstrated.

And so, in a sense, after all that various groups of people have done to prove themselves to each other, there would be a chance for progress, but only if the Government were prepared to explore it to get something done.

There have been signals and hints from Moscow recently that the Soviet Union may become a little more flexible on southern Africa. What do you think about this possiblity?

We take these hints as you call them as things to be tested, not rewarded. There are those who argue that when you hear a pleasant speech from your adversary, you should reciprocate by changing your own position. I am not of that school of thought. But I think it very important to find out what these suggestions mean because they may be serious. And so we are in the business of doing that, most notably in the case of Afghanistan.

As far as Angola/Namibia is concerned, I think the jury is still out as to what they may mean. Maybe the Soviets have been studying the regional realities and have found that the East-West approach is not going to work. Although the Soviets talk about a need for a political solution, it is not clear that they are prepared to put their weight behind the settlement process. We shall have to see.

No need to redeem granny bonds

Star 15/5/88

There was no need for holders of the granny bonds issued last year to cash them in now that a new savings instrument for elderly people had been put in operation, **Finance Minister Barend du Plessis** said in the House of Delegates yesterday.

He said in reply to committee stage debate on the finance and audit vote that it appeared from the large number of telephone calls being received by the Treasury that there was a great deal of uncertainty on the matter.

He had announced in his Budget speech this year that a new savings instrument, which would give interest of 15 percent, was being implemented in place of the granny bonds scheme.

It was, however, definitely not the case that the granny bonds now had to be redeemed.

If investors wanted to redeem them after the 12-month period, they were free to do so, he said. — Sapa.

CP 'not prepared to pay for integration'

Ster 6/5/88 Parliamentary Staff (3044)

The Conservative Party was prepared to see "white money" being spent judiciously on development of self-governing black states but was not prepared to pay for integration, **CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg** said yesterday.

The Opposition would pay for partition but not for integration, he said.

Development Aid Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen replied that R1,25 billion of the budget for his department was money from the blacks states.

Referendum on Indaba sought

Stellenbosch University's students representative council is to call on the Government to hold a referendum on proposals made by the kwaZulu Natal Indaba.

The students' call will be handed to Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, in the near future, council chairman Mr Francois Beukman says in a statement. The students want the referedum before the end of the year.

The SRC, which is dominated by National Party supporters, unanimously backed the Indaba after a series of discussions with Indaba staff in Durban.

The statement warns that negotiations, at regional and national level, for a political dispensation accommodating all race groups will have to be initiated within the next year if evolutionary change is to take place in South Africa.

Mr Beukman says the resolution is "evidence to the black people that the youth is prepared to compromise".

Parliament can now divide itself to sit in nine different venues

By DAVID BRAUN, Political Staff

PARLIAMENT this week conducted its business in four Chambers at the same time, complicating logistics for journalists and officials.

This latest development in the tricameral system resulted from a decision of the House of Assembly to divide in two appropriation committees, with one debating the Budget vote of Agriculture and the other of Environment Affairs.

The purpose of such a division is to speed up the proceedings of Parliament so that twice as much work can be done by the Assembly at the same time.

The precedent for such a division was actually established in pre-tricamareal days when the Assembly divided into two committees to deal with two Budget votes simultaneously.

The difference then, though, was that the second committee used the old Senate Chamber while this week it used the old House of Delegates Chamber.

The division of Houses of Parliament is likely to be a permanent feature from next year, but on a much grander scale.

In terms of new rules for joint debates among the three Houses, we may see the three Chambers sitting together, but in up to nine different venues.

These are the Chamber of Parliament (the specially built hall for joint debates), the House of Assembly, the House of Representatives, the House of Delegates, the old House of Delegates and the venues in each of the four provincial capitals where Parliament will move to debate provincial issues.

Later this month the first joint debates will in fact be held in the four provincial capitals.

The idea behind this new concept is to bring the Legislature closer to the people so that the residents of the province concerned may attend debates in their capitals.

The mechanics of bringing three Houses together and then dividing them between four or more Chambers are somewhat complex. In the first instance, any Member of Parliament may attend any of the debates he or she chooses.

In practice, the Transvaal MPs are likely to attend the debate in Pretoria while those from the Cape will attend the debate in Cape Town, and so on.

When Parliament divides into two, three or four different committees in order to use the four Chambers in the parliamentary complex, MPs will also be free to attend any of the debates.

However, though they may sit and debate together, they may not vote together.

Voting must still take place within the racial blocks of whites, coloured representatives and Indians so that separate majorities may be recorded for each of the three Houses.

From the new rules it is apparent that parliamentary proceedings will in future be conducted in public:

- At joint meetings of the Houses;
- At separate meetings of each House;
- In extended public committees of the Houses, and
- In appropriation committees of each House.

Any Bill on general affairs, or any provision of such a Bill, may be discussed in an extended public committee.

An extended public committee is to consist of members of the joint standing committee under which the particular Bill or provision falls, and all other MPs who attend the proceedings of the extended public committee.

Voting may take place at a joint meeting of the Houses or at a separate meeting of the House concerned, and for that purpose "voting days" may be set aside.

If voting takes place at a joint meeting, the Speaker may determine the procedure to record the votes of the three Houses separately.

Defence raises time factor

GRAHAMSTOWN — The state witnesses themselves proved that the two Unrest Unit policemen could not have committed some of the acts attributed to them, defence counsel, Mr C. Jansen, SC, claimed in the Supreme Court here yesterday.

He said the state alleged that W/O Leon de Villiers, 37, and Constable David Patrick Goosen, 27, were guilty of assaulting Mr Michael Qhina by stabbing him.

But Mrs Nompe Qhina had stated that they had reached the hospital by 1.30 am on July 26, 1986. The radio log at the Ops Room showed that the Unrest Unit squad had not entered the Cradock township until 2.20 am that night.

It was impossible that the accused were responsible for Mr Qhina's injury.

Dealing with the state argument of common purpose — that W/O De Villiers and Const Goosen had led a team of inebriated, inexperienced youngsters on a "black bashing"expedition, and consequently were jointly responsible for whatever happened — he said there was a great deal of uncertainty about whether the term "moering tools" was used, and not a tittle of evidence that either accused ever suggested that people should be assaulted.

The defence will continue its argument on Monday.

Earlier, the Attorney General, Mr J. A. van S. D'Oliveira, SA, had asked the court to convict the two accused of murdering Mr Lungile Stuurman by shooting him, murdering Mr Andile Plaatjies, assaulting Mr Qhina, and attempting to defeat the ends of justice. — DDC

Contagious livestock abortion causing concern in Ciskei

Daily Dispatch Reporter

BISHO — Contagious abortion in livestock in Ciskei is causing concern in the Ciskei Department of Agriculture.

A statement issued by the Agricultural Media Information Services said the veterinary division of the department had conducted many tests to diagnose the cause of retained afterbirth and abortion in cows and heifers.

The results of the tests indicate that all cows and heifers in Ciskei should be vaccinated against the disease.

The head of the veterinary division, Mr A. M. Mbontsi, said the disease was "complicated and we do not know where it started".

"All our new stock is brought in from South Africa, but I do not think that this is where the disease came from, as it is prevalent on the free range animals in Ciskei, which are locally bred.

Mr Mbontsi said the vaccination of all cows and heifers was the first phase. There were between 80 000 and 90 000 cattle in Ciskei of which 40 000 to 50 000 were cows and heifers.

"The cost of the vaccine is 60c an application, but there is a shortage of the vaccine in Ciskei at the moment.

"Once we get fresh supplies, it will take two weeks to complete the vaccination programme," he said.

"We have developed a special ear dye for the animals that have been vaccinated which stops revaccination.

"The next phase is the castration of all bulls in the country that have not been supplied through the Ciskei Government and vaccinated."

"Bulls can spread the disease quickly through a herd of cows and it is sometimes difficult to stop the bulls from wandering from an enclosed field.

"The vaccine is not a total immunisation against the disease but at least it will bring the disease under control."

The South African state veterinarian here, Dr Bruce Anderson, said contagious abortion was prevalent throughout Southern Africa and was controlled in South Africa in conjunction with cattle tuberculosis.

Co-operation needed between opposition parties says Worrall

Daily Dispatch Reporter

QUEENSTOWN — Some basis of co-operation between different political parties and organisations within the creative opposition was definitely necessary, the leader of the Independent Party (IP), Dr Denis Worrall, said here yesterday.

He said this had been confirmed at the seven public meetings which he and the former leader of the now defunct New Republic Party, Mr Pat Rogers, had addressed on the Border and in the Eastern Province this week.

"The Independent Party is drawing supporters from across the political spectrum — including from within the National Party.

"Consequently there is clearly a need for us all, the IP, Labour Party, Progressive Federal Party and the National Democratic Party, to get our act together, but two things are extremely important.



DR WORRALL

Firstly, this must be done across the colour line and, secondly, we must not lose sight of the strategic objective which is to provide an alternative home for disenchanted Nationalists."

This is something that could not be rushed, and talk and speculation of imminent pacts was unrealistic, Dr Worrall said.

Dr Worrall and Mr Rogers, who is the party's co-ordinator in the Border and Eastern Province regions, addressed a lunch-time meeting here, attended by 80 people.

He said a concerted effort would be made to establish branches of the IP in the area. The party policy of a non-racial, democratic country with a free market economy was gaining tremendous support, Dr Worrall added.

DID 6/5/88 (3040)

The new shape of government

Few people any longer understand their way around the complicated constitutional structure in terms of which South Africa is governed. NEIL JACOBSOHN seeks a way through the maze.

Two overriding principles have dictated the shape of Pretoria's constitutional structure, including the new extentions proposed last month by the State President government's determination to retain control and to continue the separation of the races.

As regards the former, the official name of Pretoria's constitutional game is devolution of power. In reality, it is devolution of function, as this examination of the structure will show.

When it comes to the latter, the structure shows that race remains SA's great divide. The "independent" homelands are victims of omission — although very much part of the overall governmental structure, funded by SA and administered to a large extent by seconded SA officials, they are left off the constitutional map entirely.

On the map, the divide splits government horizontally into own and general affairs. The effect is to limit contact between the races to within tightly-controlled formal forums.

Vertically, government operates on three levels: the central; the provincial or regional (the difference will emerge); and the local.

Dominating the edifice is the **STATE PRESIDENT**, whose role will become clear.

The **GENERAL AFFAIRS** structure, on the right of the graphic, is headed by a **PRIME MINISTER** who, said President Botha last month, would concern himself with the day-to-day running of the country. He would lead a **CABINET** which could include technocrats and other outsiders as well as politicians, and which may include black members.

The proposed **GREAT INDABA** — the suggested name for the National Council — would operate alongside the Cabinet. In terms of the proposed legislation now before Parliament, its duties would be threefold: to negotiate a new constitution; to provide black input to government, for example by comment on draft legislation and by giving general advice; and work towards improving inter-race relations.

PARLIAMENT would continue to function in three houses, while the **PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL**, in which blacks could be included, could become a part-time advisory body through which organisations, such as the Economic Advisory Council, would report. Many of its present functions could be assumed by the Great Indaba.

Spanning the gap between central and provincial government are the existing **PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEES** for each province. These consist of MPs from the three Houses, who supervise and scrutinise the activities of the **PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES** (Excos) appointed by the President. These control the greatly-expanded provincial administrations (many functions have devolved from the central to the provincial level). They already have black members, and replace the previously-elected provincial councils.

KwaNatal-type **JOINT EXECUTIVE AUTHORITIES** could be established in the Transvaal and Free State to link SA and the six self-governing territories (there are none in the Cape).

At the bottom of the general affairs network are the **REGIONAL SERVICES COUNCILS**, made up of nominated local councillors from black, white, Indian and coloured municipalities. RSCs are a horizontal general affairs extention of the local authorities (which are own affairs bodies) and not a superior form of government. They have limited taxation authority, and are charged with developing regional infrastructures and providing bulk services to local authorities. They report upwards to the Provincial administrations, and their overall objective, according to a government pamphlet, is "an equitable distribution of income, development and influence from the more developed to the less developed communities in a region."

Also into the general affairs camp fall the **GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS** operating on a national level, such as Police, Defence, SATS, Posts and Telecommunications and Manpower.

The **OWN AFFAIRS** structure, on the left of the graphic, is much more complex.

The existing structure consists of the three Houses of Parliament, each led by an own affairs **MINISTER'S COUNCIL**. The decisions of each house are executed at ground level by separate **MINISTERIAL REPRESENTATIVES** in a series of separate administrative **REGIONAL OFFICES**.

LOCAL AUTHORITIES form the third level. At present, coloured and Indian **MANAGEMENT COMMITTEES** report through white local authorities. Provision is made for their autonomy, but so far the Coloured and Indian houses have declined local autonomy on an ethnic basis.

Black councils, where functioning, already have autonomy. Their counterparts within the self-governing territories can, by agreement, operate within the structure by joining RSCs and making use of provincial infrastructures.

The missing strand is black representation above local authority or RSC level, and outside the self-governing territories. The own affairs solution is to establish nine **REGIONAL COUNCILS**, to be elected by blacks in the nine economic development regions.

These could function as black own affairs administrations in the same way as the regional administrative offices of the three Houses of Parliament. Government says blacks must ask for these structures, it will not impose them

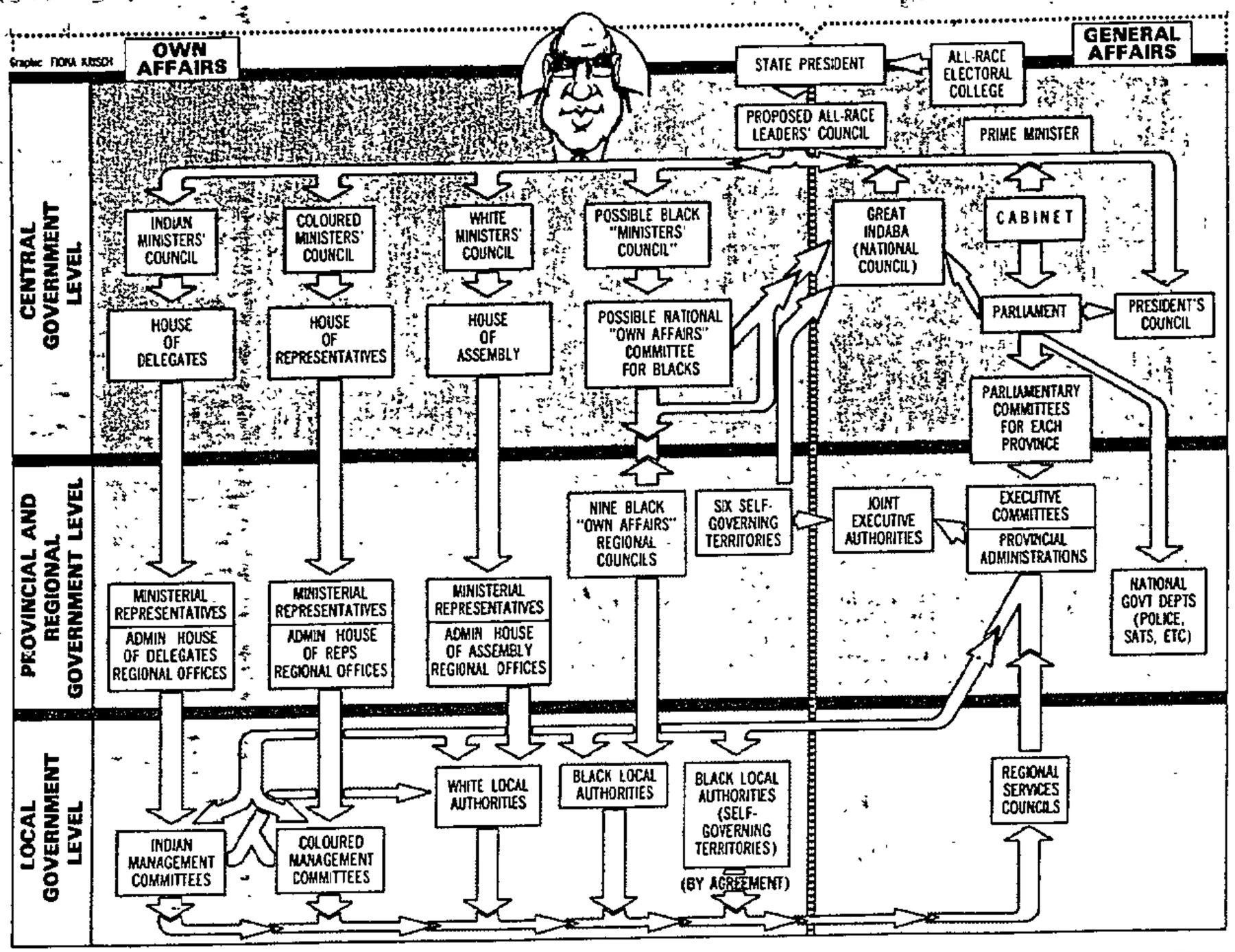
The members of these committees may decide to elect a **NATIONAL OWN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE** for blacks, which government then sees operating alongside the three Houses — although not as a "fourth chamber" but as the constituent body for the Great Indaba and as the means to report back down the line to urban blacks

Provision could also be made for this committee to appoint leaders from within its ranks: in effect, a **BLACK MINISTERS' COUNCIL**. The existing white, Indian and coloured councils control (for their own race group) a budget which is spent on education and culture, health and welfare services, agriculture, housing and local affairs; government sees the possible black council performing the same role.

What ties it all together?

Botha and other government spokesmen have envisaged a new, all-race policy-making body, a **LEADERS' COUNCIL**, sitting astride the own and general affairs lines. Very little is known at present about how this body would function, what powers it would have and how its members would be selected.

Ultimately, all the threads come together in the hands of the State President, who would command great power and favour as executive head of State and leader of the ruling party in the Assembly. He would be appointed by an **ELECTORAL COLLEGE** in which blacks could serve.



Wynand's party opts out of local elections

Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The National Democratic Movement has declared its determination to enter parliamentary politics actively in its striving for a non-racial, democratic dispensation.

However, the party announced that it would not formally take part in the October municipal elections.

At the NDM's first congress in Randburg yesterday, leader Mr Wynand Malan, MP (Independent), said he regretted that the NDM could not utilise the local government elections to promote its ideology and create a more visible image.

However, the NDM could not afford to be viewed as a losing party, which could happen if it rushed into the municipal elections unprepared, he said.

The party should now concentrate on developing its infrastructure countrywide and raising funds for the next general election.

Frustration

Regional branches of the NDM were given the go-ahead to support, and canvass actively for, municipal candidates with ideologies similar to those of the NDM.

Reacting to requests by several of the 250 delegates to discuss a strategy for co-operation with the Progressive Federal Party and Dr Denis Worrall's newly-formed Independent Party, Mr Malan called on the congress to "trust" the management committee in its informal discussions with "various political parties".

"Power" politics

Commenting on the NDM's activities since its formation in October last year, Mr Malan said the first objective of establishing contact with extra-parliamentary organisations across the total political spectrum had been successful.

Although he did not want to compromise the organisations with whom discussions had been held, he said the NDM had support for its ideology of "inclusive" politics with the view of preparing both parliamentary participants and extra-parliamentary organisations for negotiation on South Africa's political future.

The valuable contact that had been made with both right-wing and left-wing groups would continue, he said.

The NDM was now ready to tackle its second main objective of participating in "power" politics.

Mr Malan stressed that traditional National Party seats would be the NDM's main target. It did not want to "re-arrange the seats" to the left of the Government.

Mr Malan was unanimously re-elected NDM leader.

Political commentator and journalist Mr Harald Pakendorf was the only new member to be elected to the management committee.

Re-elected were advocate Mr David de Villiers, QC, MPs Mr Peter Gastrow and Mr Pierre Cronje, Mr Pieter Schoeman and Dr Esther Lategan.

NDM now aiming at Nat seats — Malan

ESMARÉ VAN DER MERWE

The National Democratic Movement (NDM) yesterday declared its determination to enter Parliamentary politics actively in its striving for a non-racial, democratic dispensation, but announced that it would not formally participate in the October municipal elections.

At the NDM's first congress held in Randburg, its leader, Independent MP Mr Wynand Malan, said he regretted the fact that the NDM could not utilise the local government elections to promote its ideology.

However, the NDM could not afford to be viewed as a losing party, which could have happened if it rushed into the municipal elections.

It should now concentrate on developing its infrastructure countrywide and raising funds for participating in the next general election.

The regional branches of the NDM were given the go-ahead to support and actively canvass for municipal candidates with similar ideologies.

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Commenting on the NDM's activities since its formation in October last year, Mr Malan said the first objective of establishing contact with extra-Parliamentary organisations across the total political spectrum had been very successful.

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Mr Malan stressed that traditional National Party seats would be the NDM's main target.

Mr Malan was unanimously re-elected as NDM leader.

Political commentator and journalist Mr Harald Pakendorf was the only newly-elected member to the management committee.

The five other committee members who had been re-elected were Advocate Dawid de Villiers, Mr Peter Gastrow, Mr Pierre Cronje, Mr Pieter Schoeman and Dr Esther Lategan.

Pigs' heads: deportment?

CAPE TOWN — Irish citizen Mrs Yvonne Tina Malone, who faces criminal injuria charges over the pigs' heads incident at the Jewish Club in Durban and at a synagogue, will almost certainly be deported if found guilty.

A Government spokesman has confirmed this.

SATYR



"If you keep digging fo diamonds they'll put up statue to you!"

nites emona

A MARTIN

ho had been starring in the since April 21, was standing waiting to have his car tyre ictable happened.

ng inflated just ahead of him of metal from the rim shat-

pital shortly afterwards," says only for the play and he asked w days until he recovered.

it would reunite me with my

PETITION — SEE PAGE 18

NDM will not fight municipal elections on a party basis

DIS 7/5/84

304A

Daily Dispatch Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The National Democratic Movement (NDM) yesterday opted to seek a high profile in parliamentary politics, but shied away from fighting the October 26 municipal elections on a party political basis.

At the same time it will continue with its efforts both to establish and mould extra-parliamentary links.

The high parliamentary profile applies only to the House of Assembly at this stage.

The decision was taken at the congress of the NDM here attended by 200 people.

The NDM's leader, Mr Wynand Malan, said the aim was to draw people from the National Party and the NDM was "not in the market to put a spoke in the wheels of the Progressive Federal Party or the Independent Party".

He said if the left-wing opposition was to survive it had to come to terms with the PFP and IP. He hinted that an election pact with the PFP was imminent.

Mr Malan was re-elected leader of the NDM with the management committee of Mr Pierre Cronje, Mr Peter Gastrow, Mr Pieter Schoeman, Dr Dawid de Villiers, Dr Esther Lategan and Mr Harald Pakendorf.

The NDM supported a "social market" economy, giving high priority to individual initiative but at the same time recognising that the state had a collective duty to provide the basic needs of the majority of people, Mr Malan said.



MR MALAN

He said the movement believed in deregulation and the "widest possible opportunity and entry into the economy for all individuals".

He said at the same time the collective services of the state would have to focus on education and training so that all could use the opportunities of participation, and on health services and the availability of land for the use of those who could not afford it.

● Three avenues were open for change in South Africa, the Professor of Constitutional Law at Unisa, Professor Marinus Wiechers, said at the congress.

The first option was revolution or semi-revolution, the latter being when some parts of the country became totally ungovernable and it was decided to negotiate.

The second possibility was "let's negotiate"; the option which the government was taking and which meant that they wanted to move into a new dispensation but under their own direction.

There was no open agenda, he said, and the bottom line was National Party control.

The principle, Prof Wiechers said was to "extend the network of co-option"

If co-option or patronage failed, then the other side of the coin — power — was used.

Prof Wiechers said the problem with such a policy was that it was far too difficult and far too expensive, while a further problem was that people used the system because it was convenient but they were not bound by it

The third option was the democratic option in which the principles of negotiation were laid down beforehand in terms of a declaration of intent or some similar document.

Thereafter, a new constitutional dispensation could be negotiated which would have the backing of all groups and would therefore be legitimate.

Hendrickse reacts to Rozanne's statement on coloured people

CAPE TOWN — The leader of the Labour Party, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, yesterday rejected suggestions by Miss Rozanne Botha, the daughter of the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, that coloured people had "an identity crisis" stating that the reverse was in fact true.

"It is the white Afrikaner who had a problem with his identity not brown Afrikaners," he said.

Miss Botha made the remark in an article in the University of Cape Town's newspaper.

In the article Miss Botha was quoted as saying: "Women are just sentimental buggers"; "Feminists have an inferiority complex"; "Coloured people have an identity crisis"; and "I think blacks need to respect the good things of Die Stem".

Reacting last night, Mr Hendrickse said "brown Afrikaners" had accepted that they were South Africans.

"The white Afrikaner, on the other hand, is still bound by his past as is evident from his celebration of the Hugenot Festival among other things.

"He is seeking that which we have already found, a South Africanism."

Miss Botha said the article was not a true reflection of what she said.

"It was totally drawn out of proportion. They added their own interpretations to it. I suppose I can take them to court, but what will that help me. Anyway, more positive things will come up."

Newspaper journalist Richard Bartlett said the article was shown to Miss Botha before publication. Although she admitted she had not been misquoted, she said she would "cause trouble" if the article was published.

"We always hear about her singing career. We wanted to find out whether there is more to the president's daughter, and we found out."

Last December Miss Botha featured in a controversial American television documentary on apartheid. She said then she was not misquoted, but was portrayed as a wealthy, naive child.

Miss Botha admitted yesterday she was a privileged South African. "It's not as if I don't know about suffering. I slept on the floor in the army and had cold showers. The blacks just want our houses and swimming pools, but I can't blame them." — DDC-Sapa

A Soviet diplomat's view of South Africa

From their embassy in Maseru, on the border with South Africa, diplomats of the Soviet Union are able to get a close-up view of events in South Africa. One of the most interested observers is Dr Boris Asoyan, the acting ambassador, who is an Africa specialist of long standing. A former deputy director of the Africa Institute in Moscow, former Tass correspondent in Zimbabwe and other African countries and author of 10 books on Africa, Dr Asoyan is a member of the Africa department in the Soviet foreign office. How he sees South Africa emerged in a lecture he gave recently at the University of Lesotho at Roma, which he emphasised was an academic view rather than an exposition of official Soviet policy. This report notes a few salient points in his address. — *The Saturday Star's Africa News Service.*

The Soviet Union is rather new in this part of the world. Our relations with Africa developed mainly after the Sixties. This period was hardly enough to understand thoroughly the realities of this vast continent and specific features of each country.

On the other hand, the majority of Africans are also only beginning to find out for themselves what the Soviet Union is, how our political and academic thinking on African affairs has developed — especially when my country is undergoing a tremendous process of overall restructuring, known to the world as perestroika.

For 15 years the (southern African) region has continued to be the zone of one of the bloodiest and most protracted conflicts in modern history. In the past decade it has become a real threat to international stability. The main cause of this conflict is the system of apartheid. Unless this system is abolished the rules of the conflict will stay intact.

Policy of reform

It is already 10 years since the government of Mr P W Botha started its policy of reform but can we say there is less apartheid than in 1948? On the other hand, do we have a reason to state that these reforms have not moved an inch since this policy was introduced by the Nationalist Party 40 years ago?

Can we say that South Africa moves from crisis to catastrophe?

Finally, can we say we keep up with the fluid political situation in South Africa? Do we still live with old mythology, old stereotypes, about it?

The situation in contemporary South Africa cannot be related in simple terms. It is many-sided and contradictory and you can see the green shoots of the future which struggle through the parched soil of the obsolete past.

The situation still has a lot of cruelty, implacability, stupidity and bloodshed. At the same time one cannot miss the vast reserves of goodwill, mercy and talent. It is soaked with racism and ethnic chauvinism, but at the same time powerful streams of the common, national and non-racial are brought to light.

South Africa was late in its political development. The majority of nations living in similar conditions have already passed this stage of racial antagonisms and managed to create conditions for mutual co-existence of peoples with different colour of skin.

South Africa fell behind. This in my opinion is one of the main causes of her present misfortunes. The Dutch settlers tried not only to ensure their security, but also to safeguard their culture as a guarantee for survival in a hostile encirclement. Superiority complex multiplied by Calvinist belief in racial predestination became the basis on which the Afrikaner society was built.

Today the whole socio-political picture of South Africa is becoming more complex.

New social forces grow in all the population groups in South Africa. What will come out of this political polychromity we have yet to see.

Freedom Charter

And now let me elaborate a little on our policy in southern Africa. We totally agree with the preamble of the Freedom Charter that states that South Africa belongs to all who live there, both blacks and whites. We agree at the same time that whites are full-right members of the society.

We accept the necessity of the stage-by-stage movement to the main aim, creation of a non-racial democratic society, and concede that negotiations between the government and the genuine representatives of the black majority will be a necessary and inevitable link in this process.

At the same time I am sure that the power of pressure on Pretoria, including armed struggle by the liberation organisations, is also an indispensible part of this process. So is the demand for sanctions.

We in the Soviet Union do not want to see chaos in South Africa. We are for constructive decisions.

101 ways to end the big 'A'

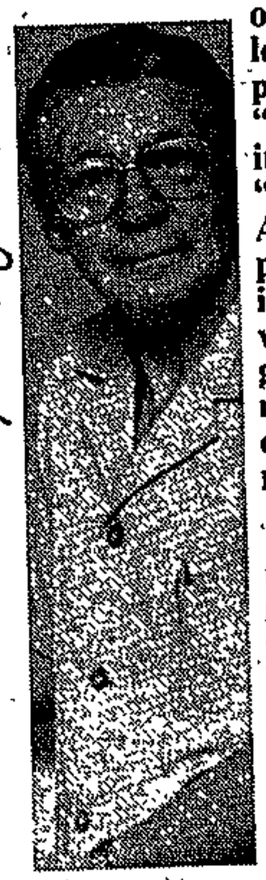
By KERRY CULLINAN

THERE is only one thing to do with apartheid, and that is to get rid of it as soon as possible. But 101 channels and strategies would be needed, Rev Beyers Naude told a Five Freedoms Forum meeting this week.

The meeting, in the Warehouse at Johannesburg's Market Theatre complex, was called to launch the FFF campaign: "101 Ways to End Apartheid", which is aimed at drawing concerned whites into working for change.

After the introductory speeches, members of the audience were invited to make suggestions, and to write these up on a banner. At first, the response to compere Des Lindberg's request was slow, but once a few people had broken the ice, a flood of suggestions was released.

"Worker power", someone scrawled on the banner. "Write letters", "Mix with people of other races", "Question the morality of the army", "Break the Group Areas Act by inviting people of other races into your homes", were some of the suggestions as businessmen, students and academics made their marks on the banner.



Beyers Naude

One man suggested that whites buy black newspapers and magazines to see what blacks experienced every day.

"We whites are all beneficiaries of apartheid, and to see this clearly I suggest that you circle every article that shows how blacks suffer more than you," he said.

The FFF, which was formed by a group of concerned whites after the second state of emergency was declared in 1986, has chosen a dinasaur as its campaign logo to show that apartheid is doomed.

An essay competition for school children and an open day on which whites can come along and be exposed to all the organisations working for change that are open to them are also planned as part of the campaign.

NDM WARY OF BECOMING 'LEFT'S JAAP MARAIS'

By DRIES van HEERDEN

MR WYNAND MALAN'S National Democratic Movement this weekend battled to find a political parking place in an overcrowded liberal arena.

Nevertheless, the NDM decided at its first congress not to contest the coming municipal elections on an official basis.

Mr Malan swayed the mood of the 200 delegates when he warned that participation in the elections without sufficient preparation and adequate funds would result in huge defeats at the polls — relegating the NDM to become "the Jaap Marais of the Left".

Cause

Instead it was decided to concentrate efforts towards any coming general election.

On a municipal level, local branches of the NDM could decide themselves whether to put up candidates or support other parties.

Before Mr Malan's speech there was widespread support for a proposal by Afrikaans poet and critic Fanie Olivier that the NDM should contest local elections on all possible levels.

"Many voters are desperately searching for a cause to support. We should not leave them in the lurch," he urged.

But at voting time Mr Olivier could get only one other supporter for his motion.

Several delegates expressed concern over divisions in the liberal opposition and asked about efforts to form alliances against the Government.

Mr Malan disclosed that he had had "quite a number of discussions" with PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin. But, he added, he had found it "very difficult to communicate" with Independent Party leader Dr Denis Worrall, who last year parted with Mr Malan's movement.

"Our aim is primarily to draw disaffected supporters away from the National Party," Mr Malan said.

"We don't just want to rearrange the furniture of opposition politics."

The congress unanimously supported suggestions that the ANC should be included in the NDM's efforts to engage extra-parliamentary groups in political discussion.

Referring to the Government's refusal to talk to the ANC until it disavowed violence, Mr Malan said he also rejected violence.

"But if there is violence, that is all the more reason to talk. You don't stop violence through counter-violence."

A number of delegates urged the leadership of the NDM to move beyond mere words and platitudes into the realm of practical politics.

Randburg town councillor Andre Jacobs said: "We need to take political action or we will just continue talking until the chaos hits us."

And Stellenbosch law professor Gerhard Erasmus said one of the best ways to elicit the support of white voters was to demonstrate that negotiations with other groups had practical results.

Opening the congress, Mr Malan said the NDM believed that lasting security and peace for all people in South Africa could lie only in mutual trust and justice.

The NDM's aim was "one South Africa with effective political rights for all in one nation moulded from different political communities".

Stressing that the country's problems were the result of polarisation between the ANC and the Government, Mr Malan said: "Each comes to us with the choice: Support me, or you are my enemy."

Overhaul

The NDM, however, believed in the politics of inclusion, because its emphasis was on value systems rather than political systems.

NDM MP for Durban Central Mr Peter Gastrow said a complete overhaul of the whole spectrum of security legislation was urgently needed.

The present security legislation undermined the possibility of political accommodation and permanent security because it was also used to suppress legitimate political opposition.

Hansard

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

†Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

Police Force of self-governing territory: persons detained/removed from RSA

39. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether any persons were (a) detained in South Africa by persons other than members of the South African security forces and (b) removed by these persons from South African territory since 27 May 1987; if so, (i) how many as at the latest specified date for which information is available and (ii) by whom were they detained;

(2) whether permission had been obtained from the South African Police prior to such action being taken; if not, (a) in respect of which cases and (b) what action was taken by the Police as a result;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER

(1) and (2) No, but by members of a police force of a self-governing territory.

However, because the revolutionary onslaught is also aimed at the self-governing territories, I do not consider it to be in the interest of the safety of those territories to divulge information regarding the actions by the police forces of those territories.

(3) Yes. According to the Regulations promulgated in terms of the Public Safety Act, 1953 (Act 3 of 1953) by Proclamation R96 of 11 June 1987, "Security Force" is defined as follows:

(a) the South African Police referred to in the definition of "the Force" in section 1 of the Police Act, 1958 (Act 7 of 1958);

(b) any part of the said South African Police of which the control, organisation and administration have been transferred to the government of a self-governing territory;

(c) any police force established by or under a law of a self-governing territory;

(d) the South African Defence Force referred to in section 5 of the Defence Act, 1957 (Act 44 of 1957); or

(e) the Prisons Service established by section 2 of the Prisons Act, 1959 (Act 8 of 1959), and also any part of any such force or any combination of two or more of such forces or of parts of such forces.

In the unreported case Mathebe vs The Minister of Law and Order of KwaNdebele in Pretoria on 22 December 1987, the judge ruled that notwithstanding this definition, the KwaNdebele Police do not have jurisdiction or powers of arrest outside the borders of KwaNdebele. This ruling is at present on appeal and will be heard by the Appeal Court, Bloemfontein.

National servicemen: attempted suicide/suicide

1023. Mr J H VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Defence:†

(1) Whether any cases of (a) attempted suicide and (b) suicide in respect of national servicemen were reported in the past two years; if so, how many in each category in each of these years;

(2) whether these suicides and attempted suicides have any common cause; if so, what is this cause?

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) The honourable member is referred to the replies to written questions number 187 of 1987 and 152 of 1988 in this House.

(2) No.

Representatives at economic summit conference

1032. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the State President:

Whether, he will furnish information on the persons who attended the economic summit conference held in 1987; if not, why not; if so, (a) how many persons represented (i) the

self-governing territories and independent Black states, (ii) the media, (iii) organized trade, industry and agriculture and (iv) employee organizations and (b) what are the names of the bodies which represented (i) organized (aa) trade, (bb) industry and (cc) agriculture and (ii) employee organizations at this conference?

The STATE PRESIDENT:

I refer the honourable member to my written reply to question 687 of 1988.

Own Affairs:

Reply substituting reply to Question No 119 on Monday, 2 May 1988, put by Mr C J Derby-Lewis (col. 1247):

Non-White children attending White private schools

119. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

(a) How many non-White children are currently attending White private schools in the Transvaal, (b) which schools are involved, (c) how many of these schools receive (i) 45 and (ii) 15 per cent subsidies, (d) what is the latest total subsidy amount for the Province of Transvaal in this regard and (e) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

(a) 5 136,

(b) Assumption Convent (Germiston)
Assumption Convent High School (Maryvale)
Assumption Convent High School (Pretoria)
Auckland Park Preparatory School
Brescia House Ursuline Convent
Christian Brothers' College (Boksburg)
Christian Brothers' College (Pretoria)
Christian Brothers' College (Springs)
Convent of the Holy Family
Convent of Our Lady of Mercy Dominican School
Crossroads Trust School
Damelin College
De la Salle Holy Cross College
Deutsche Schule (Johannesburg)
Deutsche Schule (Pretoria)
Domincan Convent
Eden College (Johannesburg)
Eden College (Warmbaths)
Glenoaks School
Holy Rosary Convent
Iona Convent
Japari School
Kelly Greenoaks
King David School (Linksfield)
King David School (Victory Park)
Kingsmead College
La Salle College
Liberty Christian College
Loreto Convent (Skinner Street)
Loreto Convent (Queenswood)
Marist Brothers' College
Max Stibbe School
Mayfair Convent
McAuley House School
Michael Mount Waldorf School
Modern Methods Business College
Our Lady of Mercy School
Pretoria Preparatory School
Pridwin Preparatory School
Rand Tutorial College
Redhill School
Roedean School (S.A.)
Sacred Heart College
Saheti Preparatory School
Sagewood School
Selly Park Convent
St Alban's School
St Andrews School
St Benedict's College
St Catherine's Dominican Convent
St Catherine's School (Florida)
St Columba's Primary School
St Conrad's School
St David's Marist Brothers' College
St Dominic's School
St Dunstan's Memorial Diocesan School
St John Bosco College
St John's College
St John's Preparatory School
St Katharine's Preparatory School
St Martin's Sshool
St Mary's School for Girls
St Mary's Diocesan for Girls (Pretoria)
St Paul's Parochial School
St Paulus Laerskool
St Peter's School (Nelspruit)
St Peter's Preparatory (Rivonia)
St Stithian's College
St Teresa's Convent
St Thomas Aquinas
Studywell Tutorial College
St Ursula's Convent
St Ursula's Primary
The Ridge School
Uplands Preparatory School
Waterkloof House Preparatory School
Woodmead School,

(c) (i) 19
(ii) 49,

(d) R13 592 343.00

(e) (a) — (c) July 1987
(d) March 1988.

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

†Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

Diplomatic missions abroad: persons appointed as ambassadors/diplomatic officials

24. Mr M RAJAB asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

(a) How many (i) Indians, (ii) Coloured, (iii) White and (iv) Black persons had been appointed as (aa) ambassadors and (bb) diplomatic officials in the South African diplomatic missions abroad as at 1 March 1988, (b) in which countries were they serving and (c) what ranks did they hold?

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

I will gladly furnish the Honourable Member with the relevant details verbally.

PFP has plan to foil tricameral apartheid

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Progressive Federal Party has a plan to cock a snook at tricameral apartheid.

When next a joint sitting of all three houses of Parliament is held in the new "Great Hall of the People", the Progs hope two brown faces will be visible among the sea of lily-white visages in the seats reserved for white MPs.

They will be those of Mr Pat Poovalingam (PFP Reservoir Hills) and Mr Mamoo Rajab (PFP Springfield), the two Indian MPs who recently joined the Progs.

RULING

Prog strategists believe they will be there despite a ruling by the Chief Whip of Parliament, Mr Alex van Breda, against white and brown Progs sitting together as a party instead of separately with their respective race groups.

But the PFP's Chief Whip, Mr John Malcomess, has come up with a plan which he believes will bypass the ruling without breaking any rules.

He says there is no rule of Parliament that prevents an MP from sitting in another MP's seat. The Progs intend to exploit this rule — or rather the lack of one — to ensure their Indian MPs sit with their white colleagues.

Mr Malcomess said that for example, when he, as the PFP Chief Whip, needed to consult his Nat counterpart in the House, he "crossed the floor" and sat in the Nat benches. MPs even make speeches from each other's seats.

He intends to reshuffle his MPs in this informal way so that Mr Poovalingam and Mr Rajab are seated next to two of their white PFP colleagues strictly in order of seniority of years service, as is the parliamentary practice. The PFP has some spare seating space to fit in the two Indian MPs.

Mr Frank le Roux, the CP's Chief Whip, said that the Nats would probably make a point of order which he would support.

Mr Malcomess said: "Once again the racism inherent in the Constitution and thus in Parliament has become apparent. Because the PFP now has MPs in two of the three houses, we requested that we be seated together in joint sittings and meetings."

'Polls show support for reform'

By Esmaré van der Merwe Star 9/5/85 (3044)

Political sentiment in South Africa had shifted to the left of the Government and not to the right, political commentator Mr Harald Pakendorf said at the NDM's first congress on Friday.

Recent opinion polls revealed "amazingly widespread support for reform", he said.

Although about 35 percent of white South Africans supported a PFP-like ideology, public support for the PFP had decreased to about five percent.

The NDM faced the exciting challenge of winning the support of reform-minded voters.

Mr Pakendorf said the National Party, which had had the support of 65 percent of whites in 1977 now only had the support of between 44 and 49 percent of the white electorate.

"Nervousness" about its dwindling support was the only explanation for President Botha's protection of Mr Albert Noghnagel, MP for Innesdal, who had recently reiterated his beliefs that the Government should negotiate with the ANC. "Mr Botha has acted from a position of weakness and not of strength," Mr Pakendorf said.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

State President:

SABC: resignation of former director-general

*1. Mr S C JACOBS asked the State President:†

(1) Whether he made any requests or gave any instructions to the Minister of Information, Broadcasting Services and the Film Industry in connection with the resignation of the former director-general of the SABC; if so, (a) when, (b) what was the purport of these requests or instructions and (c) what was that Minister's response thereto;

(2) whether, either directly, indirectly or through an official of his Office, he contacted any other person to whom he made requests or gave instructions in connection with the resignation of the said director-general; if so, (a) when, (b) (i) in what manner was this person contacted and (ii) who is the person and (c) (i) what requests did he make or instructions did he give and (ii) to whom;

(3) whether he indicated, during the discussion he had with the said director-general in 1987 about a news broadcast involving the Chairman of the Ministers' Council of the House of Representatives, that he wanted to have this director-general dismissed or thought that the latter must or ought to relinquish his position?

The MINISTER OF INFORMATION, BROADCASTING SERVICES AND THE FILM INDUSTRY (for the State President):

(1), (2) and (3)

I refer the hon member to my address concerning this matter in the House of Assembly on 21 April 1988.

Mr D J N MALCOMESS: Mr Speaker, on a point of order: May I point out to you that the Hansard of the House concerned has not yet been distributed. Secondly, Sir, in terms of a decision given by the Chairman of this House it was suggested to hon Ministers that they do not refer to answers given to questions put in other Houses.

The MINISTER: I have been referring to a speech by the hon the State President in the House of Assembly; in other words, in this House. [Interjections.]

Mr SPEAKER: Order! I will consider the matter and give my decision later.

†Mr S C JACOBS: Mr Speaker, on a point of order: is this the way in which the hon the Minister replies to a question? Does he do it by implying that all the questions that . . .

†Mr SPEAKER: Order! The hon member for Port Elizabeth Central has raised a point of order on which I intimated that I shall give a ruling later. All further questions on this should therefore stand over until then.

Ministers:

Questions standing over from Tuesday, 3 May 1988:

*25. Mr J B de R VAN GEND — Constitutional Development and Planning. [Reply standing over.]

***Nodal point*: appointment of designated person**

*30. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister for Administration and Privatisation:

(1) Whether a designated person in each State Department has been appointed as a "nodal point"; if so, (a) what is the function of a person so appointed, (b) (i) when and (ii) by whom were these appointments made and (c) which persons were so appointed in each Department;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER FOR ADMINISTRATION AND PRIVATISATION:

(1) No, but co-ordinators of special services, who are sometimes informally referred to as "nodal points", have been designated.

(a) Manages the special services component; obtains, analyses and evaluates information which may be of importance, from a security and welfare point of view, to the department concerned; provides inputs from a security and welfare point of view to the head of department concerned and to other members of management regarding policy formulation, interpretation and execution; serves as liaison point for special services within the department concerned as well as with other institutions.

(b) (i) and (ii) Such designations are done by the head of department concerned, as necessary.

(c) Persons from any occupational class within the department concerned may be designated as such.

(2) No.

Mr R M BURROWS: Mr Speaker, arising from the reply given by the hon the Minister, can he give us the exact official title of these persons?

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I am not aware of any specific title they carry. They are co-ordinators, as I have said in my reply to the hon member. They are people who have been nominated as co-ordinators. They are casually referred to from time to time as "nodal points".

Mr H H SCHWARZ: Mr Speaker, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, will he please tell us whether the word "nodal" has the meaning assigned to it in the *Oxford Dictionary* or in *Webster's Dictionary*, or whether it has a peculiar meaning which he himself has attached to the word? [Interjections.]

New Questions:

Proposed economic policy for RSA: publications involved in advertising campaign

*1. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Information, Broadcasting Services and the Film Industry:

With reference to his reply to Question No 15 on 1 March 1988, (a) which publications were involved, in the month of March 1988, in the advertising campaign in the Press aimed at presenting the Government's proposed economic policy for the Republic and (b) what was the combined circulation figure of these publications for that month?

†The MINISTER OF INFORMATION, BROADCASTING SERVICES AND THE FILM INDUSTRY:

(a) Newspapers
Rapport
Sunday Times
Sunday Tribune
The Star
Beeld
Citizen
Burger
Argus
E.P. Herald
Volksblad
Oosterlig
Daily News
City Press
Ilanga
Sowetan
Imvo Zabantsundu

Magazines
Financial Mail
Finance Week
Finansies en Tegniek
African Business Publication

(b) Total circulation figure: 2 258 991

Tugs *Willem Heckroodt*/*Danie du Plessis*

*2. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:

(1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 805 on 25 March 1988, a decision has as yet been taken on the request for assistance in the form of providing South African Transport Services personnel to operate and maintain the tugs *Willem Heckroodt* and *Danie du Plessis* sold to the Government of Mozambique in 1986; if so, (a) when and (b) what was the decision; if not, what are the reasons for this delay in taking a decision;

(2) whether Transport Services have made an appeal to personnel to volunteer for such duties in Mozambique; if so, how many personnel have responded to this appeal;

(3) whether Transport Services personnel will be compelled to perform such duties?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

(1) No. Due to the acute shortage of qualified Marine Electrical Officers and a lack of volunteers in this grade.

(2) Yes. Five Chief Marine Engineer Officers.

(3) No.

KwaZulu Natal Indaba Fund-raising Organization: temporary fund-raising number

*3. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

(1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 682 on 28 March 1988, it is sufficient for an organization applying for a temporary authority to collect contributions in terms of the Fund-raising Act, No 107 of 1978, to state merely that its objects are to handle and supervise fund-raising for another organization; if not, why was a temporary fund-raising number issued to the KwaZulu Natal Indaba Fund-raising Organization;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

†The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:

(1) Yes.

(2) No.

Highveld Area Development Board: allowances paid after abolition

*4. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:

(1) Whether, with reference to paragraph 9 of the Auditor-General's report on the Highveld Area Development Board for the 1985/86 financial year, the investigation into the continuation of payment of allowances of members of the above board after its abolition has been completed; if not, why not; if so, (a) when was the investigation completed and (b) what were the findings;

(2) whether any action is to be taken as a result of this investigation; if not, why not; if so, (a) what action and (b) when;

(3) who were the members of this board as at 30 June 1986;

(4) whether the members of any other development boards voted to continue payment of their allowances beyond 30 June 1986; if so, (a) of which boards and (b) for how long after 30 June 1986 in each case;

(5) whether these boards are the subject of similar investigations; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

(1) No, the legal aspects are still being investigated by the Transvaal Provincial Government.

(2) The result of the investigation referred to in par (1) will determine whether further steps will be taken.

(3) Mr H F Breytenbach (Chairman)
Mr J I du Toit (Vice Chairman)
Mr R P Botha
Mr W A de Klerk
Mr F R P Schutte
Mr M du Toit (This member did not receive any compensation)

(4) No.
(a) and (b) Fall away.

(5) No No allowances were paid to members of the other development boards in the Transvaal after 30 June 1986.

Mr K M ANDREW: Mr Speaker, arising from the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, he told us that no other members of the development board in the Transvaal received these payments. What was the situation in the other provinces?

The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the original question referred to the particular development board in the Transvaal, and the information I gave was obtained from the Transvaal provincial authority. That is why the reply to the question only refers to the Transvaal situation. If the hon member wishes to obtain information in regard to the other provinces, I suggest he tables his question.

Highveld Area Development Board: erection of head-office building before abolition

*5. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:

Whether the Highveld Area Development Board was aware at the time of the erection of its head-office building of the intended abolition of the board with effect from 1 July 1986; if so, (a) why, (b) at what cost and (c) on whose authorization was this building erected?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

No.

(a), (b) and (c) Fall away.

Highveld Area Development Board: unauthorized expenditure on computer

*6. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:

(1) Whether any action is to be taken by his Department regarding the unauthorized expenditure of approximately R1,2 million on a computer by the Highveld Area Development Board, as stated in paragraph 11 of the Auditor-General's report on the said board for the 1985/86 financial year; if not, why not; if so, (a) when and (b) what action;

(2) what are the names of the outside bodies that provided computer services to this board during the above financial year?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING:

(1) *Ex post facto* permission for the purchase of the computer was granted to the Highveld Area Development Board on 23 July 1986. Therefore, no further steps in this regard are considered.

(2) Computer services for the 1985/86 financial year were provided to the Development Board by the City Council of Witbank.

SABC: interim/final reports of committee investigating administration

*7. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Information, Broadcasting Services and the Film Industry:

Whether the (a) interim and (b) final reports of the committee investigating the administration of the South African Broadcasting Corporation will be made public; if not, why not; if so, when?

†The MINISTER OF INFORMATION, BROADCASTING SERVICES AND THE FILM INDUSTRY:

The Board has since April 1987 been examining all aspects of the activities of the SABC. It has appointed an outside consultant (not a committee of investigation) to help with certain analyses in the areas of finances, structuring and management.

The consultant's advice and reports are for the internal use of the Board and will assist it in the total evaluation process.

It is therefore for the Board itself to decide how to handle the reports.

Mr D J DALLING: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, and in view of the fact that his Vote is coming up for discussion within the next few weeks and that this matter relating to the SABC is going to be duscussed during that debate, how does he expect this House to debate the SABC if information relating to it is not disclosed to hon members of this House?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, it goes without saying that hon members of this House undoubtedly do not have access to all the information in the possession of any organization which is discussed, and that also applies to specific Government Departments and their activities. I cannot see why it should be different in this case.

Mr D J DALLING: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, could I ask him if he has seen this report?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I have indeed seen it.

Mr D J DALLING: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the reply of the hon the Minister, could I ask him whether he will be prepared, prior to the debate on his Vote, to impart to hon members the information which he has received?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I come back to the reply which I gave originally, which was that the report contains information which the board requested and obtained and which is at its disposal; consequently it is for the board itself, and not for me, to decide how that information should be dealt with further.

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply,

Volkswag to re-enact Great Trek

By Esmaré van der Merwe

The Afrikaner Volkswag (AV) has decided to hold its own re-enactment of the Great Trek during this year's 150th anniversary celebrations.

The group reconsidered the wisdom and economic viability of two enactments — one organised by the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (FAK) and backed by the Government, the other a rival trek organised by the right-wing AV — at its weekend biennial conference.

But it has decided to continue with its own festival because it could not co-operate with organisations that denied the core symbolism of the Great Trek, which was the resistance of Afrikaner nationalism against "every form of domination".

RESIST REVOLUTION

AV leader Professor Carel Boshoff said the volk "should resist a modern, contemporary social revolution which tries to reduce it to a minority group of 2,5 million people against 40 million foreigners with whom it is forced to share one country, common citizenship and one authority".

A joint commemoration would be a libel against the spirit and significance of the Great Trek, he said.

"International liberalism", embodied in reform, was a major reason for the social revolution. A modern-day rejection of liberalism was not enough. Any form of a multiracial society should be rejected if the Afrikaner volk was serious about its survival and its own identity, he said.

Suzman calls for 'adult' attitude

Political Staff

The withdrawal of the Orderly Internal Politics Bill, which threatens foreign funding of anti-apartheid organisations, was just one of several positive, "adult" moves the Government could make in the face of the pro-sanctions Bills being considered by the US government.

Progressive Federal Party foreign affairs spokesman Helen Suzman warned the Government yesterday that 1988 might be the last year in a long time that South Africa could have dealings with a "relatively less hostile" US administration.

"If Dukakis and the Democrats win the elections in November, South Africa is in for a torrid time," she said, speaking in the House of Assembly during debate on the foreign affairs budget vote.

Calling for a "more adult" attitude, Mrs Suzman said the Orderly Internal Politics Bill should be withdrawn because "positive aid" by the US and other countries to anti-apartheid organisations was a "potent" anti-sanctions argument for those countries.

The Government should also cease its closure threats to the "alternative press"; drop all its plans to reverse the Supreme Court decision that Moutse not be incorporated into kwaNdebele; stop its "ridiculous appeal" against the decision to allow mixed bathing in Port Elizabeth; and stop harassing communities into forced removal, as at Oukasie.

"The Government should desist from the raids into neighbouring countries," Mrs Suzman said. Helpful to the anti-sanctions lobby would be positive actions like the release of Nelson Mandela, the granting of clemency to the Sharpeville Six and the lifting of the state of emergency to return South Africa to the rule of law.

Time to talk to ANC, says NDM

The changed Russian attitude on southern, and particularly South Africa, provided the opportunity for the Government to be more reasonable about its conditions for negotiation with the ANC, and it should not let the chance slip by, National Democratic Movement (NDM) leader Wynand Malan said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Speaking during debate on the foreign affairs budget vote, the Member for Randburg said the NDM welcomed the latest talks on the Angolan and Namibian situation and the impression that positive results were being achieved.

"What is clear is that there is not much left of the total onslaught, and there are various indications the Soviet Union is engaged in a re-evaluation of its role and position in southern Africa also.

"In view of the ties between Moscow and the ANC in Lusaka, this re-evalutation must also have an influence on the ANC. It, therefore, creates an ideal opportunity for the Government to come forward with a new initiative," Mr Malan said. — Sapa.

SA regarded with 'sadness'

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — The general mood abroad was one of sadness and concern over South Africa's inability to get away from apartheid and suppression, the **Progressive Federal Party leader, Mr Colin Eglin**, said yesterday. Star 19/5/83

Speaking during the Foreign Affairs vote debate, he told the House he had just returned from an overseas trip which had exposed him to a broad spectrum of opinion.

"My overall impression was that people were not in a hysterical, punitive mood seeking vengeance against South Africa for what had gone wrong," Mr Eglin said. (3041)

There were two dominant features:

- The first was sadness that, in spite of world opinion, in spite of what was done outside and promised from inside South Africa, apartheid lived on.
- The second was a deep sense of concern that, in spite of the potential of South Africa, the majority of its citizens were denied basic civic rights, with the inevitable consequence being violence. — Sapa.

'Reinstate our Boer republics'

Stars 10/5/88 3064A

By Esmaré van der Merwe

The ultra-rightwing Boerestaat Beweging (BB) plans to enter the political arena soon to canvass actively for a separate volkstaat for Afrikaners.

At a weekend meeting in Boksburg, BB leader Mr Robert van Tonder said no political party advocated reinstatement of "our Boer republics".

"The time of huge entities in which everything is decided by majority vote is past, and smaller nations want their own, independent states."

SA in for torrid time if Dukakis wins US election — Suzman

CAPE TOWN — South Africa would be in for a "very torrid time indeed" if the Democrats won the United States presidential elections in November, a veteran PFP MP, Mrs Helen Suzman, predicted yesterday.

All the existing pressures against South Africa would be increased if the Massachusetts governor and Democratic frontrunner, Mr Michael Dukakis, became the next US president, Mrs Suzman said during the Foreign Affairs budget vote in Parliament.

She said the US would use its influence to ensure that similar steps were taken by South Africa's other trading partners.

Mrs Suzman said she believed South Africa should assist the country's few remaining allies "by at least refraining from provocative actions".

With this in mind the government should "forthwith" take the following steps:

- Dropping the Orderly Internal Politics Bill;
- Halting threats against the alternative press;
- Not opposing the opening of beaches in Port Elizabeth, and;
- Dropping plans to reverse the Moutse decision.

In addition, Mrs Suzman said raids against neighbouring states should end and that clemency for the Sharpeville Six would also help the anti-sanctions lobby.

In reply, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said Mrs Suzman was "totally naive" if she believed the withdrawal of certain laws or actions would halt the momentum of sanctions. — DDC

MP: SA must solve internal problems

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — There was no way that South Africa could have good relations with Africa without solving its internal problems, Mr Albert Nothnagel, outspoken MP for Innesdal, said yesterday.

Undaunted by the furore he caused recently by saying that the views of 17 organisations, restricted recently, were important — as were those of certain white political organisations, he faced the Conservative Party head-on and appeared to defend his stand.

Mr Nothnagel said during the Foreign Affairs budget debate, "there is no ways we can have good relations with Africa unless we solve our local problems and there is no way we can have good international relations without going through our own front door".

There could be arguments about the details and the methods of achieving a dispensation that has the approval of most blacks.

"But, there can be no arguing about the fact that unless we find a solution which is acceptable to the majority of blacks our relations are in trouble," he said.

The National Party stood "four-square" behind its leaders' attempts to do this, he said.

Malan's political ban on SADF officials

DEFENCE FORCE officers will no longer be allowed to address political gatherings.

General Magnus Malan gave this assurance to a CP delegation after a heated exchange in Parliament recently concerning an address at a youth rally by Major Wynand du Toit — former recce POW.

Major Du Toit was speaking at a youth rally to celebrate 40 years of Nationalist government.

The Conservative Party called on the government to stop the practice, as it was politicizing the Defence Force.

Mr Koos van der Merwe, the CP's Defence spokesman, confirmed that General Malan had issued the assurance.

"We are very happy about this," he said.

General Malan told Parliament some weeks ago that requests for officers to address youth rallies would be considered on merit.

He said in reply to questions by Mr Van der Merwe at the time that Major Du Toit had addressed "an open youth gathering which all members of the public could attend".

NP suspends Durban's Mayor over beaches

Political Staff

THE Mayor of Durban, Mr Henry Klotz, has been suspended from the National Party and faces expulsion for refusing to agree with Government policy on beach apartheid.

The National Party action is likely to spark a major realignment of groups in the City Council, with a loose alliance to the left of the NP already taking shape to contest the October municipal elections.

Mr Klotz was standing firm today on the opening of beaches.

"If we are to succeed in becoming a truly 21st-century cosmopolitan city and the base of the industrial and commercial development of Natal/Kwazulu, then a policy of open facilities must be pursued.

"I shall support it absolutely. If this means my expulsion from the National Party, then so be it."

The National Party in Natal has been under extreme pressure from the Transvaal because of the way the beach issue has been exploited by the Conservative Party in recent by-elections.

Other Nationalists on the Durban council are understood to be sympathetic towards Mr Klotz's stand and if he is expelled others could resign.

The suspension follows Mr Klotz's refusal to sign a National Party policy document in which mixed beaches were accepted but which stated that the remaining white beaches should stay white.

In a statement today Mr Klotz said that when the first Durban beaches were opened to all groups last year the NP's Natal leader, Mr Stoffel Botha, had telephoned him and asked: "How dare you take it on yourself to open Durban's beaches.?"

Later he had attended a meeting of NP members of the council, provincial councillors and MPs at which the opening of the beaches was unanimously accepted after initial opposition from one MP.

The party's provincial secretary, Mr James Waugh, has told Mr Klotz he can make representations to the party's legal commission.

'Little done to end US sanctions'

The Government had done little to meet the conditions cited in the 1986 United States Congress sanctions package for the possible future termination of sanctions, Mr Ray Swart (PFP Berea) said in the House of Assembly yesterday during the foreign affairs budget vote.

The relevent Congress clause for terminating sanctions stated that the Government should:

- Release all political prisoners including Nelson Mandela.
- Repeal the state of emergency and release all detainees.
- Unban democratic political parties and permit all South Africans to form political parties and participate in the political process.
- Repeal the Group Areas Act and Population Registration Act.
- Agree to enter into negotiation with representative members of the black majority without preconditions.

These were the conditions stated nearly two years ago but very few had been complied with, Mr Swart said.

"One asks what is the Minister (of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha) doing in regard to these matters.

"He might perceive that they reflect blatant injustices which exist inside South Africa and which we inside of South Africa ought to be attending to without any outside pressure." — Sapa.

'SA can share technical skills'

3044

There was a tendency in South Africa to regard European and American news as more important than African news, the **Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha,** said yesterday.

Replying to the Budget debate on the Foreign Affairs Vote in the House of Representatives, he said the task of his department was to try to make people more Africa-oriented. Star 12/5/78

"We are an Africa-rooted nation and not pushed in somewhere between the Netherlands and Belgium," he said.

Mr Botha said representatives from some of the most important African countries had visited South Africa in the past two months. They had all told him that they had not realised how advanced the country was.

South Africa could share in Africa's progress through the contribution of technical know-how, Mr Botha said. — Sapa.

The kwaZulu Indaba initiative is firmly on tracks, say officials

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Although the kwaZulu-Natal Indaba only occasionally hits the headlines these days, officials say that efforts to achieve its goal are gathering momentum.

It is now nearly 18 months since the Indaba reached its historic agreement in Durban on a proposed multiracial system of second-tier government for the region.

The public debate on the proposals has inevitably waned with the passage of time, but the officials say there is no let-up in efforts to achieve the Indaba's goal of implementing the proposals — or an acceptable variation of them.

ONGOING CONTACT

Mr Peter Mansfield, associate director of the Indaba, says attention is focused on ongoing, high-level contact with those in Government and those who influence Government, to maintain progress towards this goal.

He listed a number of current projects and activities, among them the current month-long top-level visit by the director of the Indaba, Professor Dawid van Wyk, to the United States as an official guest of the US Information Service.

His itinerary includes all the major cities where he will meet and address prominent members of the State Department, lawyers, academics, political scientists, civil rights campaigners, businessmen and leaders of human and minority rights organisations.

Back home, Indaba representatives are continuing to address dozens of public meetings every month, explaining the proposals to audiences which frequently number thousands.

Mr Mansfield says that a growing demand from influential organisations for presentations has resulted in these operations being expanded as far afield as Cape Town, Bloemfontein, Pretoria and Vereeniging.

The Indaba is also "Spreading the word" to thousands at Maritzburg's Royal Show.

The Indaba also had stands at the recent Cape and Rand Shows, and staff say they were struck by the public's enthusiastic response, notably among Afrikaans-speaking and black people.

The recent unanimous acceptance of the Indaba proposals by the Nationalist-leaning Stellenbosch University students' council will have a sequel in the near future when a mass meeting of the student body will discuss the issue.

A major attitudinal survey of black people in the kwaZulu-Natal region is to be initiated within the next few weeks to canvas views on a wide range of political, social and economic issues.

It is anticipated that its findings will be the most significant and authoritative to date, says Mr Mansfield.

He said the Youth Focus programme is continuing, with conferences for standard nine and 10 Natal pupils in the pipeline.

These were intended to provide a forum for sharing sharing views on the Indaba.

Meanwhile, an extensive study is being made of the implications of introducing the Indaba plan.

KwaZulu's Dr Oscar Dhlomo, co-convenor of the Indaba, said on the occasion of the Indaba agreement's first anniversary in November:

"Making the perfectly reasonable assumption that some form of elected, non-racial, power-sharing provincial government will be introduced within the next few years, we are embarking on an implementation study."

"The study will probably be unique.

"How many regions, let alone countries, have fully studied the implications and taken steps to deal with problems and take full advantage of opportunies before introducing a new government system?

"How different might much of Africa and other parts of the world be if they had bothered to do so?"

Why Wynand may just surprise us all

WEEKLY MAIL, May 13 to May 19, 1988

Following the Wynand Malan jamboree last week, the general verdict was that his troupe are besotted, sweet, well-meaning, no-hopers. Which may even be true. But beware ...

SHAUN JOHNSON
reports

THERE were once two politicians who left their parties amid much fanfare to forge a "third force" which would break the mould of parliamentary politics in their country.

Theirs would be the party to which the mass of voters, disillusioned by the dogmatism of the established antagonists, would flock.

One man was tall and urbane, rather austere, and noted for intellect rather than charisma. The other was cherubic and popular, though no-one was sure how streetwise he was.

Time passed, the trumpeting continued, but the mould didn't break. The new friendship did, though. The two fought, then went their separate ways, splitting their support and — everyone agreed — consigning themselves to the political wilderness.

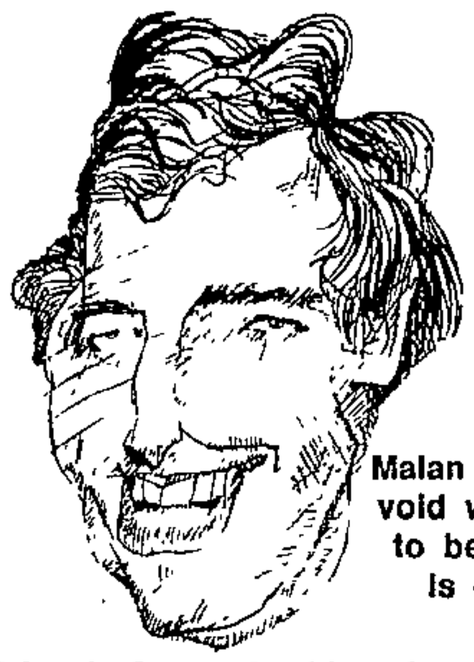
This story happens to be set in Britain, but it has an eerie parallel in white South Africa. The political *hara kiri* committed last year by David Owen of the Social Democratic Party and David Steel, erstwhile leader of the Liberals, could be seen as a foreshadow of this year's bloodletting between former ambassador Denis Worrall (now leader of the Independent Party), and Wynand Malan, renegade Nationalist and founder of the National Democratic Movement.

The only question which remains is whether the ending to the London tale will be replicated out here. Many think so. Detractors now refer to Worrall as a "leader without a party" (as opposed to the PFP, a "party without a leader"), and it is predicted Malan will see out his days in Randburg exile, his message unsaleable beyond Hendrik Verwoerd Drive.

Following last Friday's NDM congress, local political pundits' assessments of the movement have been avuncular and dismissive: the Malanites are well-meaning no-hopers, sweet but rather silly. Next, please.

But there is a case for a less jaundiced look at the NDM. Leave aside the evangelical, "visionary" — almost flaky — mood which pervaded the congress; the NDM may one day surprise us all.

Whether you give any credence to this assertion depends largely on whether you believe Harald Pakendorf, the former *Vaderland* editor who last week became the NDM's newest executive heavyweight.



Malan — the void waiting to be filled is on the left

Against current wisdom, Pakendorf argued that the potential growth-point in white politics lay not on the right, but to the left of the government.

The Conservative Party, he said, was experiencing neither phenomenal nor limitless growth. Rather, it was simply consolidating rightwing sentiment which hung over from the 1970s: "It is not really growing, it is just *there*." It was achieving such prominence now because "It has become a *voorkamer* party, socially acceptable. Its message is crystal clear, even if it is impractical."

The National Party, on the other hand, was in serious decline and "was not any more the political arm of Afrikaner nationalism". It was "getting worse, but not enough to lose an election".

The "uninspiring" Progressive Federal Party had slipped to the extent that its level of representation in parliament was well below that of sympathy for its outlook.

Therefore, said Pakendorf, "the void waiting to be filled is to the left. There is a big group of people ready for big changes — fast change is now acceptable to at least one-third of the white *volk*."

Which is precisely where the NDM is supposed to come in, a flame for disaffected Prog and Nat moths.

The reason it could succeed where others had failed, ran Pakendorf's argument, was that it would come over as a "trustworthy organisation with a clear message on safety in its broadest sense". The latter is a reference to the image of the PFP — now seemingly cast in stone — as being "soft on security".

The NDM differs from the PFP in some other crucial respects. Firstly, its leader is a genuine defector from the ruling party. His background within the fold of Afrikanerdom is unquestionable — more so than Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's ever was.

Secondly, the NDM betrays no skittishness in using the phrase "one man one vote" in setting out its vision. Malan and his cohorts will in many respects be more palatable to white liberals than, say, Harry Schwarz.

Finally, the movement shows every sign of being serious about real co-operation with extra-parliamentary groups. Whether it succeeds or not, this is the long-term view. (Arguably, the NDM will also be of interest to these organisations as its leader has at least had a sniff of power, and it lingers.)

Here is a group which just might have a chance of introducing some flux into parliamentary politics, thus creating space for those outside. The attraction this prospect could hold for beleaguered resistance groups should not be too lightly dismissed — nor should the fact that the NDM takes a very "progressive" view on matters such as the unbanning of outlawed organisations and anti-conscription campaigns, to name but two.

That's the generous view of the NDM. Sizeable question-marks still hover over the aspirant mould-breakers.

One was placed there by congress delegate Mike van Niekerk from Bethlehem. "The PFP is just a party of Johannesburg," he said, "and we in the *platteland* were always excluded." The NDM would get nowhere if it addressed only urbane urbanites, he charged.

Then there was the question of the movement's stated commitment to the retention of some "special powers" by the state during a transition period. This would not wash with extra-parliamentary groups, another delegate warned.

But these were really minor quibbles. The real posers are much more intractable. Can the NDM really become non-racial, "national" and a "movement"? A comparison with the size and power of the National Party machine should be enough to send a healthy shiver down the spines of prospective underwriters.

And who might these latter be? A party with such pretensions is going to cost *plenty*, and the unwillingness to contest upcoming municipal elections might suggest that willing chequebooks are not in abundant supply.

Further, is there really a chance that reform-minded Nationalist voters can be wooed away? If the ceiling of NDM support is that of the PFP in its halcyon days, there's little cause for euphoria. The *Guardian* believes the NDM heralds the arrival of Afrikaner radicalism in mainstream politics. If this is so, its development to a point where it is a serious broker of power is a long, long way off.

Still, all the buts have done little to dampen the public enthusiasm of Malan, Pakendorf, Esther Lategan, Peter Gastrow, Pieter Schoeman et al. Malan's pitch remains hortatory: "We are the democratic mid-range which stands for one South Africa with one nation and one loyalty. We believe in unity which comes from diversity. We have already left the old style of politics behind us. We are the new South Africa."

Admittedly, it's difficult to envisage his breaking the mould. But he just might be able to squeeze and stretch it a bit for the benefit of others. And therefore give the lie to the unkind aside overheard at the congress: "NDM?" said a journalist. "That stands for Non-Descript Men."

smoke after a fire broke out Picture: WICUS MARITZ the van. We stopped and s

Durban's mayor quits Nats after suspension

CAPE TIMES 13/5/88

3044

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The suspension of Durban's mayor, Mr Henry Klotz, from the National Party should influence voters in October's municipal elections to vote for candidates who will serve the community rather than candidates who "quite clearly" will only act on instructions from Pretoria, the MP for Durban Central, Mr Peter Gastrow, said yesterday.

Mr Klotz severed ties with the party after he was suspended because he refused to associate himself with party policy statements on the open beaches issue and remained adamant that all of Durban's beaches would, in time, be opened to all races.

And while the non-NP Durban city councillors yesterday voiced their anger at the "shabby treatment" of the city's mayor, the National Party-supporting councillors remained unusually quiet about the suspension and Mr Klotz's defiant stand.

Mr Gastrow said he admired Mr Klotz for acting in the interests of the people of Durban and not allowing his decisions to be dominated by the party.

"There are great dangers in city administrations acting on instructions from Pretoria rather than what is necessary for the community," he said.

Mrs Sybil Hotz, chairman of the city's management committee, and other non-NP city councillors are giving the mayor their full support.

Civic Action League chairman Mr Arthur Morris said he deplored the attempt by the mayor to cause "division between English- and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans".

"If an Afrikaner had flouted party policy in the way Mr Klotz had, he would no doubt have been treated in exactly the same way.

"The mayor has not only acted contrary to his party policy but also to the wishes of the majority of his electors and the white ratepayers of Durban," he said.

● It was reported in the Natal Mercury that the leader of the National Party in Natal, Mr Stoffel Botha, last night dismissed a statement by Mr Klotz, that there was no place in the NP for English speakers, as "utter and unadulterated rubbish".

NP lashes its rebel mayor

(30 Aug)

Star 14/5/88

BRUCE CAMERON, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The National Party has come out fighting after being accused of discriminating against English-speaking party members.

A number of Nationalists, including Natal provincial leader Mr Stoffel Botha, attacked the Mayor of Durban, Mr Henry Klotz, for claiming that there was no place in the NP for English-speakers.

Mr Botha said the claim was "utter, unadulterated rubbish".

But in an interview he avoided dealing with NP appointments to bodies such as the Cultural Council for Natal — which has no English representation — and the Natal Education Council.

He said Minister of Culture and Education Mr Piet Clase should deal with that issue.

He added in a statement: "In the past few years there has been an unprecedented influx of English-speakers of quality into the party in Natal.

"The number of English-speaking office-bearers has never been higher — people like the Natal vice-chairman, Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs Mr George Bartlett, and Natal NP whip Mr Aubrey Thompson.

"Dr Gerald Hosking, Ministerial Representative in Natal; Mr Brian Edwards, Natal NP treasurer; and Mr Peter Miller, a Natal MEC, all of whom joined the party hardly more than a year ago, are living proof of just how nonsensical Mr Klotz's claims are.

"For Mr Klotz to now drag language into the matter to try to bolster his case is disgraceful, and merely proves that his real intention is to harm the NP."

Meanwhile, the Natal NP information director, Mr Renier Schoeman, has rounded on the Progressive Federal Party and the Independent Party for supporting Mr Klotz.

He accused IP leader Dr Denis Worrall and the PFP leader in Natal, Mr Roger Burrows, of "running around like a pair of desperate political stretcher bearers looking for casualties to load on to their competing wagons".

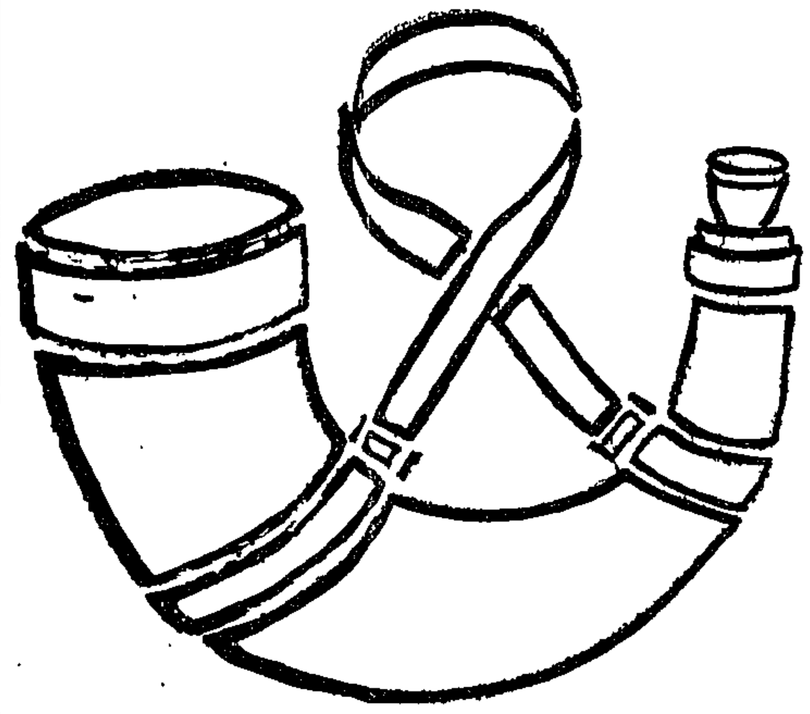
Mr Klotz said: "My expulsion (from the NP) just proves to me that there is no place for English-speaking South Africans — and that saddens me."

He had received telephone calls from several MPs and politicians "who told me they are behind me, and who say I must stick to my guns".

In an interview yesterday, Mr Botha said there was a problem because of the large infusion of English-speakers only a year ago, and it would take time for them to gain senior positions.

40 YEARS OF NAT RULE . . .

On May 26, it will be 40 years since the National Party came to power. Whatever its other attainments and failures, its handling of the racial situation will remain the hallmark of its lengthy period of rule. WEEKEND ARGUS political writer FRANS ESTERHUYSE takes a look back on four decades of Nationalist domination.



TO many it was a shock when the Nationalists came to power on May 26, 1948. Yet this drastic alteration in the country's course was not unexpected.

Ten years before, in 1938, the symbolic Great Trek had both exposed and unleashed Afrikaner-nationalism. To an extent these sentiments had been quelled by the more-immediate demands of World War 2, so that General Jan Smuts's United Party could retain power comfortably in the 1943 election. In other ways rage at what was perceived to be South Africa's needless participation in the war had fuelled the spirit.

But Smuts ignored warnings to delimitate constituencies more favourably for his party, causing the National Party/Afrikaner Party alliance to scrape home by a five-seat majority on only 41 percent of the overall vote against the UP's 50,9. In Standerton Smuts himself fell victim to the Nationalists' Wennie du Plessis.

Preparations for what the Nationalists intended doing about the racial situation had started long before. In 1938 they had adopted the policy of enforced racial separation and at their federal congress had launched a countrywide petition which drew more than 230 000 signatures which their leader, D F Malan, submitted to Parliament the following year.

It called for legislation to prohibit marriages between whites and non-whites, make *bloodmixing* punishable by law, prohibit mixing in residential areas and enforce economic and political segregation between whites and non-whites.

The petition was not taken seriously by the then Hertzog-Smuts government, and attention was soon diverted to World War 2.

In 1947 the Nationalist blueprint for apartheid and for their election strategy were drafted by the Paul Sauer Commission, of which P W Botha, then a party organiser, was the acting secretary. The objectives were *the maintenance of the white population by the total elimination of mixing between whites and non-whites* and *a clear dividing line between white and non-white* to remove racial friction and *all possible sources of conflict of interests.*

great change has come about in the attitude of the coloured peoples in the country. Formerly they never put forward demands as they are doing today. They are advancing these claims with the greatest resoluteness. They are doing this largely because so many of them were summoned to bear arms and to be arbiters between European and European. That gave them an entirely different outlook and caused them to make demands which never previously entered their heads, and if the European race are going to concede these it is all up with their future.

But not only that; those demands are now supported by a world organisation like the United Nations Organisation, and, moreover, communism has been allowed to play its part in the country and its chief field of propaganda is provided by the non-Europeans. They are incited against the Europeans, and the position is aggravated more and more by this unrestricted influx which has been occurring for such a considerable time from the native areas to the European areas . . .

But there must be two spheres in the country, call them that, different areas where the Europeans and the non-Europeans must be separated from each other . . .

Now Opposition leader, Smuts responded:

The policy of apartheid is just a false and misleading catchword intended to exploit the colour prejudice of this country, to stampede public opinion and to make people believe that the policy of the UP is one of equal rights and may lead to the downfall of white South Africa . . . The intention is to do away with the political rights of the non-European peoples. It has also emerged that this may involve tampering with the entrenched clauses of the constitution.

What are we going to do now? We are going to drive the coloured people away from us. We are going to help to make a united front of all the colour in this country. We talk about a united front — we are making it. It is not the communists that are making it; it is we that are driving them to it. I say a step like this that alienates our friends,

Senate sitting together, which the Nationalist majority fell far short of. But relying on earlier court pronouncements to the contrary, they forced through the enabling legislation by simple majority in 1951, sparking a constitutional crisis that saw the formation of the Torch Commando which organised mass protest meetings and inside Parliament led to high emotions and the first breakaway from the UP opposition.

The legislation was declared invalid by the Appeal Court, and immediately new legislation was passed to turn Parliament itself into a *High Court*, which, too, was declared invalid.

For all the protests, and constitutionally repugnant as the whole episode was, the Nationalists won by increased majority in the 1953 election. And though still far short of the required two-thirds majority, the plan struck on to remove the coloured people from the voters' roll was to simply enlarge the Senate by a sufficient number of their own.

The legislation to do so was passed in 1956, when the Cape's Malan had already been replaced as Prime Minister by *Lion of the North* J G Strijdom who held even tougher views on apartheid. In one of his first speeches he told Parliament:

We, the white people in South Africa, have the mastery in our hands today. We have it in our hands because the laws of this country give the franchise and representation to the white man so that he can govern the country . . . They (the opposition) continually attack our attitude that the white man should have the mastery in his hands. They say that you cannot always hold the native back. If, therefore, they attack our policy of the white man's rule, their policy can only mean the opposite, and that is that their policy is gradually so to change our laws that the white man will no longer have the power to be the master in South Africa . . .

Political integration carried to its full logical consequence can have only one meaning and that is eventual political equality between European and non-European which will entail social equality and the eventual destruction of the European race. We cannot get away from that. That is why it is the National Party's policy not to extend the franchise,

Liberalism was equated with communism, and when in 1952 a campaign of passive resistance was launched against unjust laws, 20 of the campaign leaders in the Transvaal were convicted under the Act.

It did not stop black resistance. In June 1955 2 888 delegates from four sponsoring organisatons, including the African National Congress, gathered at Klipfontein near Johannesburg as the *Congress of the People* to adopt the Freedom Charter which was to serve as the manifesto for the *freedom struggle*, with as its key principles:

- *That South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;*
- *That our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;*
- *That our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities; and*
- *That only a democratic*

the only one of the breakaway MPs to retain her seat.

Verwoerd pushed on relentlessly. In 1959 was passed the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act which recognised eight ethnic *national units* and provided the machinery for these to become self-governing. The first to be given limited self-government, in 1963, was Transkei which had the largest single block of land under black occupation. Others were soon to follow.

Black resistance was dealt with harshly under the 1960 emergency that gave the authorities wide powers to prohibit gatherings, search people and premises and resort to force. New powers of detention without trial were introduced and it became an offence to make any statement likely to subvert government authority. When the state of emergency was lifted, many of the new powers became permanent features of the country's laws.

The ANC and the PAC turned to armed resistence, but at an early stage ANC leader Nelson Mandela and others were arrest-

blacks were allowed to compete with whites.

He started an *outward policy* aimed at improving South Africa's international position under the motto that the key to the country's future lay in Africa. *South Africans were one of the peoples of Africa and could, therefore, make a contribution to a rational world order by co-operating with other African states and developing friendships with black states.*

Linked with this he started the concept of a *commonwealth* or *constellation of Southern African states.*

To develop his *outward policy* he visited African heads of state, including Liberia's Tolbert in 1975 and the same year Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda at the Victoria Falls.

South Africa's military intervention in Angola and the harsh suppression of the Soweto uprising in 1976 soon overshadowed these successes and brought his Africa talks to a standstill.

But he could pick the fruits of the *separate development* policy when, in the same year, the Transkei became the first homeland to opt for independence, to be followed by Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei. Irritatingly though, for the Vorster government, leaders like Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of Kwazulu steadfastly refused to take independence.

None of the independent homelands has yet achieved international recognition, and as a system designed essentially to secure white supremacy in the greater part of the country it has failed, too. The target date for *turning back the black stream from the homelands* was 1978. That has come and gone and the stream has, if anything, picked up, in spite of efforts to stop it through harsh influx control measures, forced removals, and industrial development schemes in the border areas. In desperate attempts to give a semblance of success to the policy, millions of blacks were deprived of their citizenship as an artificial way of *linking* them to their homelands. Against all odds, the vision remained of a country in which *one day there would be no black South Africans.*

Even more difficult was making political separation between white and coloured work. The representation of coloureds by whites in House of Assembly was abolished in 1968 and replaced

ment of a CRC executive chairman to do the job proved unworkable and after clashes between with the administration of P W Botha, who had taken over as Prime Minister from Mr Vorster, the CRC was disbanded in 1979. By then inquiries into ways of bringing the coloured people back into the central political system were already under way.

Preparations for a new constitutional system involving whites, coloured and Indians had begun with the appointment in 1973 of the Erika Theron commission of inquiry into coloured affairs. And although key recommendations of the commission were not immediately accepted by the Government, the commission's recommendation for moving away from the Westminster system of government led to moves to draft a new constitution.

A Cabinet committee under the chairmanship of P W Botha was appointed by Prime Minister Vorster in 1976 to look into the constitutional future of the coloured and Indian people. In 1977 the Government put forward proposals for a new constitution which provided for three separate parliaments for whites, coloured and Indians. The maintenance of white domination was to be ensured by a powerful *Cabinet council* on which whites would have a majority.

A parliamentary committee was then given the task of considering constitutional reform.

Vorster's firm control over his party enabled him in 1977 to secure the party's acceptance of new constitutional proposals providing for the political incorporation of coloured and Asians.

But a year after his overwhelming election victory he resigned under the cloud of the information scandal to become State President, a post he also had to relinquish in mid-1979 when his own involvement in the scandal became public knowledge.



with visits to Africa states and talks with South Africa's neighbouring states, including Mozambique where the Nkomati Accord was signed.

It was under him that the new constitution with its tricameral system of Parliament was launched and a major process of dismantling some of the NP's long-established apartheid laws and other measures began.

Among the early attempts to move away from petty apartheid were reforms in the labour field. Following a decade of repression in the 1960s, when minimal trade union activity was allowed among blacks, there was increasing labour unrest in the 1970s, accompanied by moves to form unregistered unions. Some of the activities resulted in detentions and bannings.

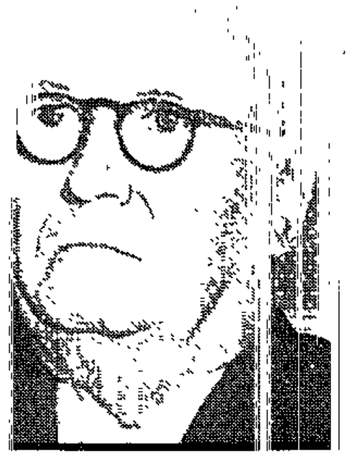
Gradually the state and employers came to the belief that the best way to control African trade unionism was by recognising and allowing the registration of African unions.

This major step, recommended by the Wiehahn Commission, was taken in 1979. Subsequently large and broadly-based industrial unions came into being.

Under P W Botha's leadership, first as Prime Minister and then as State President, the dismantling of petty apartheid has gathered momentum. The list of reforms away from the old apartheid dream has grown considerable since the first hesitant steps in the 1970s.

The pass laws and influx control have been abolished, marriage and sex apartheid have gone, the Political Interference Act is no more, job reservation has been scrapped, many public amenities have been opened to all races, public transport has been increasingly desegregated, sport apartheid has been abolished, central business districts have been opened to all races, black education has been improved, black trade unions have been recognised, and new plans have been announced to involve black people in decision-making *at all levels.* Changes to the Group Areas Act to allow some racially mixed residential areas are in the pipeline.

The permanent presence of black people in *white* South Africa has been acknowledged, their citizenship rights restored and plans are afoot to engage them in constitutional negotiations.



D F MALAN

Now, as Prime Minister of the new Nationalist government, D F Malan elaborated to Parliament:

There had been apartheid on the trains in other parts of the country. There was no apartheid here in the Peninsula. That has now been brought about . . .

(This was a reference to apartheid signs put on trains shortly after his party's take-over. The signs were claimed to have been prepared by the Smuts government at the request of its own followers and had needed only to be hauled out of cold storage.)

There are our universities. We do not favour Europeans and non-Europeans sitting on the same bench and being treated in the same way. We want to give the non-Europeans higher education in their own institutions . . .

We want to have apartheid in the political field — apartheid between European and non-European as far as the legislative bodies of the country are concerned; not that we want to deny the non-Europeans any say or deprive them of their rights. But instead of their sitting with us in the same legislative assembly we want to build up for them their own self-governing institutions in their own territories. If they (the opposition) do not understand that they do not know what apartheid is.

There must be an end to mixed residential areas throughout the country because mixed living areas demoralise the Europeans, and not only Europeans but also the non-Europeans . . .

We want to have apartheid in the industrial field, as far as possible in the workshops, so that we will not have the sort of thing that sometimes occurs when Europeans — frequently European women — have to work under the supervision of non-Europeans. That is a dangerous state of affairs in our country . . .

The colour problem is present because in recent years a flood of Europeans have come to us from the platteland, and because we want justice to be done to the native, so that he can develop economically and politically in his own areas, he must be trained to exercise those political rights in his own areas . . .

Malan was unmoved and justified train and bus apartheid thus:

Does he (Smuts) *not know that the question is so acute that large sections of the European population, especially European women in the Peninsula, refuse to travel in the trains or buses any longer simply because frequently natives and coloured people deliberately seat themselves next to the white women and next to other Europeans, simply to show that they stand for absolute equality and social equality . . This intolerable state of affairs has led to European women resorting to the use of motor-cars in the Cape Peninsula on account of this intermingling prevailing here. Respectable European women in particular who not only have colour but odour next to them have to resort to motor-cars . .*

The key to the elaborate apartheid system was the Population Registration Act of 1949 whereby all were to be classified according to race.

And, its most important pillar followed, in 1951, the Group Areas Act, to enforce racial separation in residential areas. And beginning with the elimination of *black spots* in Johannesburg, the removal of Indians in Durban, many removals elsewhere and District Six's *slum-clearance* after its declaration under the act as a white area, it resulted in the uprooting of countless people and the disruption and destruction of communities.

The ultimate aim was political apartheid, but it also presented the biggest hurdle. The immediate purpose was to remove coloured people from the common voters' roll, and one of the justifications for it came from P W Botha, then Nationalist MP for George, who told Parliament on September 21 1948:

The attitude of the National Party is that the coloured person must be removed from the European voters' roll so that the coloured people will not be buffeted about in every election and by-election between the political parties. That will conduce to greater contentment and deeper mutual respect among the races.

Entrenched sections in the Constitution Act stipulated that this should be done by two-thirds majority of the Assembly and the Senate, sitting together.

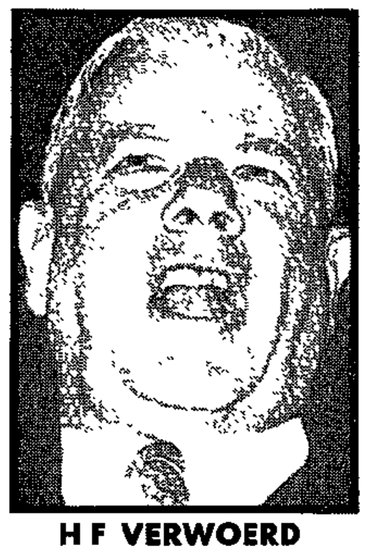
Four years later, in 1954 the commission had presented an 18-volume report which included a master plan whereby certain parts of South Africa would be reserved for whites and others for blacks. The commission concluded its report with a pointed warning: *Either the challenge of the plan had to be accepted, or the inevitable consequences of the integration of the black and coloured population groups into a common society had to be endured.*

The new government relentlessly persued its racist course. The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act was passed, a provision was included in the Immorality Act to prohibit sex across the colour line, the Separate Amenities Act came about, and an elaborate pass law and influx control system was designed to enforce stringent controls over the movement of black people.

Within six or seven years the legislative framework had been set up for a new South Africa, one in which race would be the predominant consideration, meaning, for the individual, compulsory racial separation in taxis, ambulances, hospitals, funeral carriages, buses, trains, lifts, counters, public benches, toilets, parks, church halls, town and city halls, cinemas, theatres, restaurants, hotels, entrance gates, schools, universities, residential areas, jobs, marriage and sex relations.

If anything, mounting criticism from abroad seemed to encourage the Nationalists. And as for the inevitable challenge from black people, as far back as 1950 the Suppression of Communism Act had been passed to serve as forerunner to a formidable armoury of security legislation to back up apartheid.

The act defined communism as seeking any form of social, political, industrial or economic change by unlawful acts or omissions, or by means which include the promotion of disturbance or disorder.



H F VERWOERD

H F Verwoerd, formerly Minister of Native Affairs, had meanwhile succeeded Strijdom at his death as Prime Minister shortly after the NP had once more increased its majority in the 1958 election with calls for white unity against the *black peril.*

Verwoerd proved even more convinced of the party's racist course than his predecessors and more resolved to see it through. On the day of the stayaway his government introduced legislation to ban the ANC and PAC and two days later declared a countrywide state of emergency.

He promised a reversal of the migration of blacks from the homelands to the white urban areas, and under him South Africa left the British Commonwealth and in 1961 became a republic.

Against the force of Afrikaner nationalism and through its own ambivalence over matters racial, the once-great UP proved an increasingly faltering opposition. Thus the allocation of more land to the black trusts, retermed *Bantustans* or *homelands,* in pursuit of the geo-political separation of the races led to a split in 1959 when 11 of its 53 MPs broke away to form the Progressive Party. In the 1961 general election Mrs Helen Suzman was the only one returned.

Verwoerd refused to deviate the slightest from his vision of maximum racial separation in social and political life. *One concession would lead to another — and so to black majority rule.* In the early 1960s segregation was extended to entrances to public buildings, lifts, beaches and even libraries (in the South African Library in Cape Town blacks and whites had to read books at separate tables).

But he was never to see the realisation of his ultimate ideological dream, that of independent homelands. In September 1966 he was stabbed to death in Parliament by a messenger, Tsafendas.



B J VORSTER

His successor, B J Vorster, had acquired a fearsome reputation as Minister of Justice and Police who used the Government's tough security measures to smash insurrection. But as Prime Minister he soon proved more pragmatic than Verwoerd, allowing moves away from rigid apartheid in sport and talking of a broad South African (Afrikaner-English) nationalism.

It caused sufficient discomfort in rightwing circles to prompt a breakaway under Albert Hertzog in 1969 to form the Herstigte Nasionale Party.

Vorster's changes in sports policy were to prove the beginning of a gradual movement away from *petty apartheid.* The Nationalist policy of the 1950s, which allowed no sports competitions involving people of different races, had led to a world campaign against racial discrimination in sport, and soon South Africa was being isolated in world sport. A major setback came when the country was expelled from the Olympic movement.

As the country's sporting ties diminished, so Mr Vorster's government, in an attempt to restore them, made changes to permit, for example, special *multinational* sports events in which visiting teams could play against mixed teams.

Verwoerd's

The need for an SA vision

DID 14/5/88

by JAN S. MARAIS, (right) founder of The Trust Bank and a former National Party MP for Pinetown, Natal (3049)

Whether readers love the State President or hate him, he has done more in a few years for reform than all his predecessors over more than 300 years. So, why are his opponents making such progress?

In the opinion of many supporters it is not because of commendable reform but because of a long series of practical psychological and public relations related shortcomings of which the following are but a small sample:

● The vagueness of National Party policies versus a clear 'vision" ...

For almost four decades I have been pleading for a 'vision' or 'missionary' statement or 'blueprint' or 'programme of destiny', whatever one wants to call it. It should spell out in an easily understood manner how the government visualises our future and it should be marketed aggressively among the general public.

I have been suggesting a movement towards a federation of largely self-governing communities. Not a carbon copy of but similar to the Swiss canton system.

I believe we are moving towards such a constitutional set-up. Manifestations of this are the Natal Indaba, independent and self-governing black states, regional service councils and devolution of power to local authorities.

Marketing this concept and relating it to something already in existence and successful in countries as diverse as Switzerland and Yugoslavia would be immensely helpful.

Remember the Biblical admonition: "Where there is no vision my people perish".

● There is a lack of contact with the common man and woman: ot 'shaking hands' any more with the farmers' foremen and his other workers, the barman, the chef and the waiters in hotels and restaurants, etc. Top brass, leading ministers and other leading personalities are not travelling often enough to country areas and meeting and talking with the people.

The State President set a good example when he visited Soweto, Pietersburg and other communities. I won Pinetown by following the Kennedy formula of coffee clutches and similar face to face meetings.

All over the country posters advertise meetings of the CP and AWB. These fellows are on the ball. They are also specific whatever they preach, whether practical or not...

● The 'big business' and 'big capitalist' image:

I pleaded with government to enlist the private sector and Carlton, Good Hope and others followed. I also said not to make the same mistake as the disintegrating PFP and neglect the small and medium business people and the professions. Well, with the help of some media the NP is now also looked upon as friends of big business.

In this manner the party gets isolated from the majority, including real entrepreneurs; and relates primarily to the top executives of big business most of whom are basically 'hirelings' and retire fairly early in life. Political battles are seldom won primarily by this category of people as the PFP has experienced.

● Bureaucracy: part of the tragedy of South Africa is that it is drowning in an ocean of laws, rules and regulations. The State President is trying his best here but the remedial programme is much too slow.

Closely related to this point is the sad deterioration in a relatively short period of time of the services of the once highly efficient South African Airways with never-ending delays which are most irritating, disruptive, and costly.

● Wasteful, unnecessary events: these include the glorious but costly opening of Parliament and similar events boosting and showing off top brass but not essential for a country where so much is needed for food, clothes, housing and education and where per capita productivity is at the bottom of world standards. Why cannot all these honourable people just arrive and start working?

● There is a colossal waste of money on the independent black states on non-essential and wasteful projects such as palaces for leaders, airports, etc. All this means a heavier tax burden.

● There is much gossiping about jobs for pals and lately honours



for pals. Whether true or not, the government should have a clearly defined policy and strategy to prove that its approach in all these matters is always based on real merit and fairness not on political expediency.

● Irrelevant and useless nonsense especially on TV with too much of murder, rape, accidents, etc. instead of worthwhile educational items for which thinking people are crying out. Much more should be known among both our black and white people of how we compare with others: especially with our severest critics. And of course, we should all know more about each other.

● The great talk about controlling the salaries of teachers and others after recent considerable increases for government members themselves; and the lack of any comparative increases over the last few years. And who's fault is inflation? What about a little comparison of sacrifices and sufferings?

● General lack of understanding of grassroot psychology and the practical need to attack and expose opposition parties' impracticability of what they propagate and the dire consequences of their policies.

The government must go on the attack again and remain on the attack by moving forcefully forward with logical and moral reform.

The government should not everlastingly hide behind never-ending commissions and committees while the opposition knows exactly what they want, spells it out clearly and pushes forward.

Once the government spells out a wonderful and honest vision for our future, government people themselves will be able to work up enthusiasm and emotion and they will take the voters with them.

Lastly, is there in the present circumstances and realities, really any practical, realisable alternative to the NP?

NOTICE TO CLASSIFIED ADVERTISERS

PLEASE NOTE — **CLASSIFIED DEADLINE** (DISPLAY AND SMALLS)
ON A SATURDAY FOR THE MONDAY ISSUE IS NOW 10.30 a.m.
THE DEADLINES ON MONDAYS TO FRIDAYS FOR ADVERTISEMENTS APPEARING THE FOLLOWING DAY ARE:
CLASSIFIED DISPLAY — 11.30 a.m.
SMALLS — 3 p.m.

30/1

14/5/18

Cape Times, Saturda

Brink finds SA reports 'distorted'

GRAHAMSTOWN. — Author Andre Brink yesterday said he was surprised, on his return from abroad, to discover many distortions and malicious elements in reporting by the South African media on his recent interviews in Europe, notably with the French magazine Liberation.

SABC TV news reported on its 8pm bulletin last Saturday that Brink had "associated himself with the African National Congress and the organization's methods to achieve its political aims".

The broadcast also reported Brink as saying that although it conflicted with his principles, he accepted violence in South Africa.

"Everything I said abroad I had previously expressed inside South Africa and in writing. So it would seem that at least some of the media are concerned with creating the kind of climate which would make it easier for action to be taken against me by our increasingly intolerant and totalitarian regime.

"For the sake of perspective, I should like to emphasize, as I did in my interviews abroad, that I regard violence, in any situation, as an extreme measure with as much destructive effect on those who have recourse to it as on those who fall victim to it; and that as a writer, ie, as one who is committed to the word, to reason and to actions of the mind, I abhor violence of any kind.

"At the same time, I am realistic enough to accept that there are situations where violence has become so deeply entrenched in the system that it is, tragically, no longer possible to break the deadly pattern without at least (some) counter-violence." — Sapa

Reds put out more feelers on SA

PATRICK LAURENCE

While most Western countries are severing ties with South Africa, the Soviet Union, in keeping with Mr Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of glasnost, is beginning to forge links with Afrikaners and to engage them in dialogue.

The most conspicuous sign of the cautious process of contact occured recently when Dr Boris Asoyan, charge d' affaires at the Soviet Union Embassy in Maseru, Lesotho, gave a lecture to about 150 students from Rand Afrikaans University.

"The Soviet Union does not want to see chaos in South Africa," Dr Asoyan told the RAU students. "We are for contructive solutions. We want to see an end to confrontation."

Dr Asoyan's lecture was part of a wider process, including weekly broadcasts in Afrikaans by Radio Moscow, the visit to the Soviet Union of Professor Philip Nel, a Sovietologist from the University of Stellenbosch, and the pending departure for the Soviet Union of South African journalists on a "see-for-yourselves" trip.

These contacts do not, of course, signal abandonment of Soviet support for the outlawed African National Congress and its "armed struggle" for a new, non-racial South Africa. They co-exist with and perhaps supplement it.

Many of Dr Asoyan's points have been made before, notably in a 1986 address by Mr Gley Starushenko, of the Africa Institute in Moscow.

An intertwining theme in both Mr Starushenko's address and Dr Asoyan's talk is their belief that the apartheid regime is historically doomed and the Soviet Union wants to facilitate as peaceful an end to the system as possible.

The difference is that the eloquent Dr Asoyan, a former journalist, talked directly to Afrikaans students, who were accompanied by Mr Johan Fick, chairman of the Department of Development Studies at RAU. Mr Fick represents the ruling National Party in the Johannesburg City Council. A long-standing member of the party, he was a leader of its youth league.

The initiative for the meeting between the Soviet envoy and the Afrikaans students came from the Soviet Embassy, said Mr Fick.

He had taken students on a study trip to neighbouring Lesotho, one of the world's poorest countries. As part of the programme, he arranged for them to meet and talk to representatives of donor countries. The Soviet Union was not included on the original itinerary until he received a message from the Soviet Embassy asking why it had been excluded.

An Afrikaans journalist later arrived to cover the meeting. He told Mr Fick he had been tipped off about it by the Soviet Embassy, leading Mr Fick to conclude:

"They not only wanted the meeting. They wanted publicity for it."

His impression was that the Soviet Union wanted South Africa to adopt a more non-aligned position on the East-West issue.

But Mr Fick, who later ran into flak from more conservative members of his for agreeing to the meeting, did not think that the students were particularly impressed with glasnost. Some of their questions after the lecture were "confrontational," he said.

The students included national servicemen who had served on the border and even in Angola. They wanted to know why the Soviet Union supported the ANC and why it backed "anti-democratic forces" in Angola.

But the notion of adopting a non-aligned position is not completely alien to South Africa, with the idea of closer ties to Moscow and Peking been mooted from time to time.

As Mr Fick's colleague at RAU, Professor Deon Geldenhuys, noted even before the United States started its sanctions campaign against South Africa: "Often deeply disillusioned about what is typically perceived as Western indifference, if not malice, towards South Africa, government spokesmen have on various occasions suggested a new, non-Western foreign policy orientation."

The Soviet factor in South African political affairs was underlined barely a week ago when Radio Moscow broadcast a tribute to Bram Fischer, the Afrikaner lawyer and Communist Party leader who died in jail in 1975, by the dissident Afrikaner writer, Professor Andre Brink.

Describing Mr Fischer as a man of integrity and "perhaps the most noteworthy Afrikaner dissident of the century," Professor Brink presented him as part of a long tradition of Afrikaner dissidence.

304A Times 15/5/88

OUT OF AFRICA — 2

Secret out on SA ties in West Africa

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN

SOUTH AFRICA is rapidly expanding its influence in West Africa, working closely with African governments officially hostile towards the Republic.

Amazing details of the extent of the country's official and unofficial involvement in black Africa emerged this week in the wake of the decision by the tiny state of Equatorial Guinea to expel several South African agricultural experts.

Pressure from Nigeria, disturbed by the SA presence practically on its doorstep, forced the government of President Teodoro Obiang Nguema to announce that about seven agriculturists would leave "as soon as they complete specific projects".

The South Africans started a cattle-breeding ranch about two-and-a-half years ago with the aim of developing a new breed of cattle suitable to the country's hot, tropical climate.

[redacted]

The scheme, described by the Department of Foreign Affairs as "the most successful yet to have been launched in that country" was later expanded to include dairy facilities and sheep-breeding.

South Africa's assistance to Equatorial Guinea is said to be in the region of R1,5-million annually and to include road-building, upgrading of infra-structure and medical assistance.

Nigeria, it is claimed, was alarmed by reports that SA was involved in the building of a satellite relay station and expansions to the airstrip at the town of Luba.

One report claimed Nigeria felt the projects could be covers for South African spying and sabotage missions.

Nigeria has been in the forefront of African efforts to isolate South Africa.

And last week it put pressure on its neighbour to expel the South Africans.

Relations between Nigeria and Equatorial Guinea are less than cordial but Nigerian economic influence in the region is paramount. Large numbers of Equatorial Guineans work on the Nigerian oilfields.

South Africa's presence in Equatorial Guinea seems to be just the tip of an iceberg.

Details of SA's growing involvement in Africa are kept closely guarded secrets by both Pretoria and the host countries.

But it is known that most of the contacts evolved from South African efforts to secure landing rights for SAA aircraft flying to Europe and America.

Relations with countries like Senegal and the Ivory Coast date from the heyday of the "detente era" in the '70s but have been conducted on a much lower key in the last few years.

● GABON has been a "silent partner" of South Africa for many years and even acted as a conduit for sanctions-busting operations in Rhodesia's UDI period.

● IVORY COAST's President Houphouet-Boigny is known for his pragmatic attitude towards South Africa and negotiations on SAA landing rights at Abidjan are still under way. There is also a South African trade representative in the country.

● TOGO has a South Africa presence centred on agricultural projects and the building of roads and bridges.

● SIERRA LEONE is the scene of several projects involving local companies, most in co-operation with Israeli and Lebanese concerns.

● THE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC has been accused by other members of the OAU of conniving with South Africa since the Republic put out feelers to improve relations between the two.

[redacted]

● ZAIRE and South Africa's close co-operation in the marketing of diamonds is an open secret.

On the West Coast, South Africa has also made diplomatic moves:

● COMOROS, a tiny island group between Madagascar and Mozambique, has hosted several Ministerial visits and South Africa is said to be involved in the building of an airstrip on Anjouan island.

● SOMALIA has denied reports that it has entered into agreements involving South African military and economic assistance in exchange for landing rights at Mogadishu and Berbera.

However, rumours persist that at least one South African Cabinet Minister has visited Mogadishu and that Somalia's Foreign Minister visited Pretoria recently.

Indaba 'not in bed with Worrall'

DURBAN — The Natal Indaba is trying to extricate itself from Dr Denis Worrall's warm embrace. (304A)

A statement by the Indaba last week said it "has no official links with any political party and has no intention of forging any such links". Sta 14/5/85

The Indaba felt itself forced to make the statement, in which it names Dr Worrall, because certain "queries" had been made by supporters who wanted clarity on its relationship with the Independent Party leader.

"We made the statement before the whole thing became a problem," an Indaba source said. "People were asking: 'Are you in bed with Worrall?' "

Dr Worrall, now drumming up support for his party, strongly supports the Indaba and lists this as one of his credentials.

An Indaba poll of certain Natal constituencies has also found that in popularity he ranks second only to KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi. However, he is clearly not acceptable to some of the Indaba's supporters.

The Indaba officially welcomes Dr Worrall's support, but well-placed sources say it is becoming fidgety about the possibility of people thinking it is being "used".

Said an Indaba official: "We are not part of the NP, or the Independent Party, or anyone."

Dr Worrall says the IP cannot claim a favoured relationship with the Indaba, although he has promoted the Indaba "harder than anyone".

The tiff is a rare setback for Dr Worrall who is packing in full halls as he takes his party to the voters.

He drew 600 people into the Johannesburg City Hall last week on the same night as Progressive Federal Party MPs Harry Schwarz and David Dalling drew 45 in Sandton.

In the next week or two Dr Worrall would have taken his campaign to every major centre.

SA 'pays price for resisting change'

Staff Reporter

PROFESSIONAL bodies and private organizations have been called on to throw their full weight behind moves to transform South African society and to work to resist the isolation threatening the country.

The call was made by Professor John Barratt, director-general of the SA Institute of International Affairs, at the Congress of the South African Federation of Business and Professional Women in a Sea Point hotel at the weekend.

Professor Barratt said post-war international trends of reaction against racism and colonialism were resisted by whites in Africa. "But, for better or for worse, they were irreversible and we became increasingly out of tune with the rest of the international community."

While South Africa had changed profoundly in many ways and the process was continuing, the country was paying the price for resisting change, "the long delay in accepting the need for it, and the opportunities lost as a result".

World isolation was one of the severe penalties suffered. "We have to a large extent brought this isolation on ourselves, but it is greatly compounded by the actions taken to impose isolation on us from the outside," he said, referring to sanctions, cultural and sports boycotts and travel restrictions.

'Totally unacceptable'

Professor Barratt said isolation from world thinking and from "the living stream of new ideas" posed the greatest threat for the future and should be resisted by private organizations and professional bodies.

"There is a need to acknowledge what I believe we know full well ... that the real cause of our isolation is that in today's world policies and practices based on racial discrimination have become totally unacceptable.

"One can question whether the forms of reaction, such as punitive sanctions, are the best means of contributing to the desired fundamental change. But we for our part have to appreciate that we cannot expect to be treated as a regular member of the international community while we refuse to accept international norms and values."

Individuals and organizations had to throw their weight behind moves to transform society and make a commitment to non-racialism. Organizations should also try to maintain and open channels of communication with the outside world.

There was also a need to make South Africans aware of world developments.

Perestroika permeating to the ANC lower ranks

Cape Times 16/5/88

304A

By KEN OWEN



LESS THAN three years ago the ANC was talking of moving to the stage of struggle quaintly known in revolutionary jargon as "people's war" and anybody who questioned the great truths of the Freedom Charter was sneeringly dismissed as a limp-wristed liberal.

To mention a Bill of Rights to certain lawyers was to risk the judicial equivalent of necklacing. To talk of participating in all-white elections was to be damned as an enemy of relevance.

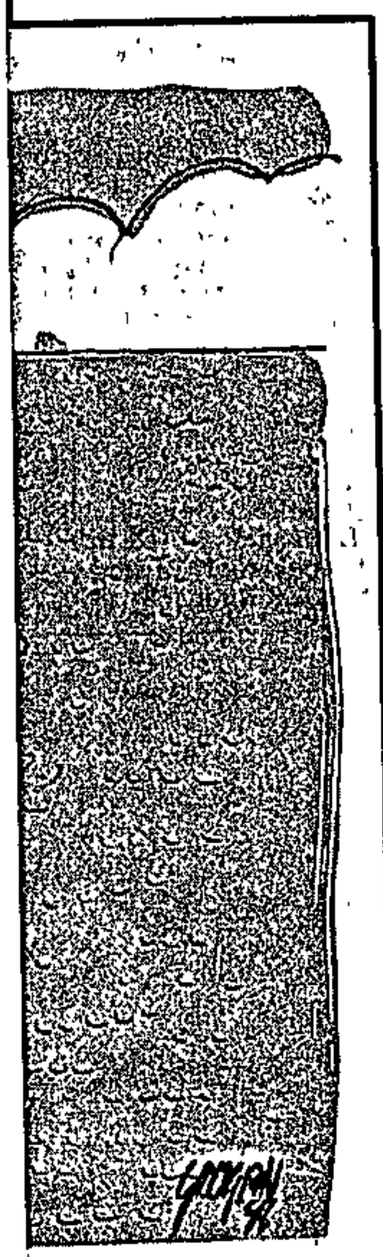
Learned men disputed earnestly about the nuances of communist theory and explained what the local street committee would do to us on behalf of the ANC's politburo when the country had been made nicely ungovernable.

Today, all that has changed. The ANC has modified even the holy writ of the Freedom Charter and the only person still trying to make the country ungovernable is Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

His reasoning is lost in the Christian mysteries but who seems to want sanctions to do the job.

Today, the choice put forward from the Left is not which kind of communism we shall have but which kind of capitalism — the straight stuff endorsed by Leon Louw and the free-marketeers or the wet version, modified by "radical" ideas about people's democracy. The difference between "radical" centralism and plain old Nat pork-barrel politics is as deeply hidden in the mysteries of Marxist dogma as Archbishop Desmond's doctrine of love is hidden in theology, but the change in leftist thinking is unmistakeable.

The Left has suddenly developed an obsession with the outcome of the municipal elections in October quite inexplicable in terms of last year's election boycott debates. The Five Freedoms Forum, still pursuing freedom from fear as Christians pursue everlasting life, is wooing even the business community for its crusade.



Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, having perhaps undergone a transforming experience on the road to Mbabane, has come to admire the tactics of the Conservative Party, which he upholds as an example for the wet Left.

The most fascinating of all these changes is doubtless the ANC's new creed. I am indebted to the London publication, *Southscan*, for the revelation that the ANC now approaches even the question of nationalizing the economy with a degree of caution. Ever since the ANC's heavyweights moved from London to Lusaka — to be close to the "front line", remember? — they have been developing doubts about some of the ideas stuffed into their heads by European Marxists.

They have seen the consequences of Zambia's seizure of 51% of the Anglo copper mines and are beginning to doubt the wisdom of theft as a social policy. "Can we honestly say," *Southscan* quotes one man, "that on day one we will be able to replace all the skills, the entire skilled strata, with skilled managers, planners and workers of our own?"

In saying things like that the ANC runs the risk of enraging Archbishop Desmond, who is still on the old tack of trying to reduce the economy by sanctions and drive the skilled strata to Australia. But then one expects an archbishop to have more faith in providence than a godless communist.

The ANC is doing other remarkable things. It promises to guarantee the right to strike, which will please the trade unions but may enrage the commissars.

It wants to buttress the right of free speech with a "right to know" which will give us access to the secrets of the Kremlin. There is even talk — which Chief Buthelezi will scarcely find credible — of a federal constitution. It is being examined by that brilliant intellectual veteran of the hard Left, Professor Jack Simons.

There are several explanations for these wondrous events.

First and foremost is that *perestroika* in Moscow has shuffled the old Stalinist hardliners into the Siberian cold and instructions are coming these days from a gentler breed in the Kremlin. The ANC's hardline proponents of a universal revolution against capitalism are finding themselves increasingly alone, if you discount the support of the liberation theologists and militant priests, or undergraduates whose empty heads have been stuffed with feeble theories of "accumulation" (which means getting rich).

The second reason is harsher. The "revolution" of 1976-87 has suffered, after a greater time lag and much greater suffering, the same fate as the "revolution" of 1960-64 (which captured, for a couple of hours, a street in Paarl but failed to take the police station). The revolutionary leadership which rode the wave in the Eighties is being chopped off, just as the revolutionary leadership which rode the wave in the Sixties was chopped off.

The "revolution" never had a chance against the "total mobilization" of Magnus Malan. All it did was tempt moderate blacks into fatal postures and legitimize, in the minds of whites, such right-wing measures as censorship, detention without trial, military and police indemnities, and so forth. The political climate has become lethal for both the hard Left and the wet Left. Both are now scuttling as fast as they can under the ever-accomodating skirts of the liberals who, only a year ago, they betrayed and who, some time in the future, they will betray again.

The liberal opposition to apartheid — liberal in the broad sense of people who believe in a free society under law — has been much reduced. Those who try to hold the middle ground tend to be shot to bits from both sides.

What's left? Wynand Malan and his charismatics are in an Afrikaner wilderness and will not long survive. Denis Worrall is gathering up the old UP remnants but has no organizational depth.

The PFP, driven back into its heartland, has been reduced again to being a moral force in our politics. It is picking itself up and dusting off the principles which, today as yesterday, are essential to the survival of civilized life in this country. It has a small role to play.

As for the trade unions, the best hope of the black people for rapid change, they are too cowed now even to fight very seriously against the new restrictive legislation that will further curb their activities and they watch helplessly as Archbishop Desmond's international campaign for the destruction of the economy wipes out their power base.

We are back to the long, slow, plodding business of trying to widen the space of liberty, millimetre by painful millimetre.

The ANC and all its hangers-on, having made a thorough mess of things with their silly theories of "colonialism of a special type", with their pointless violence and their Soviet-made visions, are trying desperately to get back into the game by adopting a new, liberal camouflage.

The liberals, fools that they are, will probably let them get away with it. Until the next betrayal.

'SA cannot afford bad management'

• Staff Reporter

South Africa could not afford the "luxury" of weak management for ideological motives, as had happened in the division between "general" and "own affairs" administrations, Mr Harry Schwarz, PFP spokesman on finances, said yesterday.

Speaking in the House of Assembly in the debate on the budget vote of the chairman of the Ministers' Council, Mr Schwarz said the system was not working. The creation of separate treasuries was an example, he said.

"Even if the political basis of the division were accepted, there are sound financial reasons for keeping one treasury. A failure to do so has brought with it a plethora of problems.

Mr Schwarz said taxpayers' money needed to be carefully controlled, carefully spent, not wasted and abuse should not be allowed to occur.

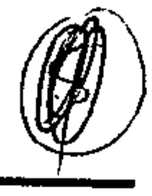
He said every administration had problems but the present administration had "exceeded the boundaries of the permissible or the acceptable".

The Ministers' Council needed to take stock and get its house in order.

"If the staff is not available, and large amounts of money to supplement the existing staff are not available, then there needs to be rationalisation."

Surprise US-Soviet talks on Angola

Star 17/7/88



The Star's Foreign News Service

LISBON — The senior US and Soviet diplomats responsible for Africa will hold surprise talks tomorrow in the Portuguese capital to discuss apparent snags in negotiations for an Angola-Namibia peace settlement, Portuguese sources said.

Word of the unexpected talks broke yesterday as military tensions appeared to heighten in southern Angola, and diplomatic sources said SADF chief General Jannie Geldenhuys had visited Lisbon secretly for talks with Portuguese officials.

Citing Foreign Ministry sources, the Portuguese news agency, Lusa, said US Assistant Secretary of State Mr Chester Crocker and Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Anatoly Adamishin would "debate the situation in southern Africa" tomorrow night.

In Luanda, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos con firmed that Cuban reinforcements had arrived in Angola, saying this was "a response to the intensification of the war by South Africa".

But the Cuban embassy in Maputo is reported to have said Cuba is ready to start withdrawing its troops north of the 13th Parallel in Angola by October 10 if United Nations troops arrive in Namibia by September.

The 13 Parallel runs through central Angola, slightly below the Benguela railway.

The Mozambique news agency, AIM, which has close contacts with Cuban officials inolved in Angola, said Cuban sources had described the proposed withdrawal to the north of the 13th Parallel as "a new contribution" by Cuba to the resolution of the Namibian question.

Observers, however, note that this proposal is not new in itself. A Cuban withdrawal northwards as part of a plan for a total withdrawal from Angola has been under discussion for several years.

The Star's Africa Service reports that there was no word today on whether the Angolan government has heeded South Africa's demand that it halt the strong force that has been advancing towards the Namibian border.

South Africa is reported to have threatened at the peace talks last week in Brazzaville, Congo, to break off the negotiations if the advance is not stopped. Whether the SADF would send troops to try to head off the column is not known but knowledgeable observers do not rule out the possibility of a clash with SADF or SWATF forces that operate from time to time against Swapo in southern Angola.

This is the first time a combined Fapla, Cuban and Swapo force has made a thrust of this nature.

The Star's Washington Bureau reports that readers of one of the most important newspapers in the Soviet Union, *Izvestia*, have been told that they should not expect a swift solution to the conflict in southern Africa.

Undertaker is arrested

A Cape Town undertaker, sought by police countrywide after 11 coffins containing decomposed bodies were discovered at a house at Parow last Wednesday, was arrested at Sundra on the East Rand yesterday.

The man had been sought after the bizarre discovery.

Cape Town police said today that neighbours had complained of a strong odour from the house. When police gained access to the garage, they found the coffins, which contained the bodies of elderly people and one child. — East Rand Bureau.

Opposition parties irate at joint debates

Star 17/7/88 (3047)

CAPE TOWN — The Government's plans to hold decentralised joint parliamentary debates in each of the four provincial capitals next week have been branded a "colossal farce".

Opposition parties are up in arms about the debates, not least because of the expense of the exercise, which has been estimated at between R1 million and R2 million.

The taxpayers are to pay for the air tickets, hotel accommodation and hired cars for every MP and official who attends the debates.

Both the Progressive Federal Party and the Conservative Party are threatening a boycott because of the "insulting" times allocated to them for speeches.

The Conservative Party is planning protest meetings in the city halls of the capitals because it has been given less time than the Indian House of Delegates to debate the provincial affairs of the Transvaal and Free State.

The PFP is upset that it is getting less time than the CP to take part in the Natal debate, even though it has several Natal MPs and the CP has none.

Rubb

SA getting closer to black Africa?



MINISTER of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha.

THE Brazzaville negotiations have reinforced impressions that South Africa's relations with black Africa have entered a new and possibly constructive phase.

While opposition to apartheid and demands for sanctions are as strong as ever, a sense of pragmatism is increasingly evident in African attitudes to South Africa.

This was demonstrated last week when on the one hand Nigeria increased its pressure on Equatorial Guinea to expel the South African aid teams there and on the other hand South African delegates held peace talks with Angola in the Congo capital of Brazzaville — and then went on to talk with the Congolese about trade possibilities.

That South Africa should be talking trade with the Congolese Government, which recently was following radical Marxist policies, is surprising in itself. What is more surprising, in the view of knowledgable analysts, is that the fact should be made public.

The disclosure of the trade talks may have been precipitated by the warmth generated during the Angola negotiations. But there was more than spontaneity behind the disclosure. South African diplomats, notably Mr Glenn Babb, the deputy director general of foreign affairs, had visited Brazzaville to promote trade and other contacts before the Angola talks ever materialised.

This was done as part of diligent and wide-ranging diplomacy that the South African Department of Foreign Affairs has long conducted in Africa.

Since few states are willing to be seen openly dealing with Pretoria, most of this activity was carried out in secret, like the technical aid given to Equatorial Guinea for the past few years.

According to some sources, South Africa has had secret dealings with a surprisingly large number of African countries. And most member states of the Organisation of African Unity are said to have had clandestine trade with the republic in varying degrees.

If these accounts are accurate, it may be that what was revealed at Brazzaville was something like the tip of an iceberg.

The Brazzaville disclosure comes at a time when international pressure for sanctions against South Africa has become more intense than ever, with a measure successfully launched in the United States Congress that would virtually bar all American trade with the republic.

But at the same time the South African Government is increasingly turning away from its former allies in the West and seeking a new road to acceptance in black Africa.

Analysts believe these efforts have been greatly encouraged not only by what happened at Brazzaville but by the recent approaches by Mozambique to improve relations with South Africa under the umbrella of a revitalised Nkomati Accord.

The very fact that South Africa and Angola are engaging in negotiation is in itself seen as an important step away from the confrontation that has long characterised relations.

Rebels

It is recognised that the Angolans may be acting out of harsh necessity as both their economy and their ability to defeat the Unita rebels continue to decline. Nevertheless, analysts believe the political spin-off from the negotiations could be considerable, provided the South African Government is seen to be acting in good faith.

In contrast to the previous Angolan negotiations in London, there was no United States delegation at the Brazzaville. The South Africans have characterised the Brazzaville talks as "complimentary" to those in London. At the same time the Congo meeting has raised the question of whether it and subsequent negotiations might not be conducted without the Americans, who have been dismissed by South African political leaders as "irrelevant".

The next round of talks are due to be held again in Brazzaville and some reports have suggested the Americans will participate. Observers will be watching with interest to see whether they do or whether it will be an all-Africa affair.

FOCUS

SOWETAN Africa News Service



Lest we forget

THE *Sowetan* today remembers journalists around the country who are in detention:

- Zwelakhe Sisulu, Editor of the *New Nation*, who has been in detention under the emergency regulations for 516 days;
- Brian Sokutu, Eastern Cape freelance

304A

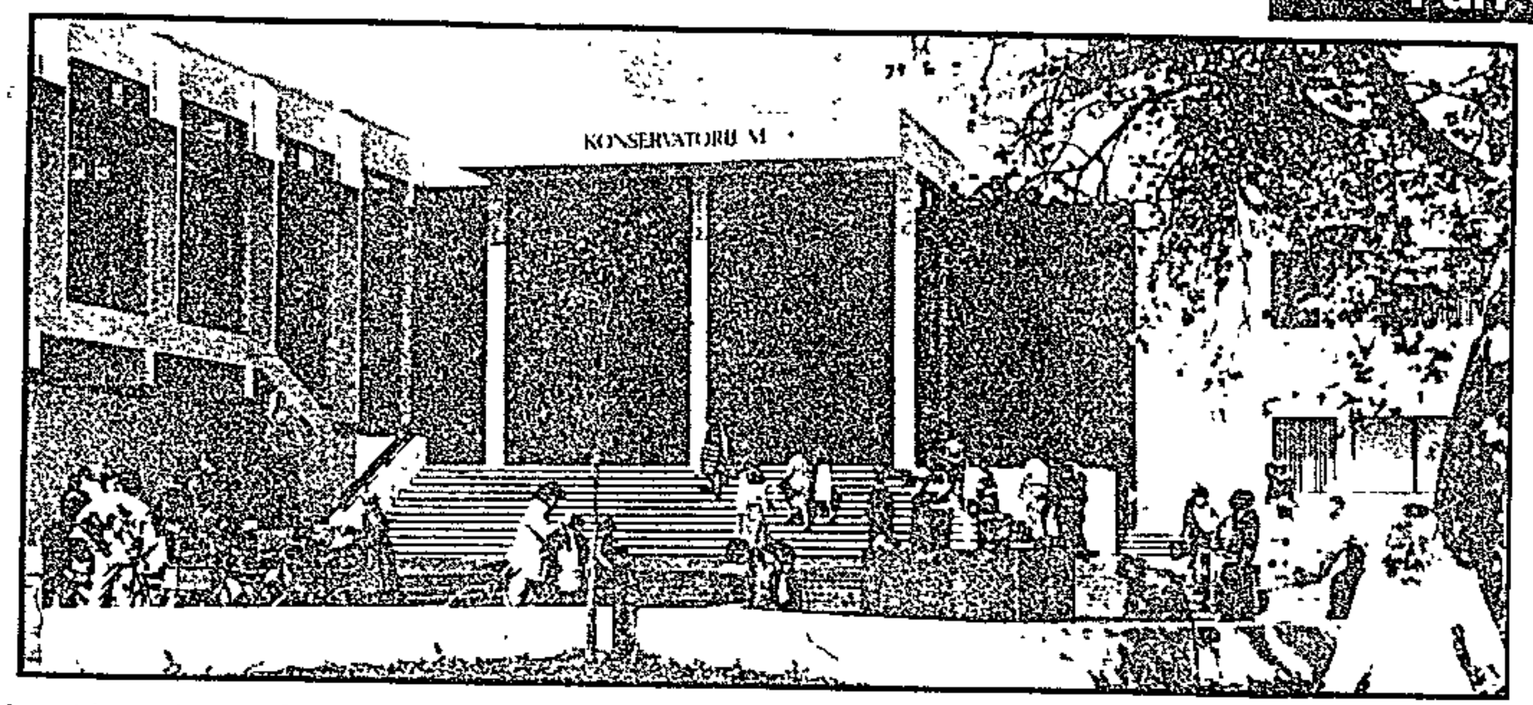
Matie revolt rolls on

Stellenbosch switch — Part 1

Academic protest against apartheid and NP inability to bring in change



Last year hundreds of leading academics at Stellenbosch University, the alma mater of six of South Africa's eight Prime Ministers, came out in revolt against the policies and leadership of the National Party. What is Stellenbosch like a year after this momentous event? What do the academic dissidents feel about the future? What do the students think? This is the first in a three-part series by HUGH ROBERTON who has visited Stellenbosch in search of answers.



LEFT: Students relaxing at Stellenbosch University ... "that it is not possible to change the NP from within they are going to have to find out for themselves".

AT Stellenbosch University it is known as the Great Paradigm Switch, the cataclysmic event a year ago when two, then 28, then 365 leading academics came out in revolt against the policies of the National Party.

Today the dust has still not settled and the revolt has grown to the point where, in the words of one of the academics, "there are few people of note who still publicly associate themselves with the NP".

What is more, the revolt has spread, though more slowly, to other Afrikaans universities which traditionally have provided the NP with much of its intellectual backing.

But a lecturer cautioned: "It is not so much a question of renouncing a political party, or adopting some other party's standpoint, as it is a revolt against the whole apartheid mindset and a lack of confidence in the present NP leadership's ability to bring about change."

According to Professor Sampie Terreblanche, who, with Professor James Fourie of the law faculty, brought the revolt to a head by resigning from the NP in February, 1987, after a "disappointing" meeting with President Botha, there have been "nibbles" from NP office-bearers anxious to re-establish relations with the dissidents.

"But I can tell you that there is no chance of us going back. The break is permanent. It is a paradigm switch, a quantum leap.

"There was a time when we were prepared to try to work from within the NP to bring about change, but that failed and now we are out in the open and we favour a transition to a post-apartheid South Africa with direct representation for all in Parliament."

Professor Terreblanche, professor of economics and chairman of "Discussion Group '85", the group which led last year's revolt, said in an interview that several new members had been invited to join their "informal discussions" but that the numbers had to be limited "otherwise it ceases to be a discussion group".

He dismissed as "misinformed" reports in NP mouthpieces that 10 senior academics who signed a statement last year criticising the Government had failed to sign a similar statement issued this year.

"Of the 10 who didn't sign this year, three were overseas when the petition went around and four were out of town. Of the remaining three one was moving house and apologised for not being able to sign in the set time limit.

"We have been in touch with the two who could have signed but who did not and we are confident that they still support us. They had cogent reasons for not wishing to sign, and these reasons had nothing to do with a change of mind."

What has been the NP's reaction to the revolt?

"They think we are mad. They think that the cause of our differences with them was grievance; that so-and-so did not get such-and-such a high position and so decided to walk out in a fit of pique.

"They just cannot grasp that we have made a quantum leap. They don't understand this sort of thing, and that is part of their problem.

"They look upon us as if we are afflicted by some ivory tower madness, and they say we are people who have our feet planted firmly in thin air; that sort of thing. Well, let them say what they like.

"We have at Stellenbosch a rich tradition in the social sciences, which until a year ago was often put at the disposal of the NP. It is a tradition which begins with problem identification. If you make a wrong diagnosis of a problem, you cannot get the right cure.

"Which group, the NP or us, has a real grasp of the realities? Who understands the real nature of the problem? We believe that in a systematic and scientific manner, in the best tradition of the social sciences, we have examined the whole issue and we have reached the right diagnosis."



Professor Sampie Terreblanche

Professor Terreblanche said that when "Discussion Group '85" met a year after the revolt to decide on a statement to mark the event, there was unanimity on "focusing closely on the question of the Government's legitimacy. We believe the Government faces a hell of a legitimacy crisis, and I think deep down they know this."

What has been the response of the university authorities to the revolt?

"I must say that not at any time have we had any problem with them. They have not put any obstacles in our way; there has been no discrimination or adverse reaction. They have let us be in the best tradition of academic freedom."

And the students?

"Well, they are another story. Many of the students were shocked, even angry. We have some excellent students here, some really forward-thinking young people.

"But many first- and second-year students tend to have tunnel vision. It is quite a problem to widen their horizons. You have to jolt them.

"By and large Stellenbosch students are more verlig than students at other Afrikaans universities, but it would be wrong to say that they have made the same quantum leap that we have. I can't blame those who try to work within the NP to bring about change. For many years I did the same thing myself.

"That it is not possible to change the NP from within they are going to have to find out for themselves.

"The students are a reflection of the community and the fact that many of them think differently from us is part of the problem of the whole country. It is a conceptual gap, and I suppose that is how it should be at a university."

What has been the wider reaction to the revolt?

"Very good indeed. I think the international reaction was staggering. It has put Stellenbosch on the map, intellectually and academically, which I think is very important for the image of the university.

"Now when I travel abroad I find that people know about us, and they have read about the academic revolt.

"I think one of the very serious concerns which we have is the threat of an academic boycott. We view this with dismay. South Africa cannot go it alone economically, and even less so academically.

"An academic boycott would be disastrous for us. I think, however, that there is a clear grasp abroad of the significance of what has happened at Stellenbosch, of the fact that there is a considerable community here working for a post-apartheid South Africa."

What impact did the split among the 'independents" have at Stellenbosch?

"None whatsoever. We do not see ourselves as being wedded to this or that political group, to the Malanites or the Worrallites. We are an independent, academic discussion group and essentially we always have been.

"The paradigm switch was an intellectual and academic tranformation, and it has not been changed by the split between the 'independents'. We think exactly the way we did before the split, and we have not taken sides. Neither do we anticipate having to take sides.

"Our perspective is based upon an analysis of the country's problems through the social sciences and, of course, many other academic disciplines. It is not a party political perspective. It transcends that sort of thing."

And personal reactions from friends, family?

"Overwhelmingly supportive. But for me personally it has been a traumatic business. I would compare it to a divorce, perhaps. A friend compared it to a religious conversion. And in some ways that is what it felt like — a conversion.

"It has been an extraordinary period in my life, and I am sure for many of the others.

"It was a break that was long in the making, and it has not been easy. But it has been a stimulating experience. I wouldn't have missed it for anything."

Mayor was 'humiliated' by the NP

English-speakers contemplating voting for the National Party in the municipal election on October 26 should consider the position of the mayor of Durban, Mr Henry Klotz, the Progressive Federal Party MP for Johannesburg North, Mr Peter Soal, said last night.

He told a meeting in his constituency that Mr Klotz joined the National Party because he saw this as support for the State President's programme of reform.

In the process, he had been humiliated for failing to toe the NP's hardline apartheid approach.

"Only if English-speakers believe in apartheid should they hand control of the city of Johannesburg to the National Party as this could mean the return of strict segregation in our parks, on our buses, and will mean our swimming pools will never be open.

"The bold course for voters will be to vote for the PFP. — Sapa.

Business leaders must act against apartheid

Star 18/5/88

304-A

Alex Anderson, chairman of the Business and Economy Group of the Five Freedoms Forum, discusses the theme of the organisation's forthcoming conference, "Preparing Business for the Future".

Business has a vital role to play in the new political and economic order that will inexorably arise with the advent of a broad democracy in South Africa. This is the issue underlying the conference to be held at the Indaba Hotel in Sandton on Sunday.

Many of the senior executives of South African business corporations have in the recent past been seen to be openly supportive of the Government in its often hesitant and sham initiatives at furthering the dismantling of apartheid. Organised business and commerce is equally mute or, at best, unobtrusive, in its protest against the bannings, censorship and detentions that have become the order of the political day for our "reform-minded government".

The consequence of this is that the true majority of South Africans identify business and commerce — capitalism — as being in collaboration with an Afrikaner Nationalist government that founded the whole con cept and reality of apartheid. As Don Mkhwanazi, president of the Black Management Forum, states: "The free enterprise system as represented by the private sector has formed an unholy alliance with apartheid."

POSITIVE ROLE

It is therefore predictable that given the advent of the final ejection of all apartheid legislation, traditions and structures, business will be thrown out with the National Party bathwater.

The conference is being convened to address this danger to business. It will provide interesting debate and opportunity for establishing an ongoing programme for action to ensure that business has a positive and productive role in the new democratic South African society.

Many businesses have, for the most part, during earlier years sought not to identify themselves with political party or partisan viewpoints. The referendum of 1983 and the long-standing political crises in the country have changed this attitude to some extent.

Business leadership must now however stand up and be counted concerning its views on apartheid. It must articulate its view and stance to employees and customers alike as to its intentions concerning the social, political and democratic necessities of an irrevocably changing order.

Business must popularise its opposition to apartheid and its plans to recruit, promote and train its personnel on merit alone. Should this fail to occur, harmony and our quality of life in South Africa will continue to decline.

Cabinet ministers in recent months have spent many hours over lunch in the plush dining-rooms of many of the larger quoted companies in Johannesburg. Their mission has been to seek funds from business to fight the strength and threat of the CP. The reality, however, for the majority of South Africans, is that their political rights will not improve or alter whichever of the two parties succeeds in the next election.



Anderson . . . "Stand up and be counted."

Because business has seen fit in the past not to "get involved in politics", it does not always understand politicians. However, business certainly does enjoy this now sudden attention from prominent politicians.

Due to this concern about the effects on their business of getting involved in politics, business leaders often also manifest a justifiable degree of inexperience in assessing the merchandise of politicians. The State President himself has sold some large "lemons" at the various conferences that business has been so keen to attend at the Carlton and in Cape Town.

Conferences concerning management development strategies for black manager advancement, occupational structure, attitude of the underprivileged towards Western culture, must surely do far more for the survival of free enterprise than adding to the ego, girth and pocket of far from deprived National Party Cabinet ministers.

Business must thus be able to urgently address and plan the realities, implications and benefits of the current trend towards the greater involvement of the broader underprivileged community in all aspects of the business dynamic.

Staff composition, structure of the customer base, and the way business is done must, and will, change.

The conference will address these issues, and rightly so. Business must not continue to besmirch its hard-earned free market-founded traditions by continuing to nurse a racially myopic government which is undoubtedly in a state of intensive care, this terminal malaise being brought about by its chronic inability to provide a reconciling political climate and positive vision of the future.

It is important that business leaders participate in this conference so that they too can make their contribution in solving what Alan Paton termed "the great problem". This he described as that "which confronts white South Africans and their country today as to whether they will be able to undo the damage of the Verwoerdian doctrines and gain, to some extent at least, the trust and confi dence of Black South Africa in the goodness of their intentions".



Last year hundreds of leading academics at Stellenbosch University, the alma mater of six of South Africa's eight Prime Ministers, came out in revolt against the policies and leadership of the National Party. What is Stellenbosch like a year after this momentous event? This is the second in a three-part series by HUGH ROBERTON, who has visited Stellenbosch in search of the answers. The final article will be published tomorrow.

Stellenbosch switch — Part 2



LEFT: The State President, Mr P W Botha ... South Africa's blacks are no longer interested in buying gimmicks.

Change is 'irreversible'

Argus 18/5/88 304A

But a tough battle against the National Party still lies ahead, says Esther Lategan

WITH a candour and humility rare in politics, Dr Esther Lategan admits unequivocally that the academic revolt at Stellenbosch University a year ago and the emergence of the "independents" so far have not seriously threatened the power of the National Party in the town.

What is more, she has no illusions about the "tough, long uphill battle against the NP" that lies ahead.

But in the 12 months since she stood as an independent candidate there with the support of the academic dissidents — she is now one of the leaders of the National Democratic Movement (NDM) headed by Mr Wynand Malan, the MP for Randburg — she believes an irreversible process of change has got under way at Stellenbosch, and elsewhere, which will lead to the collapse of the party that has ruled South Africa for four decades.

"The strongest resistance to change at Stellenbosch is among first-, second-and third-year students. The older students, post-graduate students, and the academic staff generally are far more amenable to change or have embraced it already," she said in an interview.

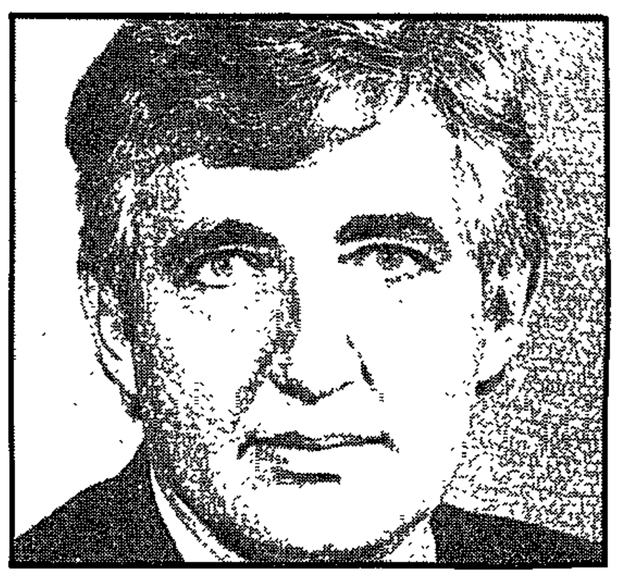
"In fact, our analysis of last year's election result showed up quite clearly the political climate in Stellenbosch. About 60 percent of the settled community, and that includes the academic staff, voted for me. About 60 percent of the student population voted against me.



Dr Denis Worrall



Dr Esther Lategan



Mr Wynand Malan, MP

"Our subsequent contact with the community has confirmed this broad division, but it is slowly beginning to change in our favour."

Dr Lategan tells of recent meetings with students attended by representatives of all the major white political groups at which the NP has come off worst "in terms of audience response"; of being given a good hearing by students who, at meetings during the election campaign, "I actually thought might physically attack me"; of the NP holding fund-raising cake sales in the town without displaying any NP banners or insignia "because they apparently fear an adverse public response".

She added: "When you live in a community, you become sensitive to changes. Although in all sincerity we cannot yet claim that there is a great groundswell of support for us out there, I get the very firm impression that opinion is slowly but surely changing in our favour.

"The sort of change which has begun in the settled Stellenbosch community is beginning to take place among the students."

What has been the impact on Stellenbosch of the split among "independents" — between those who support the National Democratic Movement and those who back Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party?

"There can be no doubt that it has shocked and upset many people. But those who abandoned the NP last year have not changed their minds. For them, it was a final and irreversible change.

"In terms of general public sentiment, the split was unfortunate. But in hindsight it was a good thing. It has freed us in the NDM to build the bridges we needed to build on the black side. That, after all, is where the future lies — in negotiations and alliances.

"It is our view that whoever can bring black and white together will rule this country. There are no quick and easy ways of doing this. Our first priority has been to build relationships of trust with black groups rather than to form ourselves into a political party to fight white elections.

"To a large extent we have established and secured such bridges. In fact, we have succeeded to the point where even radical groups understand and accept our need to participate in existing structures. We could not advance until we had secured our bridges to those groups who undoubtedly will have to be part of any solution to the country's problems."

Just as it was true to say that whoever could bring black and white together would rule South Africa, so it was true to say that whoever tried to do so would first need to prove their credentials to both black and white.

"It is no use going into politics with promises or good intentions," Dr Lategan said. "People must know that you can actually deliver the goods; that you have the credentials, the contacts and the credibility with all the groups whose goodwill would be needed to effect lasting solutions.

"That is why we have been quieter, perhaps, than some people expected us to be. It has been hard, but absolutely essential, groundwork. We are not in the business of posturing and rhetoric. If we say we can bring black and white together, it is because we have done our homework and we would want to be believed."

How does the NDM view Dr Worrall's Independent Party? "We are not interested in fighting them. While the NDM is moving towards a more competitive role in politics and entering the arena of white politics, we see our role essentially as being wider than just opposing other parties and groups. Much wider.

"What is necessary is to bring about negotiations, and to do that there has to be a fundamental change in the thinking of people. That is crucial.

"And obviously in future solutions are going to emerge from alliances — not so much alliances in the parliamentary system, since that is far too narrow and excludes too many people, but alliances across the full spectrum of South African society, inside and outside established structures.

"Now that we are gearing up to enter the white political arena, which we see as a segment of our overall task, we will have to look carefully at things like marketing. But if we had rushed ahead to do this without establishing relationships of trust, neither whites nor blacks would have taken us seriously."

What about President Botha's latest proposals for the inclusion of blacks in the political process?

"We are past the stage where blacks are going to buy gimmicks. If you don't allow someone into the political process on an equal footing, you cannot succeed.

"I do not believe that one man, one vote is a viable solution in our circumstances, but I do believe that mechanisms for the inclusion of blacks, and acceptable to the black majority, can be worked out by negotiation."

And the future of the NDM?

"This business is not for the faint-hearted. We have no illusions about the problems that lie ahead. Our task is to change people's thinking and, in my personal circumstances, the thinking of my own people, the Afrikaners.

"We believe the country is worth the effort, that is why we're doing this. And we hope that from our small beginnings much bigger things will grow."

Whites must negotiate — Howe

South Africa cannot be sustained under apartheid, British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe said yesterday in a major outline of British policy towards South Africa.

Addressing the Royal Commonwealth Society in London, Sir Geoffrey said the sooner white South Africans accepted the need for negotiation and reform, the greater the odds that change would be peaceful and democratic.

"If the South African Government will not negotiate with the present generation of genuine black South African leaders ... they will find succeeding generations more radical and more unpalatable."

In his speech, entitled "South Africa: no easy answers", Sir Geoffrey welcomed President Botha's speech on April 21 about black political participation.

"These were brave initiatives, born of a genuine desire to break with aspects of South Africa's past. They have been carried through in the face of serious opposition."

But Sir Geoffrey said no-one would claim that these changes went anywhere near what was needed, and that there had been steps in the wrong direction.

He said Britain welcomed the recent steps taken by South Africa and its neighbours to ease tensions in the region.

● See Page 15.

UK re-invigorates apartheid outlook

Star 18/5/88

Start negotiating, Sir Geoffrey tells South Africans

304.A

By Michael Morris,
The Star Bureau

LONDON — Britain has re-invigorated its policy on apartheid with "realistic" no-nonsense appeals to whites and blacks in South Africa, and Pretoria specifically, to find the courage to get on with reform and negotiation as soon as possible.

In what amounts to a fresh Cabinet-level engagement of the South African issue in Britain — intended to spur change in South Africa as much as to rebut criticism of British policy at home — the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, warned: "Without an end to apartheid, the South African economy can never hope to attract the foreign investment which is required if it is to achieve the growth rate needed to keep pace with population growth."

He said the agenda of reform to which the South African Government needed to address itself was clear enough:

- Lifting the state of emergency and associated measures like press censorship.
- Revoking the bannings imposed in February.
- Releasing Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and those detained without charge.
- Unbanning the ANC and other political parties and allowing normal political activity.
- Ending regional destabilisation.
- Dismantling apartheid legislation, beginning with the Group Areas Act.

The Commonwealth Eminent Persons' Group's proposal for negotiations on the basis of a suspension of violence on all sides remained the "most promising formula".

In a lengthy and detailed assessment of Britain's policy, Sir Geoffrey told the Royal Commonwealth Society yesterday: "Our passionate desire to do something — anything — to help must be tempered by a sober assessment of what is likely to be possible and what will actually help."

Firmly indicting apartheid, Sir Geoffrey said: "Apartheid is neither western nor civilised nor Christian. And the practice of apartheid ... drives those in power with inexorable logic away from democracy to totalitarian methods.

"No outsider has the key to unlock a settlement. Nobody can look to Britain to solve the problem as though it were a second Rhodesia.

"Nor is South Africa likely to be pushed over the brink into revolution or imminent cataclysm. To overthrow the system by violence, if it were possible at all, would create a wasteland."

Britain rejected all violence.



British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe ... a major statement on policy towards South Africa.

Change, he said, was inevitable, but it would not be rapid.

One message common to whites and blacks was to "avoid intellectual or political straightjackets".

"Negotiation, when it comes, will not take place to rigid preset formulae."

To whites, Sir Geoffrey said: "Change is coming and the sooner the the white community as a whole can face that fact the better the chance of negotiating a settlement in which their concerns will be met" and in which the process would occur peacefully.

"The pace of change in the white community is badly out of phase with black needs and aspirations. The Government have to take the lead."

To blacks, Sir Geoffrey said: "We do understand and we support your crusade. And we firmly believe that one day it will succeed. But change will not be achieved overnight.

"When black frustration spills over into violence, this does not reinforce pressure in the white community to scrap apartheid.

"Violence is self-defeating. Violence is wrong. Bombing and burning are murder ... The path of non-violence which the ANC trod for so many long years is still the right path, and we urge them to return to it.

"My most important messages to the black community and black organisations are these: Turn away from prescriptions which would increase polarisation or leave the land an economic desert, reject violence and terrorism, they are a counsel of despair, do not lose hope. Change must come. Change will come."

The Foreign Secretary dismissed punitive sanctions as fundamentally ineffective.

"In the end, our economic interests in South Africa, like everyone else's, are best secured by peaceful change."

Britain, he said, would continue to help where it could, giving "advice and encouragement ... And the best form our help can take is pressure and persuasion, doing all we can to bring South Africans to start a genuine dialogue.

"That means persuading the South African Government. It also means persuading the ANC, PAC and others in opposition."

Howe urges talks for ANC, govt

CAPE TIMES 18/5/88 304A

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, yesterday strongly urged the South African government and the African National Congress to begin negotiations and presented a forceful case against sanctions.

In a major foreign policy speech here, Sir Geoffrey urged Pretoria to take the lead and step up the pace of change, condemned the use of violence by both the government and anti-government opposition forces and launched a scathing attack on the South African right wing.

In an extensive and carefully thought-out speech at a lunch for the Royal Commonwealth Society, Sir Geoffrey presented an agenda for reform and a "message" to black and white alike.

He stressed that change was "inevitable".

"Avoid intellectual and political strait-jackets. Be ready to think the unthinkable. Negotiation, when it comes, will not take place to rigid pre-set formulae. Catch phrases such as 'transfer of power' and coded language such as 'group rights' will have to be set aside. Compromise means give as well as take."

In a message to white South Africans, the British diplomat said: "No change is simply not an option. Change is coming, and the sooner the white community as a whole can face that fact the better the chance of negotiating a settlement in which their concerns will be met." He added that he accepted that change may be a long time coming but "the South African government has to take the lead. Dialogue cannot take place against a backcloth of violence and repression".

Widening rift

In clear conflict with a statement made by Mrs Margaret Thatcher in which she denounced the IRA, the PLO and the ANC as terrorist organizations during the Commonwealth's heads-of-government conference in Vancouver, Sir Geoffrey said the British government would continue talking to opposition groups — including the ANC.

His speech comes amid a widening rift with Mrs Thatcher over foreign office policy, and particularly on South Africa. Last week the Foreign Secretary sided with Chancellor Nigel Lawson in an increasingly bitter debate over the issue of exchange rate controls, and speculation is mounting that he may soon be out of the cabinet altogether.

In his speech, Sir Geoffrey returned constantly to the sanctions issue and Britain's attitude that they are counter-productive, would create economic stagnation and most hurt the frontline states and South African blacks.

He said opposition to sanctions does not mean support for apartheid. In a clearly intended barb, he said this was a myth "fostered, I regret to say, by some elements in the South African government".

The agenda for reform he presented includes:

- Lifting the state of emergency and press censorship;
- Revoking the February banning of 17 anti-apartheid organizations;
- Releasing Mr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners;
- Unbanning the ANC and other political parties and allowing for resumption of normal political activity;
- Ending the destabilization of neighbouring states, and
- Dismantling apartheid legislation, beginning with the Group Areas Act.

Sir Geoffrey urged Pretoria to negotiate with "genuine" black leaders, otherwise "they will find succeeding generations more radical and more unpalatable to them".

He also pleaded with the ANC and black South Africans to forswear violence.

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D/D 19/5/88

Dhlomo: Indaba may be our last hope

by Matthew Moonieya
business editor

EAST LONDON — Rejection of the KwaZulu-/Natal Indaba proposals could be a clear signal to some that evolutionary change was no longer possible and that revolution was the only alternative, the Kwazulu Minister of Education, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said here last night.

Dr Dhlomo, the chief Kwazulu and Inkatha negotiator at the Indaba, told the annual dinner of the East London Chamber of Commerce that while white politicians were dazzled by the fairy-tale lights of the October ethnic municipal elections, black politicians were beginning to doubt the efficacy of negotiation.

He said there was a limit to which they could continue to support power-sharing negotiation without any tangible results. Rejection of the Indaba proposals would irretrievably alienate the entire Zulu nation, the largest single population group in the country.

"The prospect of the Zulu nation turning its back on the negotiating table is one so drenched in gloom that I would prefer not even to consider it," he said.

Dealing earlier with the implications of the proposals, which he said were vast and far-reaching, Dr Dhlomo emphasised that they were not for independence or sovereign rule, but were for power-sharing and provincial government for the area in limited areas of jurisdiction.

"It will bring sweeping changes in the rationalisation of administration. In terms of education, we see that no less than six different departments will be streamlined into one with huge benefits in increased efficiency and reduced bureaucracy."

The fundamental fact underlying the changes was that it would be made by the legitimate and truly representative government of the region.

"This will be the product of an unparalleled exercise in democracy in South Africa and for the first time, all the people will share in planning their joint future."



At the annual dinner of the East London Chamber of Commerce held in East London last night were (from left): the MD of the Daily Dispatch, Mr T. Briceland; the chief magistrate, Mr S. Nel; guest speaker, Dr O. Dhlomo; and the president of ELCC, Mr E. Spring.

He said it would create a new incentive for all to build a common future and a new mood of entrepreneurship and zeal for advancement would overtake the province as it discarded the shackles of apartheid and international antagonism. Substantial foreign investment would be attracted to fund the march to prosperity.

"This scenario is not wishful thinking on our part. The international business community has already indicated that an Indaba-type dispensation would not only remove the restraints on them, but would also provide a fertile investment proposition."

The partial clearing of the political logjam would attract considerable international sympathy and it would defuse to some extent the sanctions and disinvestment lobby.

"While we stand vehemently opposed to sanctions and would do anything to oppose it, we must warn that the sanctioners have mastered their trade, and most important, we have no friendly, powerful neighbour to the south to bail us out, as happened to the former Rhodesia."

Dr Dhlomo warned that time was running out for negotiation politics and that it had been 15 months since the indaba proposals were handed to the government and that they had not received any official communication from the cabinet.

"During all this time we have waited patiently because we have had no choice. But we cannot remain patient much longer. The tide of racial and political polarisation in South Africa is coming in and if we don't move fast, it will engulf us all."

Idasa might open in Natal

DURBAN — The Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) is exploring the possibility of opening an office in Natal later in the year.

In April, Idasa workers held exploratory meetings with individuals and ran a workshop for community-based organisations.

Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine opened the institute after resigning from Parliament.

Star 19/5/88

Inkatha wants results from Indaba

Staff Reporter

Time is running out to implement the kwaZulu Natal Indaba proposals, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, co-convener of the Indaba and kwaZulu's Minister of Education and Culture, said yesterday.

30th LIMIT

Addressing the East London Chamber of Commerce, Dr Dhlomo said the hour was already late and there was a limit, which was rapidly being approached, to how long kwaZulu and Inkatha could continue to support power-sharing negotiation "without any tangible results whatsoever".

The rejection of the "moderate" Indaba proposals by the Government would be the "death blow" to any possibility of a negotiated future for South Africa and would irretrievably alienate the Zulu nation, he said.



Dr Oscar Dhlomo . . . time is running out

"The prospect of the largest single population group in the country turning its back on the negotiating table is one so drenched in gloom that I would prefer not even to consider it.

"There is also little doubt that the rejection of the Indaba proposals would exacerbate the violence on and within our borders, providing what many will interpret as a clear signal that evolutionary change is no longer possible and revolution is the only alternative," he said.

It would also contribute to the "final slamming of the international door firmly in our face".

On the other hand, the implementation of the Indaba proposals would have proved that negotiation politics was not only possible but "triumphantly practical", he said.

CAPE TIMES 19/5/88

Inkatha: Tough warning to govt

Political Staff

INKATHA, the largest legal black organization in South Africa, last night threatened to cut off negotiations with the government because it had not reacted to the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba proposals and warned that revolution was the only alternative.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary-general of Inaktha and Minister of Education and Culture in the KwaZulu government, said in East London that South Africa was rapidly approaching the limit of how long KwaZulu and Inkatha could continue to support power-sharing negotiation.

"The rejection of proposals as moderate as those of the Indaba would finally and irretrievably alienate the entire Zulu nation," he said in an address to the East London Chamber of Commerce.

"The prospect of the largest single population group in the country turning its back on the negotiating table is one so drenched in gloom that I would prefer not even to consider it.

"There is also little doubt that the rejection of the Indaba proposals would exacerbate the violence on and within our borders, providing what many will interpret as a clear signal that evolutionary change is no longer possible and revolution is the only alternative," Dr Dhlomo said.

The Indaba proposals were handed to the government 15 months ago, but "to date we have have received no official communication from the cabinet".

His warning, the toughest ever issued by Inkatha, could sink government hopes of drawing in so-called "moderates" into the proposed national council.

"There is little doubt that the complete rejection of the Indaba proposals by government would be the deathblow to any possibility of a negotiated future for this country," Dr Dhlomo said in his prepared speech.

"Already the hour is late and there are few black leaders who are still prepared to negotiate.

"Already there is a growing belief even among black pragmatists that 'reform' is just a myth.

"Black politicians are beginning to doubt the efficacy of negotiation itself.

"There is a limit, which we are rapidly approaching, to how long KwaZulu and Inkatha can continue to support power-sharing negotiation without any tangible results whatsoever.

"There is also little doubt that the rejection of the Indaba proposals would exacerbate violence on and within our borders, providing what many will interpret as a clear signal that evolutionary change is no longer possible and revolution is the only alternative."

Dr Dlomo added that they had waited patiently because "we had no choice but to do so. But we cannot remain patient very much longer.

"The tide of radical and political polarization in South Africa is coming in — and if we don't move fast it will engulf us all," he said.

Dominance by NP behind timidity of many students

ARGUS 19/5/81

30/44

Stellenbosch switch — Part 3

Last year hundreds of leading academics at Stellenbosch University, the alma mater of six of South Africa's eight Prime Ministers, came out in revolt against the policies and leadership of the National Party.

What is Stellenbosch like a year after this momentous event? What do the academic dissidents feel about the future? What do the students think?

This is the last in a three-part series by HUGH ROBERTON, who has visited Stellenbosch in search of the answers.

TRYING to get on record the views of staff and students at Stellenbosch University a year after the academic revolt against the National Party began sometimes proved to be the sort of experience a young social scientist warned it would be — "like trying to seduce a virgin".

While there are hundreds of frank and outspoken dissidents on the campus, many others — faculty and students alike — tend to be painfully discreet when voicing their political opinions to the Press.

"What you have to understand is that Stellenbosch is a small and intimate community," a young lecturer with family links to the National Party establishment explained.

"You could speak your mind at a meeting, or give your views in a newspaper interview, but the next morning you would have to face the same people and work with them. One does not enjoy the anonymity of a big city.

"My task involves working with the community. It is easier to do that when one is perceived to be politically neutral. Remember, it is a community that is deeply divided.

"I don't actually make a secret of my disapproval of apartheid, but I cannot let my political views get in the way of the work I have to do among people who I know would strongly, resentfully, disagree with me."

Another lecturer, who was "politically disinterested" until the 1976 Soweto riots, says: "You must understand that what is happening in Stellenbosch is happening to real people, with mothers, fathers, wives, husbands, even children, who might disagree with them. My wife is apolitical, but her parents are ultra-NP.

"For the sake of family harmony I reserve my comments to private encounters with like-minded friends."

A researcher remarked: "Nobody on this campus despises the NP more than I do. But my father takes his politics very seriously. He would be horrified to read about my views in The Argus.

"He knows I have my doubts about the NP, but he has no idea that I regard it with the contempt I do. To tell him would be a bit like confessing to treason or murder."

Among many ordinary students who do not bear an obvious political label, discretion in talking to the Press about politics is almost reflexive. The dominance of NP scions in university hostels, and the NP's grip on student politics, are blamed for much of the timidity.

Some snippets from talking to students at a well-known watering hole:

● "I'll talk politics to you until the sun comes up," says a first-year commerce student, "but I would not want my name in The Argus. As it is, my parents think Stellenbosch has become a nest of troublemakers. I disagree. I think the university is growing up."

● A law student: "Why don't you go and talk to the student radicals? There are plenty of them. I'll give you some names."

I said the views of radicals were well known; I was in search of the average student and had been directed to this pub.

"Well, everyone here is NP, except maybe for a few CP types."

Fine, I say, let's get your views on record. Why are you NP? "That's not something for the world to know."

● A first-year BA student: "The hostels are not conducive to dissent when you are in your first year. First-year people who buck the establishment pick up trouble. That's just the way it is and the academic rebels will never change that."

● A commerce student: "I want to get a job when I leave here, and I don't want a high profile in politics. I might have to go to the public sector, so you can see what I mean. Anyway, I differ with all the political parties and I also don't like the political line of The Argus."

What political line? "You know, always quoting Tutu and Boesak."

But we quote NP Ministers far more than we quote Tutu and Boesak. "That too!" he says. Amidst laughter, more beers are ordered.

● A science student: "Why is The Argus so interested in the opinions of students? It's the professors and lecturers who make all the fuss."

Because you are tomorrow's leaders; your university has produced all but two of South Africa's heads of government so far. To much chortling, a bespectacled wag observers: "At least we can lay the blame on UKOVS for the present incumbent."

"Be careful, he'll read significance into that," warns the law student. A self-conscious silence falls.

What do they think of Esther Lategan, the independent candidate in last year's election?

"She's got lots of spirit and I voted for her."

"She's got her head in the clouds."

"She spoke at our hostel and the guys gave her a really rough time, but I think she made a few good points. Not enough, though."

And the academic dissidents?

"Sometimes I think they don't understand the practical world." "You can't run a country out of text books." "Their lectures are the best." "I'll admit their statements make a lot of sense. You have to think about what they say."

The law student: "If you quote me, I'll do something about it, but as a Nationalist I must say I find their statements interesting because they keep me on my toes politically. Yes, some of the criticism they voice is valid."

What groups now dominate Stellenbosch?

"The NP has most of the students, the staff seem to be mainly anti-NP."

"I would say about two-thirds of the students are pro-NP, the rest have all sorts of views to the left and right."

"Stellenbosch is the first politically unaffiliated Afrikaans university."

"All wrong," says the gent in specs, "Castle is king at Stellenbosch."

More chortling and the conversation turns to the weekend's movies, the world XV tour, clothes, the hot spots of Cape Town, TV, cars, the best beaches, pocket money.

The hedonistic golden youth of Afrikanerdom? I recall a comment by Professor Sampie Terreblanche: "We have many wonderful students here; bright, hard-working, talented.

"But a problem with some Stellenbosch students today is that they are so affluent; they are so cut off from the real world that the realities of the country seem distant to them."

The junior lecturer: "Sometimes I think that most of our students are less concerned about what is going on in the black townships of South Africa than their counterparts in America or Europe.

"They are the first apartheid generation. They have been entirely cut off from the reality of black South Africa. To a majority of them, a visit to Guguletu would be like an outing to another country."

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ANY LETTER IN THE GAME
★ PAPERCHASE GAME II ★

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DD 17/5/88

Lively debate at Idasa meeting despite poor attendance — Fourie

Daily Dispatch Reporter

QUEENSTOWN — A lecture on democracy by the director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) for Border, Mr Steve Fourie, was poorly attended but produced lively debate.

Mr Fourie said he was unconcerned about the poor attendance as it was easier to get a message across to smaller groups of people.

The purpose of his visit was to explain the broad concept of democracy, of which it had been said was the most valued but also the vaguest of political terms in the modern world.

It was hoped that the lecture would motivate people to explore the issue further, he added.

He spoke on the evolution of the three structures of democracy which existed today, namely, liberal, socialist and Third World democracy.

In outlining Idasa's role in this country, he said it was a non-alligned political institute which sought to promote discussion about a non-racial democratic future for South Africa.

Mr Fourie said there was no membership of Idasa, whose chairman was Dr Beyers Naude, and had the former chairman of the federal executive of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Alex Boraine and the former leader of the PFP, Dr F. van Zyl Slabbert, among its board members.

Instead of membership, people were invited to identify themselves with the work of the institute by participating in its projects and submitting ideas for projects to further its aims, among which was the rejection of apartheid and the bringing together of people and organisations.

A lecture on democracy in education, to which teachers in the Eastern Cape and Border had been invited, was to be held in Grahamstown on Saturday.

"Although still in its infancy, there is no doubt that the institute is slowly achieving its aims", Mr Fourie said.

Represented at the lecture were the PFP, Labour Party and members of the clergy.

Mayor's expulsion 'party discipline'

Political Staff

THE expulsion of the mayor of Durban, Mr Henry Klotz, from the National Party was a matter of party discipline, the Minister of Home Affairs and Natal leader of the NP, Mr Stoffel Botha, said yesterday.

He said, after being questioned about the matter in the House of Representatives, that any party had to have discipline.

"What I did with the Mayor of Durban was a matter of party discipline," Mr Botha said.

Mr Klotz was suspended because of his refusal to associate himself with party policy statements on the open beaches issue and remained adamant that all of Durban's beaches would, in time, be opened to all races.

He will head an "alliance of independents" to fight the political big guns of the NP and Conservative Party in the October municipal elections.

The alliance has been formed by politically non-aligned Durban city councillors.

Councillor Margaret Ambler, a member of the alliance, said yesterday that the alliance had been "talked about" for a few years.

"We're going ahead but we've had no formal meetings yet."

It is known that Mr Klotz started recruiting for the alliance before his suspension and subsequent resignation from the NP.

PFP-NDM link-up for local polls

Business Day Reporter

PFP and National Democratic Movement (NDM) members in Pretoria are to link up in an organisation known as Pretoria 2000 to fight the October municipal elections there on a "non-political basis".

The PFP's Transvaal leader Douglas Gibson last night described the move as an informal alliance between supporters of the two parties in Pretoria only.

The link was a result of a decision by the NDM not to participate formally in the elections and by the PFP's Northern Transvaal region not to put up candidates on a party-political ticket.

SAPA reports that Pretoria 2000's first candidate, present PFP councillor Tertius Spies, who will stand in Ward 14, said yesterday there was "tremendous interest" in the new organisation, which was not limited to supporters of the two political parties.

He said Pretoria 2000 wanted to bring municipal matters down from the CP's "national level" for more effective local government.

Powersharing plans

Sowetan 19/5/88

THE implementation of the proposals in the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba are not for independence or sovereign self-rule, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, KwaZulu Minister of Education and Culture said last night.

Dr Dhlomo, who is also co-convenor of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba, was addressing members of the East London Chamber of Commerce.

The theme of the meeting was: "What the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba offers for a future dispensation in South Africa."

He said: "The proposals are for powersharing and provincial government for the region in limited areas of jurisdiction.

"The control of certain crucial areas of government such as the military, the police, economic and foreign affairs would remain vested in central government, to which the region would continue to owe full allegiance," said Dr Dhlomo.

He added that the region will decide for itself on education, health and housing matters.

3044

20/5/84

Minister lashes out at editors protesting against press bannings

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, yesterday lashed out at editors who had sent him a petition about action he had taken against a number of newspapers in terms of the media regulations.

Editors from Times Media and Argus newspapers, he said, had referred to "unnecessary restrictions" imposed under the emergency regulations, and had suggested the closing down of New Nation and the warning to Weekly Mail were not in the national interest.

The editors, Mr Botha said, had stated that they had no knowledge of any recognised publication fomenting violent revolution and that if there was evidence of this it should be submitted to the courts.



MR BOTHA

Mr Botha said there were "a mass of examples which promote violent revolution" which had left him no alternative but to take action.

The minister said he was "concerned that senior editors who consider themselves qualified to comment on complicated realities at the same time pretend that they are altogether ignorant about the nature and effect of the repeated publication of reporting covered by the emergency."

Certain publications favoured the perpetrators of violence by "building their image".

Examples of this, Mr Botha said, were:

- By publishing slogans and "clarion calls" for the military wing of the ANC
- By publishing photos of the ANC leaders in such a manner that they fostered feelings of support for perpetrators of violence
- By using reports which evoked sympathy for ANC detainees and prioners

Mr Botha said that not one of the publications had been acted against "merely because it was opposed to apartheid or the government".

These things, he said, were not the issue.

Parliament packs its bags, gets set to make history in triplicate

Star 20/5/86

304A

Political Correspondent David Braun reports from Cape Town

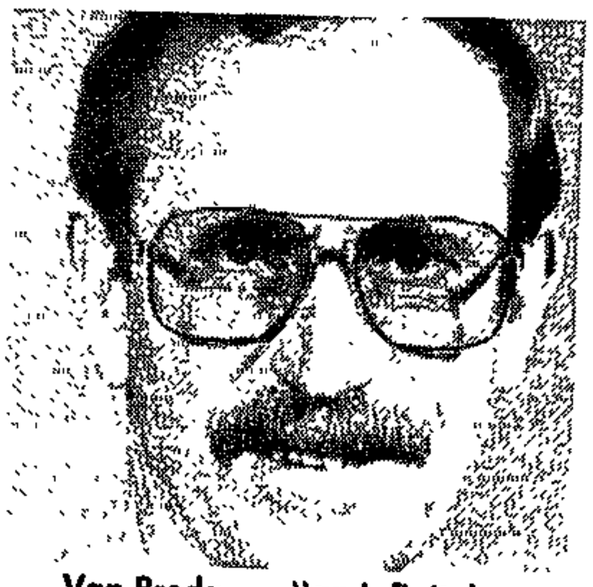
Parliamentary history will be made next week when South Africa's legislature decentralises to hold simultaneous debates in the four provincial capitals.

MPs, officials, Hansard reporters and press gallery correspondents will scatter in different directions for two days from Monday, as Parliament debates each of the provincial budgets in the home capitals.

Also for the first time, the four Administrators and their executive committees will take part in parliamentary debates, responding directly to speeches by MPs, although they will not take part in any voting.

Another first is that members of all three Houses will take part in joint debates for the first time, with coloureds, Indians and whites sitting alongside each other.

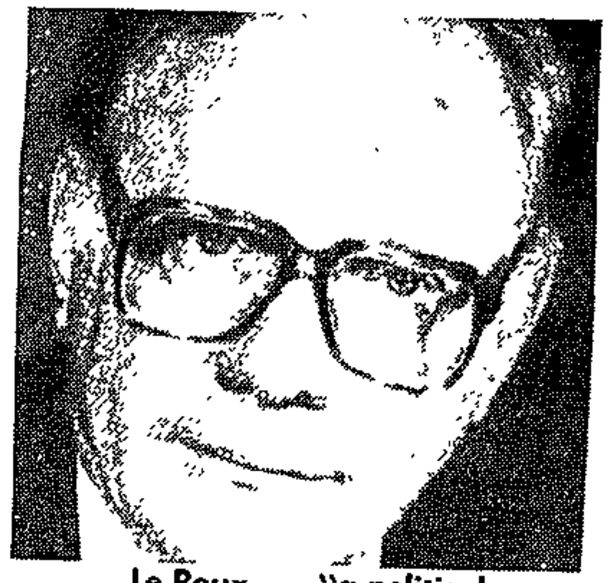
The system has been heavily criticised by the white opposition parties, the Progessive Federal Party and the Conservative Party, mainly because of the amount of time which has been allocated to them for the debates.



Van Breda . . . "an infinitely better situation".



Swart . . . "costly piece of window-dressing".



Le Roux . . . "a political confidence trick".

Question of cost

They have also criticised the waste of taxpayers' money involved in flying MPs and officials to provincial capitals and the cost of accommodating them and giving them local transport.

The Government, on the other hand, sees the new system as an exciting development in parliamentary procedures.

Chief Whip of Parliament Mr Alex van Breda says the "extended public committees" dealing with provincial budgets are in no way intended as a replacement for the old provincial council system.

The new system rather replaces the former parliamentary procedure where provincial budgets were dealt with jointly in the debate on the vote of Constitutional Development

All four budgets were put simultaneously (because of time restraints) and the Minister had to reply.

Mr van Breda said: "Jointly these budgets totalled a few billion rands. It was physically impossible for one person to reply properly to such a debate.

"The two days' debates in the four provinces will each take between 600 and 700 minutes and they will take place simultaneously.

"This is an infinitely better situation compared with the 400 minutes for all provinces in the House of Assembly and 420 and 315 minutes in the other two Houses respectively.

"The added advantage is that each Administrator and his Executive Committee will be on the floor to account in debate for their administration of the budget.

"Until now one of the biggest criticisms of the new provincial system of government has been that the Administrators and the executive committees have not been directly accountable in debates in Parliament.'

Mr van Breda said that as was the case with all other budget votes, a vote would not be taken at the conclusion of debate on a provincial budget but at the end when the schedules of the Appropriation Bill were put.

This was exactly the same procedure as was followed in all European parliaments.

On the allocation of time, Mr van Breda said not one party had been given a minute less than for which it qualified.

"Time is allocated in accordance with the number of MPs a party has in Parliament, and not in proportion to the votes it polled in the last election.'

Progressive Federal Party caucus chairman Mr Ray Swart slammed the new arrangement as a classic example of the nature and cost of "Nat-style democracy".

"This is really a clumsy piece of costly window-dressing for the new provincial committees which have been heralded by the Nats as a replacement of the old provincial council system," he said.

Black affairs

"Instead of the old system being expanded to provide representation for all, the Nats have, in the name of 'decentralisation', centralised some of the scrutiny of provincial administration in provincial committees consisting of Members of Parliament.

"Ironically, when the committees meet, white, coloured and Asian members will be devoting much time to the scrutiny of many aspects of black affairs which have been handed down to provincial administrations, while blacks themselves will be the one group not represented at all."

Mr Swart said the time allocated to opposition parties was ridiculous and the cost of the exercise could in no way be justified.

"All in all, these meetings appear to be a colossal farce," he said.

Conservative Party Chief Whip Mr Frank le Roux said his party regarded the provincial meetings as an "absolute farce" and a political confidence trick.

"The CP is opposed to the debates because they are a further instalment of integrated government with the different race groups governing over each other.

"The debates are ostensibly an extension of democracy but they are exactly the opposite, because the nominated Administrators and executive committees have been given 25 percent of the debating time. This gives the National Party more than half the time while the white opposition parties have no more than 12 percent.

Mr le Roux also said the debates were a waste of money. Parliament was being fragmented into four sections at a vast cost.

Mr van Breda rejects this, saying the cost is nowhere near as much as the CP is trying to make out.

Besides, the two-day debates in the capitals must be weighed against the previous system when the four Administrators and their executive committees and senior officials had to languish in Cape Town for up two two weeks while each House debated the provincial budgets, he said.

"It would be a shame if the CP and the Progs succeeded in creating this image of what is really an exciting and encouraging development in the parliamentary process."

PFP looks at 40 years of 'Nat misrule'

Sept 20 1978 B3

Political Staff

The Progressive Federal Party will launch a leaflet campaign and meetings next week to draw attention to what it describes as 40 years of Nationalist misrule.

About 100 000 copies of a pamphlet, titled "40 years in the wilderness", will be distributed.

Mr Ken Andrew, MP and chairman of the party's federal executive, says it has been decided to raise public awareness of the opportunities that have been missed since the National Party came to power in 1948, and to take stock of events over the past 40 years.

As part of the PFP's campaign there will be eight public meetings next week and more than 70 information tables at shopping centres.

In Johannesburg there will be a meeting at Houghton Primary School on May 25.

Speakers will be MPs Mrs Helen Suzman and Mr Peter Soal, and Mr Tony Leon.

The Cape Town meeting will on May 26.

Natal meetings will be in Maritzburg on May 23 and in Durban on May 26.

White domination will end — Botha

THE government's race law reforms would end white domination, but not at the cost of white survival, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said.

"White domination will cease," Mr Botha told a Reuters reporter in a wide-ranging 75-minute interview, his first with an international news agency in two years.

"I have said so categorically in writing to some governments."

Mr Botha also lashed out at governments that had imposed economic sanctions on South Africa in an effort to force change.

"The fact is that if we comply with the demands that are being made on this government to avoid sanctions, we will be destroyed, it is the end of us, the end.

"DESTRUCTION"

"I know of no people who embrace their own destruction with joy. Sanctions, painful as they are, give us the opportunity to survive," he said.

Mr Botha said advocates of sanctions in the United States and Europe appeared to want the government to fail in its effort to find a peaceful solution of the country's problems.

"Despite our appeals to you to be more reasonable and notice the changes and encourage us, you simply continue with your condemnation ... and condemn millions of blacks to become jobless, starving human beings."

Mr Botha said the National Party, which next week marks its 40th anniversary in power, had abandoned the original 1948 apartheid blueprint, which envisaged a constellation of black states within South Africa.

"This government now accepts the permanence of blacks and also the political implications of that ... "

Mr Botha said he believed white South Africa was ready for a black cabinet minister, but said legislation to make that possible would take a long time to prepare and would not be enacted without white support.

Mr Botha said there could be no role for the outlawed African National Congress until it publicly rejected violence and showed in its actions that it had done so.

"Organisations will have to abandon violence in order to participate in the constitutional future of this country. There is no other way. We have seen in Africa what happens to governments that come to power by force: they are replaced by force."

Mr Botha said that while ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, in jail for sabotage since 1964, could one day be released on humanitarian grounds, he held the key to his own release.

Mr Mandela, who turns 70 in July, could win his freedom by renouncing "violence as a means to achieve political ends", Botha said.

Mr Mandela refused in 1985 to give an undertaking to abandon political violence if he was released.

RELIABLE SUPPLIER

South Africa would not withhold supplies of strategic minerals from the West in retaliation if the United States enacted proposals for a near-total trade embargo, Mr Botha said.

"Basically, fundamentally this government does not believe in any form of boycotting or interfering with trade," he said.

His statement reaffirmed South Africa's policy of maintaining exports of platinum and other rare minerals in order to safeguard its reputation as a reliable supplier. — Sapa-Reuter.

Jews urged: Don't join NP

THE National Party's announcement that it will field a record number of Jewish candidates in forthcoming elections has drawn strong condemnation from Jews for Social Justice.

A resolution passed at the Johannesburg-based group's second annual general meeting on Monday called on Jewish candidates to "reconsider the decision".

The "politics of the National Party are in direct conflict with the basic tenets of Judaism," read the resolution, passed by the 100-member assembly.

The meeting also "strongly condemned the government's attempts to muzzle the press", and called for the release from detention of JSJ supporter Raymond Suttner "and all detainees".

Now three years old, JSJ — which is part of the Five Freedoms Forum and the Free the Children Alliance —"has continued to be a Jewish voice against oppression and injustice in South Africa despite an increasingly repressive political climate and a largely unresponsive Jewish community," according to chairperson Gary Lubner.

GOVERNMENT SPENDING

Calling for control

Two new studies suggest that SA cannot afford Pretoria's habits much longer and support government's promise to rein in spending and use the proceeds of privatisation to pay off debt.

In its latest *Economic Report*, Trust Bank argues that overspending, regulation and rising tax rates have hurt government's credibility, crowded out private sector activity, scared off foreign investment and fanned tax evasion and emigration by high earners.

"Many of these negative trends could well be completely reversed in the Nineties if government spending can be curtailed, the role of the public sector reduced, tax rates lowered, tariff increases limited and government debt and borrowings brought down."

And Pretoria University economist Geert de Wet, who put together Senbank's latest *Focus on Key Economic Issues*, tells the *FM*: "There's been a tremendous increase in government income over the years, but it kept being overtaken by expenditure. It must put the brakes on expenditure, not increase taxes.

"Already the high level of taxes is hurting productivity, the work ethic and growth."

Trust Bank highlights some trouble spots:

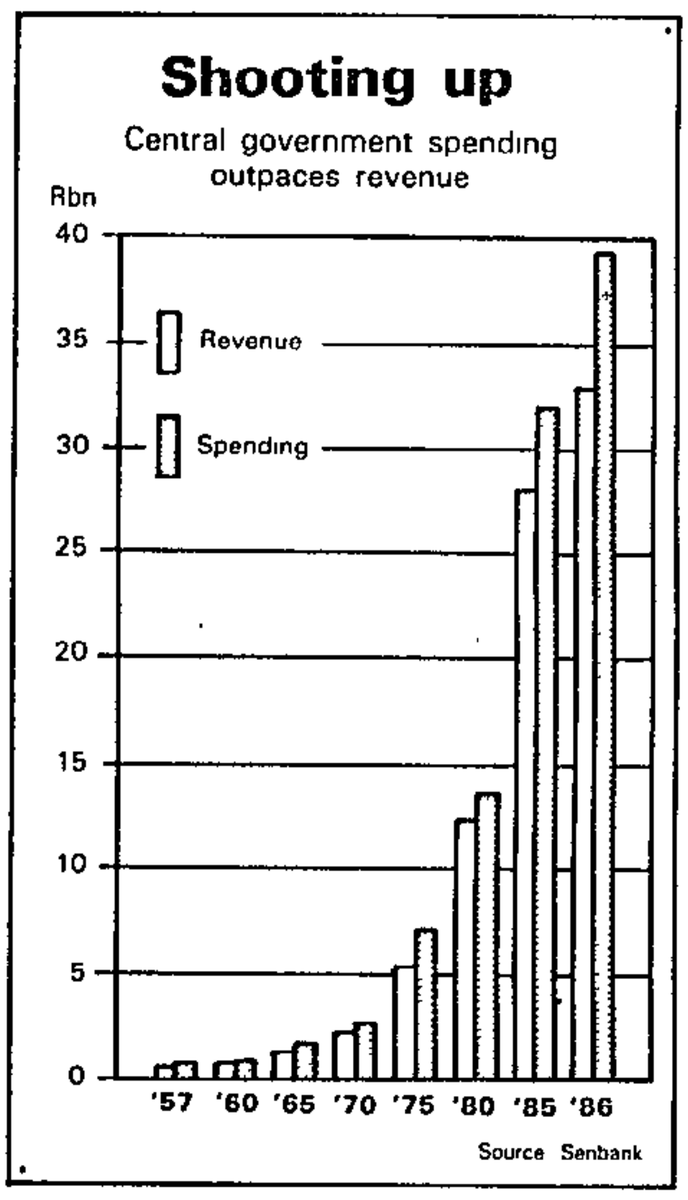
- ☐ Central government spending rose from R9bn in the 1977 fiscal year to R48bn in 1987 — up from 26% to 30% of GDE;
- ☐ A rising tax burden produced GST of 12% (with some food exemptions), up from 4% in 1978, and an average personal income tax rate of 11,5%, up from 8,5%;
- ☐ Growing debt and higher interest rates pushed central government's interest bill to R6bn in 1987, making debt servicing the biggest single expenditure after defence and education. "Government has to use virtually its entire borrowings merely to repay interest on accumulated debt"; and
- ☐ The general government sector of the economy was 25% larger in real terms in 1987 than in 1980, while "the private manufacturing sector had shrunk by about 3%.

A telling sign of how government has curbed private sector growth: it employed 17% more people last year than in 1980; the private sector actually employed *fewer*.

Trust Bank says that by selling assets to pay off debt, government could cut interest payments. A broader programme of spending cuts would allow us to look forward to "a lower public sector borrowing requirement, structurally lower interest rates, lower personal tax rates, higher levels of private sector activity and better overall living conditions in the decade ahead."

Shooting up

Central government spending outpaces revenue



Source Senbank

The Senbank *Focus* stresses how important it will be for government to check spending to prevent getting into more debt. If, for example, Pretoria had frozen nominal spending at its 1985 level, the rise in revenue the following year would have been sufficient to produce a Budget surplus (see **graph**).

Instead, as De Wet notes, the more money government collects, the more it spends — so it keeps running up debt. Also of concern is that it's spending more on a burgeoning payroll than on fixed investment. "Though government debt is continuously increasing," *Focus* warns, "it is not being used to expand production capacity and will, therefore, not necessarily lead to increases in income and employment. Thus, it may become increasingly difficult to carry the burden of an increased government debt." ■

KWAZULU INDABA

Maties show spirit

President P W Botha must be grateful that he has given up the chancellorship of the University of Stellenbosch. Three years ago, seven students, among them members of the Students' Representative Council (SRC), had to be stopped by Botha himself when they planned to hold talks with the ANC in Lusaka. This week, the National Party-dominated SRC unanimously supported the KwaZulu Natal Indaba.

The SRC's proposals — they also call on government to hold a referendum on the Indaba before the end of the year — will be handed to Constitutional Development Minister Chris Heunis. Heunis has so far only accused the Indaba proposals of "deficiencies" — of which the major one appears to be the risk of group domination. On the other hand, some of his Nat colleagues have openly rejected the proposals. To date, no formal communication has come from government explaining its position.

The Matie council warns that negotiations at regional and national level for a political dispensation, accommodating all race groups, will have to be initiated within the next year if evolutionary change is to take place in SA.

The Indaba "embodied the spirit of a possible solution and represented the spirit of negotiation that had taken place so far," says SRC member Nickie Smit in his proposal.



Heunis . . . Maties will hand petition to him

"The Indaba represents a regional solution which could be repeated in other parts of SA if the national negotiation process doesn't get under way. If the conflict potential is too great for national negotiation, or if the national negotiation process fizzles out, a regional Indaba-type solution will be of inestimable value," says Smit.

Smit says, as a Nat supporter, he could justify the motion because the party had clearly stated that there had to be a negotiated political future. "It will do the NP and its supporters the world of good if a clear programme of negotiation is initiated."

SRC chairman Francois Beukman says the resolution was "evidence to black people that the youth is prepared to compromise." Maybe this comes at a good time for the former university chancellor to make clear his government's position on the Indaba. ■

Heading home with a mission

When Taffy McCullum returns home to Miami after a 20-day visit to South Africa as a guest of the South African Government, she will have a tough time ahead of her. Not only will she embark on a mission to write a book that will try "for the first time to give both sides of the story of what's really happening in South Africa", but she will also have to convince a sceptical public both here and in the US that she is as objective as can be in spite of the favours of the host that brought her here.

MARIETJIE MYBURG caught her during a brief stopover in East London.

Taffy McCullum is a woman of firm convictions and a strong sense of justice.

As a Miami journalist, she is acutely aware of the limits of journalistic objectivity. But she believes strongly in hearing both sides of a story. So it is within these limits she will try to give an honest version of the South Africa she was allowed to see during her visit.

The government gave her free access to whomever she wanted to talk to. Her list included people from the entire spectrum of political convictions in South Africa —from Eugene Terre'Blanche (who would not talk to her) to "leftist radicals" whom she preferred not to name as "they operate mainly underground"; from the newly elected MP for Schweizer-Reneke, Dr P W. A. Mulder, to members of the Black Sash, to Bishop Desmond Tutu (who couldn't talk to her as he was not in the country).

On the list of people she wants to talk to before she returns to Miami, are members of Cosatu, the editor of the Weekly Mail, and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

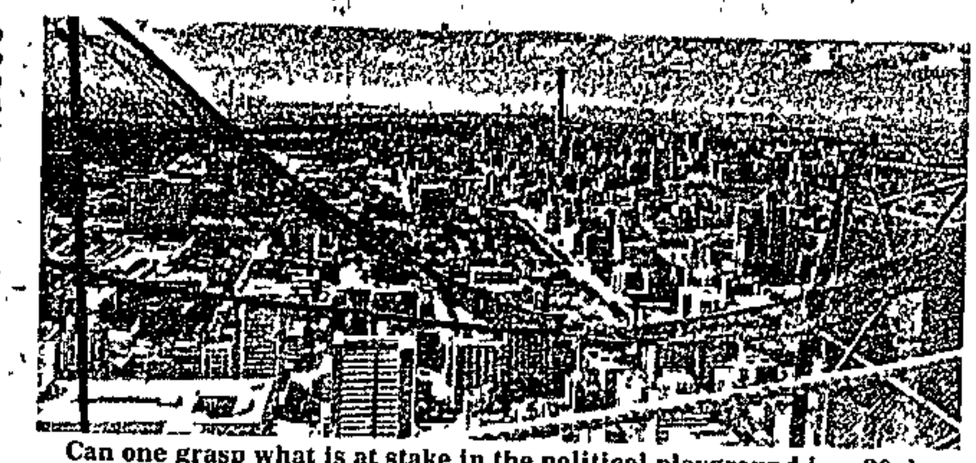
Her book, she says, will not be an effort to convince anyone of anything.

"I just want people to read for themselves what people are saying and then to make an informed decision instead of a decision based on hysterics that comes from a newspaper or any other newsroom."

As informed, surely, as a decision can be, based as it is on a book written by a journalist who can hardly claim intimate knowledge of a foreign country after sporadic visits and far-off contact with friends.

Although discouraged by writer Elsa Joubert, whom she met in Cape Town, from visiting the homelands, she felt she had to, as it is, after all, part of the South African situation. Here she was impressed by what she called "the missionary zeal of the white people in Ciskei" and professor Hudson Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu told her he didn't care if anyone called him a puppet, it's fine. He knew what was being accomplished there.

Despite this, Taffy is adamant that she is not in favour of apartheid



Can one grasp what is at stake in the political playground in a 20-day visit?

"I think the only thing that will ever allow South Africa to really move forward is rescinding it completely.

"But the messenger in South Africa has lost credibility. Within the country as well as outside the country. I don't think anything real is going to happen until there is change at the top.

By change at the top she means P. W. Botha must step down. But she adds: "this will only happen if he is a statesman who puts the interest of his country first, and not just a politician. "And," she says, "I don't think that will happen

So, what does she suggest in the meantime? If he won't step down, what must the world do if they want to convince the government they are leading the country into more chaos?

Not sanctions Definitely not sanctions.

"All persons I've interviewed, on all sides of the political spectrum, tried to make the point about how detrimental sanctions are to the very people they try to help."

Why then did US Congress vote in favour of sanctions against South Africa more than once?

This question evokes a strongly worded attack on the US Congress and when I look wary about quoting her, she assures me that what she has told me, she has already said in public in America.

"The members of the American Congress are not known for their intelligence. I could say that 90 per cent of the members voting for sanctions cannot identify South Africa on a map.

"In part it is a way of getting away from the fact that they do nothing for the blacks in their own constituencies. So they do this to soothe their consciences Then they can say 'Look, I'm not a racist, I'm for the upliftment of blacks. I'm imposing sanctions on South Africa'."

With a personal policy she calls the "don't re-elect anybody" policy, Taffy hopes that every congressman is voted out in the forthcoming elections.

She

"There are people there who have been in congress for 56 years who have never earned an honest day's pay in their lives All they've done is been part of the playground called the US congress."

Which puts Taffy back on the subject of South Africa "I think it is an outrage the way South Africa allows the United States to dictate the terms of sanctions. They slap sanctions on things they think they can do easily without, but don't put sanctions on things they consider strategic to the US. I think South Africa is crazy to play that game."

Not nearly as crazy as the games being played in the South African political playground, where perhaps more is at stake than one can ever grasp in a 20-day visit.

What she grasp a bit of is the power games between political parties from the right and the left After interviews she came to the conclusion that perhaps it was "great for this country that the conservatives picked up a couple of seats" as this forced the government off-centre.

Somebody also told her, though, that the conservatives are not really a threat as they were limited to Transvaal and the Orange Free State. She picked up a lot of nervousness for the October elections and one student told her the Conservative Party could never take over, because as it gains strength other people would be so frightended that they would form a coalition government to defeat them

It is then that I realise that the fine clockwork of a country is not there for somebody to comprehend in a matter of days.How futile it is to try to understand the way a country thinks or operates on one visit

Although Taffy experienced difficulty knowing where she stood with P. W Botha because "one day you read something P. W. said and you think, well, things are really moving, and the next day you listen to a speech and think, wait a minute, they're going to tighten the Group Areas Act", she could hardly come to grips with the consequences of such leadership on people who have to live with it day by day.

After one visit one can hardly expect anyone to understand that there is more to fear than a party political threat from the right, that there is more to conservatism or racism on either side of the political spectrum than mere membership of a political party.

What was hopeful — because one can easily lose perspective and hope when one is so deeply part of a system — was her observation that she found many more people in the country who are really prepared to do something for the situation than when she was here ten years ago.

"When I was here the last time I met too many armchair liberals.

"Now people are really prepared to do something"

We hope they are, Taffy. We hope they are.

STARS

ARIES (Mar 21 — April 20) Attend to work conscientiously even though you watch the clock until you can leave happily. A good time for money, spending it or saving it Choose your own way now. Best relationship, boss — number, 855 — colour, sapphire - opportunity, freedom — time, 4 45 to 9 18 p m

TAURUS (April 21 — May 20) Your generosity is in fine state today, others will appreciate it Love is in your actions and this will show by what you do and how you do it. Good evening to start a vacation journey with everything in order Best relationship, parent — number, 646 — colour grey — opportunity, good shopping — time, 4 20 to 9 00 p m

GEMINI Excellent day to start a vacation An extra expense may come up and threaten to overthrow your good temper. A pleasant shopping tour would help matters a lot Enjoy good food and drink this evening, a cheerful social atmosphere is prevalent Best relationship, loved one — number, 456 - colour, red — opportunity, mature viw — time, time, 1 05 to 4 25 p m

CANCER (June 21 — July 22) It takes courage to do what you must do not but you'll have it Work can suffer if you worry about health, so have it checked If it nags you Travel almost impossible Best relationship, family physician — number 660 — colour beige — opportunity, better health — time, 2 20 to 5 45 p m

LEO (July 23 — Aug 22) A depressed mood may enter and interest can be lost in plans and people It is one of those times when solitude and quiet may seem the most appealing things in life Keep evening free from plans Best relationship, loved one — number, 685 — colour brown — opportunity, telephone call — time, 2 00 to 5 40 p m

VIRGO (Aug 23) — Sept 22) A romantic trend may puzzle you You will get financial co-operation but not emotional approval It is best to listen to the complaints of a family member quietly rather than ofer your own views just now Have no regrets but do what is best for your own interests now Best relationship, family — number, 516 — colour, green — opportunity, slow reactions — time, lunch hour

LIBRA (Sept 23 - Oct 22) Work associates can be very sympathetic, home and family delightful neighbours understanding You may be oppressed about financial situation and what you want to do for loved ones Best relationship, the one you can depend on — number, 541 — colour maroon — opportunity, learning — time, 5 15 to 6 35 p m

SCORPIO (Oct 23 — Nov 22) Realise that it is up to you to create a happy atmosphere You may enter some new circumstances, and you have the task of making the best out of them Be happy that you have the power of choice about work, love and travel rather than to complain Best relationship, love interest — number, 112 — colour, purple — opportunity, settling down — time entire morning

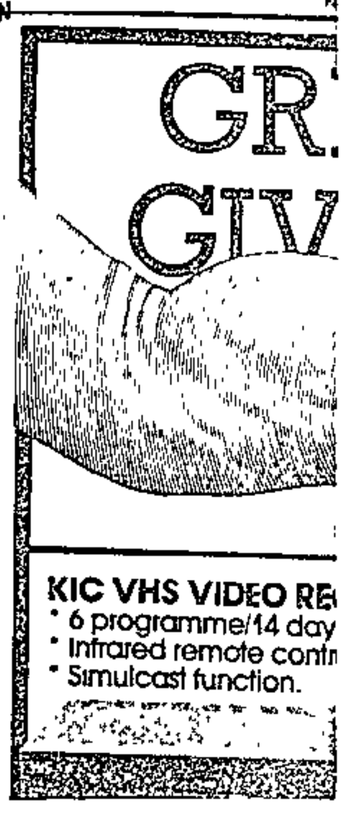
SAGITTARIUS (Nov 23 — Dec 21) Take thought for helping relatives who need your support. Give love where it is needed is is wise to have teeth, eyes, and possibly throat examined You may even need to go into a hospital for a further check. Whatever region of health is accented, care for it promptly Best relationship, relative — number, 943 — colour, aqua — opportunity new location — time, 4 55 to 8 05 p m

CAPRICORN (Dec 22 — Jan 19) Get into the swing with love work and money You re very sharp, high spirited and affectionate Doing something nice for lifemate and friends this evening is good, make it a surprise treat In entertainment Best relationship, loved one — number, 303 — colour purple — opportunity getting along with others — time, lunch hour

AQUARIUS (Jan 20 — Feb 18) Watch the work get under way for you are efficiency itself now and keep things going smoothly Praise comes your way and the day becomes entirely cheerful You may be an honoured guest this evening and health trend is good Best relationship new acquaintance — number 770 — colour, silver — opportunity making hay while the sun shines — time, 4 10 to 7 45 p m

PISCES (Feb 19 — Mar 20) Not much to the personality you're dealing with but be kind Money may be your point of concentration and seeing where you can get more of it may be happy event of the day Health is so good you won't think of it, and this relaxation makes travel favourable Best relationship, spouse — opportunity, talents — time, 5 00 to 7 30 p m





WHAMMING THE RADICALS

A manual on counter-revolutionary strategy, distributed to politicians and civil servants by the State Security Council, describes the workings of a strategy beloved by our military: WHAM, or 'Winning Hearts And Minds'

By MARK SWILLING

Mark Swilling is a research officer at the Centre for Policy Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand

"DIE man wat weet" is the pseudonym used by a mole located near the heart of state power structures. Writing recently in *Die Suid-Afrikaan*, *"die man"* confirmed that real power in the state is wielded almost entirely by *"die groot krokodil"* (PW Botha) and his "inner cabal" of National Intelligence Service "securocrats", cynical security branch strategists and seasoned generals from military intelligence.

Does this "cabal" have a strategy?

The answer has emerged in a booklet, distributed to leading politicians and state functionaries by State Security Council officials. Entitled *The Art of Counter-Revolutionary Warfare*, this booklet claims to be a manual for all those who want "to defeat the revolutionaries" in order "to regain the initiative".

"A governing power", the introduction to the manual asserts, "can defeat any revolutionary movement if it adapts the revolutionary strategy and principles and applies them in reverse."

The rest of the manual is a detailed strategy for "winning hearts and minds" (or WHAM, as some officials have dubbed it).

WHAM is significantly different from earlier security strategies authored mainly by ex-police chief General Johan Coetzee. Coetzee and his protegé Craig Williamson argued that the United Democratic Front, low-level protest action, trade unions and other township organisations should be allowed to exist but controlled through infiltration, selective bannings and detentions.

In the meantime, grand reformist plans to stabilise the urban system (Riekert Commission), legalise unions (Wiehahn Commission) and "extend democracy" (tri-cameral constitution) should gradually legitimise state and government.

Sustained resistance soon put paid to this strategy and a new one was needed But this time, the generals told *"die groot krokodil"*, it's not grand reform from above that will work but the careful remoulding and re-organising of the communities from below.

Major General Bert Wandrag of the South African Police Riot Unit summed it up: "Drastic action must be taken to eliminate the underlying social and economic factors which have caused unhappiness in the population. The only way to render the enemy powerless is to nip the revolution in the bud by ensuring there is no fertile soil in which the seeds of revolution can germinate."

The Art of Counter-Revolutionary Warfare spells out in detail how this should be done.

The first step, to "annihilate" or "eliminate" the enemy, involves the relatively simple task of "seeking out the enemy and destroying him".

The second step is to restore "effective administration ... An effective and well motivated administration will deny revolutionaries the initiative."

Once these two objectives have been achieved, a co-ordinated WHAM campaign should be implemented. This involves "civil education", "counter-organisation of the masses", "self-defence", "the intelligence system", "area defence" and the creation of "mobile forces".

"Civil education" involves the creation of a "good working relationship between the administration and the masses". This is done by identifying "problems locally ... and implementing corrective measures". In addition, an extensive programme to train "loyal leaders" and "the youth" for local administration must be initiated and these people must "receive good remuneration".

"Counter-organisation" is "the main weapon against revolutionaries": "The government must take the lead under all groups, classes, clubs and societies with the organisation of social, career, sport, education, medical, religious and military activities. This must be done on a person-to-person basis by sympathetic and helpful personnel. The population must become involved and identify with the group's activities".

"Self-defense" is the "most important part of counter-organisation of the masses" The recruitment of what the British in Mulaya called "special constables" should be undertaken with the support of local leaders.

These local "militias" should be armed and must be "oriented towards the environment" They form the "bridge between the administration and the masses and ... should therefore be politically oriented", ie they should "influence/ mobilise the masses".

An effective intelligence system is indispensable: "It is essential for the government to have a covert intelligence system with roots among the masses and all organisations. The state must be able to identify revolutionary and non-revolutionary political organisations."



The force behind winning hearts and minds ... township children play with a Casspir close at hand

Picture: AFRAPIX

To manage this sophisticated intelligence gathering process, "joint committees" of "security force and administrative and political institutions" must be established.

"Area defence" must be carried out by the military co-operating closely with the administration to "defend the area". To do this the military must assist the administration "with the building of roads, dams, irrigation schemes, schools, churches, etc". Significantly, the manual contains the instruction that "atrocities against the population by the security forces must be avoided". Security forces must be "extremely mobile and be able to support self-defence units immediately".

All these strategies are being implemented and coordinated by the complex network of Joint Management Centres (JMCs) that comprise the National Security Management System (NSMS). The president and his "security cabal" control the state through these committees and have managed to unite officialdom around their "counter-revolutionary warfare" strategies.

To begin, 34 of the "hottest" townships were identified for special attention after the 1986 State of Emergency was declared. They are called "oilspots" by JMC officials. The manual defines "oilspots" as "strategic bases" where "effective control over the population in an affected area" is regained. These "oilspots" will then steadily "expand" and coalesce into bands of loyal local populations. This loyalty is achieved by way of the "co-ordinated application of area protection forces and initial military civic affairs teams".

In places like Alexandra, New Brighton, Mamelodi and Bonteheuwel — four well-known showpiece "oilspots" — JMCs are spending large amounts of money on upgrading projects. They are establishing new sports, cultural, church and political bodies and propagating government policy.

During 1987/88 R3,2-billion was spent on upgrading in many of the 34 "oilspots". Another R16-billion is supposed to find its way into the Directorate of Urbanisation in the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning for the upgrading of another 200 townships. PW Botha's opening of parliament speech indicated that this would come from the proceeds of privatisation — a pipe-dream as far as many top economists are concerned.

Regional services councils (RSCs) are a crucial component of WHAM. They will be using money raised from levies on business to finance township upgrading. The Central Witwatersrand RSC will be spending R66-million in this way, while the Pretoria RSC will spend R32-million, Algoa RSC R12-million and the Western Cape RSC will have R53-million to spend (if it does not have to finance the R34-million deficit inherited from the Divisional Council).

The private sector has welcomed this increased expenditure on urban townships and has ignored the political implications. When the Urban Foundation announced the R800-million private sector contribution to housing development, there was no mention of political *quid pro quos* on constitutional issues.

Using massive public and private sector resources, the JMCs are co-ordinating:

- mass detentions and show trials;
- the "normalisation" of local government by the breaking of rent and election boycotts,
- establishment of counter-organisations — new sports bodies, cultural groups and political organisations;
- civil education programmes to co-opt new local leaders and administrators;
- creation of "self-defence units" — *kitskonstabels*, vigilantes and municipal police;
- intelligence systems;
- area defence through military involvement in public works programmes.

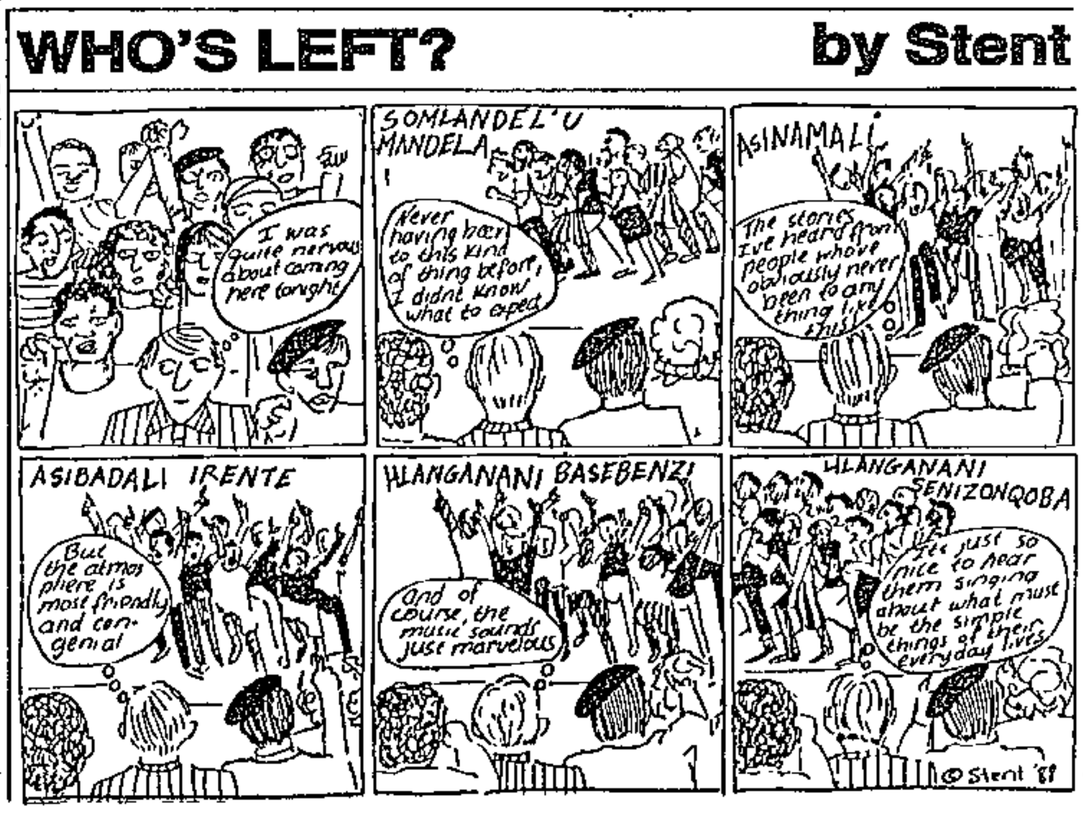
It is unlikely this strategy will succeed.

Economic conditions and international sanctions are likely to push national economic growth below two percent, thus severely limiting resources available for upgrading.

And the strategy ignores the question of political rights, regarding nationalism and the demand for political rights as the ideologies of agitators and not the concerns of "ordinary people".

The most the strategy may achieve is compliance, not the spontaneous consent required to legitimise state structures.

WHO'S LEFT? **by Stent**





Political Survey
By GERALD SHAW

40 years of remarkable supremacy

20/5/88 C. Times 304A



Dr D F Malan

FORTY years ago Afrikaner nationalism came into its own after long years in the political wilderness.

In those four decades much has changed in the world but the Afrikaner Nationalists still rule, having steadily consolidated their grip on the country and extended South Africa's sway in southern Africa.

It is a remarkable story, particularly if you see Dr Malan's victory in May of 1948 as the culmination of an epic struggle against overwhelming odds which began with the defeat of the Boer republics by the British Empire in 1899-1902.

In that perspective Afrikaner nationalism has scored an extraordinary triumph.

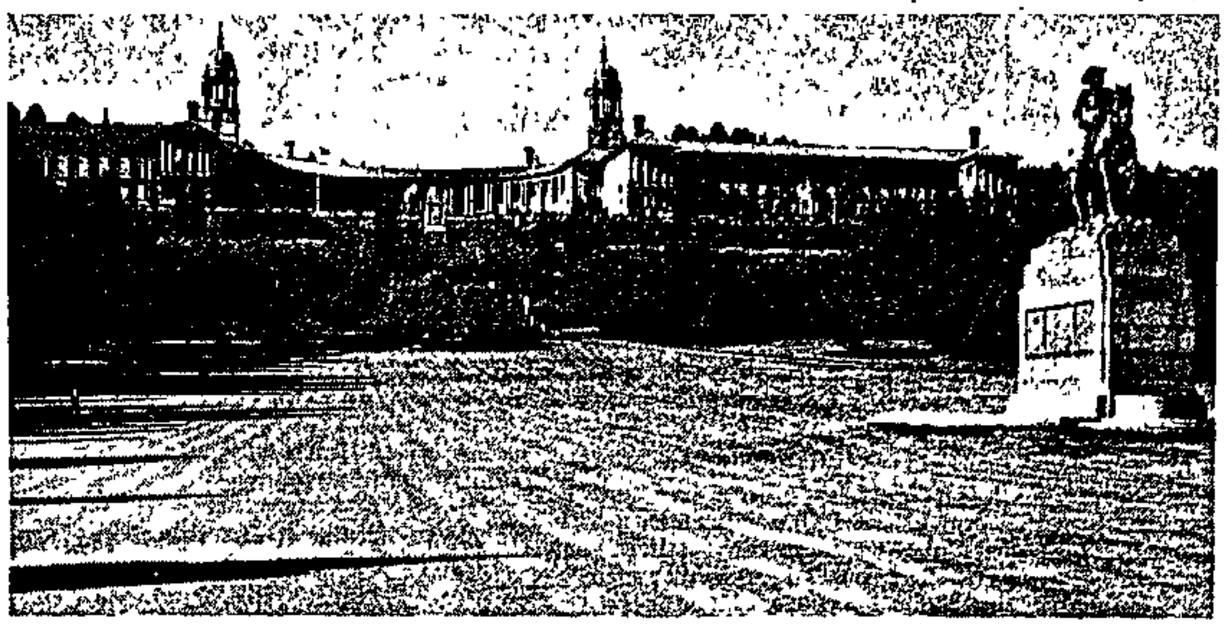
It was not only the political kingdom which the NP secured for its followers. The Nationalists have used their political power to scale the commanding heights of the economy.

While first-class education provided by the State transformed the sons of poor whites in a generation or two into nuclear physicists, professional men, entrepreneurs and mining magnates, the patronage of the civil service and the parastatal corporations was hugely expanded to provide welfare state benefits for the less gifted and enterprising of the faithful, including many who had failed to make the grade on the land.

Today the descendants of people who lost everything in 1899-1902 are living the good life in California ranch-style pads flanking the hillsides to the east and south of Pretoria.

It is an enthralling story of achievement. But somewhere along the line the idealism of early Afrikaner nationalism began to turn sour for the rest of us.

And so there are other perspectives on 1948-1988, as seen by South Africans outside the Nationalist fold, the blacks, English-speaking whites and all the others.



The Union Buildings in Pretoria — for 40 years the preserve of Afrikaner Nationalists.

Among English-speaking whites, after some initial resistance, there has been increasing acquiescence and, latterly, outright support at the polls for continuing rule by the Nationalists — while the descendants of the 1820 Settlers get on with money-making.

It seems to matter little to the white electorate that Nationalist rule, in President Botha's time has come to mean military domination of the country, in the sense that the Nationalists rely on the use of force to keep the peace at home and, in southern Africa at large, to enforce the will of the government.

In the May 1986 election, the white electorate endorsed the military option to maintain white control — rather than negotiate with the African National Congress and other insurgent organizations.

And the white electorate will no doubt do so again when next the opportunity presents itself.

What about the blacks, whose numbers are approaching 75% of the total population (whites are about 16%)? In 10 years blacks will outnumber whites 8-1.

What have 40 years of Afrikaner nationalist rule meant for them and for the coloured people and the Indians? The NP has many cruel and futile essays in social engineering to its discredit which have placed intolerable burdens on people of colour since 1948. One of the first such pieces of racist legislation, the Group Areas Act, remains on the Statute Book to this day and will not be expunged, we are told, as long as President Botha is still at the head of affairs.

To the extent that Afrikaner nationalism has begun moving away from these policies, this has been dictated by their manifest unworkability rather than an excess of sickly liberalism.

An authoritarian NP government may try to rewrite history, which is the invariable practice of such governments, starting with the manipulation of the contemporary record as reflected in a censored and increasingly embattled press. But the record of the past 40 years stands and it is one of extraordinary cruelty. Sophiatown and District Six and all the other forced removals and other such miseries will not easily or quickly fade from memory.

Now, in 1988, Nationalist Afrikanerdom is split between unbending ultra-rightists and the rather more sophisticated establishment Nationalists who see some need to adapt if Nationalist control is to be maintained.

But both factions agree on one thing — that the political control of the country gained by Afrikaner nationalism in 1948 must never be relinquished to other hands. And they may even come together again one day if this control is seriously in jeopardy.

Meanwhile, both factions are relying on Mr Magnus Malan's military option to maintain the status quo at home and abroad.

Both factions lose sight of the fact that a continuing lack of confidence and an ailing economy will undermine the good life for all concerned. Without negotiation, there will be no confidence and the use of force will be self-defeating.

With a tricky military situation building up near the Namibian border, with Mozambique devastated and southern Angola laid waste, and South Africa cordially loathed in the sub-continent and the world, the legacy of 40 years of Nationalist rule is distressing to contemplate.

But the Nationalists have at least been prepared to shoulder the responsibility and they have done their best according to their lights. If they have made a mess of it, it ill becomes the rest of the whites to point a moralizing finger. They, too, have benefited greatly from white privilege in the past 40 years.

The situation cries out for political leadership and a spirit of reconciliation. With the huge patience of Africa, and rather more magnanimity than the whites may deserve, the blacks await the day of liberation.



"Fanning the flames of revolution? Who, me?!"

The fight on the beaches



Durban Mayor Henry Klotz, has been "temporarily suspended" from the National Party for refusing to sign a policy statement insisting that some beaches remain segregated.

FM: **You were a member of the former United Party. Why did you change your allegiances and join the National Party?**

Klotz: I had differences of opinion with the party hierarchy. There was no room for clashing personalities. So I resigned. It was not a question of principles, I was at home in the UP/NRP fold politically.

I was then politically dormant for about a year, when I was approached by Senator Hendrik Klopper to run with him in the 1981 elections. I would be the candidate for Province and he for Parliament. He then withdrew and put in Lawrence McCrystal, who stood with me in 1981. (*Both lost.*)

I didn't join the NP to be a candidate. I was told it would be beneficial to the government to have English-speaking candidates and members who would be able to assist with reform. So I joined.

You must understand that I was maybe the first Jewish English-speaker to join the NP in Natal. It definitely wasn't fashionable because I don't believe many people in Durban were happy with me, specifically among the Jewish group.

How did you explain to them why you joined the NP?

I explained that I believed at that time that I might be of assistance in reform. But events have proved that I have been of no assistance whatsoever. In fact, the way I read things, I most likely went against the grain.

And now you have been suspended from the NP on the issue of open beaches?

I have been temporarily suspended because I did not sign a document which Minister Stoffel Botha, through the NP, handed to me. I declined to sign the document because I was already in the process of reform.

As a Nationalist, I voted for reform when I voted to open up the first beaches in 1985 (from West St to the Umgeni River, excluding North Beach); then, in 1987, opening up North Beach.

That reform was carried out with the help of all Nationalist councillors in the city council.

The effect of the statement was that the Addington and South Beach would now remain for the white group only and I could not sign that document.

So I was told I had gone against the dictates of the NP.

Was this the first indication of conflict between yourself and the NP?

I have, over the years since 1985, always tried to get some direction through the secretary of the NP in Durban and Natal — Renier Schoeman who is now an MP — and never did I receive any direction on which way I, in the city council as a Nationalist, should be going on the question of beaches.

The inference is that the NP wasn't certain itself?

Well, if I didn't get a reply, then I had to take it upon myself to do what I believed was the best, which I did.

What conclusions must the electorate draw from these events?

I believe in my heart that President Botha, whom I have met on many occasions, is a sincere man.

I believe he wishes to have reform, but I believe he has a problem within the Cabinet or his party that disallows him the reform that I believe this gentleman might wish to carry out.

What outcome do you now foresee for those two beaches that so far remain reserved for whites, namely Addington and South Beach?

I believe this depends on the council elections in October. If the majority are forward thinking and independent and not governed and instructed by a hierarchy, then the city will move forward to open up all the beaches.

Do you think your suspension from the NP on this issue will influence that election, or the way the council votes?

This depends on the electorate. They are the final decisionmakers and it depends who they elect for council. This means that if they wish to have change, they will vote for those people who believe in change. If they wish to go into the laager they will go to those people.

Beaches seem destined to become a most important issue during those elections?

Yes. But what I must say to you, is that all Nationalists voted for the opening of all beaches, excluding the South Beach and Addington. So they actually commenced the process. It wasn't left to Henry Klotz who happened to be the mayor. I am just one of 30 who voted and the voting was 28-2.

How is power distributed between the NP and its opponents in the city council?

There are 14 conservatives, or moderates as we call ourselves. Many of those moderates were, and maybe still are, very verlig. The 16 on the other side are a mixture of Progressives, non-aligned and independents.

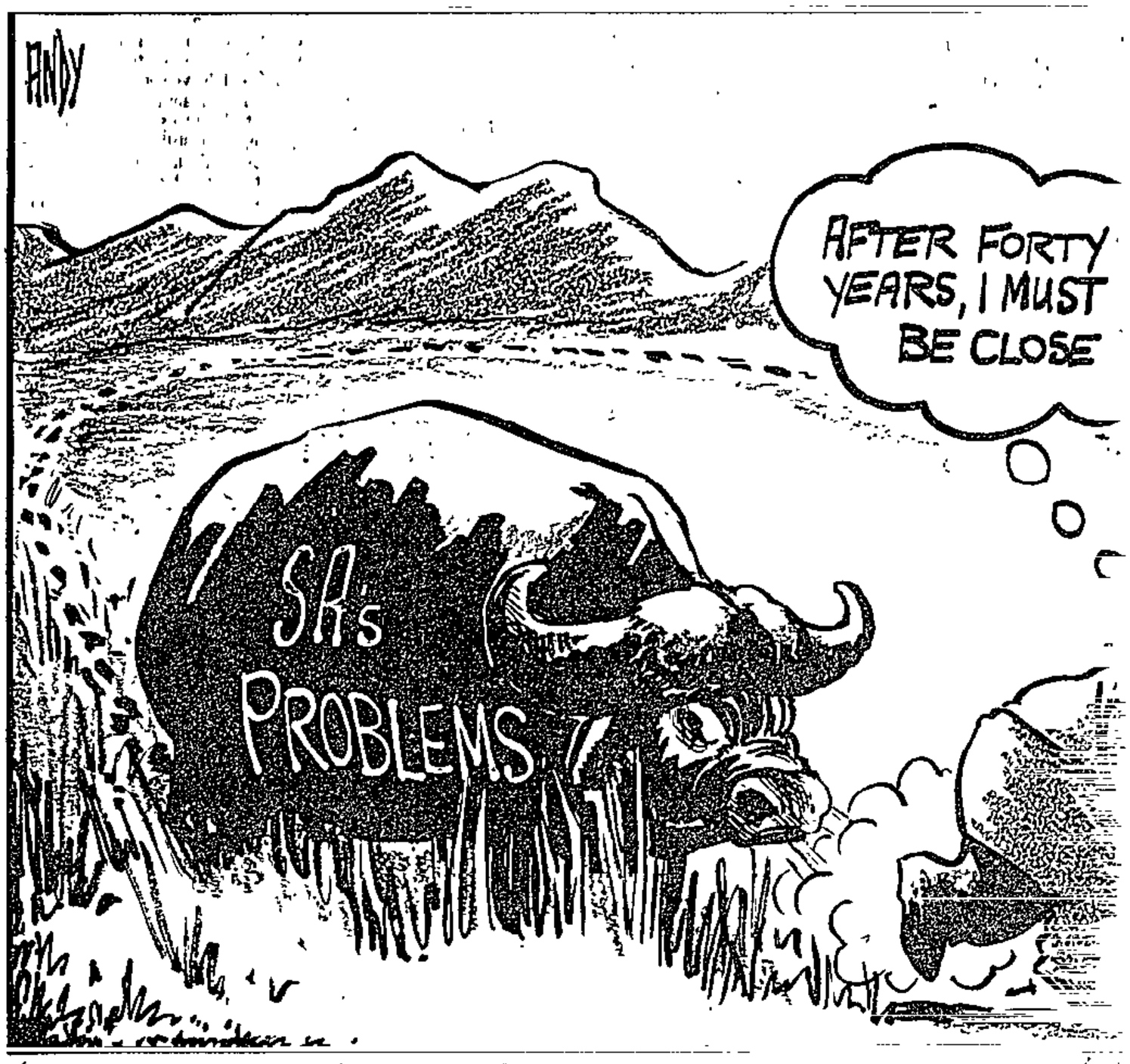
Will your suspension from the NP alter this relative distribution of power in the council?

Well, this depends upon the results of the next election. Only then will we know in which direction we are going, because, if it's going to be more verkramp, then you will have no more open beaches. And maybe things will go the opposite direction by a two-thirds majority.

It's an unhappy 40th birthday for ...

304A

Star 21/5/88



Forty years ago, on May 26 1948, South Africa's National Party won a surprise victory in the general election, its leader, Dr D F Malan, ousting world-renowned General J C Smuts as prime minister and securing a mandate — of sorts — to implement the policy of apartheid.

As The Star was quick to point out at the time, the National Party (NP) came to power on a minority of the votes. The NP and its Afrikaner Party ally won just over 41 percent of the votes cast, against nearly 51 percent for the defeated United Party and its Labour Party confederate.

Anticipating that the NP would soon run into trouble with its small majority of five seats if it pressed ahead with its apartheid policy, The Star said the NP "should not be allowed to take refuge in a deceptive moderation, but should be pinned to its programme and objectives by a vigorous and aggressive opposition".

The editorial added: "The voting totals show that General Smuts is still the leader of his country, a position the world will continue to accord to him. Before long he may again be its official leader."

Malan did not wait long before apartheid-inspired laws began to appear on the statute book. Smuts died two years later as Leader of the Opposition. The NP remained in power for the next four decades, a position it still clings to today.

Apartheid aimed at maximum racial differentiation and separation. To differentiate — or discriminate — effectively, the Population Registration Act was passed in 1950, providing for compulsory racial classification. It enabled apartheid bureaucrats to determine who got what treatment and who was allowed to mix with whom.

The Population Registration Act was buttressed by supplementary measures: laws calculated to prevent biological integration by proscribing inter-racial sex and marriage; laws enforcing residential and even commercial segregation; laws designed to tighten the hated pass laws and corral as many black people as possible in the reserves; and laws providing for government control of black education and for different syllabuses for black pupils, aimed at anchoring them in "their own culture".

As important were the moves devised to eradicate the limited right of coloured and black people to elect (white) representatives to parliament.

Within a decade of Malan's triumph, coloured voters in the Cape were removed from the common voters' roll, placed on a separate roll and given the right to elect four white representatives. Later, in 1968, coloured voters were deprived even of that.

In the interim, black voters were stripped of their right to elect three white representatives to the House of Assembly and four senators.

These steps were followed by what Malan and his immediate successors J G Strijdom and Hendrik Verwoerd labelled positive apartheid: laws to provide coloureds, Indians and blacks with their own separate political institutions.

Coloureds got the Coloured Representatives Council and Indians the South African Indian Council. The Bantu Authorities Act gave blacks a series of special tribal institutions, culminating in legislative assemblies in their designated tribal "homelands".

The establishment of "homelands" represented an attempt to implement macro-apartheid: the partition or dismemberment of South Africa into a white-ruled core and a series of impoverished black states on the periphery.

Under B J Vorster, who became prime minister after the assassination of Verwoerd in 1966, two of these "homelands", Transkei and Bophuthatswana, were led to nominal independence. Under Mr P W Botha, who succeeded Vorster in 1978, two more, Ciskei and Venda, became independent.

But independence had a price: loss of South African nationality for all the designated citizens of the independent states, whether or not they were resident in the territories.

The aim was to persuade all ten homelands to accept independence. As all blacks were deemed to be citizens of one or another of the "homelands" by the Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act, the logical conclusion was that — in the words of Connie Mulder — "there will be not one black man with South African citizenship".

It was the ultimate apartheid dream. But, unfortunately for the NP ideologues, the homelands began increasingly to look like the Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo, doomed to international ostracism and eventual extinction.

Long before that, however, NP leaders came to realise that their original apartheid policies were creating more problems than they solved. With the advent to power of Vorster, the NP began a slow retreat from apartheid, hounded all the way by ideological purists in the Herstigte Nasionale Party and, later, the Conservative Party.

The first concessions were small. The rigid separation of races in sport was abandoned. Then came moves to desegregate, on a selective basis, hotels and restaurants. Vorster himself took the lead, sitting between two black woman at a state banquet for the visit to South Africa of President Hastings Banda.

More far-reaching moves to abandon old-style apartheid were begun but not completed under Vorster's premiership.

The first plans to give coloureds and Indians a place in Parliament were drafted. So, too, were proposals to extend trade union rights to black workers in unmistakable violation of a fundamental apartheid axiom that black workers in "white" areas were *gasarbeiders* (migratory workers). The permanency of urban blacks was recognised when leasehold rights were hestitantly restored to them. A beginning was made in a programme to upgrade black education and rid it of its different-and-inferior tag.

But it was under Mr Botha that the retreat from apartheid really gathered pace. It was signalled dramatically in Mr Botha's opening speech to Parliament in 1986 when he declared in a celebrated phrase: "We have outgrown ... the outdated concept of apartheid."

The hallmark of Mr Botha's rejection of old-style apartheid is the new tri-racial parliamentary system, with its provision for coloured and Indian representation in Parliament. Mr Botha has called it "healthy power-sharing". But pristine apartheid provides for division of power, not sharing of it.

Additional pointers marking Mr Botha's retreat from apartheid include repeal of the laws against inter-racial sex and marriage, nullification of the law prohibiting one race from interfering in the political affairs of another, abolition of the pass laws and abandonment of the quest to de-nationalise all blacks and, as a corollary, restoration of South African citizenship to some blacks.

In a sense, the NP started on the apartheid trail only to return to the situation in 1948. In many ways it has today adopted the policies of the now defunct United Party (UP).

Its tri-cameral ... ments of the UP's ... vided for the ... voters, all ... MPs. The NP ... more cynically, of ... echoes the UP ...

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happy day for apartheid

304A

Star 21/5/88

PATRICK LAURENCE traces the National Party's four decades in power, its pursuit of the 'dream' of racial separation followed by the back-tracking and retreats which preceded today's constitutional stalemate.



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Its tri-cameral parliamentary system contains elements of the UP's policy of race federation, which provided for the election by coloured, Indian and African voters, all registered on separate rolls, of a minority of MPs. The NP shibboleth of "healthy power-sharing" or, more cynically, of "sharing power without losing it" echoes the UP slogan of "white leadership with justice".

The NP today does not, of course, advocate black representation in Parliament. But, according to Professor Rodney Davenport, author of a mammoth and scholarly history of South Africa, current NP talk about creating separate structures to give blacks a say in central government is strongly reminiscent of the old Natives Representatives Council or NRC.

Abolished by Verwoerd in 1950, the NRC was the invention of the UP when it was under the joint leadership of Generals J B M Hertzog and Smuts before they fell out on the outbreak of World War 2 in 1939. Return to the notion of separate national council for blacks, in however modified a form, illustrates the cyclical nature of NP policy between 1948 and 1988.

But if the NP has backtracked, it has not completed a full circle. As Mrs Helen Suzman, who has been an opposition MP for 35 of the NP's 40-year rule, notes, the Population Registration and Group Areas Acts remain on the statute book.

Moreover, President Botha, who was elected to Parliament in 1948, remains committed to the idea of "black homelands". Four of these supposedly sovereign states are still extant.

But if the policies of the old UP were arguably starting points for a viable and evolving policy in 1948, they are hopelessly obsolete today. Time has moved on. The world has changed. Black resistance to pre-1948 segregation rose to new heights as the NP sought to give practical expression to apartheid.

The NP has inherited its own legacy of enmity at home and abroad, fed by the recurring crises and blunders of its rule: the Sharpeville shootings of 1960; the Soweto uprising of 1976-77; the township revolt of 1984-86, the massive uprooting and forced removal of an estimated 3,5 million people; the jailing of tens of thousands of people under the pass laws; the banning and detaining of thousands of opponents.

Today, of course, South Africa is a garrison state, besieged from without and threatened from within.

The "armed struggle", originally launched by the African National Congress after it was proscribed in 1960, continues, intensifying steadily in recent years. The army looms large in the lives of all, either through its conscription demands or through the presence of conscripts in the townships.

Sanctions, once a theoretical threat, are now a reality, frequently forcing South African businessmen to resort to subterfuge to sell their goods abroad and keeping South African aircraft out of America and Australia!

Buffeted from the Right by a rampantly aggressive Conservative Party, the NP, once an Afrikaans *Volksparty*, is increasingly reliant on English votes to avoid defeat at the polls in whites-only elections.

Assuming it can contain the CP challenge for the foreseeable future, how long can it resist the restless quest by blacks to end white hegemony. Mrs Suzman offers an enigmatic answer: "Longer than the blacks think, but shorter than the whites realise."

Some observers point out that the timespan between the major crises has diminished: after the Sharpeville shootings 16 years lapsed before the Soweto uprising; after Soweto there was a mere eight-year respite before the start of the 1984-86 rebellion.

They note, further, that the crises have become progressively more severe: 69 people were shot dead at Sharpeville; 575 people died in the Soweto uprising, the Cillié Commission reported, 2 326 people were killed in political violence between September 1984 and the end of 1986, according to figures collated by the Institute of Race Relations.

The deduction is that crises are occurring at shorter intervals, each being more intense than than the one before, and that, sooner or later, the existing order will fall.

Professor Davenport, however, cautions against assuming that history moves along predictable patterns towards predetermined ends. He thinks South Africa has entered a period of stalemate, in which, for the foreseeable future, the forces of revolution will not be able to overthrow the state, but neither will the state be able to still the forces of protest.

The historian, Dr R W Johnson, makes a similar observation in his book "How Long Will South Africa Survive?"

Dealing with the view that there are strong parallels between South Africa and Tsarist Russia, where the revolt of 1905 led to the revolution of 1917, he says: "South Africa may well experience yet more 1905s without a 1917 ever arriving."

Written during the 1976-77 revolt, those are prescient words. But Vorster's sombre warning in December 1976 may still be apposite today: "The storm has not struck yet. We are only experiencing the whirlwinds that go before it."

1948

THE Peninsula was partly shrouded in mist when the first voters arrived at the polls well before 7 on Wednesday morning, May 26. Not even the occasional drizzle could dampen the election spirits whipped up over the preceding weeks.

At some polling booths long queues formed — among them people in their eighties. Clearly polling was was going to be heavy.

For most, it was just another election.

The outcome seemed a foregone conclusion — another win for General Jan Smuts's government and defeat for Dr D F Malan's Nationalist opposition. Hopes and speculation were focused more on the margin of victory and defeat and on possible upsets in individual constituencies.

Early-morning commuters on Cape Town's southern suburbs line had extra time to read election news in the morning papers when their trains were delayed by a breakdown caused by a blown fuse at the Milnerton power station. Many arrived late for work.

As the trains waited in the morning mist, commuters read about Smuts's eve-of-election call at a crowded meeting in Standerton's main square the night before.

"Don't vacillate, don't hesitate, don't follow the ghosts and spectres of dissension," the Prime Minister had told the crowd.

The Nationalist opposition, he said, was a party of disunity and of division — "they are kraaling this country off. On these lines there will only be a weakened country, subject to failure and disaster."

Smuts also told voters he had represented Standerton for 24 years and was confident the bonds forged in that period would not now be broken.

He had no doubt about the result of the election, but he wanted a big majority, a "strong fighting force", so that his United Party government could "continue the good fight it has fought in the years gone by."

■ Commuters also read press reports about Malan's eve-of-election speech at Caledon where he had rejected criticism that the Broederbond secret society was anti-English and fascist.

Malan had told a cheering crowd the National Party stood "solidly" for equal rights for English and Afrikaans-speaking people.

COMMUTERS who read the smalls adverts to pass the time would have seen job offers for shorthand typists at £25 a month, for junior clerks at £20 a month and for architects at salaries of up to £66 a month.

In the property smalls "a magnificent house, in beautiful grounds, five large rooms" was offered in Rondebosch for £5 200. In University Estate a six-roomed modern house was offered for £3 300 and in Vasco a four-roomed house could be bought for £1 800.

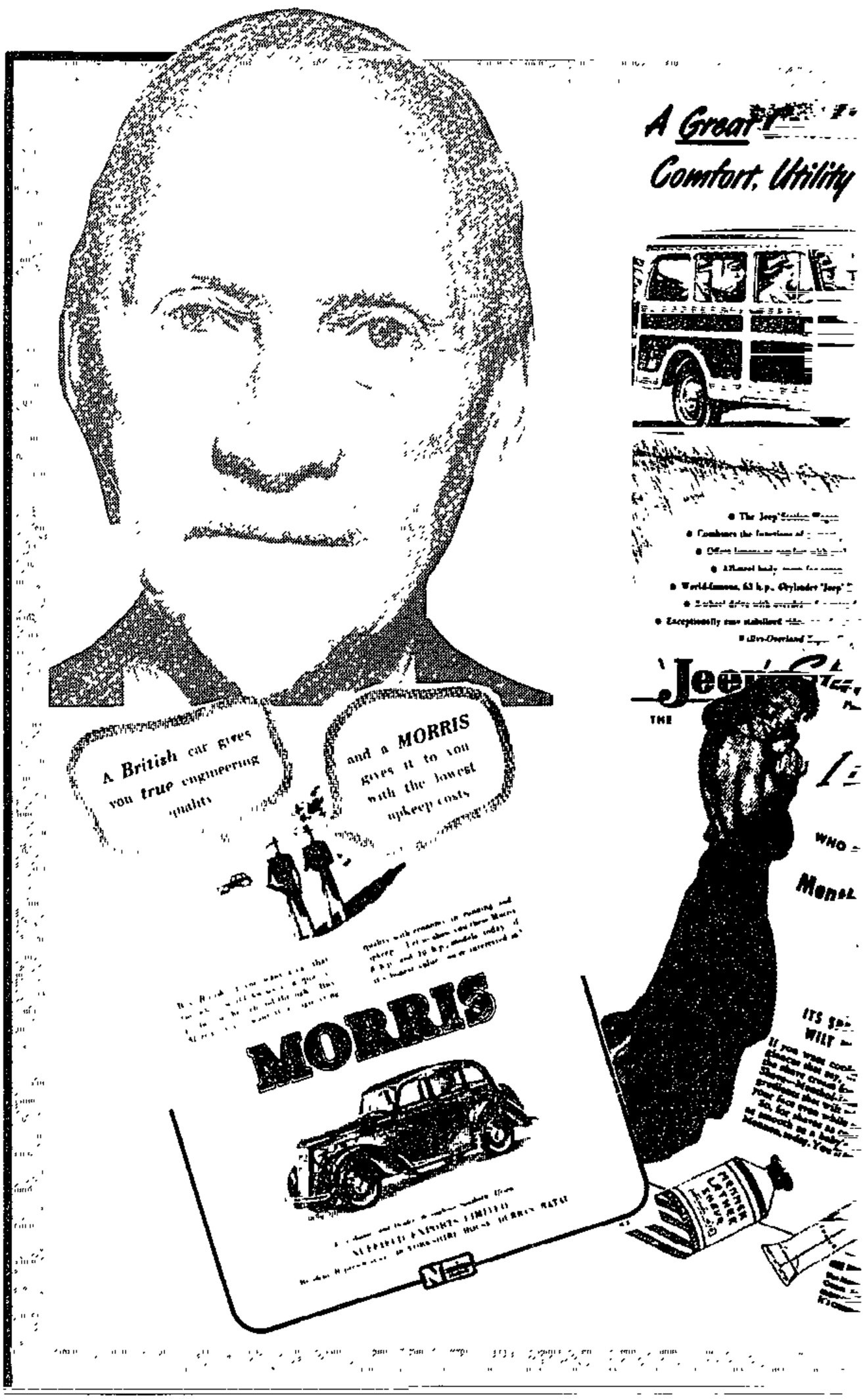
Among ships in Table Bay harbour that election morning were the Ellerman and Bucknall cargo liners City of Lincoln, City of Yokohama, and the Union-Castle reefer ship Rochester Castle which was scheduled to sail for Southampton the next day. Two British warships, HMS Birmingham and HMS Actaron, were due in Simon's Town harbour.

■ Foreign news included a report from London quoting the *Manchester Guardian* as saying the Nationalists could not hope to win control — even with the help they could get from "their fiery allies of the extreme right who shade off into

TELL US WHERE

IT was the day nobody would ever forget. A victory for some, but a disaster for many.

Where were YOU? that fateful day?



THOSE who passed the time by reading the later editions of The Argus would have seen that day's "housewives' guide" to prices at Salt River Market: beetroot 4 pence a bunch; cabbages 6 to 18

HOURS later the ... that Prime Minister ... in his Standerton const... du Plessis. UP suppor...

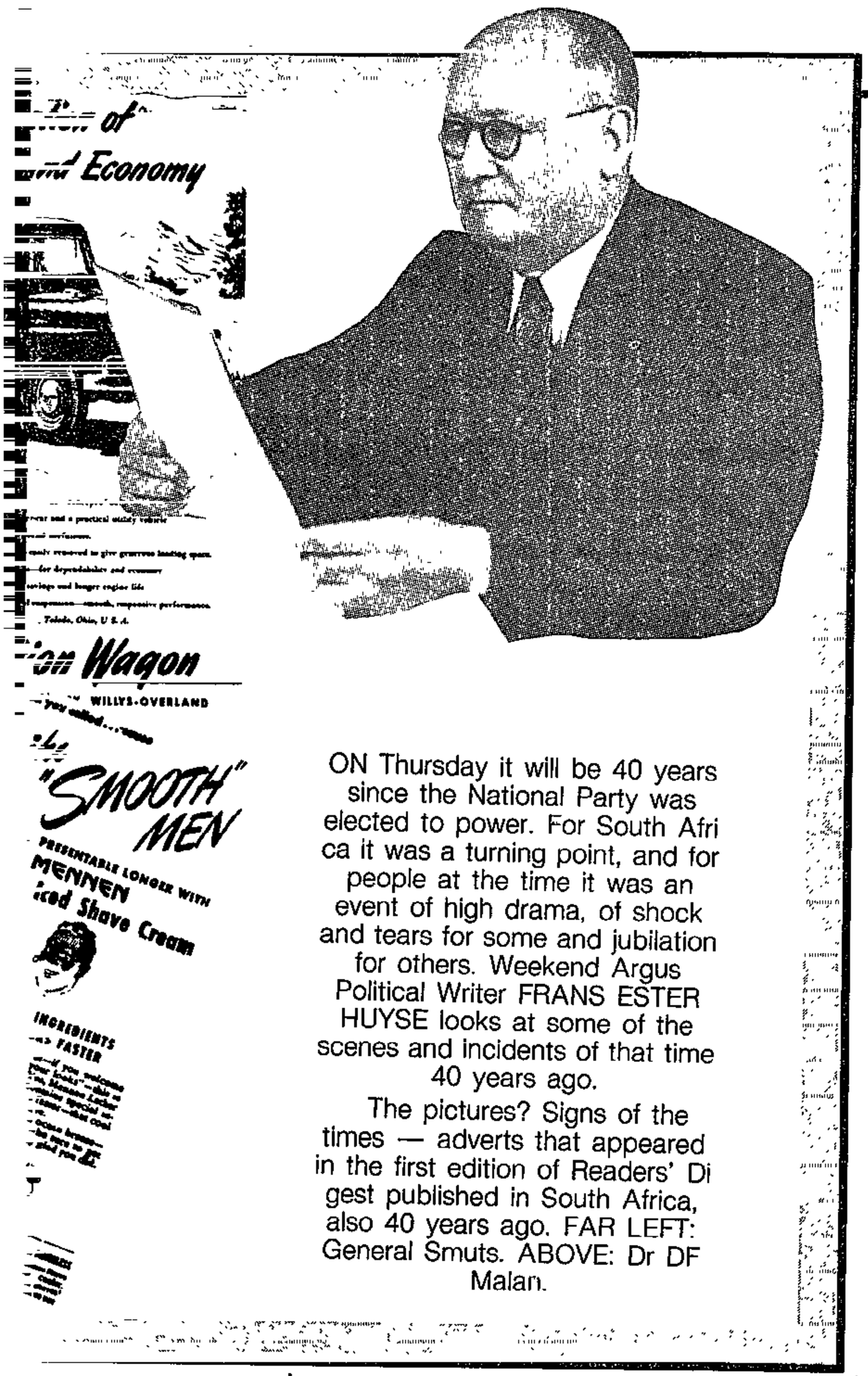
WEEKEND FOCUS

YOU WERE THE DAY THE NATS TOOK OVER

eekend Argus invites to tell us what you re-ıber of That Day, where were, what you thought — and what you think after 40 years of Na-list rule.

■ WRITE to us at Box 56 Cape Town, or place your letters into a box in the foyer of Newspaper House, 122 St Georges Street.

■ HOWEVER, if you find it impossible to get your response to us in time, please telephone FRANS ESTERHUYSE at 208-4517 on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday between 9am and noon.



ON Thursday it will be 40 years since the National Party was elected to power. For South Africa it was a turning point, and for people at the time it was an event of high drama, of shock and tears for some and jubilation for others. Weekend Argus Political Writer FRANS ESTERHUYSE looks at some of the scenes and incidents of that time 40 years ago.

The pictures? Signs of the times — adverts that appeared in the first edition of Readers' Digest published in South Africa, also 40 years ago. FAR LEFT: General Smuts. ABOVE: Dr DF Malan.

Regering (Smuts Out; Death-blow for Government), or words to that effect.

Eglin, now leader of the Progressive Federal Party and former opposition leader in Parliament, was involved in youth and civic affairs in Pinelands at that time and had helped the UP in the election.

He said this week the result had come to him as a shock because it had been so unexpected and because of the implications it had for the country.

"Looking back now, it was certainly a critically important event and was the beginning of the era of real apartheid It was a watershed "

HELEN Suzman, then a young part-time lecturer in economic history, was attending a function in Wits University's Great Hall in Johannesburg when news came of Smuts's defeat.

"I was very shocked. I couldn't believe it. It was devastating," Mrs Suzman, now PFP MP for Houghton, said this week.

"The 1948 result was a fatal blow to peaceful race relations," Mrs Suzman said.

IN the small Eastern Cape town of Alice the election results were considered, possibly with some interest, by 20-year-old Allan Hendrickse and other students of the old SA Native College which later became the University of Fort Hare.

Hendrickse, though not politically active at that time, had come to know some black students who were politically aware, including Robert Sobukwe, who was to play an important role in the ANC, and Joe Njeroge, who later became Kenya's Minister of Internal Affairs. Hendrickse's other contemporaries included Robert Mugabe and Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Not even in his wildest dreams could young Hendrickse have seen himself then as a future member of the white Nationalist government's Cabinet or as a political leader in Parliament.

NELSON Mandela, who was to become leader of the ANC and a life prisoner under the Nationalist government, was then already politically active. As a founder-member of the ANC Youth League, he became its national secretary in 1948.

FREDERIK Van Zyl Slabbert, who was to become Leader of the Opposition in Parliament and subsequently co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) was an eight-year-old schoolboy at the Jan Cilliers Primary School, Johannesburg, when the Nationalist government came into power in 1948.

He remembers that his teacher, Miss Leibbrandt (sister of convicted saboteur Robey Leibbrandt) wept for joy when it became known that the Nationalists had won. The young Frederik did not know at first what was going on, but there was no rejoicing at

announcement came ...ts had been defeated ...y by the NP's Wennie were stunned. Many

AT Oudtshoorn that day a young minister of the Ned Geref Kerk, Andries Treurnicht, was visiting the homes of members of his congregation when radio news flashes of Nationalist victories

scarce.y ve ec . asc.sn.

The newspaper described Dr Malan's apartheid policy as "not so much a policy as a neurotic fantasy."

The Times of London said the vulnerable regions for the United Party were rural areas in the Cape and the Transvaal, and the industrial area of the Witwatersrand.

THUS what was to become a momentous day began with a sense of anticipation for office workers and others on their way to work.

Meanwhile many polling stations in city areas were becoming crowded, especially in the Transvaal where at an early stage a heavy voting was predicted.

One person who was up and about well before a frosty dawn broke in the Transvaal was Smuts. Wearing a khaki trenchcoat — like many of his farmer constituents — to keep out an icy wind, he was at Standerton's town hall before polling began at 7 am. He chatted with his election aides and with a large group of voters waiting for the polling station to open.

With a cheery wave of his hand, Smuts sent the first cars away to fetch voters. Then, after an early breakfast, he toured all the polling stations in the small centres.

Half an hour after leaving Standerton he was at Mooifontein chatting to old friends. One of the first voters at a wayside wood-and-iron polling station was 84-year-old Mr J N Labuschagne, of the farm Papkuilfontein, who had fought with Smuts in the South African War.

Also doing the rounds in Standerton constituency was Smuts's Nationalist opponent, Wennie du Plessis, a former top civil servant and Foreign Affairs official whose membership of the Broederbond had brought about his discharge from the public service under Smuts's government.

IN the Cape Peninsula one of the liviest polling stations was Woodstock town hall where supporters of UP candidate J Hamilton Russell and his independent opponent G Ferry loudly called for voters' support.

Impromptu speeches by supporters from the town hall steps were accompanied by music to add to the general gala atmosphere. Inside, men voted in the main hall and women in the minor hall.

A Cape Town school teacher was rushed 130 miles to Ashton in a party car to enable her to record her vote.

Many Cape Town voters who had put on winter clothes in the early misty weather found themselves uncomfortably hot later in the day as a warm berg wind swept over the Peninsula. Jackets and coats were discarded.

Election fever mounted as a light aircraft, flying over Bellville, Kuils River, Stellenbosch, and farms in the area scattered 10 000 leaflets urging the people of the Stellenbosch constituency to vote for the UP candidate, Mr H ("Tokkie") Scholtz, standing against the National Party's Mr Paul Roos.

As voting continued, a keen fight was reported from Alberton (the biggest Transvaal constituency) between the UP's Marais Steyn and his Nationalist opponent Dr Hendrik Verwoerd.

■ Reports from Natal, where voter apathy had been expected, indicated by noon that the poll in all constituencies could be the heaviest on record.

Afternoon headlines in The Argus (then called the Cape Argus) read "Heavy voting reported from many parts" and "Rush is expected in last few hours".

Shortly after the polls closed at 8 pm there was a disturbance at the men's polling booth in Fabriek Street, Paarl. Two coloured men walked in and attempted to vote, and a section of the crowd surged towards them and protested. Angry words were exchanged with polling station officials. It turned out the crowd mistakenly thought the two men had been allowed to vote after closing time.

Then the long wait for the election results be-

pence a bunch; cucumbers 3 pence to 6 pence each ...

It was a quiet night at Stellenbosch after the closing of the polls. The hectic voting activity had subsided, residents were in their homes, and in the streets the only sounds came from the barking of dogs or the occasional laughter of students strolling about.

■ IN a comfortable home **Morewag** opposition leader Malan sat next to his radio to await the first election results. He was not particularly excited about prospects, but was satisfied with the performance of his dedicated party workers who had put every effort into the election.

■ AT Irene, near Pretoria, Prime Minister Smuts and his wife, Issie, were also relaxing next to the radio in their modest home on the farm Doornkloof. The house, formerly a military barracks, was furnished in old-fashioned style, with porcelain jugs and basins in the bedrooms.

Like Malan, Smuts did not expect much change in the election pattern, but he was confident that his United Party would once again give its Nationalist opponents a thrashing, possibly with increased majorities.

At George, top National Party organiser P W Botha, who had been pushed in as NP candidate at a late stage, following the sudden death of the sitting Nationalist MP, was also keenly awaiting the first results.

For Botha the results would tell just how successful his efforts had been. He had played a major role in the party's electioneering activities and strategies.

THE first result — Sea Point — was announced shortly after 11 pm. A huge majority of more than 6 300 for the United Party's C B M Abbott. A crowd waiting in rain outside Sea Point Town Hall cheered.

Fifty minutes later came Claremont — another UP majority of over 6 000. More cheers from UP supporters.

Then Rondebosch — majority of nearly 6 200 for the UP's Colonel R D Pilkington Jordan. Independent candidate C J R Vorster had drawn only 886 votes.

UP supporters were happy. In many homes the celebrations began. The party was doing well, as expected, but there were still many results to come ...

As the night wore on, UP successes in urban constituencies piled up. Green Point, Cape Town Gardens, Salt River, Woodstock, Vasco, East London North, Alberton, Durban Central ... The elation of party supporters and workers rose with each announcement.

But suddenly, the UP's festive spirit was dampened to some extent when news came of unexpected National Party gains in the Transvaal and elsewhere. There were ominous signs that UP seats were falling like nine-pins to the NP/Afrikaner Party alliance ... North-East Rand, Pretoria West, Bredasdorp, Malmesbury, Paarl, Victoria West, Worcester, Ermelo, Newcastle ...

In George P W Botha and his supporters were jubilant.

In spite of its losses, the UP leadership remained confident of a comfortable overall victory.

By the next day, Thursday, the picture was still unclear, but more and more Nationalist successes in UP seats, especially in country areas and the Witwatersrand, were beginning to worry the UP as results continued to flow in.

Nevertheless the UP leadership remained outwardly optimistic. Minister of Justice Harry Lawrence told reporters it would be premature at that stage to give a considered opinion on the election, although he conceded the UP had suffered setbacks.

"The Nationalists must not think the success they have had so far will bring them into power," he said.

in the National stronghold there were scenes of wild jubilation.

By the next day, Friday, May 28, the full election picture emerged: disaster for the UP and unexpected victory for the NP. The Smuts government had fallen.

News of his defeat was conveyed to Smuts at his home in Irene. Though tired and disappointed, he remained cheerful and philosophical.

Ecstatic Nationalists rejoiced countrywide.

At Stellenbosch, Malan was apparently unprepared for the sudden upheaval. Until a late stage he had not even shown signs of optimism. And, not expecting victory, he did not have a "shadow cabinet" lined up to step into power.

When it became clear the government had been defeated, hundreds of rejoicing students gathered outside Malan's home. Through a homemade loudspeaker, one of them proclaimed Malan "the new Prime Minister."

Malan's comment on the final result was: "It was a miracle."

■ AT George, PW Botha's supporters were having a big celebration. Botha, then only 32, had defeated his UP opponent by 2 380 votes.

The Cape Nationalist newspaper, reflecting the general feeling among many Nationalists, wrote in a leading article:

"We do not want to hide our joy over General Smuts's defeat. With hundreds of others we rejoice over Standerton's decision. But, together with his own supporters, we feel the tragedy of this happening — the tragedy of this grey-haired old statesman, who played such an important role in our history, being rejected from active politics on the eve of his retirement."

MEANWHILE the Smuts government's many friends and allies in the Western world reacted with shock and dismay ...

Britain's Winston Churchill said: *"A great world statesman has fallen and his country will undergo a period of anxiety and perhaps temporary eclipse ... His name and that of Louis Botha will ever be respected not only in Great Britain but through all the free nations of the world."*

Robert Menzies, then leader of the Australian Liberal Party, said: "General Smuts has been one of the very greatest figures in the British Empire for the last 40 years.

The *Sydney Herald* commented that the Nationalist victory might mean the ultimate secession of South Africa from the British Commonwealth. The defeat of Smuts would mean "the withdrawal from the world's stage of one of its leading figures, after Mr Churchill the greatest living statesman."

The British-owned *Statesman* (Calcutta) described the election result as "a grave blow to progress."

The *Toronto Star* wrote that the result was interpreted as "a victory for race discrimination."

AT 10 am on Friday, May 28, Smuts handed his government's resignation to Governor-General G Brand van Zyl.

He did this after consultations with his Cabinet in Pretoria.

The Governor-General then sent for Malan to invite him, as leader of the majority party, to form a government.

Smuts was asked to carry on with the government of the country in the meantime as it was expected to take Malan some time to form a new Cabinet.

That day Smuts's only comment to inquiring newsmen at the Union Buildings was a shrug of his shoulders and a brief remark. *"These things happen. What's to be, will be."*

The final results came through that morning and gave the NP/Afrikaner Party alliance 79 seats against a total of 74 others (including three Native Representatives).

Dr Treurnicht, now Leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly, said this week he remembered it as a joyful day for Nationalists. The victory had come as a great surprise. Having grown up in a Nationalist home, he had been pleased with the result, although he was not involved in politics at that time.

"The National Party has had a proud record, but it fills one with sadness that the party has deviated so far from the policy on which it won that election. It is regrettable that in some respects the party today follows a completely opposite policy. That is why so many of its old supporters have turned their backs on the NP," Dr Treurnicht said.

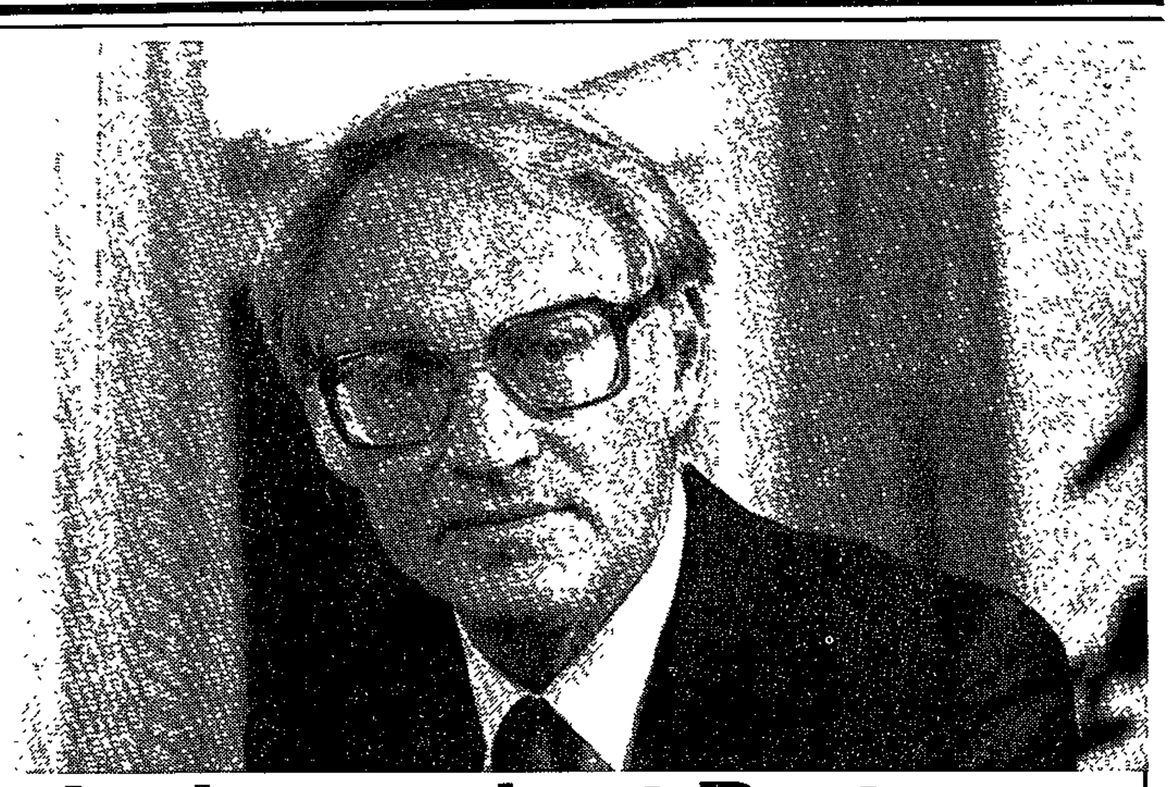
AT the old Cape Town station a 23-year-old ex-servicemen, Colin Eglin, then a UP supporter, was walking along the concourse when he was shocked and surprised at seeing a Nationalist newspaper poster saying *Smuts Uit; Nekslag vir* [illegible] and an aunt, both Smuts supporters.

Other former pupils of his school included Nico Diederichs, Hendrik Verwoerd and M C Botha, all of whom were to figure prominently as the National Party's history unfolded.

Looking back this week, Dr Slabbert remarked: "That election was a party which left the Nationalists with a 40-year hangover — and they are still suffering from that hangover."

AMONG those who shared the Nationalists' joy were leaders of the militant pro-nazi Ossewabrandwag (OB) movement who claimed it was their support in at least 10 seats which had made the Nationalist victory possible.

The full results were hardly out when it was disclosed in Pretoria that one of the first actions of the new Nationalist government would be to release from prison persons convicted during World War 2 for offences under the Emergency and War Measures Acts.



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Du Toit: democracy needs public debate

DD 21/5/88

304A

Daily Dispatch Reporter

GRAHAMSTOWN — Vital public debate was needed on the crucial aspects of the interpretation and application of the democratic ideal, a political scientist from the University of Cape Town, Professor Andre du Toit, said here last night.

He was giving a keynote address at the Idasa conference on Democracy and Education in South Africa.

"We must learn to reason together and educate each other as to the meaning of democracy in South Africa," he said.

Education was one of the basic modes through which a society was transformed.

In South Africa education had served essentially undemocratic purposes. The system of education for the majority had been designed to ensure they would not be educated to become the citizens of tomorrow.

Two contrasting options could be advanced in the name of democracy. One entailed a different politicisation of education. The other called for the disengagement of education from public rule, an essential depoliticisation of education.

Some of the most vital aspects of life were essentially private matters and should be protected from political rule. These included personal and domestic life, religious beliefs, personal morality and the pattern and substance of voluntary association.

"More controversially it should also include private property, the conduct of free enterprise and the working of markets.

"And it may include the provision of education which is not primarily the responsibility of the state but rather of parents, the family, local communities or the churches," he said.

Education might need funding and support by the state but it was primarily a private responsibility and should not be politicised, he stated.

Govt reforms will end white domination says Pik

CAPE TOWN — The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said on Thursday his government's race law reforms would end white domination in South Africa, but not at the cost of white survival.

"White domination will cease," Mr Botha said. "I have said so categorically in writing to some governments."

At the same time, however, Mr Botha lashed out at governments that have imposed economic sanctions against the white-led government in an effort to force change.

"The fact is that if we comply with the demands that are being made on this government to avoid sanctions then we will be destroyed, it is the end of us, the end.

"I know of no people who embrace their own destruction with joy. Sanctions, painful as they are, give us the opportunity to survive," he said.

Mr Botha said advocates of sanctions in the United States and Europe appeared to want the government to fail in its effort to find a peaceful solution for the country's problems.

He said the ruling National Party, next week marking its 40th anniversary in power, had abandoned the original 1948 apartheid blueprint, which envisaged a constellation of black states within white South Africa.

"This government now accepts the permanence of blacks and also the political implications of that participation in the decisions affecting their lives as well as decisions affecting the country as a whole."

Referring to proposals made by President P. W. Botha in parliament last month, Mr Botha said he believed white South Africa was ready for a black cabinet minister.

He added that legislation to make that possible would take a long time to prepare and would not be enacted without white support tested either through the party apparatus or in a referendum.

Mr Botha said the momentum of sanctions would eventually be turned, but not before many people had died as a result of their economic damage.

"Sooner or later the pendulum must swing . . . I suppose when the lesser developed people of our region have suffered so much that the Americans and the Europeans can't stomach to see them starving to death."

Mr Botha said there could be no role for the outlawed African National Congress until it publicly rejected violence and showed in its actions it had done so.

"Organisations will have to abandon violence in order to participate in the constitutional future of this country.

"We have seen in Africa what happens to governments that come to power by force: they are replaced by force."

Mr Botha said that while Nelson Mandela, in jail for sabotage since 1964, could one day be released on humanitarian grounds, he held the key to his own release at any time.

Mandela, who turns 70 in July, could win his freedom by renouncing "violence as a means to achieve political ends".

"As far as we are concerned, he jails himself. His advisors and his organisation want him to remain in jail, they do not want him to be released," Mr Botha said.

—Sapa-RNS

CP tries to block sittings

CAPE TOWN — The Conservative Party made a last-minute bid in parliament yesterday to block the four sittings of the Provincial Committees around the country on Monday and Tuesday.

The CP's chief whip, Mr Frank le Roux, questioned the legality of the meetings, shortly before the House of Assembly was due to adjourn last night.

However, the chairman of committees, Mr Rex le Roux, ruled that the sittings were in order and could go ahead. — PS



MR LE ROUX

AT THE end of his life, Mao Tse-Tung said he was able to change but a few things outside the capital of China.

Those who wish to assess the impact of four decades of apartheid on SA would do well to consider those words from the man commonly supposed to have shaped modern China.

For there has been a tendency to blame apartheid for every conceivable ill SA has suffered — overpopulation, unemployment, political fragmentation, social degeneration and even the deplorable state of rugby.

Any assessment of apartheid must remember some facts.

First, apartheid in 1948 was not a new creation, but an elaboration on three centuries of white supremacy and nearly a century of formal or informal segregation. It differed in direction and degree, but not in kind, from the segregation policy which long had oppressed and insulted those who were not white.

Second, it is only recently that SA entered the mature stage of economic development. For most of the apartheid era, the country was still in the rough phase of industrialisation. Whether we had apartheid or not, SA would still have shown the ugly face of other newly industrialising countries (NICs) such as South Korea, Algeria and Venezuela.

NIC features invariably include a minority owning a disproportionate amount of wealth, a decline in civil rights, some form of dictatorship and ruthless exploitation of the poor and powerless.

Apartheid compounded the agony by massive use of migrant labour and structuring it along racial lines: but it surely did not single-handedly create the suffering arising from industrialisation.

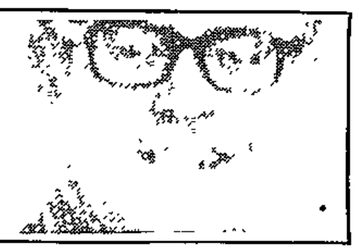


FIVE MEN and four decades of racial separation . . . Malan, Strijdom, Verwoerd, Vorster and Botha — the Nationalist leaders who have ruled SA since May 26 1948

IT'S 40 YEARS ON THURSDAY SINCE THE NATIONAL PARTY CAME TO POWER

Apartheid: The myths and the miseries

by Hermann Giliomee



of the University of Cape Town

Charges

Let's consider some other charges against apartheid.

Firstly there is the charge, laid again recently by historian Arthur Keppel-Jones, who has claimed SA would not have been the object of world hostility had the NP not turned the largely *de facto* pre-1948 segregation and white privilege into a principle, giving it a name and proclaiming it from the rooftops.

Brazil is often cited as a case of a country hailed as an example of racial equality and colour-blindness, while the reality is quite different.

Keppel-Jones's supposition seems highly implausible, to say the least.

Brazil has managed to get away with it, firstly because it is in South America and not in Africa, and secondly because it has such a large mixed category of people, called mulattos, who blur the divisions between white and black.

SA, with the exception of Cape Town, has always been a sharply polarised society with a stark contrast between white wealth and mass black poverty. It is inconceivable that such a country, located in Africa to boot, would have long fooled the world by any form of political cosmetics while the wealth was monopolised by whites.

Apartheid merely helped the world to focus its wrath.

Scared

Secondly, there is the accusation that apartheid has smothered the economy and prevented SA from fulfilling its real growth potential. Here, too, one must tread carefully.

Between 1948 and the early 1970s, SA was a haven for foreign and local investors mainly because they knew they were operating in a stable environment made possible by the apartheid state's ruthless suppression of political dissent and black trade unions.

In the long run, SA may have grown faster had it allowed blacks full mobility, the opportunity to acquire skills and the right to form trade unions.

On the other hand, given the lack of political freedom and racial wage gap, a more liberal economic system may well have produced massive industrial unrest and the scaring off of foreign investors at a much earlier stage of our history.

Even the slow-down of economic growth since 1974 cannot be attributed only to apartheid. Investors became scared not so much because of apartheid with which they had lived for decades but because black trade unions began to show their muscle and because the buffer of white states on our borders collapsed.

Even more importantly, SA's main growth engine — mineral exports — was impaired because the Western enonomies went into decline and also began to conquer inflation.

But, having put apartheid in proper perspective, the charge that it aggravated many of the political and social ills of SA remains valid.

Remote

By 1970 the real *per capita* expenditure on African education was considerably lower than 20 years before. It made all the catching up since 1970 a traumatic and politically destabilising affair. Even "Bantu education" has perhaps been poisoned for ever because of Verwoerd's words in the 1950s that blacks should not be educated to a level above their lowly status in life.

At the end of the Second World War, SA already had a huge black housing shortage. Apartheid made this much worse by enforcing residential segregation.

Furthermore, racial income inequalities actually worsened in the first two decades as a result of apartheid intervention before starting to narrow. For about three decades until 1970, the black share of total personal income languished at 19 percent until rising to 30 percent in 1980.

Apartheid also increased political fragmentation caused by the separate apartheid bureaucracies and especially by the homelands tucked away in remote corners.

Yet it would be foolish to think there would be massive savings if they were abolished. Take, for instance, the homelands. The state spends nine percent of the total budget on them — but about 60 percent of homelands' budgets goes into education, health and infrastructure.

All in all, apartheid has altered but not transformed the face of SA. Some of the changes it wrought have survived, but others have already been swept away. The reforms of the last 10 years have eliminated certain of the rankest forms of social and economic apartheid.

Why then the outrage about the policy? So much so that it is considered the 20th century equivalent of slavery.

I believe the answer lies in the non-material realm. Apartheid is unique in that it legislates for that most vital matter — political identity.

No other policy could have spelled it out more clearly to those of a darker hue that they did not enjoy a common humanity with whites, that they were not properly part of the nation of SA and that they had no rightful claim upon the state

In his BBC-commissioned Reith lectures, Ali Mazrui said the inhabitants of Africa were not necessarily the most brutalised of peoples, but they were certainly the most humiliated in modern history. Apartheid represents the ultimate racial humiliation of the 20th century.

For some SA blacks it was a case of a thousand pinpricks a day: for others, the occasional shattering experience.

Among the latter was Oliver Tambo who recently told businessmen that on the day the election results were announced nearly 40 years ago a white man had accosted him in a Johannesburg street and spat in his face.

Apartheid sent one message to that white man and another to Oliver Tambo who said he wiped the spit off with a silk handkerchief which he still had in his possession to this day.

As long as the Population Registration Act continues to determine a person's political and social identity we shall all live under apartheid's shadow. As we have done for the last 40 years.

● *Professor Giliomee is also editor of Die Suid Afrikaan.*

New Nats can give rise to a new dawn

by Willie Esterhuyse

Professor of Philosophy, Stellenbosch

BY modern standards, particularly in a multi-party system, 40 years of uninterrupted rule is an awful lot of time for any political party to remain in power.

The National Party achieved just that. As a matter of fact, it went from strength to strength since coming to power in 1948 — more or less completely wiping out white political parties to its left, with the CP presently its major threat among the white voting public.

For reasons which cannot be discussed in this article, the vast majority of the white voting public eventually accepted the NP as the major representative of white aspirations, interests and ideals.

In very broad and general terms, and for the sake of convenience, the past 40 years of NP rule can be divided into five, not necessarily rigid phases.

The first phase of NP rule was that of racial segregation on the social level, and the statutory entrenchment of white rule over the peoples of South Africa.

During this phase the NP legalised segregationist tendencies rooted in the decades preceding 1948. Practices and conventions became a decree by law.

The NP did not father the process of segregation. What it did, was to legalise this process, making it a matter of statutory prescription.

Havoc

This period also witnessed the removal of the limited suffrage of blacks in the Cape Province (1954) and the abolition of the voting rights of coloureds in the Cape Province (1955).

Many of these measures were taken in good faith and with good intentions. However, it created havoc on the level of human relations.

Despite resistance, the process of legalised racial segregation remained in top gear, inspired by the ideology of apartheid-oriented nationalism. It took three decades before the ill-effects and moral misconceptions of racial segregation were fully realised.

The second phase, related to the first and emerging in conjuction with it, can be termed the phase of geographic separation.

Through "separate development" an attempt was made to not only legitimise apartheid but also to bring the logic of apartheid to a conclusion regarding the political rights of blacks.

This particular phase represents a decisive stage in South Africa's political history. Blacks were totally excluded from participation in the political processes of so-called "white South Africa" — a misnomer frequently used, even if such a country did not exist in reality.

The idea of separate political institutions on a geographic basis for South Africa's black population became firmly rooted in the minds of NP supporters.

Whatever one's criticism from hindsight may be, the idea of separate political institutions for blacks was not executed in bad faith or inspired by blatantly conceived racism.

It was believed that this policy would put blacks firmly on the road of development — albeit that in practice it turned out that some of the main ingredients of the policy of separate development, especially on the socio-economic level, in actual fact separated many blacks from their development!

Nonetheless, black independent and self-governing states became a reality on the South African political scene. And no one can wish them away or ignore their existence.

The second phase of NP rule also witnessed something else: separate political institutions for coloureds and Asians, granted very limited powers.

South Africa also became a republic outside the Commonwealth, an event which marked the beginnings of a very important process, namely the process of white nation-building. It took many years to reach a measure of maturity.

A third phase, emerging during the latter part of the '60s and gaining some momentum during the '70s, is the phase of discrimination reconsidered.

Factors

Various factors played a role: isolation in sport, labour requirements, inadequate facilities for South Africa's growing middle class "non-white" citizens, moral sensitivities, etc. An intense debate developed — behind closed doors and eventually in public.

Given past practices and the articles of political faith inherited from the first phase, this debate represented a watershed for it resulted in a gradual opening up of the South African society and moves towards desegregation.

The process of desegregation, still to be concluded, proved to be a long and even frustrating process. What took the NP a couple of years to enact during the first phase of its rule, is now in its second decade of gradual redress.

Nevertheless, what the NP embarked upon in this respect was undoubtedly something for which it should be given credit. Up till now some 100 discriminatory laws and regulations have been removed from the statute books, a list too long to enumerate.

Although not divorced from the third phase, and in many ways and instances intertwined with it, one can distinguish a fourth phase of National Party rule, namely the phase of consitutional experimentation and adaptation, initially related to the position of coloureds and Asians.

In typical South African tradition (read: Afrikaner tradition!) the debate initially took place behind closed doors. It was a fascinating, albeit sometimes frustrating experience.

Convincing people, educated in a specific type of political language and for many decades conditioned by a way of thinking approximating the status of religious convictions, that they should learn to speak a new language and should embark on a new political road, is not the easiest thing to do.

Credit

As someone who occasionally was a participant in this debate behind closed doors and who on various occasions had to help market some of the new ideas to support-groups of the NP, I have to give credit to some of the leaders of the NP for the political courage they displayed at many of these meetings.

Whatever the faults and shortcomings of the system which eventually emerged may be, at least the language of reform became a common language.

The NP, moreover, was prepared to shed in this process influential members of the "clan", bringing into existence a most formidable opponent and stumbling-block on the road of reform.

The NP has presently arrived at the fifth phase of its rule: accommodation of blacks in the political system.

The way to this point in our history was prepared by many factors: economic realities, a growing urban black population, significant changes in National Party policy since the Verwoerdian era, political pressures on the system, etc.

Whatever can be said of the National Party of 1988, it is not the same party which came to power in 1948. Policy-wise, some fundamental changes took place during the second half of its rule.

What will happen in future remains to be seen. Strong opposition from the right puts the National Party on a political spot.

A radicalisation among some black leaders and opinion makers is also taking place, not to speak of the long shadow which the ANC casts upon township politics.

All indications are that South Africa's transition towards a generally acceptable constitutional settlement is going to be a long and frustrating process. It is, however, still in the power of the National Party to help lead the country towards a new political dawn.

'White land' is marked on map

By DRIES van HEERDEN

CONSERVATIVES eyeing a retreat to an all white homeland may know the boundaries of their hinterland this week.

Professor Carel Boshoff, head of the Afrikaner Vryheidstigting (Afrikaner Freedom Foundation) said research on where the homeland should be had been completed and the results would be made public soon.

The Foundation is a conservative think-tank founded by the son-in-law of the late Dr Hendrik Verwoerd after he retired as Professor of Theology at the University of Pretoria earlier this year.

Official

The findings may become the cornerstone of official Conservative Party philosophy in future.

Professor Boshoff's organisation is also closely allied to the Oranjewerkers Vereniging, founded by his brother-in-law, the Rev Hendrik Verwoerd, a few years ago to promote the idea of a white homeland.

So far, however, the Oranjewerkers's efforts to establish a white growth point at Morgenzon in the Eastern Transvaal have met with little success.

Oscar: Accept Indaba or else!

By ZB MOLEFE

KwaZulu Education and Culture Minister Oscar Dhlomo has a dream that one day South Africa will unite and cast off the shackles of ignorance and mistrust that imprison its people.

South Africa would then take its place at the helm of affairs on the African continent, Dhlomo told the East London Chamber of Commerce this week.

It would be "a South Africa which discards its current pariah rags and assumes the mantle of a respected world nation" said Dhlomo, who is also the KwaZulu Natal Indaba convenor.

He dreamed of a South Africa in which all the people pulled together for the common good instead of fighting over "the ethnic illusion". His vision was of a South Africa where "our powerhouse of resources and technology" was unleashed to restore the economy and reverse the current spiral of unemployment.

He envisioned a country where "there is freedom in the air – instead of the rank and pervasive odour of the state of emergency, Press curbs and the myriad repressive laws necessary to contain our self-inflicted plight," said Dhlomo.

He reminded his audience that many dreams did not materialise because they lacked a solid foundation.

"But I am fortunate in this regard," he said, "for my dream always begins on the solid foundation of that day of consensus in the Durban City Hall when the Indaba showed that negotiation CAN work and South Africans of all shades CAN agree to compromise and plan a shared future."

Government rejection of the Indaba proposals would kill the possibility of a negotiated future for South Africa, he said.



Oscar Dhlomo, Indaba convenor.

"Already the hour is late and there are few black leaders who are still prepared to negotiate."

There was a growing belief even among black pragmatists that "reform" was a myth.

"While white politicians are dazzled by the fairy lights of their forthcoming ethnic municipal elections, black politicians are beginning to doubt the efficacy of negotiation itself."

There was little doubt that rejection of the Indaba proposals would exacerbate the violence on and within South Africa's borders, and provide "what many will interpret as a clear signal that evolutionary change is no longer possible and revolution is the only alternative," Dhlomo added.

He warned against white South Africans taking refuge in the "do your damndest" attitude, describing this as naive and misguided.

"The sanctions ball is progressively gathering speed and the ugly prospect of full-scale measures is not far distant.

"While we stand vehemently opposed to sanctions and would do anything to oppose them, we must warn that the santioneers have mastered their trade, and most important, we have no friendly, powerful neighbour to the south to bail us out, as happened to the former Rhodesia."

The international business comunity had already clearly indicated that an Indaba-type dispensation would provide a fertile investment proposition, Dhlomo said.

"I worry about the future of our beloved country. I have recurring nightmares of South Africa bloodied and beaten by punitive measures from without, and strife and hatred within.

"I have visions of the smouldering ruins of what should have been the showpiece of Africa, wilfully sacrificed through sheer folly on all sides," said Dhlomo.

Ex-PFP leader tells of plans to rally left and return to Parliament

SLABBERT BOMBSHELL

304A Stines

22/5/88



VAN ZYL SLABBERT: When he walked out of Parliament, he said it was a waste of time

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

FORMER Opposition leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert has dropped a political bombshell — he has plans for a comeback to Parliament.

His next step depends on the outcome of sensitive talks now under way with groups inside and outside Parliament.

The name of the game is "participation strategy" — the mobilisation of left-of-centre movements, from Mr Wynand Malan's NDM to the UDF, to seek office in Parliamentary structures.

Sources said yesterday that a final decision on participation had not yet been taken either by Dr Slabbert or his potential partners.

But news of the initiative has been cautiously welcomed by several left-of-centre groups — including Dr Denis Worrall of the Independent Party and Mr Wynand Malan of the National Democratic Movement.

The PFP spokesman on information Mr Peter Soal, said the moves vindicated the stand of the PFP to co-operate in a flawed system, even though it has "deteriorated substantially since 1984".

Storm

The man who sent a shockwave through opposition politics in 1986 when he stomped out of Parliament and the leadership of the PFP, said



Rugby brawls mar Cup games

By IVOR CREWS and MARK SEIDEL

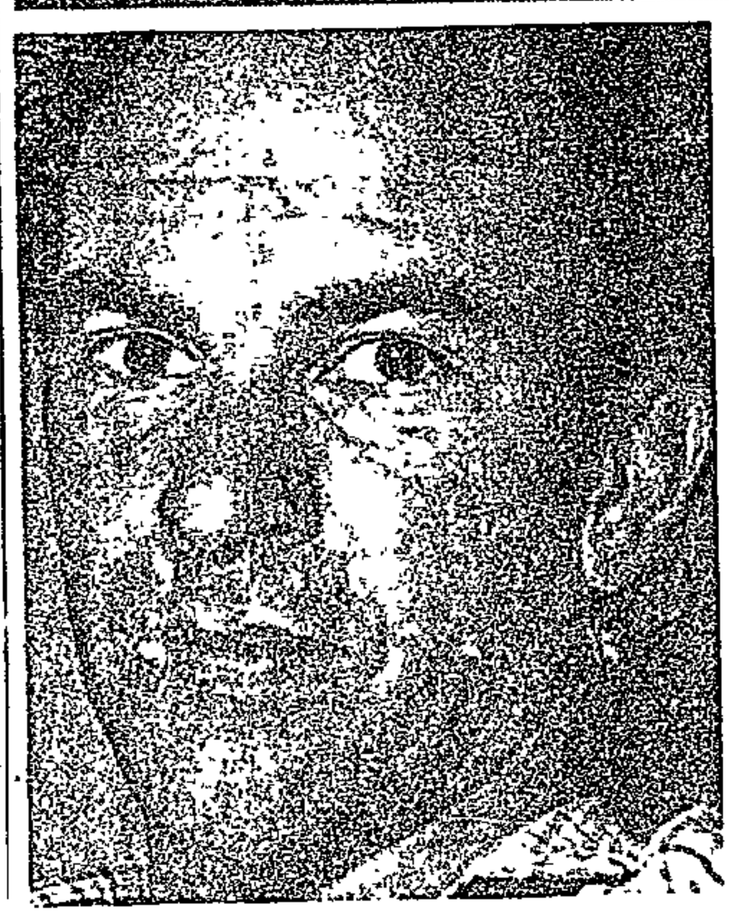
TWO top rugby players, Transvaal's Piet Kruger and Northerns' Adri Geldenhuys, have been suspended for a week after a Currie Cup punch-up at Loftus Versfeld yesterday.

And in Durban the Cup match between Natal and Eastern Province turned into a 30-man free-for-all after an incident sparked by Springbok centre Danie Gerber.

The brawls — seen by thousands of spectators and TV viewers — are certain to renew demands for tighter discipline on the field.

Rugby administrators acted promptly in the wake of the fight in the second half of the Northerns-Trans-

The love obsession of Susan Westcott



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SUSAN WESTCOTT ... loved too much

ate in a flawed system, even though it has "deteriorated substantially since 1984".

Storm

The man who sent a shockwave through opposition politics in 1986 when he stomped out of Parliament and the leadership of the PFP, said yesterday: "If parties on the left cannot break through to Parliament, then you simply die on the vine."

In an interview, Dr Slabbert said intricate and wide-ranging discussions were taking place among extra-Parliamentary groups.

The talks enter a decisive period this week as Dr Slabbert and others seek wider endorsement for "participation strategy".

Dr Slabbert's re-entry into Parliamentary affairs is likely to cause a storm in opposition circles.

His precipitous abandonment of the leadership of the Progressive Federal Party two years ago was a blow.

He caused wider controversy by saying that political solutions to South Africa's problems would have to be sought outside the legislature.

Yesterday he denied that his comeback to electoral politics was a U-turn.

He said he had left Parliament "not because I was against participation, but because, then, it was a waste of time".

Approval

The former leader of the official opposition said he had "no hidden agenda to return to Parliament" — but new possibilities of involving extra-Parliamentary organisations had cast new relevance on participation.

Apart from Dr Slabbert, the participation talks have so far included the United Democratic Front, Cosatu — the country's largest labour organisation — the Natal Indian Congress and the NDM, led by Mr Wynand Malan, MP for Randburg.

Sources close to the talks say the participation strategy is rapidly finding approval in principle.

Discussions are centred on spreading the concept from leadership level to grassroots in the various groups as well as on the kind of structure to be adopted.

Two ideas dominate: the formation of a wholly new party into which existing groups will blend, or an alliance in which groups will retain their individual identities.

Sources say Dr Slabbert favours a new party, while Mr Malan and others prefer an alliance which will have participation as its main, but not only, strategy.

Political observers believe the moves — if successful — could make a major impact on politics, especially to the left of the ruling National Party.

For the National Party the entry of a newly mobilised left into mainstream politics could present a poser. The Government will not relish the prospect of, say, a vigorous UDF and NIC presence in the House of Representatives and House of Delegates.

As it is, some Parliamen-

□ To Page 2

SE

Ex-PFP leader's come-back plan

□ From Page 1

tarians have said that the Government's move against 18 extra-Parliamentary organisations in February this year was aimed largely at heading off just such a strategy.

Now participation could come sooner than expected. Sources said one of the groups most enthusiastic about the new strategy was the NIC.

Dr Slabbert said recently that the two-year-old state of emergency had successfully neutralised extra-Parliamentary groups and that new strategies had to be found.

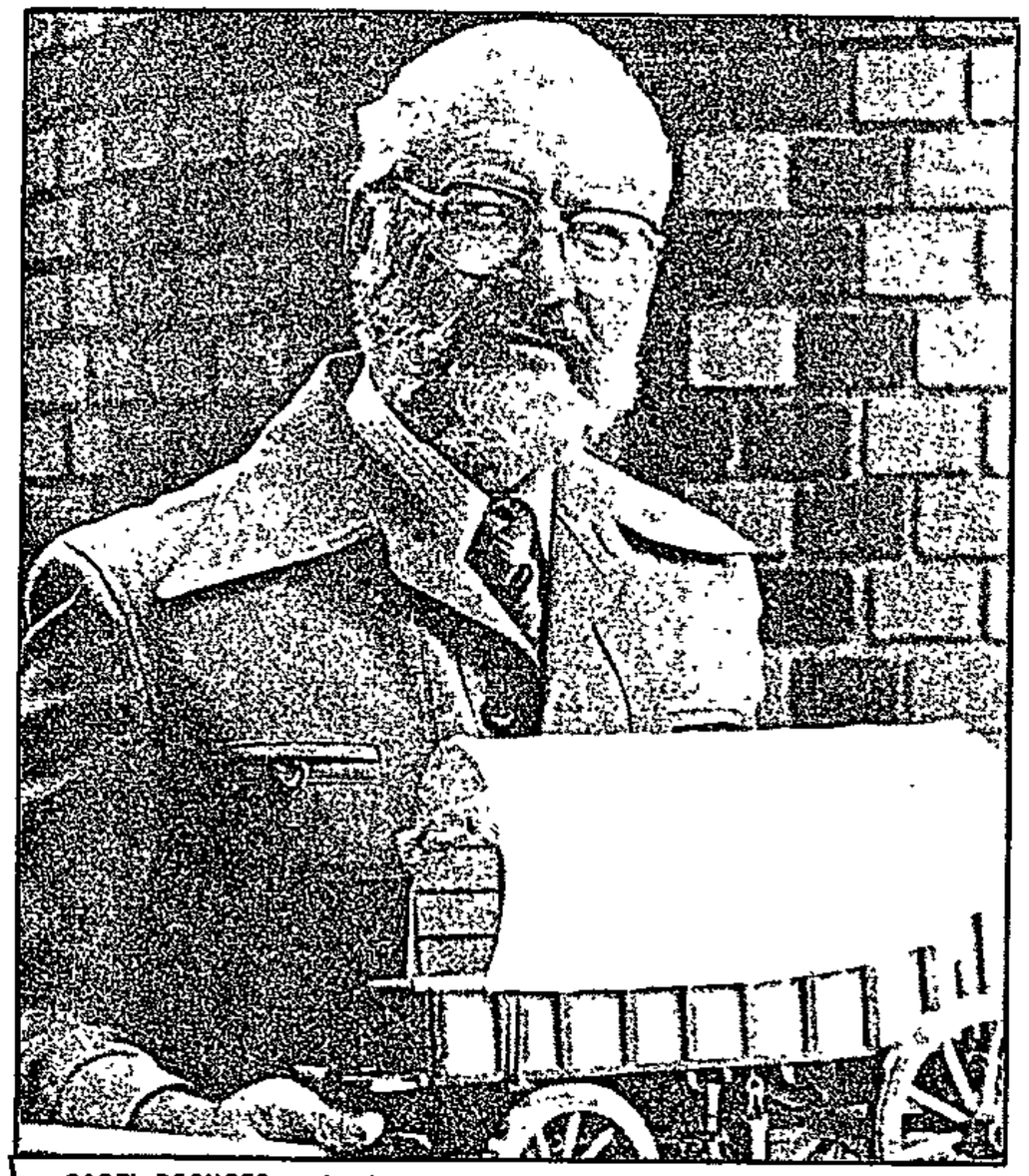
He said yesterday that talks were "sensitive" in as much as many of the groups involved, particularly the UDF, had been founded on the concept of non-participation.

Dr Denis Worrall, leader of the Independent Party, said: "The immediate object is to find a credible alternative to the National Party government. In as much as these moves assist in that direction, we would certainly support them."

He agreed with Dr Slabbert's reasoning on the effect of the state of emergency and the need for new strategies in opposition.

Mr Wynand Malan, leader of the NDM, said: "I am excited. Things are at a stage where a majority of organisations are saying: 'Let us create forums for a joint strategy'."

● See Business Times



CAREL BOSHOFF ... hoping to stir the national conscience of Afrikaners

THE GREAT DWARS TREK!

On the right, the 'official' FAK festival chief, Rudie Prinsloo On the left (literally, but not politically) Carel Boshoff



RUDIE PRINSLOO ... hoping to bridge political divides in Afrikanerdom

SPECIAL REPORT by DRIES VAN HEERDEN

THEY will arrive from all points of the compass for the showdown in Pretoria — and the cultural soul of Afrikanerdom will be on the line.

The "official group" will occupy the symbolic high ground at the Voortrekker Monument, heavily fortified with the backing of the Afrikaner establishment. The "alternatives" will enter Pretoria in grand style — 2 000 bearded men on horseback — and then retreat to a camping site outside the capital.

The intense political rivalry between Nationalists and Conservatives has split the Afrikaner community down the middle. And this deep rift will be clearly demonstrated at the coming commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the Great Trek.

The situation just begs for comparisons.

The Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereeniginge (FAK) — umbrella body for the majority of Afrikaner cultural organisations — has been planning a grand celebration for many years.

But since the split between President P W Botha and Dr Andries Treurnicht, the conservatives have been setting up bodies to rival almost everything the establishment could offer.

The FAK was duplicated by the Afrikaner Volkswag, led by the son-in-law of the late Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, Professor Carel Boshoff.

The Great Trek celebrations will be matched speech for speech and mounted commando for mounted commando by rival festivities.

From October 10 to December 16 this year, South Africa will see TWO sets of symbolic treks, TWO sets of local festivities in small hamlets and TWO sets of memorabilia on sale.

This will all culminate in TWO mass gatherings barely 50km apart.

The FAK's celebrations carry the offical stamp of approval.

Highlight

The organisation has already received more than R500 000 in Government subsidies and, according to festival director Rudie Prinsloo, enjoys generous support from the private sector.

The FAK plans a spectacular celebration. The highlight will be a mass gathering — with tableaus, banners, flags, large numbers of participating schoolchildren and a speech by President Botha — at the monument on the Day of the Vow.

On August 27 a traditional ox-wagon — pulled by a span of oxen — will leave the Parade in Cape Town destined for Pretoria. Its route will be similar to the one taken by the symbolic Oxwagon Trek of 1938 — westwards to Port Elizabeth and then northwards via Bloemfontein, Ladysmith and the Eastern Transvaal to Pretoria.

At each town the wagon visits, a local celebration will be held. Local organising committees are already planning the festivities and, Mr Prinsloo says, the evident enthusiasm is heartening.

On December 10 the celebrations at the Voortrekker Monument kick off with a varied programme ranging from sports meetings and plays to song festivals and religious services.

A wide range of publications, souvenirs and household articles are already being sold to help defray the cost of the celebrations.

Regret

Mr Prinsloo is at pains to point out that the FAK does not want its celebrations to become embroiled in political controversy. The organisation's hope is that the commemoration will bridge political divides and unite Afrikaners — albeit briefly — in a common remembrance of a pivotal period in Afrikaner history.

"We regret the divisions," he says, "and have given instructions to our various member organisations to try their utmost to organise joint festivities on local levels."

Across the political divide the Volkswag is not as coy about the possible political spinoffs that its flag-bearer, the Conservative Party, may gain from its Great Trek celebrations.

"It is not possible to separate culture from politics," says Professor Boshoff.

"We will therefore not shy away from using political speakers at our celebrations.

"We expect the celebrations to stir the national conscience of the Afrikaner and this will definitely have an influence on future political developments."

Professor Boshoff's organising committee is an umbrella body representing a Who's Who of rightwing organisations. The CP, AWB, Volkswag, Oranje Werkers, Vroue Kenkrag....

Professor Boshoff's Pretoria smallholding has become a hive of activity, with eager volunteers organising various aspects of their festivities.

His house is stacked with souvenirs bearing the official logo of the movement, from miniature ox-wagons and lampshades to ashtrays and beer mugs.

The Volkswag has decided against a wagon drawn by live oxen because of concern over the bovines' hooves on the tarred roads.

Instead it has opted for 13 different symbolic treks, starting in various centres and criss-crossing through the country to reach Pretoria on December 8.

Stylised symbolic wagons, designed for this purpose, will be mounted on the back of trucks.

The wagons will be met in Pretoria by a commando of 2 000 men on horseback. From there the procession will move to a huge tent town at Donkerhoek, outside Pretoria.

Professor Boshoff expects between 50 000 and 150 000 people to attend — the same number expected by the FAK.

Leader with divided attentions

By DRIES van HEEDEN

PROFESSOR Carel Boshoff, the one-man think-tank of the rightwing movement, is a man racked by deeply divided loyalties.

The many hats he is wearing in the conservative establishment will force him to split his attentions and his energies during the coming Great Trek celebrations.

For Professor Boshoff is not only the head of the Stigting Afrikaner Vryheid, leading the Afrikaanse Gereformeerde Bond, and El Supremo of the Afrikaner Volkswag, but also leader of the youth movement, the Voortrekkers.

And, horror of horrors, the Voortrekkers will hold a countrywide jamboree at the Voortrekker monument, site of the FAK's Trek celebrations, at the same time as Professor Boshoff and his conservative faithful conduct an alternative festival a mere 30 minutes' drive away.

Sporting a grey beard, grown to lend an authentic air to the celebrations, Professor Boshoff this week said the Voortrekkers' involvement in the festivities at the monument, to be addressed by President P W Botha was planned many years ago.

But that was before the Great Split when Professor Boshoff and his Volkswag decided to stage their own celebrations in opposition to the official version.

"Although I don't participate in the FAK's festivities, I will definitely pay a few visits to the Voortrekkers' camp," he said.

Presumably not while Mr Botha is speaking.

Even back in 1838 they nearly came to blows

By DRIES van HEERDEN

THEY quarrelled and haggled and nearly came to blows.

They split up in factions and rejoined, papering over their differences, only to split again.

P W Botha and Eugene Terre Blanche, 1988? F W de Klerk and Andries Treurnicht? The FAK and the Volkswag?

Wrong. Andries Hendrik Potgieter and Gert Maritz *circa* 1838. Potgieter and Piet Retief. Potgieter and everybody else.

The history of the Great Trek is one of strife and fraternal quarrels — far from the unified movement, so often romanticised by conservative historians.

Central to most disputes was the farmer from Tarkastad, Andries Hendrik Potgieter. Today he would probably have been a prominent Conservative Party politician.

His main opponent was Gert Maritz, a businessman, educated, and a verligte man of the world.

Maritz's sins in the eyes of Potgieter and his supporters was that he wanted to lead the main body of Trekkers to Natal while Potgieter wanted to trek to the Transvaal to get away from the hated English.

The arrival of much respected Piet Retief early in 1837 helped to quell the differences briefly, but matters came to a head at the Battle of Italeni when Potgieter and his followers were branded as cowards because they refused to come to the assistance of Piet Uys and his boy-hero son, Dirkie.

Enraged, Potgieter and his men trekked across the Drakensberg to settle in the south-western Transvaal and northern Free State.

Andries Pretorius, the hero of Blood River, did manage to unite the various factions briefly but when Natal was annexed by the British in 1842 those Trekkers in the interior declared themselves independent.

They were soon joined by large numbers of Natalians who refused to submit to British rule. This led to even more tensions ...

Shades of things to come?

...businessmen, including Sentrachem's managing direc-

CP to hold protest meetings tonight

Joint debates historic step in Parliament

Star 23/5/88

30cm

CAPE TOWN — Parliament went into separate session in each of the four provincial capitals today.

Members of the public may attend the historic debates, which are the first debates to be held outside the precincts of Parliament in Cape Town and are also the first joint debates between members of all three Houses.

The legislature has "decentralised" for two days until Wednesday to discuss the respective budget votes of the provincial administrations.

By David Braun
Political Correspondent

The Administrators and executive committees of the four provinces are taking part in the debates, but they may not take part in the voting.

The main purpose of decentralising Parliament in this way is to allow for more time to be devoted to each of the provincial budgets, to enable those directly responsible for the day-to-day administration of Parliament to account to Parliament, and to make up in a small measure for the scrapping of the system of provincial councils.

The Conservative Party is pressing ahead with public meetings in the four capitals to protest the new system of parliamentary debates on the provincial administrations.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht will be the speaker at the Pretoria protest meeting at the Hendrik Verwoerd High School, Rietfontein, at 7.30 pm. Other party leaders will speak in Bloemfontein, Maritzburg and Cape Town.

The main CP objection to the debates is that they are a step closer to multiracial government (because people of colour will debate matters which affect whites).

Committees head for deadlock over new housing chief

Star 23/5/00

By Shirley Woodgate,
Municipal Reporter

The dispute between Mr Percy Peffer's coloured management committee and Johannesburg's white management committee over a successor to housing director Mr Thys Wilsnach is heading for a deadlock.

The matter has simmered since January this year.

COMPROMISE

The CMC, which is alleged to be autonomous, grudgingly accepted at the time a compromise that the CMC choice for the post, deputy director of housing, Mr Ken Cunningham-Scott, and Johannesburg's nomination, Mr F W Robins, would each serve a trial period of three months.

Last week's CMC meeting was adjourned when it was discovered that Mr Robins had taken over from Mr Cunningham-Scott without the CMC being notified.

It is believed that this caused a blazing row which led to an adjournment until the two committees meet tomorrow.

Sources say the CMC attitude has now hardened and it will insist the choice is "Cunningham-Scott or nothing".

The appointment is critical to continued good relations between the two bodies as Johannesburg's housing director is viewed as the link between the white and coloured councils.

The Labour Party's Mr Peffer confirmed that the CMC would meet Mr Francois Oberholzer's management committee tomorrow.

He said: "If we are to have any say in our own affairs it must now become tangible.

When the matter was first raised in January, Mr Peffer warned that if Johannesburg's choice was foisted on the CMC it would be "making a mockery of the new dispensation".

Mr Danie van Zyl, leader of the National Party in the city council, said the CMC was reneging on its agreement that each man be given a chance to prove himself.

Zambians claim to have killed 73 guerillas

Star 23/5/88

The Star's Africa
News Service

LUSAKA — At least 73 Mozambique National Resistance Movement (MNR) guerillas were killed when Zambian security forces launched a hot pursuit operation in-

1948 — poll result that changed the face of the whole country

Star 23/8/88
30 cA

The National Party came to power on May 26 1948 when General Jan Smuts's United Party was ousted from power by the Hereenigde Nasionale Party of Dr Daniel Malan.

It was a time of stirring feelings in Afrikaner political and cultural circles. Politics evolved around the UP's ideal of one united nation with extended political and economic rights to people of colour, and an NP ideal of white domination and Afrikaner rule.

In the accompanying three articles ESMARE VAN DER MERWE reports on the politics and emotions of the time. .

History repeats itself politically

"Ministers heckled on Rand and at Cape" read the headline in The Star.

"The Minister of Agriculture addressed a rowdy meeting in Mayfair and afterwards was refused a hearing in Maraisburg.

"In the Cape the Minister of Economic Development closed a meeting before his turn came to speak."

"At a rally in the Pretoria City Hall a 'form of Nazi salute was given'," read another report.

Scenes from recent National Party meetings attended by Conservative Party stalwarts and Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging fanatics?

ROWDY

Not at all. They are reports of 1948 political meetings, with rowdy National Party members and elements of the Ossewa Brandwag trying to break up United Party meetings.

Where modern-day politics in South Africa revolves around the issue of group rights (as expressed by the NP) versus individual rights (favoured by extra-parliamentary groups such as the United Democratic Front), strong English-Afrikaner feelings dominated the South Africa of 1948.

While the ruling UP campaigned for national unity — maintaining the existing constitutional system but extending political and economic rights to people of colour — the Herenigde Nasionale Party (HNP) proposed apartheid and Afrikaner political power.

Although Afrikaner nationalism thrived, Afrikaner unity was as fragile then as now.

The HNP, under the leadership of Dr D F Malan, entered into an election pact with the Afrikaner Party (AP) of Mr N C Havenga.

The HNP (commonly referred to as the National Party, although the party was renamed only in 1951) had the support of the Broederbond, an exclusive male organisation striving for unity among the Afrikaner volk and the promotion of the Afrikaans language, culture and history.

The AP was supported by the extremist Ossewa Brandwag, a para-political terrorist organisation subscribing to Afrikaner socialism.

Although the Broederbond, campaigning against British imperialism, was unable to heal the breach between the NP and the Ossewa Brandwag, it was instrumental in bringing about the electoral coalition between the NP and the AP.

It was this coalition that was victorious in 1948.

A UP meeting held in Pretoria shortly before the election reflected the emotions of the time.

The Star of May 25 1948 described how a group of young Nationalist supporters tried to break up a meeting addressed by colourful UP politician Mr Jan Hofmeyr, the man expected to succeed Prime Minister General Jan Smuts.

KAFFERBOETIE

There were cries of "kafferboetie", "moroka" and assorted animal noises, screeches, hoots and yells.

Mr Hofmeyr said: "The Nationalists have even learnt to talk a little English. Undoubtedly they have improved as a result of their five years in opposition and with another five years in opposition, they may even become good South Africans."

The general election of 1948, when Dr D F Malan's Herenigde Nasionale Party (HNP) came to power, was one of the quietest fought in South Africa.

A secure victory for the United Party under the leadership of General Jan Smuts was generally expected and polling day drew nearer almost unnoticed, particularly by the ruling party and its supporters.

But the events of May 26 1948 were to change the future of the country.

The Star, then a strong UP supporter, repeatedly urged voters to go to the polls.

On May 12 it reported: "Apathy is still regarded as the gravest threat to the Government's majority in the next Parliament, and United Party workers are concentrating on impressing on voters that it is their duty to vote against the reactionary politics of the Nationalists if they have the Union's welfare at heart."

Emotions were indeed stirring in Afrikaner political circles. On March 28 Dr Malan issued a statement on the HNP's race policy, spelling out the option between "integration and national suicide" on the one hand and "apartheid" and the protection of the "pure white race" on the other.

Afrikaners, feeling more and more threatened by the "swart gevaar", were uneasy about General Smuts's policy of "decency and justice as between men and men, and ... fair social and living conditions for all, irrespective of race and colour".

In Nationalist circles there were strong expectations of a good electoral performance.

The HNP had fared well in several by-elections prior to the general election. It was generally believed it would increase its parliamentary representation but that the UP would be returned to power.

One Afrikaner who unfailingly believed in a Nationalist victory was Dr Wennie du Plessis, the fiery young Nationalist who eventually defeated General Smuts in Standerton.

One huge committee

In his book "Hou Kop!", Dr du Plessis (who died last month) described the build-up to the election: "'It's nice to be National' With this slogan, organiser Gied van der Berg, electoral agent Wim Buhrmann and I and many assistants — because the whole constituency of Standerton, at least as far as the Nationalists were concerned, was gradually transformed into one huge election committee — made things difficult for General Smuts and his people.

"Everyone wanted to do his or her share and, if there wasn't the opportunity for him or for her to contribute amply, there was moodiness. We started off with almost no money in the party coffers and got through at a canter.

"Apart from us in the constituency almost no one else believed it."

Nevertheless, the National victory came as a shocking surprise to friend and foe. In a 78,94 percent poll, the HNP and its election ally, the Afrikaner Party (supported by the extremist Afrikaner organisation the Ossewa Brandwag), totalled 79 seats. The UP, together with the Labour Party, won 71 seats.

Although the National Party won 52,7 percent of the seats in the House of Assembly, it drew only 41,5 percent of the votes.

The dismay in UP circles was reflected by The Star's headlines which, after a positive "United Party well in the lead" on the afternoon of May 26, announced downheartedy the next day: "United Party Government resigns".

Mr Ben Schoeman, who became Minister of Labour and of Public Works in the Malan Cabinet, described that Thursday night in his book, "My Lewe in die Politiek".

"In the afternoon the platteland results started coming in ...

"In the evening we had a few friends at home. The radio was switched on. Every time we heard the bleep-bleep-bleep, there was a deathly silence. One result after the other was a Nationalist victory. We now started doing our sums. There came Bredasdorp's result: Minister Piet van der Bijl was defeated, against all expectations, by Dirkie Uys, the National Party candidate.

"Traditional United Party seats such as Ermelo and Bethal-Middelburg all became Nationalist. It must have been shortly after 9 pm when the Standerton result came through. Wennie du Plessis defeated General Smuts by a majority of 224 votes.

"Now we felt that we could win the election."

Democracy a process not an end — Boraine

BOCA
SOT
DIO 23/4/88

GRAHAMSTOWN — Different understandings of the concept of democracy had emerged during the three-day conference on Democracy in Education here, the executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa), Dr Alex Boraine, said yesterday.

"It is important that the debate continue. There is also a need for clarity and definition, he stated.

Democracy should not be an end but a process.

"There is very real danger in using undemocratic shortcuts to achieve a democratic goal; trying to hurry it on. The process must be democratic, he stressed.

The place to do it was "where we are now and then to go on and do it.

Democracy had narrow and wide interpretations. "Democracy" in control (authority) was crucial to the debate not just as a solution to the crisis of racism.

"We must distinguish between what passes as education (propaganda bound up in the apartheid machine) and make sure we don't become managers of apartheid, said Dr Boraine.

"We must identify obstacles and opportunities, start from a base of reality and move on beyond, Dr Boraine said.

Working papers would emerge from the three areas of discussion, curriculum development, management and resources, it was revealed.

Reporting on the curriculum development debate was Mrs Louise Vale, co-ordinator in Grahamstown of the South African Council for Higher Education (Sached) project.

Steps towards achieving curriculum development could be:

- Getting together subject teachers to share resources and information and supply mutual support.
- "Starting our own schools, free from 'the dead hand of the state'.
- Drawing up non-formal programmes and groupings for experimenting and workshops.
- Getting different teachers' organisations to form, from within their membership, a Teachers Against Apartheid Education group.

On management Mr Bheki Sibiya (Black Management Forum) reported the need for flexibility in the system.

"The various constituencies must know what others are doing. Otherwise it will lead to suspicion and mistrust, he said.

- Students should be free to choose the medium of their instruction.
- Parents should be involved through democratic bodies such as the churches and trade unions.
- Attempts should be made to consolidate the efforts of teachers' organisations, student organisations and parent groupings.

Looking at what could be done about educational resources, Mr Peter Glover (education lecturer at Rhodes University) said ideas included:

- To bring teachers together to enhance the teaching of their subjects.
- Look at an apprenticeship model for unqualified teachers — a mentor system.
- Encourage private sector initiative to provide alternative educational models or laboratories.
- Seek voluntary help from parents in areas such as coaching sport, for example.

The vice-principal of Rhodes University, Dr Roux van der Merwe, said that the academic communities at universities saw their first loyalty to the international community of scholars and not to the immediate university community.

"We dare not lose the values we obtain from the outside community because of the pressures of the here and now," he said.

Mr Brian Heath, headmaster of Alexander Road High School, Port Elizabeth, suggested democracy in education should be seen as the devolution of decision making powers down to lower levels.

He also proposed that schools should be community-education centres and the "classroom lights should be burning throughout the night" for the benefit of the community.

Mr Sefako Nyaka, a staff member of a weekly newspaper, said it was a "crying shame" that South Africa boasted 14 different education departments, ethnically divided and duplicated by personnel 14 times over. — DDR-DDC

ARGUS 23/5/88

AWB pilots set up their own 'flying wing'

(3044)

The Argus Correspondent

THE Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging has set up a "flying wing" called the "Goue Arende" at the weekend, spokesman Mr P W Bingle said today.

The "wing" is made up of light aircraft pilots who are members of the AWB. It was established at a function at Delmas, he said.

Mr Bingle said the "wing's" members were private individuals who wanted to get together at weekends. They would also be used by the AWB, he said.

He said the pilots did not plan to have uniforms, but the club was expected to design and use its own logo.

There are plans for a "fly-in" of AWB members with flying licences for an AWB anniversary ceremony on June 25. The venue for the celebrations have not been finalised but it was expected to be near Delmas, Mr Bingle said.

Apartheid is a crazy concept of prejudice and fear — Smuts in 1948

Star 23/5/88

B4eA

Prime Minister General Jan Smuts's election speeches, urging voters to support the United Party government and reject Dr D F Malan's Herenigde Nasionale Party (then commonly referred to as the National Party), provide some perspective on the National Party's 40 years in power.

On Saturday May 22 1948, General Smuts delivered his last election speech: "It (this election) is a fight for decency and justice as between men and men, and for fair social and living conditions for all, irrespective of race and colour — each within his own sphere and among his own. There is place and need for all, and justice will only be done to the great opportunities before us if we make full use of all our human resources . . ."

TOTALITARIAN STATE

Referring to the Nationalist opposition, he said: "They plan a totalitarian State in which only their political faith will have a say and all the rest will once more be helots.

"The Nationalists want 'apartheid', which they have failed to make intelligible, except that it means separate native areas away from the whites, and away from the centres of industrial employment, where the natives may live their own life and develop their own separate industries.

"Where are these areas to be obtained? It must mean, in any case, the cutting of South Africa into a white and black half, and making an end to its joint development on present lines.

"It is a crazy concept, born of prejudice and fear and may create and inflame native communism and even end in a totally black South Africa.

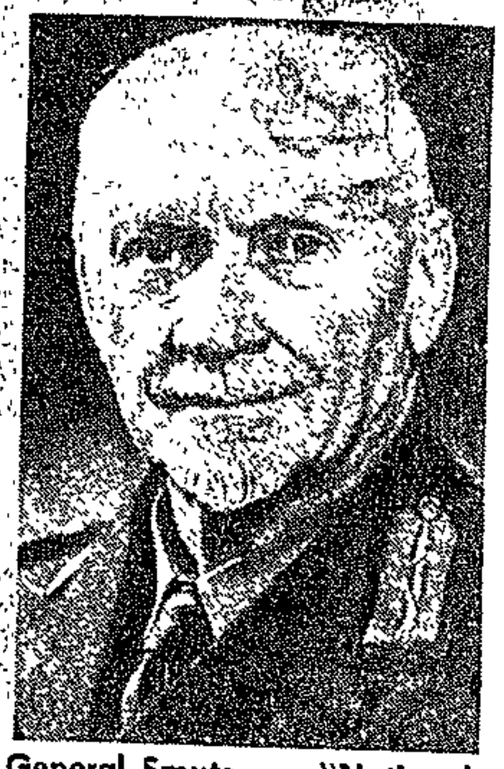
"Your vote, your choice, will, therefore, be a very far-reaching one. Give it with a full sense of your responsibility to your country and its future."

In another speech, he said: "The opposition, a party of extremes, can see only the extremes of apartheid or equality. They cannot see the middle way South Africa has followed for 100 years, the way it will continue to follow."

Voting for the United Party would mean "no mixture of blood, but men of all races will co-operate to build up South Africa. Apartheid is entirely impracticable.

"Do not trust the Nationalist Party. It is pledged to the hilt to certain mischievous policies and it has not changed. Their record is the blackest ever known."

General Smuts's defeat was received with dismay and he received telegrams of support from all over the world. One read: "Forgive them, for they know not what they do."



General Smuts . . . "Nationalists plan a totalitarian State . . . all others are helots."

We foresaw right-wing backlash, says Sunter

Star 23/5/88

Own Correspondent

South Africa has seen two major changes since Anglo American's Mr Clem Sunter began to expound the virtues of the "High Road": the right wing and the informal sector have both gained ground.

"The Conservative Party has strengthened its base a great deal with the three recent by-election results," Mr Sunter says.

"But we built that outcome into our model and said if there were low economic growth and co-option, we foresaw a right-wing backlash."

Mr Sunter and his team have argued that, assuming the economy does not deliver the goods, one would have the problem of co-option, which would not stop blacks' airing their grievances and the world becoming increasingly negative. In such an event the white electorate would move into the right-wing camp.

"From our view that is the down-side. We do not see how you can have a negotiated solution with partition as the basis.

"When you start drawing maps, how can it be done to satisfy all sides? You end up with an Arab-Israeli situation. It is a recipe for an eternal conflict.

"One point that has to be addressed, and the CP has brought that to the fore, is: how in any future society does one guarantee (the survival of) particularly, Afrikaans culture?"

Of the response of black audiences to his presentation, Mr Sunter says that, two years ago, many blacks did not believe him when he spoke about the "imbalance of military power".

"Now, after the state of emergency, there is a more realistic perception about any kind of military solution.

Representation

"Perhaps the perceptions or expectations in the black community have been lowered, but the basic question of black representation has not been resolved."

Mr Sunter warns that "you cannot choose the people you negotiate with".

"Having a few faces will add a multiracial glow to whatever council or government is put in place, but it will not carry the blessing of the majority."

The other major factor is the strength of the informal sector.

"Formal statistics no longer capture the economy's true strength.

"The black taxi industry now has a capital investment, if you take replacement value, of R2,5 billion, which is the equivalent of two gold mines.

"In employment terms, 100 000 taxi drivers, plus the extra jobs in subsidiary industries, including spare parts, garages, and motor manufacturers, probably add up to 300 000 people — the equivalent of seven Vaal Reefs gold mines.

"It shows the entrepreneurial talent lying latent in the informal sector, in the black and white community.

"Were this allowed to develop, the economy would probably grow even if official statistics do not show it at five or six percent annually.

"The true heroes of the High Road are not politicians, corporate business, academics or the Church, but the small businessmen.

"If one has the economy growing at 10 percent annually then there is no doubt that this can lead to the political changes required to have a stable society," Mr Sunter says.

Van der Merwe elected to top job in CP



Mr "Koos" van der Merwe.

At a general council meeting of the Conservative Party held in Pretoria on Saturday, the CP's chief spokesman on defence, Mr J H "Koos" van der Merwe, was unanimously elected chairman of the Information and Strategy Committee of the general council of the party.

Mr van der Merwe also becomes a member of the executive of the general council, the party's highest decision-making body, a CP statement issued last night said.

His election arises as a result of the vacancy caused by the death of Dr Connie Mulder.

Mr van der Merwe's election is the culmination of years of "effective and dynamic information effort in promoting the policies and image of the CP", the statement issued by the party's press liaison officer, Mrs Gaye Derby-Lewis, said.

Congratulating Mr van der Merwe on his election, Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the CP, paid tribute to his ability, effectiveness, speed and political savvy.

"He is indeed a man and a half when it comes to information and strategy, and his election is a fitting tribute to his talents," he said. — Sapa.

DRAGUS 23/5/88 (304A)

Business can help to end apartheid, conference hears

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — More than 80 business people met in Fourways, Johannesburg, yesterday to discuss how they could contribute to developing a new role for business in a post-apartheid South Africa.

Top businessmen, including Sentrachem's managing director, Mr Johan van der Walt, and Mr Murray Hofmeyer, chief executive of Johannesburg Consolidated Investments, addressed the Five Freedoms Forum conference and took part in workshops.

The main message that emerged was that business could help to end apartheid by taking positive action in the workplace.

Business consultant Mr Christo Nel said it was important to develop common values and visions towards which all South Africans could strive.

"It is essential to translate the oppresseds' needs into the establishment's needs. Business must focus on the inevitability that South Africa will become a non-racial democracy. It should not concentrate only on current disparities," he said.

Differences

A proposal was made that support be given to the "creative minority" who were seeking ways to prepare South African business for a post-aparthied future.

Delegates were told strikes should be seen in terms of real differences between management and labour management and labour and not as a result of intimidation.

The interdependent relationship between labour and capital was emphasised; one could not do without the other and so it was necessary for management not to perceive workers as a separate entity.

The need for the business sector's involvement in education was highlighted as formal schooling had failed to prepare for a productive society. It was proposed that the Forum act as a mediator between business and education.

Professor Eddie Webster of Wits University's sociology department proposed that blacks be involved in the implementation and design of any programme which would remove discrimination in the workplace.

NP not perfect, says P W Botha

SOUTH AFRICA'S political problems could take generations to solve, according to President P W Botha.

"We are struggling with constitutional questions that have not yet been solved, and which will demand the continuous attention of generations ahead," Mr Botha said in the foreword to a booklet marking 40 years in power by his National Party (NP).

This Thursday, the NP celebrates the 40th anniversary of the 1948 whites-only election, which brought it to power on a platform of racial segregation.

During the next 30 years, the party set about enforcing racial separation in virtually all areas of life.

Since Mr Botha came to power in 1978, he has revoked some discriminatory laws. But the black majority is still not represented in central government and the cornerstones of apartheid remain intact.

The NP is seeking a solution to South Africa's racial conflict which avoids black domination of whites.

"Although the National Party is not a perfect party and a perfect government, it is a party that is working for and seeking solutions to South Africa's problems with realistic idealism," Mr Botha said. — Sapa-Reuter

CP walkout to protest over 'power-sharing'

Political Staff

THE Conservative Party walked out of the four parliamentary debates on the provincial budgets today in protest at what it said was an attempt by the Government to extend power-sharing.

Mr Tom Langley (CP Soutpansberg) who led the walkout, said the CP would take its seats again tomorrow.

Members were taking part in a macabre dance of death around the cooling fires of democracy, he said, and in the process voters were being exposed to contemptible political manoeuvring.

Joint debates of all three Houses of Parliament are being held in each of the four provincial capitals to consider the provincial budgets.

They are the first debates in which members of all three Houses may debate one another.

In Cape Town Mr Langley read a lengthy statement against a constant barracking from other MPs, particularly members of the Labour Party.

Labour Party speakers after Mr Langley said the CP had complained about how little time it had been allocated in the joint debates, but had not given a thought to the millions of black South Africans who had not been given a single minute.

According to the statement, read by Mr Langley and other CP MPs in the four provincial debates, the debates were a further step in the process of integration in which "other peoples" became co-governors over whites.

"We Afrikaners and fellow-whites who align themselves with the Afrikaner struggle, we who earlier undertook a Great Trek and who fought to the death in a war because we refused to be governed by other nations, reaffirm our deep-felt resistance to be co-governed by other nations and national groups," the statement said.

MG&S 23/8/83

304A

Three-house accord will speed National Council Bill

By PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

AGREEMENT has been reached among the three houses of Parliament on the composition of the National Council Bill and it is likely to be passed this year.

The coloured and Indian houses of Parliament have brought about a number of important changes to the Bill as originally drafted, principally that President Botha will no longer be permanent chairman.

The chairmanship will revolve between the six categories of representative on the council, parliamentary sources have disclosed.

This is considered an important concession because opposition parties had felt strongly that, as executive head, the State President should not also head the body which is supposed to formulate a new constitution.

Reduced say

Another change in the Bill effected by the black houses is that the number of Cabinet Ministers who may serve on the council has been set at six — the Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, and five others.

Previously, President Botha had the power to appoint as many of his Cabinet as he chose.

These changes have reduced the say of whites on the council and consequently increased the ...y of blacks. However, it is significant that whites could still outnumber blacks by 20 to 19 — if the State President chose only whites to fill all the appointed positions.

Further developments in the Bill concern the representation of urban blacks outside the self-governing states. It has been decided that there will be nine such representatives — one for each economic development region — and that they will be chosen by an electoral college of the black local councillors in each of those areas.

Alternatives

There will also be one alternative representative for each of these areas, but effectively this still means nine black votes.

The final count is:

- Six Cabinet members;
- Two members from each house of Parliament;
- The four provincial Administrators;
- One representative from each of the six self-governing states (with an alternate for each);
- One black urban representative from each of the nine economic regions (with one alternate for each);
- Eight members appointed by President Botha for their technical expertise.



Dr F van Zyl Slabbert



Mr P W Botha



Mr Peter Gastrow

Extra-parliamentary groups may try for Government structures

By BRUCE CAMERON, Political Staff

A MAJOR debate is taking place throughout the country among extra-parliamentary groups on whether they should drop their total non-collaboration stance and try to take over Government structures.

With firm Government action of the past year stopping any "revolution" — peaceful or otherwise — in its tracks, extra-parliamentary groups are now looking for new strategies.

According to sources, the debate over getting involved is more advanced in some areas than others. Some extra-parliamentary organisations may even take part in the October muncipal elections as a first step.

There have been indications for some months that if some of the pro-United Democratic Front factions do decide to contest the elections, they would do so under new structures created specifically for the purpose.

However, members of extra-parliamentary organisations were loath to talk "on the record" about participation because the "debate is in the very early stages".

If President P W Botha decides to dissolve the House of Delagates in the current controversy or go for early elections generally, the debate will be accelerated.

Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, has strongly denied that he is leading a pro-participation lobby or is considering going back into Parliament.

But he confirmed today that he was aware that "there are discussions at participation on a wide front".

Mr Peter Gastrow MP, of the National Democratic Party, also confirmed he was aware of "serious strategic discussions between individuals and groups". But he emphasised: "The debate is only starting."

He said NDM stratgey was to achieve a broad front of parliamentary and extra-parliamentary groupings and people which, although they disagreed on detail, could work towards a post-apartheid society.

ARGUS 23/5/88 3044

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Slabbert: no plans to return to Parliament

30CA
DID 23/5/88

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The former Leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, is not planning to return to Parliament — nor does he intend rallying political movements on the left to seek parliamentary office.

The former PFP leader dismissed weekend reports that he had plans for staging a comeback to Parliament.

Dr Slabbert, who is co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, said he had had informal talks with a number of opposition groups about a variety of possible political strategies open to them, including participation.

"While I have spoken to these people about strategy, I am certainly not rallying the left to participate in Parliament — nor do I intend to go back."

Dr Slabbert said he had been talking to members of various parliamentary and extra-parliamentary groups about strategy since he left Parliament in 1986.

These had included the UDF and its affiliates like Cosatu and the Natal Indian Congress which have a history of non-participation in government-sponsored political structures.

"So, yes, there have been talks about various strategies — including participation — but to suggest that I can rally the left like some quixotic white charger is crazy," Dr Slabbert said.

A co-founder of Idasa, Dr Alex Boraine, said in Grahamstown yesterday Dr Slabbert had no "hidden agenda" for returning to Parliament.

He said Dr Slabbert had been approached by large numbers of people who felt committed to the parliamentary system.

"There are genuine democrats committed to a new South Africa. Participation in the municipal elections in October makes a lot of sense. The principle of an apartheid-free society is accepted, but it is how this can be reached that I would like to see," Dr Boraine added.

Many of the tried, tested, traditional strategies had failed, he said.

● It was announced last night that Dr Slabbert is to settle in Johannesburg from July 1 to take up a part-time appointment as visiting professor at the Witwatersrand Business School.

Dr Slabbert hopes to take up two semesters at All Souls College, Oxford, which has offered him a visiting fellowship for the 1989-1990 academic year.

MP shot

JOHANNESBURG —The Labour Party member of the House of Representatives for Nigel, Mr Pieter Sam Jacobs, was shot dead in his car last night.

Police said Mr Jacobs was returning from a meeting at the Methodist Church in Alberton when an unknown person broke the window of the car on the driver's side and shot him with a 9 mm pistol. He died im-

Knowledge valuable in war says colonel

D10 23/5/88

Daily Dispatch Reporter

GRAHAMSTOWN — Knowledge was a valuable weapon in the counter-revolutionary war, the officer commanding Group Seven, Colonel D. Shone, said at the weekend.

He was speaking at the regional conference of the Eastern Province and Border regions of the South African Legion, which was held in Port Alfred on Saturday.

(304A)

"To win the counter-revolutionary war we need a stable situation and a strong security force. Know yourself and your enemy. It enables you to understand actions and activities which could have far-reaching implications."

South Africa was a developing country with six independent states and covered only four per cent of the area of Africa.

Yet the country contributed 25 per cent of the gross national product of the continent, including 40 per cent of industrial goods and 40 per cent of minerals.

South Africa used 66 per cent of steel on the continent, had 46 per cent of the motor vehicles and maintained 66 per cent more telephones than any other country in Africa.

"We also have an adult literacy rate of 74 per cent," he added.

A number of changes were taking place. The traditionally rural population was moving into urban areas.

"Each wishes to improve his lifestyle, but expectations often exceed the reality of the situation," he warned.

The flood to the cities caused problems such as inadequate housing, hospitals and infrastructure.

"A man who is unemployed is unhappy and disillusioned and easy to influence." The ANC and front organisations used slogans such as 'the people shall govern', but failed to define who 'the people' were.

"Their promises are empty because they don't deliver the goods."

There was no imminent threat from terrorists in the East Cape, but there had been attacks on farmers.

"The more people are involved in security the less attractive an area is to revolutionaries, so start preparing now," he urged.

Political mobilisation needed — lecturer

Apartheid to blame for 'slack' economy

Star 23/5/88

By Clare Harper

South Africa needed a peaceful, democratic alternative and a fundamental change in its economic system, Wits University economics lecturer Mr Fuad Cassim told about 80 businessmen at the Five Freedoms Forum conference yesterday.

"We are facing a political economy of disintegration, of which the present attack on the trade union movement, the media, the black community and civil liberties is a part," he said.

The first problem facing the economy was traceable to the faltering system of accumulation in the past, which squandered resources, he said.

The key to economic recovery was lifting the burden of waste caused by apartheid.

"We cannot end this costly homage by handing over a blueprint to Pretoria's policy-makers. It requires sustained political mobilisation," he said.

The problem in South Africa was not simply one of economic growth.

Prior to the start of disintegration in the 1970s, South Africa's growth was based on rich inherited resources. Previous economic wisdom was based on the premise that the key to growth was investment.

"The South African economy is slack. There are huge stocks of available resources which could be used, but we forego billions on the structural edifices of apartheid".

The boom in the 1960s produced a very costly superstructure, which became too costly to maintain.

"So, the success of the apartheid boom in the '60s was also its undoing".

"Bothanomics", with its deregulation and privatisation, had come about as a result of the State being unable to contend with the economic demands it was facing.

It was, he said, "an attempt to separate politics and economics" and to deal with the political crisis.

Although Mr Cassim said that raising real output would reduce some unemployment and poverty, the debate needed to shift to methods of changing the structure of economics so that it best served the majority.

"The challenge for us is to try to define the type of mixed economy we want," he added.

CP walk out to protest NP bias

Daily Dispatch Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Conservative Party walked out of all four provincial standing committees yesterday in protest at what was described as a government attempt to expand its policy of power-sharing.

Addressing the Cape Provincial Committee, the CP MP for Soutpansberg, Mr Tom Langley, said the government, through its allocation of voting time, was trying to make the CP irrelevant as the official opposition.

This, he said, was supported by the Labour Party's contention that it was the official opposition — something it wished to establish as a convention.

Mr Langley said that the calculated discrimination against the CP was clearly illustrated by the fact that in the Free State, where the CP had gained 600 000 votes in the last election, it had been given 30 minutes of the 480 allocated for the debate.

Against this, he said, the House of Representatives, for whom 6 000 votes had been cast, had been given 100 minutes.

Mr Langley said the Indians, who could have no interest in the Vote of the Free State, had been given 40 minutes.

In the Transvaal, he said, where the CP had received 383 000 votes, it had been allocated 40 minutes, while the coloureds with 35 000 had been allocated 140 minutes.

"Regardless of the power-sharing principle, what is at issue here is the unfairness of a calculated attempt to alienate the CP voters in favour of the coloureds and Indians.

"Such a system calls for maximum rejection and resistance."

Mr Langley also criticised the cost of transporting MPs to three other venues.

He said that transport costs would add at least R100 000 to the cost of the normal parliamentary sitting.

The leader of the CP, Dr Andries Treurnicht, led the Transvaal version of the "walkout".

See also page 15

Whites 'set to fight for own liberation'

Star 24/5/84 **Political Staff** (304A)

Whites might very soon be forced to fight their own liberation struggle, the Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said last night in Pretoria.

Addressing a protest meeting against the Government's joint debates on provincial government now taking place, Dr Treurnicht said the liberation struggle would be a struggle to survive as a white First World community.

Defining the CP's relationship with other right-wing groups, Dr Treurnicht said that he was often asked to repudiate groups like the AWB.

He refused to do so because there were many things the CP had in common with them — they shared the same will to continue as a free people and to be governed by their own people and demanded authority over their own land.

They also stood united in resistance to President Botha's policy of white "hensop" (surrender) and power-sharing and multi-racial government and "so-called dismantling of apartheid".

About 350 people attended the meeting in the H F Verwoerd Hoërskool hall.

'CP will take power on partition policy'

304(A) 13 **By Esmaré van der Merwe** Star 24/5/84

BLOEMFONTEIN — The Conservative Party would take over political power with its policy of partition because the National Party was causing its own downfall through its policy of powersharing, the CP deputy leader, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, said last night.

Joint government and the protection of minorities were contradictory political terms which could not exist alongside each other.

White South Africans did not want a mixed government, he said to cheering and applause from a 600-strong crowd in the Free State capital.

At the meeting, attended by several CP MPs, he said Nationalists could only integrate three more institutions — residential areas, schools and the Government itself by allowing blacks "and the ANC" into policy-making structures.

However, the CP was ready to take over power through its policy of partition and self-rule. The CP was "hungry" to enforce these policies and had a strategy "which we will enforce from the first day we come to power".

Debate airs catalogue of grievances

304A

Star 24/5/78

Political Staff

The new joint parliamentary debates on the provincial budgets which started yesterday might have been a "farce" as opposition parties called them.

But they gave notice of a more relevant and certainly more acrimonious era of debate in Parliament.

Certainly they had many faults. The 10 minutes of speaking time for each MP were proved inadequate as speaker after speaker was cut off in mid-stride.

And, in many ways, it did seem a waste of time and money to be holding them in the provincial capitals at all.

As Dr Marius Barnard, the Progressive Federal Party Parktown MP, pointed out in the Transvaal sitting in Pretoria, the Government was holding the sittings in the provincial capitals to bring provincial government closer to the people.

"But I see there were only five people in the public gallery this morning and now there are 10."

However, apart from being an experiment in accountable provincial government, the two-day sittings were the first joint debates of all three Houses of Parliament under new debate rules passed recently.

And in that capacity they introduced a new set of dynamics in the parliamentary debate. They ushered in a debate which approached much closer to the real issues facing the country — a debate between blacks andwhites about the inequalities caused by apartheid.



Dr Marius Barnard . . . "only 10 people in public gallery."

And, in doing so, they also gave warning that the Conservative Party and the Labour Party are going to clash head-on in joint debates.

Mrs Helen Suzman, the veteran Progressive Federal Party MP for Houghton, quickly picked up the mood of the debate.

"This debate might be a farce," she said, "but is has also been a salutary experience for the Government to hear directly from the Houses of Delegates and Representatives about their grievances. And it is a great pity that blacks are not here to do the same thing. It would be very good experience for many Members, who have little experience of their problems, to hear them speak."

Dr Andries Treurnicht also touched on the crux of the matter when he said that the allocation of far more debating time to the LP than to the CP was an attempt "to make the CP irrelevant as the official Opposition" and to replace it with the LP.

This was essentially the reason for the CP walk-out. And one National Party MP remarked, with some truth: "If this was a farce, the CP would not have walked out."

Whether or not it was the intention of the Government, as Dr Treurnicht said, to replace the CP as the official Oppositon, the effect was certainly to shift the emphasis away from the usual CP-NP quarrel about whether or not the Government was selling out the whites.

It is likely that this would have been true even if the CP had stayed to use its "full" 20 minutes or so of allocated debating time yesterday.

Because even during the brief appearance of the CP, it was obvious that the chemistry of bringing the Labour Party and the CP into one debate was explosive.

Before leaving, Dr Andries Treurnicht took extreme umbrage to the suggestion by the LP's Mr Sam Louw, MP for Rustervaal, that it was time the Afrikaner recognised the need for one national culture and not separate "volk" cultures for different people.

Mr Louw said it was also time for Afrikaners to understand that the "time of meritocracy has come to replace the time of pigmentocracy".

Dr Treurnicht interpreted these remarks as a "few cannon shots fired across the bows of the Afrikaner ship".

Mr Louw was saying to the Afrikaner "Sink yourself", Dr Treurnicht complained.

"Forget it," he retorted. "These remarks don't create goodwill and they were better not spoken."

The debate also illustrated that the often pointless and sterile exchanges that take place in the Houses of Delegates and Representatives will be brushed aside as more serious issues are faced.

The opposition parties in these Houses virtually disappeared, at least in the Transvaal, as they merged with the main parties in a united attack on the Government.

What the MPs from the Indian and coloured houses said might not have been new but the catalogue of grievances they expressed about poor conditions caused by discrimination acquired a new urgency when it was addressed to the people who they felt were responsible for causing it, and not to the converted in their own houses.

Eglin: PFP has held back long enough

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The PFP was no longer prepared to "sit back and wait" while others who talked about opposition unity set up duplicate opposition structures and canvassed for support and money in traditional PFP areas, Mr Colin Eglin said last night at a meeting in the Walmer Town Hall. D10 2465188

In what was a blunt message to opposition groups left of the government, Mr Eglin said the PFP "remained open" to those who were serious about opposition unity and said he was keen to work with those whose main aim was to fight the policies of the Nationalists.

"But quite frankly the PFP has held off for long enough. The municipal elections are upon us, and in any event we must start preparing for a general election which is possible next year.

"Whatever the others may be doing, we in the PFP intend getting stuck in to ensure that we are in a position to defend the values on which we were founded and in which we believe." (304A)

Mr Eglin said it was "desperately important" that the enlightened non-racial opposition mobilised itself into a united and effective political force.

The PFP was determined to play its part in ensuring that "verligte" opponents of the government "get their act together".

Sketching the PFP's past commitment to unity, he said that last year in the general election the PFP had stood back for the three Independents, Dr Denis Worrall, Dr Esther Lategan and Mr Wynand Malan.

It had also concluded an election pact with the then NRP.

This year the PFP had entered into a working relationship with the Labour Party, and had also welcomed two members of the House of Delegates, Mr Pat Poovalingham and Mr Mahmoud Rajab to its ranks.

In addition there had been informal talks with Mr Wynand Malan and extensive discussions with Dr Denis Worrall.

Mr Malan had explained why his strategy was different to that of the PFP while Dr Worrall has asked for a delay in any public discussion "while he gets a separate party off the ground".

The PFP, however, was not prepared to "sit back and wait" any longer.

Mr Eglin said the way ahead for South Africa would not be easy, as 40 years of NP rule had "left deep scars on our nation".

But, he said, two things had to be borne in mind:

"Values, call them what you will, civilised, liberal, decent in which the PFP believes — the same values in which millions of decent South Africans of all races believe — the concepts of equal rights and of equal dignity; of individual freedom and of security under the rule of law will live on.

"They will live on when the frightened bigotted little men who have attempted to regulate the lives of our people through the policy of apartheid are gone and forgotten."

Second walk-out by CP in two days

By DALE LAUTENBACH
Parliamentary Staff

THE Conservative Party staged a second walk-out of the joint extended public committee on provincial affairs today on the grounds that the proceedings were invalid in terms of the new rules and orders of Parliament.

This followed the official Opposition's walk-out yesterday in protest against the integrated nature of the joint committee, which includes MPs from all three houses. The CP argued that the proceedings were prejudiced against it in terms of the speaking time allocated.

The CP walked out today because it could not sanction something it believed to be invalid, said MP Mr Moolman Mentz.

TECHNICAL

It was a more technical objection than the one made yesterday. The CP questioned the way in which the rules and orders were applied to make provision for the debate.

Mr Mentz argued that in terms of the rules the debate on the provincial budget should have taken place before March 25.

The chairman of proceedings, Dr Helgard van Rensburg, said the Speaker, Mr Louis le Grange, had ruled on this point and had specifically allowed that the debate be heard on May 24 and 25. The rules empowered him to do this.

The CP objected again, saying the Speaker had not announced this ruling, so the extended joint committee could not continue in terms of a ruling not announced.

INVALID

Mr S C Jacobs said, "with the greatest respect," the rules could not have meant the Speaker to make rulings which he did not announce because these rulings could not then be of any use.

Dr van Rensburg said he could not rule on the Speaker's ruling that the committee proceed and that the CP should put its appeal to the committee on rules and orders.

Mr Mentz said the CP could not remain to take part in a debate because this would have the effect of sanctioning something it believed was invalid.

CP walkout hits at govt policy

Political Staff

THE Conservative Party walked out of all four provincial standing committees yesterday, in protest against what was described as a government attempt to expand its policy of power-sharing.

Addressing the Cape provincial committee, Mr Tom Langley (Soutpansberg) said the government, through its allocation of voting time, was trying to make the CP irrelevant as the official opposition.

This, he said, was supported by the Labour Party's contention that it was the official opposition.

Mr Langley said that the calculated discrimination against the CP was clearly illustrated by the fact that in the Free State, where the CP had gained 600 000 votes in the last election, the party had been given only 30 minutes of the 480 allocated for the debate.

Against this, he said, the House of Representatives, for whom 6 000 votes had been cast, had been given 100 minutes.

"Regardless of the power-sharing principle, what is at issue here is the unfairness of a calculated attempt to alienate the democratic rights of CP voters in favour of the coloureds and Indians.

"Such a system calls for maximum rejection and resistance."

Mr Langley also criticized the cost of transporting MPs to three other venues, saying that it would add at least R100 000 to the parlimentary budget.

And in Bloemfontein, the deputy-leader of the CP, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, expressed his party's "serious opposition" to meeting with the members of other races.

Koornhof gets fenced in at the embassy

PID 2415788

304A



SIMON BARBER writes from Washington

While all about him his colleagues have been raising their collective middle finger at the world, Dr Piet Koornhof, Pretoria's man in Washington, has been struggling to keep the embers of glasnost and civility alive.

In welcoming visitors to his embassy he has exuded an air of being genuinely grateful they came and has battled considerable odds to convince them his government shares that gratitude. Not a few have left impressed, if only for half an hour or so, that momentous and historic change is only months away.

Sadly, Dr Koornhof is a man upon whom reality has all too often grimly intruded. It did again last week. The embassy and adjacent residence are to get a fence.

Throughout his year on post, the ambassador has fought a quiet but determined rear-guard action against the idea. South Africa itself might be under seige, but he was damned if he was going to let his little corner of SA be invested too.

By all accounts, the plan dates back to 1984, the year SA grabbed the American political consciousness and transAfrica's Randall Robinson inaugurated the daily charade of protests and pre-arranged arrests outside the embassy by staging a sit-in in then ambassador Brand Fourie's office.

The demonstrations were entirely peaceful, nauseating only for their display of pampered self-righteousness. They did, however, sour embassy morale, and, despite a federal regulation barring demonstrators from within 500 feet of the mission there was always the chance that matters could get out of hand.

An architects firm, the Iranian-owned Georgetown Design Co., was engaged to design a set of gates and railings in keeping with the embassy — an undistinguished pile with a few Cape Dutch flourishes — and the result was informally approved by the District of Columbia arts commission, the city's official aesthetic watchdogs.

Less accommodating was the DC public space committee. While it is unclear who exactly owns the greensward upon which the fence is to be erected (SA, the federal government or the city) the barrier will intrude on what is technically known as public space. Zoning permission was therefore required.

The city fathers, sensing a splendid opportunity to "send a message to SA", and thereby cleanse their souls, sat on the application for two years until prodded by the State Department. The latter is responsible for embassy security and because it was planning new quarters for its people in Pretoria, was especially anxious not to encourage any tit-for-tat from SA where the diffuseness of American governance is not well understood.

Prodded, the public space committee replied that "for reasons of policy", the District of Columbia would "not respond to any request from the SA government". Cute, and, as it happens, quite illegal. As boring as it might seem to the professional bureaucratic classes in state and local government, they are not entitled to have foreign policies.

At which point, Dr Koornhof arrived and, for the reasons already outlined, decided to allow the city's pharisees their little whim. Additionally, he did not want to spark an ugly political *fracas* for the sake of a structure that would not (and here he had a point) stop any really determined act of terrorism.



KOORNHOF... struggling to keep the embers alive.

For its part, the State Department was loath to proceed against the city, however monstrous the latter's usurpation of authority, without the ambassador's go ahead. It believed it could win a court suit summarily, but, as one official put it, "before we start World War 111 we need a plaintiff. We can't do it sua sponte".

The ambassador's reluctance did not sit well with his staff, many of whom had endured through the demonstration days of 1984-5. More recent developments served only to heighten their concern.

The supreme court last March ruled the 500 foot rule unconstitutional. This has made it much more difficult for protesters to get arrested, which has generally been the point of their showing up outside the embassy in the first place. It creates a nice little piece of street theatre in which the local police force is obliged to go into action for the benefit of local news cameras.

To get arrested now will require something altogether more offensive than crossing an imaginary line and the diplomats do not thrill at the prospect of over-zealous would-be arrestees smashing windows and then getting manhandled on the embassy's grounds.

Nor are they keen for a repeat in Washington of last month's episode in backwater Burlington, Vermont, where a consular official lost his composure. The official, Duke Kent Brown, found his car mobbed by an unusually rowdy crowd of neo-flower children. In attempting to make his escape, he gunned the accelerator a little hard and rammed a policeman.

This, of course, did not greatly disturb the neo-flower children, but the local police chief took an altogether dimmer view, as did the prosecuting attorney, unhappily himself a former policeman. Charges are being pressed.

The Vermont debacle, like a Ghanaian student's attempt to bean the former SA ambassador to Canada, Glenn Babb, with a mace a couple of years back, has thus far been the exception. North America is not yet France: shots have yet to be fired. But the climate is changing.

The equating of the SA government with nazism, long a part of the sanctioneers' discourse, has been officially blessed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu. He and others in the limited pantheon of media stars America has annointed as black South Africa's legitimate spokesmen have become equivocal on the question of violence.

Let but one or two publicity-seekers internalise the message, and ugliness becomes more than plausible, especially if there is some triggering event in SA itself. Say, as one diplomat did, that Nelson Mandela dies in prison.

Last week, sensing that his masters were losing sympathy with his hesitation, however admirably intended, Dr Koornhof finally told the State Department to proceed against the city. There will, no doubt, be a row as the very people who helped make the fence necessary try to block its construction on the grounds they do not wish to "cooperate with nazism".

A number of moralists can be expected to turn into aestheticists as well: changing the name of Embassy Row from Massachussetts to Mandela Avenue is one thing, but its graceful aspect must not be permitted to become another victim of apartheid.

At a guess, the builders will probably have to be sent from SA at considerable expense. Even though Washington has yet to pass a selective purchasing law to discriminate against firms that do business with SA, it would take a bold local contractor to undertake the job. The mills of the pharisees grind exceeding fine.

Is a fence really that big a deal in relation to all SA's other problems? By itself, perhaps not, however grotesquely the city's petty bureaucracy may exploit it to parade the beautiful innocence of their souls. What is important is the symbolism and what it implies for the ideals of South Africans like Dr Koornhof.

Dr Koornhof wanted to display the natural hospitality of the Afrikaner to the world. He wanted to say we have nothing to hide. He wanted to say come in, let's talk about my country like reasonable men and you will see how little truly divides us.

Reality has caught up. The embassy must now begin to mirror more closely the state it represents.

Van Zyl Slabbert appeals to world not to isolate SA

CAPE TOWN — The former leader of the opposition, Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, appealed to the world yesterday not to isolate South Africa because of apartheid but to get involved in practical programmes to help the black majority.

In an interview, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said the sanctions debate in the United States was becoming hysterical as the campaign for November's presidential election developed.

"There's a very simplistic assumption that economic consequences can be translated into desirable political objectives. There's no evidence to support that," he said.

Dr Slabbert heads an anti-apartheid think-tank, the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa.

Privileged whites would be the last to suffer the impact of legislation such as the almost total ban on trade with South Africa now being considered by the US Congress, he said.

Sanctions are intended to force Pretoria to scrap apartheid race discrimination, but South Africa says they will harm the black majority most.

Asked what the West should do, Dr Slabbert replied: "Get involved. Help blacks broaden their skills-base.

"Just teaching one kid to become literate is an alternative that is preferable (to sanctions)," he said.

He added that the West should draw a distinction between isolating the white-led government and isolating the country.

Dr Slabbert, who led a delegation of white South Africans in talks with leaders of the banned African National Congress (ANC) in Senegal last year, said he detected a pragmatic shift in the ANC policy.

The ANC would now be prepared for negotiations with the government if it showed firm evidence of goodwill. It also was more amenable to a multi-party democracy and was no longer intent on nationalising all industry if it gained power. — Sapa-RNS

40 years of fear

Sowetan 24/5/88

30KA

A look at four decades of Nationalist rule

By the Editor of the *Sowetan* AGGREY KLAASTE



IT could have been somewhere in 1950 when, as a 10-year-old boy, I saw a poster nailed to a tree which read: "Malan is dead. We shall live in peace."

The reason this stuck in my impressionable mind was the message was struck on a tree in a somewhat conservative portion of the little mining town of Rand Leases, Florida, on the West Rand.

We lived on the mine where my father worked as a clerk — as frustrating an experience as the steady build-up of disenchantment in me and others against National Party rule which started in 1948.

As early as 1950 I had constant chilling reminders of a shadow that seemed to be hanging over our lives. The shadow grew deeper after every white election from 1948. With maddening regularity the National Party was voted back into power.

If I was rather uneasy, at times frightened, of what those shady men in the National Party were accused of doing to us, the seeds of hatred were nurtured in those days. After every white election the unease, the fear, the suspicion and finally the hatred deepened. I was to live, have lived the nightmare all my life.

I watched year after relentless year as the National Party seated itself more firmly in the saddle.

The Afrikaner writer Marq de Villiers in his book "*White Tribe Dreaming*" throws light on his tribe's restlessness. He claims the Afrikaner is restless under rule — any rule, including his own.

A review of the book in the *Guardian* explains how this anarchism carried De Villiers's ancestors away from rule under the Dutch East India Company and later the British. They are still running.

With the Old Testament xenophobia described by De Villiers, the Afrikaners made many mistakes. The critical mistake was, while they built a strong Volk from the poor whites of the 1940s-50s, they forgot the rest of us.

Painfully, piously and pressingly they built their tribe as an end in itself. They forgot blacks constituted the majority in South Africa.

Prime Ministers like Dr Malan, Mr J G Strijdom after him, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd and later the indomitable Mr John Vorster, were perhaps blithely unaware of the suffering they were causing us. They also led the country into being the problematic pariah of the world it is today.

It would take a book to tell the story of my life — 48 years — under National party rule. I have squirmed, protested, pleaded, got drunk as an excuse for my oppressed state, done all number of things to get the pressure off my neck. I am slightly tired after two score years and more.

As soon as I reached 16 the first imprints of the apartheid system were burned into my person.

I had to apply for a passbook at No 80 Albert Street, Johannesburg. Getting a passbook was the final humiliation of the black male. The depersonalisation that was created by most of the trappings of apartheid were perfected at the pass office.

The first mistake I made at Albert Street was to tell the truth. I said I was born in Kimberley instead of playing it smart like everybody else by swearing I was born and bred in Johannesburg.

To say you were born outside of Johannesburg was to damn yourself to endless ways of getting the right endorsement in the book. For many years I have battled, with frequent arrests for having the "wrong" stamp in the book, to qualify to be a legal resident of Johannesburg.

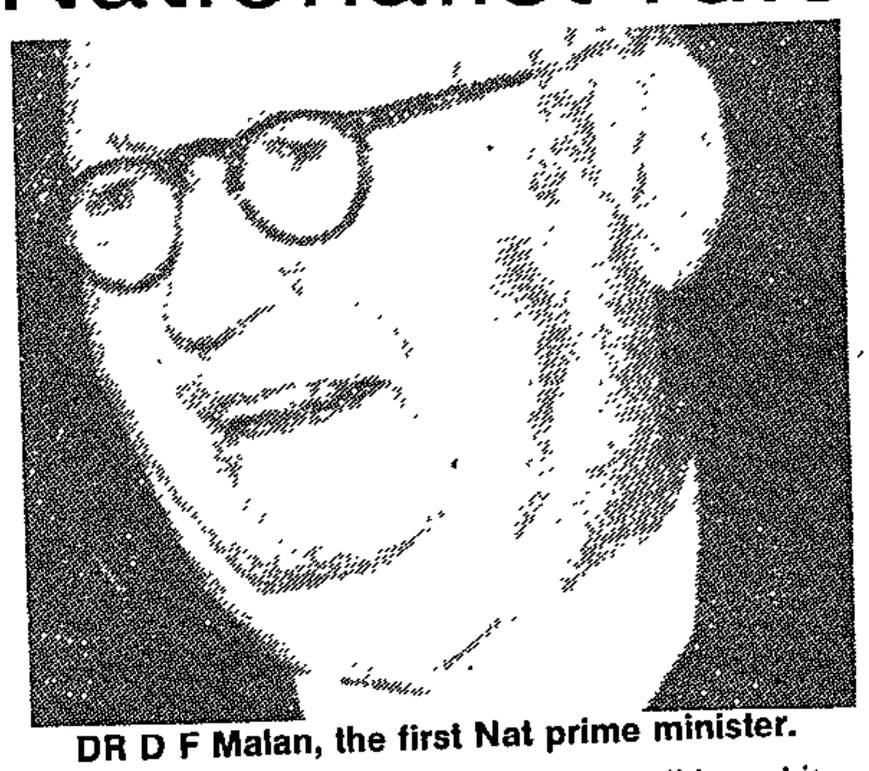
Defy

On March 18 1960 Robert Sobukwe, leader of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), held a press conference in Johannesburg and announced that Monday March 21 1960 was D-Day in the campaign to defy the pass laws.

On that Monday, Sobukwe said, all black males above the age of 16 would leave their passbooks at home, assemble at predetermined places, march to the nearest police station and surrender themselves.

Sharpeville happened on March 21. On exactly the same day 30 years later police shot people in a funeral procession in Langa, Uitenhage.

The paranoia over apartheid has concentrated the united consciousness solely on its destruction.



DR D F Malan, the first Nat prime minister.

There was the time when the legislation called the Immorality Act read like Holy Writ. It also provided the country with some of the most despicable assaults on the private lives of people — black and white.

If the pass laws debased black males, and later black women, the Immorality Act degraded everybody.

In 1955, on a cold and blustery morning, my family and scores of others were woken up by heavy knocks on the doors of our Sophiatown home.

For months before that there had been demonstrations in Sophiatown about our impending forced removal to a place in Soweto called Meadowlands. We had posters all over the shops which in the sassy tsotsi argot of the times said: "Ons dak nie. Ons phola hier." Which meant we would resist the removals.

Sophiatown was surrounded by conservative low-income white suburbs including Westdene and Newlands. We had occasional fights with "die boere" boys, but nothing serious.

Because this swaggering expanse of excitement, crime, music and freedom, was considered a "black spot" in a white area, Sophiatown had to go.

When the army trucks and Government lorries rolled in to move us, the spirit of Sophiatown was broken. We moved to Meadowlands.

And with us went another shattered hope for a better life.

The changes brought in by Mr P W Botha — the scrapping of the pass laws, the removal of influx control, the scrapping of the sex laws — would have confounded and delighted the authors of that little poster I saw in Florida.

Mr Malan took a long time before he died. In fact he had not died when the poster was written. This was a cry from the heart, a symbolic wish, a yearing for a change of heart in the white man.

After the violence in the Vaal Triangle of October 19 1984, the country exploded in unbelievable violence. The end result of that violence was significantly a self-destructive method used by blacks against other blacks — the necklace.

A crude way of killing people. But in more ways than one this was the consummation of 40 years of sheer hell under National Party rule. We should be full of hate, or at least I should be.

I am not. My intention is to try and build a strong black nation for the future of all South Africans.

Unlike the Afrikaners, the black nation-building, with the benefit of history and hindsight, will be towards the building of a united country.

As we are in the majority, as we believe we are the natives of the country, it is also our responsibility to save the land from ruin.

SOWETAN, Tue

Major political debate brewing

A MAJOR debate is taking place among extra-Parliamentary groups whether they should drop their total non-collaboration stance and attempt to take over Government structures.

304A) Sowetan 24/5/88
PARLIAMENTARY STAFF

With firm Government action of the past year stopping any "revolution" — peaceful or otherwise — in its tracks extra - parliamentary groups are now looking for new strategies.

According to sources the debate over getting involved is more advanced in some areas than others.

Some extra-parliamentary organisations may even take part in the October municipal elections as a first step.

There have been indications for some months that if some of the pro-United Democratic Front factions do decide to enter the elections they would do so under new structures created particularly for the purpose.

However members of extra-parliamentary organisations were loath to talk "on-the-record" about participation because the "debate is in the very early stages."

If President P W Botha decides to dissolve the House of Delegates in the current controversy or go for early elections generally the debate will be accelerated.

Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, has strongly denied that he is leading a pro-participation lobby or is considering going back into Parliament.

But he confirmed that he was aware that "there are discussions at participation on a wide front."

Mr Peter Gastrow MP, of the National Democratic Party, also confirmed he was aware of "serious strategic discussions between individuals and groups."

But he emphasised "the debate is only starting."

Van Zyl denies plans

3049

POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Sowetan 24/5/88

Dr F VAN ZYL Slabbert has dismissed a suggestion that he has plans for a comeback to Parliament.

He described a weekend report to this effect as "far-fetched."

He said that to suggest that he was leading anything or rallying the left with a view to returning to Parliament was "totally over the top."

He said he had, in the course of events, been involved in discussions with members of various groups and organisations. These discussions were wide-ranging and involved "concerned opposition" elements to the left of the Government and that strategies could be adopted.

To what extent consensus could be achieved between differing organisations and groups on strategy, was also discussed.

Dr Slabbert said that obviously one of these strategies involved the issue of participation in constitutional structures such as the tricameral Parliament. There was also the issue of the local government elections later in the year.

Dr Slabbert, who is a co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), also announced that he would settle in Johannesburg from July 1.

MP's killer hunted

Sowelen 24/5/88 304A

Vlok promises action

NO stone would be left unturned to discover and arrest the "cowardly" assassin of the Labour Party member of Parliament for Alra Park, Mr Peter Jacobs, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday.

Mr Vlok said in a statement that an experienced team of detectives under the command of Captain Dirk Killian of the East Rand Murder and Robbery Squad had been

SA PRESS ASSOCIATION

following up every possible lead throughout the night.

"This senseless deed is untenable and even though the motive of the assassin is not known at this stage, no community can tolerate or afford it," Mr Vlok said.

"The police have no reason at this stage to believe that the murder was committed due to political considerations but are investigating the possibility that clashing personal interests could have led to the crime.

Political

Mr Jacobs, who was killed in his car on his way home from church, was a valued and respected colleague.

He expressed sympathy to Mr Jacobs' family and friends.



MR VLOK . . . following leads.

40 years of Nat rule

Party knows it is to be blamed for most, if not all, of South Africa's ills

3044 25/5/88 argus

Special report by The Argus Political Staff

THE National Party this week marks 40 years in power in the knowledge that it is to be blamed for most, if not all, of the country's ills.

A senior party source admitted: "We should have started reform 20 years ago."

In the three decades after coming to power, the NP embarked on an experiment in social engineering unprecedented in the Western world — and for the last 10 years the party has been working to dismantle the very policies which brought it into office.

These policies have cost the country dearly because they were enshrined in a granite ideology which was impervious to ethical or moral considerations and to the effects, the hardship and sufferings it produced, to quote the Progressive Federal Party's Mr Nic Olivier.

President Botha, in his message, describes the NP as a dynamic party and takes credit for everything except good rainfall figures.

He says "we're not perfect" and that the apartheid policies were introduced with the best perspectives and intentions available to NP leaders of the time.

Hindsight shows that this was just not good enough and even his colleagues are admitting this is defensive doubletalk. The policies didn't work then, the NP is now trying to sort out the mess it created and it doesn't have the answers for the future.

NP critics will admit that the mistakes are not all on the part of Afrikanerdom.

According to Mr Olivier, in his study *Apartheid and Reform*, the NP sensed "that in its racial policies it reflected also the basic feelings of a considerable section of English-speaking whites which accounted for its increased support in subsequent elections and the gradual demise of the main opposition party, the United Party".

Critics will also concede that the country has become a giant of Africa in terms of the economy and industry under NP rule, but this is something which may have occurred under another government anyway.

The NP also set about creating a common loyalty to a sovereign, independent country. And here it has run into trouble because the flag, the anthem and other symbols of nationhood are seen by the have-nots as the exclusive property of the haves.

NP sources also point out that they did not invent racial differences, that they inherited colonial repression of blacks. Their mistake was that they tried to deal with the issue by creating an ideology which was in essence one of naked racism.



Mr Nic Olivier

This involved separating the races as much as possible and keeping control in white hands. But it didn't work.

President Botha set the scene in 1978 with his "adapt or die" speech and launched the reform policy which later led to a split in Afrikanerdom and all its institutions.

Mr Olivier says: "There is no doubt in my mind that the Botha Government has totally rejected the Verwoerdian dream of apartheid and that it has introduced changes of the most far-reaching nature in the past eight years.

"It is a pity, and a tragedy, that it has not received the credit that I believe is due to it, especially also if one bears in mind the price it had to pay in the destruction of Afrikaner unity and in the creation of a virulent anti-Botha and anti-National Party opposition among Afrikaners, all former NP supporters."

He and others contend that the major problem now facing the Government is a means of accommodating blacks in the legislative and executive process. It is interesting to note that President Botha, in his message on this page, makes absolutely no mention of this.

So why did the Government not move earlier and faster? A senior NP source said: "It was a question of fear that the electorate would not follow us. It is the NP's abiding weakness that it always underestimates its own pulling power."

His attitude is pragmatic and vaguely depressed about lost opportunities.

"We cannot appease the world. The only way out is to build this country economically and militarily to such an extent that it can take its place in sub-Saharan politics."

He and other NP sources believe the way back into the world is via Africa. If this country becomes acceptable to Africa, the argument runs, then how can it be a pariah to the rest of the world?

The belief is that this country would be able to offer such attractive lollipops in the way of trade and other benefits that even the most vociferous critics would flock to do business with the ogre, as many of them are already doing privately.

Some of the factors which make Nationalists reasonably hopeful about the future include the belief that most whites and blacks want a negotiated settlement, that blacks are mostly Christian and that this exercises a leavening effect, that there is a growing and sophisticated black middle class which has as much to lose as the whites and that the black community is now "throwing up products you can talk to".

The senior NP man's belief is that white antipathies will decrease as blacks become businessmen and entrepreneurs, for "as long as the white man sees the black man as a farm kaffir you will not change anything".

NP is a party of renewal and reform, says Botha

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

THE National Party has, over 40 years, proved that it is a party of renewal and reform, says President Botha.

He has written a foreword for a book, Ever New — National Party Governs 40 Years, which has been issued to commemorate the party's coming to power on May 26, 1948.

Mr Botha said the history of the NP in this period was that of a dynamic political party and a Government which rendered outstanding service under the banner "South Africa first".

The party could look back with pride on the reform which took place under its leadership since its inception and more specifically over the past four decades.

Although the NP was not a perfect party and a perfect Government, it was a party that was working for solutions to South Africa's problems with realistic idealism.

In addition to the past 40 years, the party, from 1924 to 1929, achieved important reform in a coalition with the then Labour Party.

Equal status for Afrikaans and English was achieved and Afrikaans was introduced in the public service. South Africa's own flag was made possible after a bitter struggle. South African citizenship was introduced.

Since 1929, when the party gained an absolute majority, the road of constitutional reform was followed which led to the sovereign independence of South Africa.

The NP gave South Africa the symbol of freedom, a republic, on which the basis for national unity could be pursued.

The years since 1948 had brought great economic prosperity for South Africa.

As human resources were a country's most valuable asset, the National Party had pursued a policy which offered all the republic's inhabitants maximum quality of life and development opportunities.

The objective was to eliminate all disparities between different education systems in the next decade.

Referring to national security, Mr Botha said this could be subdivided into military preparedness and the combating of undermining, unrest and terror.

Internally South Africa had had to face a sophisticated communist-inspired onslaught shortly after coming to power. The Government had not hesitated to act firmly and strengthened the hands of the security forces by means of special legal measures.

In addition the Government refused to negotiate with terrorists and perpetrators of violence.

Although the NP was formed more than 70 years ago as an expression of the political ideals of the Afrikaner, the party strived during its years in power to let justice prevail for all.

Through its reform policy it had extended the process and the structures of democracy to peoples and communities who previously had no meaningful participation in the process.

Blacks had obtained self-determination in their own communities and four independent states were established.

Through the establishment of the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates in the new Parliament, coloured people and Indians had accepted responsibilities for their own affairs and had acquired participation in general affairs.

This process of constitutional development was still continuing.

"The NP is not only a party of renewal and progress, but it is also a party which is loyal to the motto: retain the good from the past and build the future thereon.

"The NP is future-orientated — a party that draws its inspiration from the past for the future.

"As yet, our task is not completed. We are struggling with constitutional questions that have not yet been solved and which will demand the continuous attention of generations ahead. For this we need patience and perseverance."



President Botha

Party breaking up — CP

By Dr A P TREURNICHT, Leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly

IT is an achievement for a political party to remain in office for 40 years. But it is also pathetic to note such a party's disintegration, its lack of direction like a ship without a compass.

This is what is happening to the National Party right now.

The National Party came to power under the slogan of apartheid and remained in power as an apartheid party for 30 years.

From the basic concept of apartheid the emphasis shifted to separate development with the accent on development.

Its policy of consolidation of land areas as national states, as rational homelands for separate people, resulted in the creation seven independent and six self-governing states.

And then came the doubt and the uncertainty.

Detente and the "outward movement" could have been well intended, but the slogans were hijacked by liberalists and used against apartheid and the right of self-determination by the whites.

The obsession with international sport was misused by anti-apartheid movements to force sports integration in South Africa, which in turn resulted in the sharing of amenities and an attack on apartheid from within the National Party itself.

The abolition of the Coloured Representative Council and the about turn in political thought within the party led to the dissipation of the earlier unambiguous rejection of power sharing and its ultimate revocation.

With this political somersault the National Party under Mr P W Botha has become the destroyer of the Afrikaner people and its cultural organisations.

Mr Botha fondly imagines that he is governing himself into a new dispensation, but the truth is that he no longer rules with the love and support of his own people and without gaining credibility from either friend or enemy within or outside of South Africa.

The National Party's "reform" policies have become synonymous with a sellout of the whites, a lack of courage to walk the road of integration all the way and the resulting disappointment on the part of liberalists and black radicals. The wheels of reform have come off.

The party still has a large number of seats in Parliament. But its time has come and gone. It has become stuck between the chairs of own and general affairs. It is no longer the Afrikaner people's political front.

And it cannot become so for the non-white peoples, who have built up their own organisations.

Reform unstoppable, says PFP

By COLIN EGLIN, leader of the Progressive Federal Party

THE election results that came through during the day on May 27, 1948, seemed unbelievable — both because of the surprise and because of their meaning for the future of South Africa.

Of course there is much that happened that in South African society over the past 40 years that is positive and worthwhile.

For 40 years, however, the people of South Africa have lived under the cloud of "apartheid" — a word coined originally by the National Party as a slogan for the 1948 election. It was a word which changed from a slogan to a policy, to an ideology, to a scourge, to a political monster from which the originators are now trying to escape.

Seen against the broad sweep of history, the 40 years of Nationalist rule were divided into two distinct phases, the first phase lasting some 30 years during which the Nationalist Government set in place and tightened the screws of apartheid with enthusiasm and vigor; the second phase during which South Africa has had to grapple with the consequences of apartheid in the social, economic, the political, the international and more especially the human field and the Nationalists have started the process of repealing the apartheid laws that they themselves set in place.

After four decades of Nationalist rule, areas of apartheid are being relaxed while areas of civil liberty are being curtailed. With more freedom of association but less rule of law, more integration but more totalitarianism as well.

It will not be easy to get rid of the legacy of apartheid or to remove the scars with which it has marked our people.

And yet the process of reform has started. The Government may hesitate, it may retard, it may obfuscate, but it cannot stop it.

When one looks beyond the Government one sees a people on the move. South Africa is going to be shared by all its people, whether the National Party, the Conservative Party or the AWB like it or not.

How sad it is that South Africa has had to waste 40 years.

'Forty years of suffering for many'

Political Correspondent

FORTY years of National Party rule has meant 40 years of suffering for many, according to Mr Dullah Omar.

Mr Omar, a Cape Town lawyer prominent in politics, was speaking in his personal capacity. His is also vice-president of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers.

Blacks had been left powerless, unable effectively to intervene through any of the recognised channels to uplift themselves economically.

What the National Party would regard as an achievement — the creation of the homelands and the tricameral system — was in fact totally unacceptable to the vast majority of people. Apartheid in this form led to divisions, polarisation and "warlordism".

It was true that there had been economic development but this had not led to an equitable distribution of wealth.

There had been some political power benefits in the form of hand-outs to different layers of co-opted groups.

This in turn had led to the rise of a resistance movement

General election in October?

PW may call voters to the polls this year

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

Cape Town

A general election for all three Houses of Parliament later this year is a growing probability, politicians and political commentators are saying.

Only President Botha has the authority to call such an early election, but he is not showing his hand to anyone but his closest confidantes at this stage.

However, there is growing speculation that it is becoming increasingly attractive for Mr Botha to call a snap election at about the same time as the countrywide municipal elections, scheduled for October 26.

There are two schools of thought on the merits of a general election to coincide with the municipal elections.

Those who say such a poll makes sense argue that it would be the ideal opportunity for Mr Botha to clear up a number of political problems in one swoop.

A general election need not be on October 26, but could be the day before or even the week before, so as not to place too great a burden on administrative and security resources.

The advantages of doing this include:

- The situation in the House of Delegates, where Mr Amichand Rajbansi's National People's Party has lost its majority because of splits and defections, would be resolved.
- Tension between the National Party and the Labour Party over proposals to amend the Constitution to allow the House of Assembly to extend its term of office would fall away.

Security

- The National Party should benefit from a combined campaign for national and municipal elections because it would be able to focus on the issues it is strongest on — national security and continued reform.

But critics of an early general election argue that Mr Botha cannot afford to destabilise the country with so many elections at once.

The logistics of such a massive exercise would be beyond the capabilities of the public service, while the security forces would not be happy having to provide such a vast protective shield, they say.

Another factor in favour of a general election is the booming economy.

South Africa has made a number of breakthroughs in southern Africa and there are prospects of a high-profile summit between South Africa and Mozambique before October.

It is widely believed the CP could not at this stage win more than 40 seats in Parliament.

The last thing the CP wants, according to its own MPs, is an early election.

ing.

Backing wanted for new strategy

Idasa, NDM to have talks with ANC

3044
Bday
27/5/88.

ELSABÉ WESSELS

LEADING Idasa and NDM members plan to fly to Lusaka later this week to seek approval of black exile groups — the ANC, PAC and black consciousness supporters — for a new strategy of participation in parliamentary politics.

NDM leader Wynand Malan has confirmed he planned to have discussions "soon" with the ANC. He has had regular discussions with Van Zyl Slabbert, co-director of Idasa, during the past few months on the question of participation. Sources said Slabbert could accompany him abroad.



● MALAN



● SLABBERT

A blueprint setting out a new strategy has been in circulation among local extra-parliamentary groups for some time. It is said to be mainly Slabbert's work, but he could not be reached to confirm this.

Slabbert was quoted on Monday as confirming he had been talking to various groups but he said it was "over the top" to suggest he was trying to rally the left in order to return to Parliament.

However, Idasa and NDM sources said yesterday Slabbert and Malan had come to the conclusion that the cycle of violence, sanctions and boycotts had been counter-productive.

They said Slabbert's return to parliamentary politics would hinge on the potential backing of exiled and extra-parliamentary groups such as the ANC, PAC, black consciousness groups, trade unions and the UDF.

The sources quoted him as saying he would not return to Parliament under conditions similar to those which caused him to walk out a little more than two years ago.

Supporting a new strategy of participation would require the ANC to abandon its long-standing policy of boycotting all "apartheid structures". The thrust of ANC policy has been to condemn participation for fear that the black opposition would be "co-opted".

While the ANC and black consciousness groups have consistently voiced opposition to participation in government structures, discussions aimed at the development of a new strategy have been taking place within extra-parliamentary groups such as the UDF and the Five Freedoms Forum.

Spokesmen said they were looking at the potential development of a "broader democratic structure" and the possible "non-direct" backing of parliamentary groups left of government.

● See Page 3

INTERNATIONAL

RRGS 28/5/88

'Own affairs' means a new bureaucracy

3044

By BRUCE CAMERON, Political Staff

MARITZBURG. — The Government is quietly creating another new structure at provincial level to control the planned racially exclusive "own affairs" local government.

The new second-tier structures came to light during this week's extended committees of Parliament on provincial affairs.

Private talks have been taking place to categorise the myriad local government functions into racially exclusive compartments or as general affairs.

The new second-tier structure will entail a possible further four provincial executives in each province, with one for each race group.

And with the new executives could be new administrations to govern most functions of local government.

The Government plans for own-affairs local government have sparked firm condemnation from the Delegates and Representatives.

More severe

Spokesmen for the parties in the two houses have accused the Government of implementing a more severe form of apartheid which would disadvantage people of colour.

At present local government is controlled by the general affairs provincial ordinances and the four general affairs Government-appointed provincial executives.

The Transvaal, Free State and the Cape have already approved enabling regulations to push ahead with the new structures but Natal has still to take the first legislative steps.

Mr Peter Miller, the Natal MEC in charge of local government, has confirmed the plans are under way for the creation of the new bureaucracy.

However, he made a plea in the Natal extended committee of Parliament yesterday for the whole issue to be approached from a different angle.

He committed the Natal Provincial Executive to the principle of "own affairs" in local government but suggested there was no need for separate controlling administrations.

"We have to be careful not to bankrupt our own country."

In an interview Mr Miller said the principle of the new structures had been accepted but no final decisions had been taken on their composition.

According to other sources the decisions are being delayed by differences within the National Party on the extent of own-affairs protection, with the rightwingers pressing for almost exclusive racial control of most aspects of local government.

● See page 5.

When Smuts was PM of Britain



In June 1944 a South African reporter, DAVID FRIEDMANN, was entrusted with the secret of the Normandy landings 48 hours before the Allies invaded Hitler's Europe. The information came from Jan Smuts, whom Friedmann had accompanied as a journalist since 1926. Last night Friedmann, later Editor of the SA Press Association (Sapa), donated his papers, reports and photographs to the Smuts Memorial Trust. This is an extract from his speech

THROUGHOUT my wartime reporting from London's Fleet Street there were only two occasions on which the Press censor held up his hand to halt me — and both related to General Smuts. The censor was acting on firm instructions from No 10 Downing Street.

The first concerned a great wartime secret, unparalleled in British history, involving an unprecedented honour for the man on whom it was bestowed.

For several weeks the man presiding over the British war cabinet in the absence of Winston Churchill, who had left the country for vital war strategy talks with President Roosevelt and Marshal Stalin in the Middle East, was not a political leader appointed by the British electorate.

True, he was a Prime Minister, but not of the UK. He was the Prime Minister of SA — Jan Smuts. Any mention of it the Press at the time was ruled out by censorship, and later by official silence, to protect the accepted position regarding the key post in the democratic form of government in the British Isles.

Smuts's occupancy of the PM's chair in No 10 Downing Street, which took place in November 1943, was a reflection of the deep and enduring friendship that existed between the two great leaders. In fact, during those weeks Smuts was unofficially also Prime Minister of Britain.

The second occasion when the censor stopped me entering a sealed area again involved Smuts. On June 10, 1944, four days after the successful launching of the Allied invasion of Normandy, Churchill took Smuts to France. I waited until they were safely back in England and then filed my report.

The chief Press censor allowed me to mention that Churchill had been to France, but not Smuts. No reason was given. The hold instruction had come from No 10 Downing Street. Three days later, my report was released and only then did I receive the reason for the hold-up by the Censor.

Smuts had gone to France ahead of General de Gaulle, whose Free French forces had landed days ahead, and had the news of Smuts's visit to the Normandy beachhead got out there would certainly have been serious political repercussions.

But both Roosevelt and Churchill did not want De Gaulle to cross to Normandy before the beachhead had been totally secured. De Gaulle was allowed to cross to France on June 13, three days after Smuts had been there.

Confidence

I always felt that I had Smuts's confidence, but to what extent I did not realise until the morning of June 4, 1944, which turned out to be two days before the invasion. I called to see him by appointment in his private suite at London's Hyde Park Hotel.

A cold, blustery wind was driving the rain and it was the sort of day that got mixed up with the advent of summer in Britain. Smuts was at his working desk and I sat opposite him. He swung his chair round and looked rather moodily and anxiously out of the window.

I asked him why he was so concerned about the weather. The answer was quick. "Well, it has put back D-day (Invasion Day) tomorrow (June 5) by 24 hours."

Not only did Smuts give me the altered timing of D-Day, but he took me across to a wide and lengthy table over which were scattered papers and maps. He pulled out one map with Normandy and Brittany prominent. With a sweep of his right hand he indicated the general direction of the planned Allied landings.

He did not pinpoint any specific spot, but it was clear to me that he was indicating Normandy as the main objective. I was shaken to think I was given the top secret of the war. I found it hard to concentrate on the remainder of the interview, but the main emphasis was on his unswerving faith in the outcome of the operation.

What a relief it was when I was called to SHAEF in the early hours of June 6 to be told that the first assault troops had landed on the Normandy beaches. I had kept that secret for 48 hours.

I will not deal with Smuts and South African politics, as I feel it would be out of place today to do so. But I feel I must return to the international stage and point out that it was Smuts who, in San Francisco, provided one of the formulas, if not *the* formula, that if strictly enforced would have provided the lasting peace in the world for which everyone was pining after the terrible Second World War.

That formula was based on non-interference in the domestic affairs of any country. He alone fashioned the article embodying that sacred principle and had it placed in a most prominent position in the Charter of the United Nations. He had it pushed up to second place, ahead of all the other 109 aricles of the Charter.

Immediately after the opening article, stating that the purpose of the UN was to maintain peace and security, appeared Article 2, saying, inter alia: "Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorise the UN to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any stage". The only condition on which the UN could intervene was if there was a serious threat to world peace or an actual act of aggression.

Poisoned

Briefing me on the reasons why he wanted that article inserted prominently in the Charter, Smuts said that interference by Hitler on a large scale in the internal administrations of independent countries had led the world into another global war only 21 years after the end of the Great War of 1914-18.

He showed how Hitler had politically poisoned the domestic interests of Austria and Czechoslovakia before militarily devouring them and then meddled in Poland's internal affairs as an excuse to invade that country and so start the Second World War.

Smuts also pointed to the incubation by Hitler of sizeable Nazi movements in France, Belgium, Holland and Norway to assist him eventually in his brutal occupation of those countries. He even started Nazi cells in SA and South West Africa, but his game was up when Smuts became PM at the outbreak of the Second World War.

Smuts kept emphasising that interference from outside in the domestic jurisdictions of countries was destructive and would only lead to breaches of the peace and wars.

His grand formula for peace has repeatedly been trampled upon and today it is in tatters, so much so that in the last 25 years there is hardly any mention of the existence of that relevant article. The two superpowers — the Soviet Union and the US — have been the biggest transgressors, and their meddling actions in other and smaller independent countries have only encouraged others to indulge in the doubtful rewards of such interventions.

As a result, all-round instability exists in the world today — economically, financially, politically and militarily. Since the signing of the Charter in June, 1945, in San Francisco, with the vital non-intervention clause intact, there have been more than 150 conventional wars through interfering plots, affecting 70 countries and resulting in more than 20-million casualties.

Have not Moscow and Washington, wittingly and unwittingly, been copying Hitler's methods? Since San Francisco, Moscow has intervened in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Ethiopia, Afghanistan and elsewhere.

And the US, flinging aside Smuts's peace formula, tried to force its policies on Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Iran and elswewhere in the Middle East with disastrous consequences, not to mention the uninvited intrusions into the domestic affairs of Grenada, Nicaragua, Salvador, Panama, Angola and even SA and SWA.

A need to step up the pace of reform

When in February the emergency regulations were used to restrict the activities of Cosatu and 17 other organisations, Mrs.Thatcher, we were told here privately, was "hopping mad." Once again Pretoria had frustrated her attempts to persuade the world that, with proper encouragement, President Botha's government could be steered towards an apartheid-free society.

If Mrs.Thatcher was mad, her Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, must have been even madder, because he is the politician at the rock face of relations between Britain and SA. (Remember the humiliation he suffered on his last visit to Pretoria?).

Yet, ever calm and reasonable, Sir Geoffrey stood up before a London audience last week and gave credit where credit was due. Yes, all British governments had abhorred apartheid, which was neither Western, nor civilised nor Christian, and yes the adoption of apartheid had been "a terrible and tragic mistake."

But President Botha had taken some "brave initiatives," and his speech on April 21 particularly had been "a courageous turning away from appeasement of the far right."

Sir Geoffrey even went so far as to say that change in SA would not be rapid. Short timescales and artificial deadlines only raised and then dashed false hopes. It was necessary to take the long view. It was Sir Geoffrey's most important policy speech on SA in three years.

It was at this point perhaps that Sir Geoffrey's voice took on a harder edge. We do not know how long the long view will be, he said, and "not knowing we must expect our patience to be stretched almost to breaking point."

It always surprises me how controlled and unflappable Sir Geoffrey can be when he talks about SA, knowing that time is not on his government's side.

"We are dealing with deeply entrenched attitudes," he explained. "Changing them will take time. It will be an uneven process. There will be setbacks. But it is the only basis on which we can proceed."

This question of the time-scale of apartheid reform in South Africa is the critical one. As Sir Geoffrey noted, "The pace of change in the white community is badly out of phase with black needs and aspirations." He rejected the view advanced by a SA cabinet minister recently that "the pace of reform is a process that determines its own momentum."

The logic of Sir Geoffrey's position of course is that the slow and measured pace of British policy towards SA soon will also be out of phase with black needs and aspirations (if it is not so already), unless Pretoria decides to do something about it by stepping up the pace of reform.

This question of the pace of reform in SA was the subject of an article in South Africa International recently by the Minister of Information, Dr.Stoffel van der Merwe. "Just give us a chance," was the minister's cry from the heart.

Dr.Van der Merwe went on to say: "People have a limited capacity to digest change within a given period of time. Too much change all at once drives people into confusion and causes polarisation. The 'haves' tend to go into blind conservatism and reactionary extremes. The 'have nots' tend to gravitate towards fatalistic destruction in anomic or revolutionary violence."

Intelligently and literately expressed. It makes a welcome change from the rubbish I had to listen to from some of the takhaars in the cabinet when I reported parliament.

Dr.Van der Merwe explained the obstacle course that confronts every reform measure. First, the decision-makers have to accept the need for reform. Then their power base has to be persuaded — thousands of people have to be talked around in time-consuming face-to-face meetings.

Once reform is generally accepted, the idea has to be converted into legislation, which usually requires extensive research, because the issues are normally quite complex, and several laws, ordinances, by-laws and regulations may need amendment. Sometimes a commission of inquiry has to be appointed.

Then the proposed legislation has to be passed by parliament, and with three chambers of parliament this is no longer as easy as it used to be.

Finally, the legislation has to be implemented by officials "who do not necessarily understand or approve of the new approach."

Perfectly true. Dr.Van der Merwe is not exaggerating the problem. But neither is Sir Geoffrey when he says the dynamics of change in the white community are out of phase with the dynamics of change in the black community.



Sir Geoffrey Howe (backed by Mrs Thatcher) is at the rock face of relations between Britain and South Africa.

So how will the deadlock be resolved? Is this why security measures have been invoked so ferociously — to ensure that the blacks remain patient while the osmosis of reform works its way slowly through the white community?

The whole concept of the SA government battening down the hatches while it proceeds at its own controlled and deliberate pace of reform is flawed though. It gives Pretoria the worst of both worlds: conservative whites feel threatened by reform, while radical blacks dismiss it as meaningless. It is a strategy that devalues the whole currency of reform.

But assuming even that the black political struggle in SA can be controlled through oppressive measures for the immediate future, what about the international situation? What about sanctions?

The international situation is volatile. The United States has become a wild card in the pack. The exodus of US companies under disinvestment pressure has had a deep psychological influence on US attitudes: disinvestment has created the feeling that SA is expendable and the sanctions campaigners have moved into this vacuum.

The House of Representatives is moving

By Stanley Uys in London



towards comprehensive sanctions legislation, although it is still too early to say whether the Senate will be able to block this legislation, or whether President Reagan, in the closing months of his presidency, would dare to veto it. But if Michael Dukakis is elected as president, the US could well be into a whole new ball game with sanctions.

A senior SA diplomat compares the situation to a locomotive (the US) thundering down a track to where a springbok is tied spreadeagled across the lines.

Britain presently is the anchor against sanctions: it has £2 760 million in fixed investment in SA, trade in excess of £1 billion a year, and there are more than one million South Africans who still retain the right of abode in Britain. These are not inconsiderable considerations.

But for how long can Britain maintain its present measured pace of relations with SA? It says it does not believe in punitive sanctions against SA, but already it is applying no fewer than 15 "restrictive measures." Perhaps there is a difference in principle at the moment between sanctions and restrictive measures, but it could easily become a difference merely of degree.

The most significant change that has come over the business community here in Britain towards SA recently is not an increase in hostility, or a loss of patience, but simply a decline in interest. Slowly, SA is being written out of books and out of minds.

At dinner parties, cocktail functions, seminars and the like, there was never a shortage of British businessmen intensely interested in SA who kept themselves up to date with what was happening there. Many of them are still around. But more and more seem to be losing interest.

When I approach them and raise the subject of SA, they shift uneasily and stare over my shoulder. They actually no longer care. We have a phrase for this in journalism when we go to the Editor with an idea we suspect is not going to excite him. It's called a mego — my eyes glaze over.

That's what is happening to more and more British businessmen when the subject of South Africa is raised — their eyes glaze over. It is in sorrow rather than in anger that they are writing us off. It's just that they can't see any light at the end of Stoffel van der Merwe's long, long tunnel.

More than 20% of the British companies operating in SA in 1986 have since withdrawn, leaving 234 UK parent companies with subsidiaries in SA as at the end of March this year. Where will the withdrawals end?

And where will the withdrawals leave the British government? In suspension, I suggest, if the base of actual business involvement is shrinking. For how long can Sir Geoffrey's political strategy be sustained if psychologically defeat is being acknowledged by businessmen actually on the ground?

SA's major trading partners are not a unity. The US is split between the White House and Congress, and if Congress, or a new president, takes up the sanctions cause, the rest of the trading group will not be able wholly to escape being sucked into the slipstream.

Japan, under US pressure, is being forced to harden its attitude towards SA, the West German coalition government is in disagreement over sanctions, and increasingly the EEC is moving towards replacing the present bilateral relationships between its 12 members and SA with a tougher, colllective EEC relationship.

Pretoria should take note of the dilemma of its trading partners. Sir Geoffrey and others are not wholly masters of their own fate on the sanctions issue: there are other, powerful pressures bearing down on them. Sanctions have little to do with rational argument The test of sanctions is not whether they will work or not, but the function they perform in linking the international community together in a moral crusade against apartheid.

Sanctions are the cement that binds countries together in international solidarity against apartheid. They are the linch-pin. Pull out this linch-pin and the pressures on Pretoria will fall into confusion and disarray. For this reason alone, sanctions will never be abandoned — they have their own organic life,function and momentum.

As the co-chairmen of the Commonwealth EPG wrote: "If we knew that sanctions would not work (and nobody can make that assumption with any validity) we would still be in favour of the West applying sanctions. The West would then be on the right, the just side of history."

It will be interesting to hear from Dr.Van der Merwe how the dilemma of the conflicting timescales can be resolved. Accepting, for the sake of argument, that his own case is valid within the framework of white politics, how does he answer Sir Geoffrey's point that this timescale of reform is out of phase with the timescale of reform in the black and international community? This is the core of SA's problem.

Parliament hears first black speaker in public debate call for equality

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The first black man ever to participate publicly in a debate in the Houses of Parliament, Mr Themba Nyati, a member of the Cape Provincial Executive, yesterday called for the normalisation of racial inequalities in health and welfare services.

Mr Nyati, who is a former mayor, spoke during the sitting of the parliamentary committee on Cape Provincial Affairs and welcomed the opportunity to participate in this "historic occasion".

Although a black man, Dr Walter Rubusana, was elected to the Cape Provincial Council before blacks in the Cape lost their voting franchise, no black person has ever been elected to the South African parliament.



MR NYATI

However, a member of the Transvaal provincial executive, Mr John Mavuso, was the first black person to participate in a parliamentary committee when he spoke in the debate on Transvaal Provincial Affairs on Monday.

In his speech, Mr Nyati said that, with the increase in urbanisation, the demands on facilities would be increased. The provincial administration was planning for a 10 per cent increase, he said.

Adding that the government had to be pressurised to provide services to the black population.

There was a serious shortage of registered social welfare workers in South Africa, particularly in the Cape, he said, and urged educational institutions to devote more resources to the training of welfare workers.

At present, white welfare workers provided the bulk of services to the black community, Mr Nyati said.

In the Cape there were no industrial schools, no reform schools and no children's homes for black people — although these had been provided for other race groups.

There were 184 white old age homes, 31 "coloured" old age homes and only one home for black people.

Although 822 creches for white children and 184 creches for "coloured" children were registered, there were no registered creches for black children.

Welfare work depended on good will, but these inequalities should be normalised, he said.

Mr Nyati also said much progress had been made with black local government and South Africa's success was that it was economically and socially based on municipalities.

"It is municipalities that have made South Africa what it is," he said.

B/day 25/5/88

Left-wing groups 'lukewarm' on participation

RENEWED speculation that extra-parliamentary organisations are rethinking their election boycott strategy has drawn a lukewarm response from spokesmen for these groups.

Sources within the extra-parliamentary left stress that the UDF holds the key to a change in the approach to participation in official structures.

The debate came into the open in July last year, when UDF Natal president Archie Gumede — since silenced by a government restriction

PATRICK BULGER

order — suggested the UDF debate the advantages of taking part in parliamentary elections scheduled for 1989. He was slapped down by fellow executive members.

The ferocity of the put-down showed how sensitive the issue of participation is for the UDF. It has consistently campaigned against participation since it was formed to oppose the tricameral Parliament in 1983.

Not only would participation represent a major turnabout for the UDF, but state action against the body has left it organisationally incapable of reversing this stance, the sources say.

Apart from UDF sanction for participation, two broad sets of conditions would have to be satisfied before the extra-parliamentary movement as a whole changed its strategy.

Firstly, participation would have to improve the material conditions of the constituency to which the left addresses itself and it would have to widen the space within which organisations could campaign legally.

Natal Indian Congress executive member Yunnis Carrim — speaking in his personal capacity — said "there is no intense discussion on participation taking place within the NIC or the UDF".

The ANC, meanwhile, remains committed to boycotting official structures. But a spokesman said yesterday if the issue had to be debated, such a debate should be conducted by organisations within SA.

SOWETAN, Wednesday, May 25, 1988

WE'VE ARRIVED – JOHN MAVUSO

304A
Sowetan
25/5/88



MR JOHN Mavuso . . . Nats genuine.

THE first black man to take part in joint debate with white, coloured and Indian parliamentarians in the extended public committee on provincial affairs in the Transvaal said yesterday he was not bitter about the past.

"As a black man, I am not bitter, I believe the National Party administration is genuine in its efforts to find solutions to the problems of South Africa," Mr John Mavuso, MEC for housing and community services in the province, said.

"It is quite an experience to stand before members of Parliament here, firstly to listen to them and then to say my piece.

"I believe we have really arrived in South Africa."

Authentic leaders

Mr Mavuso said a large part of his life had been dedicated in various capacities and committees "as a backroom boy, to bring about the kind of situation we are involved in today".

"I thank the Almighty God for having made it possible."

Much was being said about the identification of so-called authentic black leaders to speak on behalf of the blacks in South Africa, Mr Mavuso said.

He recalled that in 1973 he had been

SA Press Association

part of the "in club" in Soweto, where "liberal progressive white academics came to share views with us".

"We felt we had travelled the road far enough and we wanted to talk to the hard-core of the National Party, who controlled the Government, so that we could debate the fate of us all in South Africa.

"We can only advance when we talk to the people who can make things happen.

"I am not here out of the magic bag of the State President, I am here because I have to be here," he said.

Changed views

The situation in South Africa had in the past been bedevelled by the fact that there was very little communication between black and white.

This had been exacerbated by paternalism and whites "talking down" to blacks, as if they wanted blacks to accept they were a lesser people.

However his experience as a member of the Transvaal Provincial Executive Committee had changed his views.

Trust had been born out of the experience of working together.

On the situation of black housing in the Transvaal, Mr Mavuso said there had been vast changes for the better since the introduction of 99-year leaseholds in 1983.

Mission to ANC

JOHANNESBURG. — Leading members of Idasa and Mr Wynand Malan's NDM plan to fly to Lusaka this week to discuss with exile groups, the ANC and PAC, the question of participation in parliamentary politics.

Earlier Mr Malan confirmed that he plans to go to Lusaka "soon" for discussions with the ANC. He has been in regular contact with Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, co-director of Idasa, over the past months on the need for participation. According to reliable sources, Dr Van zyl Slabbert may accompany him.

A blueprint setting out a new strategy has been in circulation among local extra-parliamentary groups for some time. The blueprint is said to be mainly Dr Slabbert's work, but he could not be contacted to confirm this last night.

He was quoted on Monday as confirming he had been talking to various groups but that it was "over the top" to suggest he was trying to rally the left to return to Parliament.

Conditions

However, sources within Idasa and NDM said both he and Mr Malan had come to the conclusion that the cycle of violence, ungovernability, sanctions and boycotts have been counter-productive.

Sources said yesterday Dr Slabbert's return to parliamentary politics would hinge on the potential backing of exiled and extra-parliamentary groups such as the ANC, PAC, black consciousness groups, trade unions and the UDF.

He was quoted as saying he would not return to Parliament under conditions similar to those which caused him to walk out little more than two years ago.

However, the new strategy would require the abandonment of the ANC's policy of boycotting "apartheid structures". The thrust of ANC policy has been to condemn participation for fear that the black opposition would be "co-opted".

President crushes early-election speculation

David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN - The announcement by the State President, Mr P W Botha, of an extension of the current session of Parliament to early September has effectively crushed speculation of an early general election this year.

Mr Botha announced last night that Parliament would sit until July 1, then, after a winter recess, would sit again from August 22 until September 2.

The Government needs the additional session to process important legislation.

Politicians and observers today believed Mr Botha would not have allowed an extended session if he was considering calling a snap election in October. A general election in November or early next year has not been ruled out, but this is now considered unlikely.

Speculation has been rife in parliamentary circles in recent days that Mr Botha could call a snap general election for all three Houses of Parliament on the same day, or in the same period, as the countrywide municipal elections scheduled for October 26.

NDM, ANC to have talks in Germany

By Patrick Laurence

The leader of the National Democratic Movement (NDM), Mr Wynand Malan, and key members of his party left for Europe last night for confidential talks with the outlawed African National Congress, Mr Peter Gastrow of the NDM told The Star last night.

Mr Malan, who broke away from the National Party last year, was accompanied by Mr Pierre Cronje MP; Dr Esther Lategan; Mr Harald Pakendorf, former editor of *Die Vaderland*; Dr Jannie Hofmeyr of the NDM leadership committee; professors Gerritt Erasmus and Andre van der Walt of Stellenbosch University; and Dr Johan van Zyl, who is acting as a consultant for the NDM.

The talks with the ANC are integral to the NDM strategy of holding discussions "over a broad front with all relevant political groupings in South Africa", Mr Gastrow said.

"A further statement will be made before the weekend," he added, hinting that the talks would be over by then.

SECRECY

The discussions are understood to have been organised secretly by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) at the NDM's request.

They were arranged in high secrecy to meet ANC demands for maximum security following the assassination in March of its representative in France, Ms Dulcie September, and an earlier attack on the ANC delegate in Brussels.

Frankfurt was named as the venue for the talks, which are expected to begin today.

Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, co-founder of Idasa and former leader of the Progressive Federal Party, yesterday repudiated reports that he or Idasa officials were planning to seek the approval from exiled politicians, particularly leaders of the ANC, to participate in Government-sanctioned political structures.

"We are not a prescriptive organisation."

He said while Idasa was not prescribing strategies, it had not objection to organising the talks.

Foreign-funding Bill likely to be dropped by Govt

(3044A) SKN 26/5/88

Political Staff

The Government is likely to drop or fundamentally change the controversial Promotion of Orderly Internal Politics Bill, which is aimed at cutting foreign funding of political organisations.

A delegation of South African churchmen under Dr Beyers Naude is visiting Britain and Europe to lobby governments to put pressure on the South African Government to drop the Bill.

Sources said this week that the Bill was likely to be dropped or changed anyway.

They said even the National Party had realised the Bill was impracticable.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee has responded to criticism of the Bill by saying it is not intended to block foreign money for black upliftment.

He welcomed funding of job-creation programmes and health and education projects by foreign governments, organisations and businesses.

Critics had claimed the effect of the Bill would be to cut off all foreign funds for black upliftment.

Mr Coetsee said this was not so.

The intention was to prevent foreign funds being used "to endanger the safety of the public or the maintenance of public order".

Some parliamentarians believe the Government will now fall back on the Affected Organisations Act, which already empowers it to cut off foreign funds from an organisation declared "affected".

The church group under Dr Naude vainly implored the British government to use sanctions to stop Pretoria using the Bill to block foreign anti-apartheid aid.

The group left for the capitals of Europe on Tuesday as British MPs from all parties backed their campaign.

So far, Britain has declined to go further than saying it is pressing the South African Government hard over the draft Promotion of Orderly Internal Politics Bill.

'Right-wing bickering will drive me out of Parliament'

By Esmaré van der Merwe

Progressive Federal Party MP Mrs Helen Suzman said last night that the constant bickering between the National Party and the Conservative Party about which party really protected white Afrikanerdom could "drive me out of Parliament very soon".

It was a tragedy that the CP had become the official Opposition. She found it very hard to forgive the radical elements which had stirred up poll stayaways among liberals during last year's general election.

Mrs Suzman addressed a 400-strong PFP meeting in Houghton with fellow-MP Mr Peter Soal and the PFP leader in the Johannesburg City Council, Mr Tony Leon, to mark the "40 wasted years of Nat rule" marked today.



Mrs Suzman ... found it hard to forgive radical elements who stirred up poll stayaways.

Mrs Suzman, Houghton MP for 35 of those 40 years, said the NP had recently repealed discriminatory laws which should never have been put on the statute book.

Many of those laws, such as influx control and job reservation, were repealed out of economic necessity and not because of "a change of heart".

"If we had tried to create an unstable society in South Africa, we could not have done better than the NP.

"The experiment of apartheid has caused terrible damage," she said.

The PFP should marshal forces in support of a nonracial, democratic dispensation and re-motivate the middle ground, she said.

Johannesburg North MP Mr Soal said as long as exclusively white residential areas, white own schools and white own political structures remained non-negotiables, South Africa would continue to be isolated from the rest of the world.

A commitment to a nonracial democracy in which the government and society respected fundamental human rights and individual dignity was needed.

Referring to the NP's 40 years in power as four decades of missed opportunities, Mr Leon said the Government's reform plans were nothing more than rhetoric.

Once NP membership had been regarded as "a source of shame and embarrassment" by people who believed in human rights. However, now some people regarded NP membership as a badge of respectability.

Those people should be ashamed to support a government which had perpetrated "massive frauds and injustices against the people and politics of South Africa".

The day the voters sprang their big surprise

Few South Africans expected big changes when the electorate went to the polls in the general election on May 26 1948.

The United Party was comfortably in power. In 1943 it had won 89 of the Assembly seats, its wartime partners, the Labour Party and the Dominion Party, had 16 and the National Party 43. The *Argus* was writing that there were no indications of a swing-over to the Nationalists since the 1943 general election.

But there were warning signals. The year before, the UP had unexpectedly lost the Hottentots Holland by-election. (The candidate was a young De Villiers Graaff who regained the seat in the general election.)

By 1948 the United Party had been in power for some 15 years and post-war shortages and difficulties were having an effect on a war-weary public. There had been irritations like the wartime ban on white bread and meatless and breadless days. Some demobilised soldiers were dissatisfied with the deal they had received.

The then Prime Minister, General J C Smuts, rejected all suggestions that to counter all this, he should have an early election. Some of his confidantes advised him to have an election as early as 1946 and also to have a re-delimitation which would have eliminated or at least have brought some better balance between the number of voters in the urban and the platteland seats.



Smuts

By May 1948 the electorate had been subjected to propaganda onslaughts from all sides. Apart from the UP and the National Party, many smaller groups were in the field. In the Peninsula the Communist Party was putting up a determined fight in a number of seats. It was especially trying to appeal to the coloured vote. In the Cape Province coloured men were on the common roll with whites.

In the election campaign the term "apartheid" was presented to the voters for the first time. The National Party propagated its new policy through a sustained pamphlet blitz. At first, the Nationalist approach to apartheid, on the surface at least, tried not to be an out-an-out racist one.

Star 26/5/88

By Tos Wentzel of The Star's Political Staff

30419

Professor H B Thom, in his biography of Dr D F Malan, maintained that the then Nationalist leader believed that points of friction among the race groups had to be eliminated and that they therefore had to be separated politically and socially as far as possible.

Although it dismissed apartheid as a crazy concept born out of prejudice and fear, the United Party itself had a segregationist approach.

On May 25 1948, the eve of polling day, the *Argus* on its front page set out UP policy as "fair social and living conditions for all, irrespective of race and colour, each within his own sphere and among his own". UP leaders were confident that, if all supporters of the party voted, there would be another "great victory for national unity and progress".

The Nationalists did not make any firm predictions. In an interview 20 years ago Dr Malan's widow, Mrs Maria Malan, said he did not make predictions either way but that he did on one occasion warn the then Cape provincial secretary of the National Party, Mr F C Erasmus, not to set his sights too high.

On the front page on May 25 the *Argus* also reported that, as an election plank, apartheid had failed in the Cape's country constituencies.

From Standerton, the Transvaal country seat of General Smuts, it was reported that it was only a question of how big the United Party's majority there would be.

A bitter disappointment awaited the UP.

On polling day General Smuts had an early start and was out and about in the constituency all day.

Dr Malan, who was standing at Piketberg, went to vote in Stellenbosch where he was living at the time and spent the rest of the day planting trees in his garden.

The first results came late that night. The early edition of *Argus* reported UP successes and the fact that the party was well ahead, but pointed out that this was because the results were mainly from the urban constituencies. Then came the first indications of Nationalist gains in the Transvaal.

Late that afternoon results started pouring and gave an indication of the dramatic overall result to come.

At about 6 pm it was announced that Major Piet van der Byl, then Minister of Native Affairs, had lost his Bredasdorp seat.

A few hours later came the most dramatic individual result of the whole election: General Smuts had lost in Standerton. On May 28 General Smuts resigned and it was announced that the Governor-General would be sending for Dr Malan to invite him to form a government. It was only late on the afternoon of May 28 that the last result, Victoria West, showed that Dr Malan and his coalition partner, the Afrikaner Party, had won eight more seats than the United Party and the Labour Party.



Malan

Because the three "Native representatives" in the Assembly would not support the new government, the working majority would be five, only four if the Speaker came from Nationalist ranks. The UP had the majority of the popular votes. This was due to the delimitation system which allowed for far fewer votes in platteland seats.

There were suggestions in UP circles that this had only been a temporary setback, that the Malan government could not survive with such a slender majority and that there would therefore soon have to be another election and the UP could regain power.

Nothing of the sort happened, of course. The Nationalists showed themselves to be past masters at surviving and entrenching themselves in power. By 1950 South West Africa had been given six seats in the Assembly and the National Party won them all.

It is now for the first time, and after 40 years in power, that the National Party faces a serious threat from one of its own splinters, the Conservative Party.

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nagel on 'true South Africanism'

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th Africa which he when he MPs ac- ave to ne- ntually —

Mr Nothnagel said he was prepared to bet that "history will refer to the coming few months in South Africa as an era of statesmanship".

In April Mr Nothnagel was in hot water when he said in Parliament that all groups, including the ANC and the recently restricted 18 organizations such as UDF and Cosatu, had a role to play in South Africa.

However, he was later defended by President P W Botha — though Mr Botha said he was sometimes over-hasty in his remarks.

In the latest article, Mr Nothnagel said it was simply not on "if we are really seeking a common South Africanism" to retain all political power, or to go for a "winner takes all" solution, or for blacks to demand anything less than full political participation at the central level of government.

Absolute demands such as "white baaskap" or black majority or the replacement of the so-called system of white minority rule with one of black majority rule were also not on.

Nor "to say that South Africa is a nation of minorities and to elevate one group to a postion of privilege" nor "to expect the absolute group allegiance, specially on racial lines, should remain the political religion of the nation".

"If that happens, there may be millions of people who would, psychologically at least, never experience true South Africanism: People who may never feel, or worse may never say, 'we are all South Africans'," Mr Nothnagel said.

He also said many strongly-held myths had been relinquished, such as the myth that the Afrikaner was a nation "chosen by God" or that the Afrikaner nation, the "volk", was more important than the South African nation or that the white race was a divine species or that black people's political rights were tied to national states.

The whole of the South African nation, he said, is vitally more important than any section or part.

"The political religion of South Africa should be a common South African nationhood."

President crushes early-election speculation

304(A) Star 26/5/88

David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN - The announcement by the State President, Mr P W Botha, of an extension of the current session of Parliament to early September has effectively crushed speculation of an early general election this year.

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The Government needs the additional session to process important legislation.

Politicians and observers today believed Mr Botha would not have allowed an extended session if he was considering calling a snap election in October. A general election in November or early next year has not been ruled out, but this is now considered unlikely.

Speculation has been rife in parliamentary circles in recent days that Mr Botha could call a snap general election for all three Houses of Parliament on the same day, or in the same period, as the countrywide municipal elections scheduled for October 26.

Slabbert is set to join in later

NDM, ANC talk today in Frankfurt

ELSABÉ WESSELS

AN NDM delegation, led by Wynand Malan, will meet ANC leaders in Frankfurt today.

They left from Jan Smuts Airport yesterday.

Former PFP leader Van Zyl Slabbert and a number of Idasa associates are expected to join the talks, scheduled for today and tomorrow.



● LATEGAN



● CRONJE

The discussions were set up in great secrecy for security reasons and follow Malan's meeting with ANC information director Thabo Mbeki in Harare in March.

Slabbert, who has had close contact with the ANC, was said by sources to have acted as an intermediary in preparation for the talks.

NDM leadership committee chairman Peter Gastrow last night confirmed the NDM delegation comprised Malan and executive members Esther Lategan, MP Pierre Cronjé, Harald Pakendorf and Jannie Hofmeyr.

Stellenbosch academics Gerhard Erasmus and Andries van der Walt were also in the group, along with Johan van Zyl, former head of the Federated Chamber of Industries, who was accompanying them in an advisory capacity.

Johannesburg businessman Christo Nel was not part of the NDM delegation but would join in the talks.

Cronjé, Erasmus and Nel were in the group of Afrikaners which met the ANC in Dakar last year under Slabbert's leadership.

Top ANC leaders, including Oliver Tambo and Mbeki, are expected to attend the Frankfurt meeting.

Gastrow said the talks were "a necessary part of the NDM's strategy to have discussions over a broad field with all relevant groupings in SA". Another statement would be made before the weekend.

Sources said the agenda was determined by the NDM and that a new strategy for parliamentary participation would be discussed. The NDM's opposition to violence and its strong stand on security would also be stressed.

An NDM source said the first talks would be between the NDM delegation and the ANC. Slabbert would join them later. He added: "Slabbert is not the kingpin of the talks."

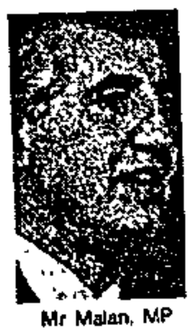
Slabbert yesterday denied a Business Day report that he was joining an NDM delegation to Lusaka.

He said: "It is not true that I or Idasa officials are going to Lusaka with the NDM this week, next week or in the foreseeable future."

Slabbert said he was going to Vancouver, Canada, to receive an honorary doctorate from Simon Fraser University on June 2 and would be out of the country for at least three weeks.



Dr Slabbert



Mr Malan, MP

Slabbert, Malan off to see ANC

By ANTHONY JOHNSON and ELSABÉ WESSELS

THE leader of the National Democratic Movement, Mr Wynand Malan, and Dr Van Zyl Slabbert left for Frankfurt yesterday for sensitive high-level talks with the ANC which could eventually change the face of South Africa politics.

They are leading a party of 10 on a two-day mission to canvass ANC support for participation in Parliament and other official political structures. Among the documents on the table will be a strategy blueprint which has already been circulated to opposition groups in South Africa.

The party is scheduled to meet top ANC leaders, including Mr Oliver Tambo and Mr Thabo Mbeki. It is understood that Mr Malan insisted that a member of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and not only the political wing, be present at the talks

NDM leadership committee chairman Mr Peter Gastrow last night confirmed that the delegation consisted of Mr Malan and NDM executive members Mrs Esther Lategan, Mr Pierre Cronjé MP, Mr Harald Pakendorf and Dr Jannie Hofmeyr.

Mr Gastrow also released the names of Stellenbosch academics professors Gerhard Erasmus and Andries van der Walt. He said Dr Johan van Zyl, former head of the Federated Chamber of Industries, was accompanying the group in an advisory capacity.

Johannesburg businessman Mr Christo Nel is not part of the NDM delegation but will join in the talks.

Vision for future

The talks are geared toward getting the ANC's agreement on participation which might eventually pave the way for extra-parliamentary groups like the UDF changing their boycott of government structures.

However, sources close to the talks emphasized that they should be seen as "exploratory".

An NDM source said that during today's discussions, at which Dr Slabbert would not be present, Mr Malan planned explain to the movement's activities and its vision for the future to the ANC.

Discussion during Friday's session will be lead by Dr Slabbert with his plans for participation by all faces in formal structures apparently top of the agenda.

The NDM favours a broad alliance to which various groups can be affiliated, whereas Dr Slabbert is keen on the formation of a new party.

The party flew out last night after denials by Dr Slabbert that he would be accompanying the NDM for talks with the ANC in Lusaka.

According to reporters at Jan Smuts Airport, Dr Slabbert was not on the same flight. But he flew out of Cape Town yesterday morning and a spokesman at his home told Sapa last night "he is in Europe"

Men, dog in suicide pact

JOHANNESBURG. — A doctor and his friend were found dead in a gas-filled room at their house in Germiston yesterday. A Maltese poodle was also found dead in the room.

Police said the bodies of Mr Frans Olwyn de Beer, 26, and Dr Graham Herbert Willis, 39, were found at 7am.

A pipe connected to a Mercedes Benz led into a bedroom window. The curtains were drawn and the men were lying embraced on the bed. — Sapa

Boost for Nkomati

MAPUTO. — The Nkomati pact between South Africa and Mozambique received a major boost yesterday after talks between two top official delegations.

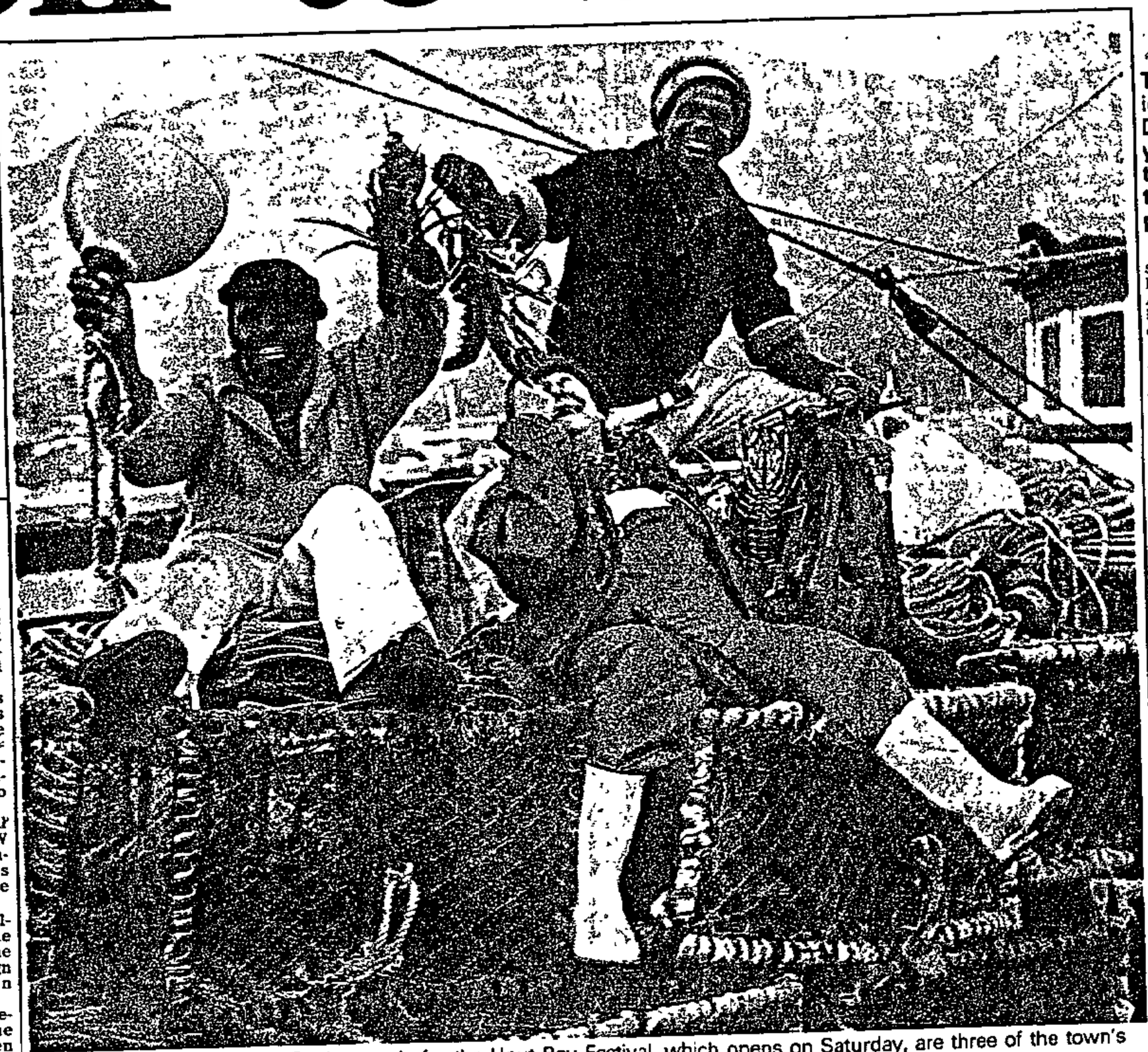
The delegations agreed to reconvene "as soon as possible" the Joint Security Commission (JSC) which collapsed in 1985 as relations between the two countries deteriorated.

A letter of goodwill from President P W Botha to President Joaquim Chissano was handed over after the talks.

The South African delegation was led by the director-general of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden.

The Mozambican delegation was led by the chief of the army, Lt-Gen Tobias Dai. — Sapa

● Atrocities and MNR



FESTIVAL FROLICS ... Getting ready for the Hout Bay Festival, which opens on Saturday, are three of the town's [illegible] characters (from left) Welcome Ndoda, "Houtie" Deline Leat and Eric Zuma. Picture GLENN SHERRATT

ONAL

Mercury 26/5/88 (mm) 3044

UDF may conditionally take part in polls

Political Correspondent

THE United Democratic Front and other restricted organisations will be allowed to take part in the municipal elections in October, according to Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, Minister of Information in the President's office.

But only if they indicate they are genuinely committed to peaceful participation in the democratic process, he added.

He said elections on October 26 for coloured, Indian, black and white local authorities were open to all.

Only the usual impediments applicable to candidates (such as insanity, insolvency and a recent criminal record) would be applicable, the Minister said.

The UDF and other organisations were at present under restrictions which would make it impossible for them to take part and these would remain until they indicated a genuine desire to do so on a democratic basis — and they undertook not to use the opportunity to stimulate revolution.

Asked what the Government's view would be on a possible UDF campaign based on participation so as to destroy the system, Dr van der Merwe replied it would make no sense to allow that because the Government wanted to build democratic institutions.

Earlier in the conference Dr van der Merwe said the Government had no percentage poll target in mind for black voters.

The Government regarded it as its duty to create structures for participation and to establish circumstances under which people could participate as fairly as possible.

DRUGS 26/5/88

304 A

Malan, Slabbert fly to ANC talks

FRANKFURT (West Germany). — Leading white anti-apartheid South Africans arrived here today for talks with the banned African National Congress.

Mr Wynand Malan MP, the National Democratic Movement leader who is leading the group of politicians, journalists and academics, said on arrival at Frankfurt Airport that the talks were part of a continuing process.

Others in the delegation are Dr Esther Lategan, Professors Andries van der Walt and Gerhard Erasmus of Stellenbosch, Mr Pierre Cronje MP, Dr Jannie Hofmeyr, Mr Harald Pakendorf and adviser Dr Johan van Zyl, former head of the Federated Chamber of Industry.

Mr Malan told journalists: "I don't expect any detailed results from this meeting. These talks are part of a continued process of confidential contacts with all relevant groups of South African society."

The delegation will fly back to South Africa on Thursday after the meeting. "There will be no big statements," Mr Malan said.

He declined to disclose the time or place of the talks.

Mr Malan said he did not expect to resolve all differences between his NDM and the ANC. They would discuss whether to boycott racially-segregated elections totally or to use them to fight apartheid "from within".

Secret meetings

Mr Malan said he had talked with the co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, who arrived from Johannesburg on the same flight.

Dr Slabbert, who led the Dakar talks with the ANC last year, has held six secret meetings with the organisation this year. He is due to meet ANC members in Bonn on Friday.

"I met him on the plane. It was a big talk," Mr Malan said.

The ANC has rejected participation in elections, saying racially-based apartheid cannot be reformed from inside and must be overthrown.

But some opponents of apartheid, including Mr Malan, argue that the opposition should switch tactics and take advantage of Mr Botha's limited extension of voting rights to take over local and central government. — Political Correspondent and Sapa-Reuter.

Protect the protected tenants, says Andrew

TO drive protected tenants from their homes permanently landlords often claimed they needed to make essential repairs and renovations, said Mr Ken Andrew (PFP Gardens).

Speaking in the Assembly yesterday, he said that when a pensioner received the obligatory six months' notice he had the choice of complying or contesting the eviction in court.

Faced with the expense of moving twice, furniture storage and possibly a higher rent, many tenants accepted eviction.

The Minister, Mr Amie Venter, should try to ensure that tenants were properly protected. — Sapa.

PFP leaders conned - court hears

COURT REPORTER

A MAN who is alleged to have conned Mr Colin Eglin into lending him R550 by pretending to be Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's nephew also duped Mrs Helen Suzman, the Cape Town Regional Court was told.

The alleged conman, Mr Vusi Derek Mdluli (27) of 2nd Avenue, Clermont, Durban, has pleaded not guilty to defrauding Mr Eglin of R550, alternatively theft.

Mr Eglin said that on August 10 last year a man duped him into lending him R550. The man telephoned him, claimed to be Chief Buthelezi's nephew and told him he was in Cape Town with car trouble.

Mr Eglin said he also had a telephone call from a man he thought was Chief Buthelezi's private secretary, Mr Eric Ngubani who told him Chief Buthelezi's nephew was in Cape Town and needed help.

Mr Eglin said he signed a cheque for R550 and his secretary, Mrs Joan Fowle, had it deposited in the account of Mr David Mdluli at the Darling Street branch of the Permanent Building Society.

Mr Eglin told the court that two days later he heard by chance that someone in Johannesburg had also been asked to lend Chief Buthelezi's nephew R550 and he contacted the police.

Yesterday, Mrs Hazel Hurst, manager of the West Street, Durban, branch of the Permanent Building Society told the court that on August 10 last year a man she identified as the accused came in, showed his passbook and identified himself as David Mdluli.

Adviser

Mrs Hurst said he told her he was Mr Eglin's political adviser and was involved in Inkatha and in an education trust fund for Chief Buthelezi's sons and nephews.

She said he told her that Mr Eglin had deposited a cheque in his account in Cape Town.

Mrs Hurst said she was suspicious and telephoned the Cape Town branch.

"They confirmed that an amount had been paid into the account and that it could be cleared immediately.

"The accused also told me that Mrs Helen Suzman in Johannesburg would also bank R550 for Chief Buthelezi's education trust fund."

Mrs Hurst said that she told Mr Mdluli he could draw the money and he asked for help because he had a diplomatic car double-parked outside and would rather not wait in a queue.

She said she drew R550 for him and found that an amount had also been paid into his account at a Johannesburg branch.

Mrs Hurst said Mr Mdluli returned the next day but the computer was "off line" and she gave him only the "off line" limit of R200 plus R50 which she knew he had in his account originally.

Mr Eric Ngubani, former private secretary to Chief Buthelezi, denied telephoning Mr Eglin on August 10.

He said Mr Mdluli was not Chief Buthelezi's nephew.

The hearing was postponed to June 14.

Mr M de Klerk was on the bench and Mr J K Rossouw appeared for the State. Mr Mdluli conducted his own defence.

SOWETAN, Thursday, May 26, 1988

SLABBERT IS NOT GOING TO LUSAKA

3044

Sowetan 26/5/88

IDASA co-director Dr Van Zyl Slabbert yesterday denied suggestions that he would accompany members of the National Democratic Movement to Lusaka in the near future to seek the approval of black exile groups including the ANC and PAC for a new strategy of participation in parliamentary politics.

He was reacting to reports in Times Media newspapers suggesting he might accompany NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan to such talks.

The reports quoted "Idasa and NDM sources" as saying Dr Slabbert's return to parliamentary politics would hinge on the potential backing of exiled and extra-parliamentary groups such as the ANC, PAC, black consciousness groups, trade unions and the UDF.

Dr Slabbert said in a statement yesterday: "It is not true that I or officials of Idasa are going to Lusaka with the NDM this week, next week or in the foreseeable future.

"Nor do I have any intentions of returning to parliament and I am not engaged in activities with this in mind.

"Idasa did not prescribe to any organisation movement or party what its policy should be or how it should change its policy.

"It was Idasa's task to promote discussion and debate on the need for a democratic alternative for South Africa and it did so by engaging or involving a wide range of organisations, individuals and parties.

"The focus is particularly on the white section of our population and to the extent that Idasa can play a facilitating role in stimulating discussions on democracy which involves the NDM, ANC, UDF, Cosatu and even the National Party it is quite happy to do so.

"I am at the moment en route to Vancouver, Canada, to receive an honorary doctorate from Simon Fraser University on June 2 and will be out of the country for at least three weeks". — Sapa/DBM.



VAN Zyl Slabbert.

Debate is 'historical farce'

3044 Sowetan 26/5/88

TRANSVAAL Administrator Mr Willem Cruywagen said that he almost walked out of yesterday's joint Parliamentary sitting on provincial affairs because he had been made to feel like "something the cat dragged in".

He was making his closing remarks at the end of the session in Pretoria.

Mr Cruywagen was referring to earlier remarks by Mr Harry Schwarz, the Progressive Federal Party MP for Yeoville, who queried the status and rights in the parliamentary debate of the administrator and his MECs.

Mr Schwarz asked the chairman, Mr Rex le Roux, if these officials, not being members of Parliament, could interject and raise points of order.

Mr le Roux said that they had the same rights and privileges as MPs except that they could not vote.

This controversy was one of many which marked the experimental session. It was the first joint sitting of all three houses of Parliament, the first extended committee debate on provincial affairs, the first Parliamentary debate outside Cape Town and the first time that provincial

POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

officials took part in Parliamentary debate.

The Conservative Party stole the limelight by boycotting both days of the sittings.

But among those who remained there seemed a fair degree of consensus that the exercise had been worthwhile.

Farce

Dr Marius Barnard, PFP Parktown, called the sitting an "historical farce" and suggested it should have been held in the State Opera House and not the Reserve Bank Building, because it was "make-believe" that blacks and whites were living and working together.

"If we leave this building and get run over by a car, we will be taken in separate ambulances to separate hospitals," he told the Indian and coloured members, referring to the Transvaal's segregated health services.

But his PFP colleagues, Mr Schwarz and Mrs Helen Suzman, the veteran MP for Houghton, believed the session had some value if only because ordinary National Party MPs were forced to hear first hand, the grievances of their coloured and Indian colleagues.

In the absence of the CP the debate itself was largely an attack by the coloured and Indian MPs of apartheid and discrimination in hospital services, recreational facilities, libraries, etc.

To these pleas for equality in services the MECs could only plead poverty.

MEC Mr D Kirstein, the man in charge of hospital and health services, gave a typical reaction when he suggested MPs go back to Cape Town and plead for more money for the Transvaal budget.

Argument

But Mr Miley Richards, the Transvaal leader of the Labour Party said that this argument missed the point.

He said the LP was pleading for a more equal distribution of existing resources.

Many coloured and Indian MPs attacked the Group Areas Act but Dr Willie Hoods, the coloured Labour Party MEC who has to administer the Act in the Transvaal — and who opposes it — could only say that he "treats every Group Areas Act case on its merits."

Mr Boetie Abramjee, MP for Laudium, probably hit the nail on the head when he pointed out that the glittering Reserve Bank building in which the debate was being held was built on ground expropriated from Indians under the Group Areas Act not long ago.

All MPs present — from the NP to the LP — agreed that the session was an interim measure and that the ideal would be a properly-elected legislative assembly at second-tier level representative of all people.



ONE of the families evicted yesterday in Doornfontein sitting on a pavement.

80 families evicted

EIGHTY families were yesterday morning evicted from two houses in Doornfontein, Johannesburg.

Some of them are believed to have been arrested but Jeppe police could not confirm this.

The families have been occupying the old and dilapidated houses for the past two years and were paying a monthly rent of between R100 and R200.

One of the houses, a double-storey, has no windows.

One of the tenants, Mr Ishmael Lekganyane from Pietersburg, said a messenger of court, accompanied by SAP members, first arrived on Monday and evicted 33 people from both houses.

"The families went back into the houses. Yesterday morning, we were all evicted and threatened with arrest if we defied the eviction orders," said Mr Lekganyane.

Most of the families said they did not have any alternative accommodation. All come from areas outside Johannesburg. Sowetan 26/5/88

Police have denied any knowledge of the evictions.

A spokesman for the Johannesburg Central Advice Centre, Mr Ayub Mayet, said his organisation, which approached the families after their families after their eviction, will seek legal advice on the matter.

"The tenants were not told why they were evicted," he said.

The owner of the houses, a Mr Rust, could not be traced yesterday. The families said they have not seen him since they were evicted.

Three parties walk out of provincial debates

THE first joint extended parliamentary committees on provincial affairs, sitting in four centres over the past two days, were hit by walkouts and controversy, but were felt to be not entirely without value even in some opposition quarters.

The CP staged walkouts in Pretoria and Cape Town for a second time yesterday in protest over a technical point, after returning to the sittings from its walkouts in all four centres on Monday in protest at the limited debating time allocated to white opposition parties.

Although the same technical point was raised in Natal and the Free State, CP members there are reported to have decided to stay in the debate.

In Cape Town, LP MPs walked out in protest against a speech on segregated beaches by MEC Pieter Schoeman.

And PFP MPs also walked out after a ruling by chairman Helgaard van Rensburg refusing to allow interjections.

Other issues which caused problems included objections to stringent security in Pretoria for hindering MPs' access and demeaning their dignity, and questions on the status of government-appointed Administrators and MECs in the parliamentary committees.

ROGER SMITH

However, NP speakers were firm the sittings demonstrated government's commitment to reform.

MP J P I Blanche said the NP had "got rid of the racists" and the joint sittings were the result of the mandate given to government in the past 10 years by white voters.

PFP MPs Helen Suzman and Dave Dalling said the sittings had had the value of confronting NP MPs with tough speeches by MPs of other Houses.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht said in Pretoria the CP was "not a boycott party" and would take part in future.

The CP's objections yesterday were based on the argument that the sittings did not comply with the rule that debates on provincial budgets should take place within seven days of the budgets being tabled in Parliament.

In Pretoria, as in the other centres, chairman Rex le Roux ruled in accordance with a decision by Speaker of Parliament Louis le Grange that notwithstanding the lapse, the provisions of the rules governing the sitting would apply.

The CP walked out immediately.

Treurnicht said they had come prepared to take part in the day's proceedings, but their legal advisers were "so sure of their point that if we took part further we would be condoning it".

The CP action was condemned by a number of speakers, with NP speakers accusing the CP of boycott tactics.

MP Pieter Mare (NP, Nelspruit) said the walkout "did not impress" and described it as a "foefie" (gimmick).

MP J J Lemmer (NP Benoni) said the CP walkout proved it was an official boycott party.

He said there was no possibility the CP would be able to negotiate with other groups if it came to power.

However, NDM leader Wynand Malan supported the CP's right to protest as a legitimate part of politics.

Our Political Staff in Cape Town reports at one stage during the Cape debate in the old Senate only NP members remained in the chamber.

The CP members left after Van Rensburg had ruled against their objection to the sitting and the LP and PFP walked out in protest at a speech by MEC Pieter Schoeman.

Later, after they had returned, the PFP left again when Van Rensburg ruled against a point of order raised by PFP Chief Whip John Malcomess.

Star 26/5/88 (3044)

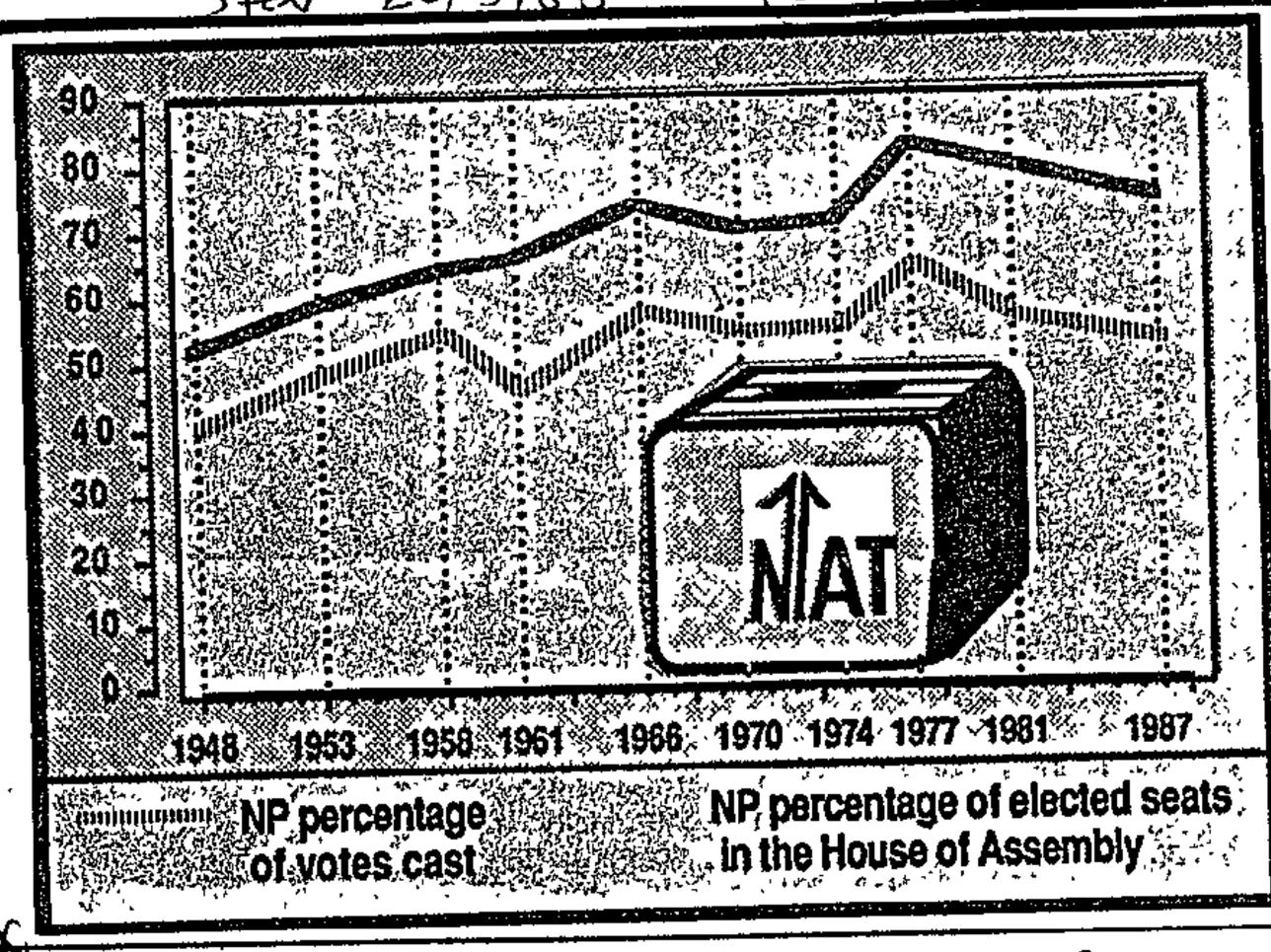
Nats have more seats than support

Forty years ago today — a graphic demonstration of the fortunes of the National Party in its 40 years of rule.

The party came to power with 41,1 percent of white votes. It took 10 years, until the 1958 election, for the party to win the support of the majority of white voters. In the 1961 election it marginally increased its percentage of seats, but its percentage of the total vote dropped, mainly because a large number of seats were won unopposed.

The high point of National Party support came in the 1977 election, where anti-American sentiments expressed by the then Prime Minister, Mr John Vorster, were one of the main rallying points.

The graphic also demonstrates that ever since the National Party came to power it has had proportionately more seats than support, but never more so than in the last two elections where the difference was 22,8 percent in 1981 and 21,8 percent last year.



Caucus marks 40-year rule

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The National Party celebrates 40 years in power today.

This morning President Botha presided over a special commemorative caucus meeting of the National Party in Parliament, attended by various former Ministers and office bearers of the party.

Tonight Mr Botha and the four NP provincial leaders are to deliver a celebration speech at a special function in Parow, near Cape Town.

Homeland ignoring court — Mahlangu

Star 26/5/88

By Mckeed Kotlolo, Pretoria Bureau

The kwaNdebele government has ignored the May 13 Supreme Court ruling which declared the 1984 general elections null and void and the government illegal because local women were refused the right to vote, according to Prince James Mahlangu.

He said they had been told that Chief Minister Majozi Mahlangu, who re

'Hands off royalty' warning by 5 women

Pretoria Bureau

The five kwaNdebele women who challenged

during talks with the African National Congress within the next few days.

In Cape Town this week, an NDM spokesperson confirmed Malan's plans for talks with the ANC, but would not say when or where they will be held or what will be discussed. She denied that the meeting will be in Lusaka or that former Progressive Federal Party leader, Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, now a co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa), will accompany Malan. She said the talks will be "an NDM action." It is understood that the meeting will be somewhere in Europe.

Slabbert, who was due to leave for a month-long visit to Europe and North America this week, could not be contacted before the *FM* went to press.

It is understood, however, that he will be part of an Idasa delegation which will have talks with ANC representatives in Europe next month. It is not clear whether there is a direct link between Malan's planned meeting with the organisation and the Idasa initiative.

Slabbert confirmed this week that he is playing a facilitating role in formulating strategies that may lead to the participation in parliament and other structures by groups which have boycotted such institutions up to now. But he has denied reports that he intends returning to active parliamentary politics either as an MP or as the leader of a new party.

Weekend reports of Slabbert's involvement in the formulation of "participation strategies" by extra-parliamentary groups have highlighted behind-the-scenes activities in recent months concerning the issue.

However, the UDF and Cosatu (which has become a key component of the "broad democratic movement" since the clampdown on the UDF), seem unlikely to reverse their boycott stance towards the tricameral parliament and other State-created bodies, such as township community councils.

This is despite the severe restrictions placed on their "legal space" in which to mobilise supporters and oppose government policy. Part of the rationale for participation would be to achieve at least some "institutional protection," or political room to move.

Although it is thought unlikely that Malan will get the ANC's all-important imprimatur for his new strategy to take off in the anti-government camp, this remains to be seen.

In Slabbert's canvassing of Malan's idea among those UDF leaders still in circulation, it emerges that Malan would like to form a non-racial political party to field candidates in the three houses. Part of the aim of participation in official structures would also be to try to organise whites more effectively.

However, key UDF affiliates such as the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses rule out participation — even though some admit to toying idly with the idea of sweeping the House of Delegates, for example. But that would only be to make a point later by walking out in protest at the system. In any event, with their comrades in the townships totally opposed to the community council system, it would be out of kilter to fight ethnic elections at whatever level.

Instead, the "broad democratic movement" plans to hold a congress of like-minded people within the next two months to define a "concerted programme of action" against apartheid and a range of issues, such as the October local elections and the Labour Relations Amendment Bill. This was announced at Cosatu's special conference earlier this month (*Current affairs* May 20).

So even though the boycott is not a UDF principle, but rather a tactic, the "broad democratic movement" cannot at this stage bring itself to participate. The cycle of protest and repression will, it seems, continue. ■

POLITICS

The boycott stays

National Democratic Movement (NDM) leader, Wynand Malan, is expected to seek backing for a new strategy of widespread "participation" by extra-parliamentary groups in government-created structures



NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan and ANC executive member Mr Thabo Mbeki during their talks in Frankfurt yesterday. Inset: Mr Paul Annegarn, who is allegedly being held by the ANC in Lusaka.

Wynand Malan to ask ANC about blasts

CAPE TOWN — The National Democratic Movement (NDM) delegation to the Frankfurt talks with the ANC planned to raise the issue of violence and the double bomb blast in Pretoria at yesterday's discussion.

According to a NDM spokesman, the movement's leader Mr Wynand Malan had been kept informed of local events and had issued a statement that the NDM would "actively challenge" the ANC on violence.

Mr Malan said the NDM rejected violence and acts of terror as a means to bring about political change in South Africa. "One of the reasons for our meeting with the ANC is to actively challenge them on this issue," he said.

● The father of the suspected fifth member of the alleged Broederstroom ANC cell, Mr Joe Annegarn, has pleaded with Mr Malan to intervene on his son's behalf during the Frankfurt talks.

The ANC confirmed two days ago that Mr Paul Annegarn "is with us" following a week of uncertainty for his parents about his whereabouts.

Mr Malan left for Frankfurt on Wednesday night with a group of academics and politicians for a meeting at a secret venue with the ANC.

Although the ANC indicated to Mr Joe Annegarn that they "would keep the communication channels open", Mr Malan's intervention could be his last hope of negotiations with the ANC for Paul's release.

It is understood the International Red Cross is barred from any contact with detainees in Quatro camp, where his son is believed to be.

Mr Annegarn said the ANC would not confirm that his son was in the organisation's discipline camp in Angola.

Quatro is said to be situated west of Luanda, and according to intellience sources, Quatro detainees are held without trial. The camp is reportedly similar to Russian hard labour camps. — Sapa, Own Correspondent.

ANC, NDM disagree on violence

Star 27/5/88

304A

FRANKFURT — Members of the National Democratic Movement (NDM) and the ANC sharply disagreed here yesterday on the use of violence to bring about change.

As four members of the ANC, including Mr Thabo Mbeki, the groups's spokesman here, met an eight-member NDM delegation, two bombs exploded in Pretoria, injuring four people.

Mr Wynand Malan, the leader of the NDM, said although he could undertand the position of violence from the ANC's perspective, he was opposed to it.

He said he wanted to hold more talks with the ANC.

In a joint statement, the ANC and the NDM said common ground was reached over what kind of South Africa they would like to see, but disagreed over strategies to achieve this.

Mr Malan told reporters when he arrived here that Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, who was on the same flight, "has his own agenda and won't be taking part in the meeting with the ANC".

Dr Slabbert could not be reached, but an associate of his, speaking on condition of anonymity, said he was in Bonn.

Both the associate and the ANC declined to say whether Dr Slabbert planned to meet the ANC privately. — Associated Press.

Govt under AWB fire over talks with ANC

St 27/5/86 By Esmaré van der Merwe 304A

The leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), Mr Eugene Terreblanche, accused the Government last night of breaking its word by not introducing laws to prohibit South Africans from having talks with the outlawed ANC.

He referred to leaders of the National Democratic Movement (NDM) and the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) as "weak liberalists" who "run overseas to collaborate with the ANC".

The leader of the NDM, Mr Mr Wynand Malan, who had had talks with the ANC in West Germany this week, had indicated that he wanted to set up a meeting with the AWB, Mr Terreblanche said.

He said he would not meet Mr Malan. "I only want to speak with Afrikaners, my people."

Mr Terreblanche addressed an 800-strong crowd in Kempton Park at a meeting marking the National Party's 40-year rule.

He said right-wing organisations should unite to win the next general election and then establish a volkstaat, consisting of the Transvaal, Free State and northern Natal.

Forget this talk of a new opposition: The UDF won't budge

w/mail 2/15–2/16/88 B04A

By ANTON HARBER and Weekly Mail Correspondent, Cape Town

SUGGESTIONS that extra-parliamentary groups are rethinking boycott strategies are wildly exaggerated — and discussions which are taking place have probably been set back by this week's blaze of publicity.

Minister of Information Dr Stoffel van der Merwe yesterday introduced a new element into the speculation by hinting that the restrictions on the United Democratic Front (UDF) could be more easily lifted if it agreed to participate in the October elections "on a democratic basis".

He told a press briefing in Cape Town that restrictions on the UDF would remain until such time.

But anyone could participate in the October 26 municipal elections, either as a voter or as a candidate, he said.

Apart from normal restrictions, such as the prohibition on people with criminal records standing as candidates, "there are no restrictions on who can participate", Van der Merwe said.

"Obviously if the UDF would ask for the restrictions on them to be lifted, they would have to agree that they would participate peacefully and in a democratic manner and would not stir up revolution.

"I doubt if they would come forward because their official policy is to destroy the system," he said.

Claims that a rethink of boycott tactics was under way were fuelled by news that MP Wynand Malan, six members of his National Democratic Movement (NDM), Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and others were meeting a senior delegation of the African National Congress (ANC) in Europe yesterday.

NDM representative Peter Gastrow confirmed yesterday that the participation/boycott debate would be discussed at the meeting in Frankfurt, West Germany, but said it was only "one of many items" on the agenda.

He said it was "unfortunate" that reports had been so "sensationalised", giving the impression that discussions were at an advanced stage.

"In fact, discussion about additional strategies have only started taking place within various groupings.

"We in the NDM have purposely

●To PAGE 2

P.T.O.

40 years on, and still there are no answers

Joe Latakgomo, senior assistant editor of The Star, gives his assessment of four decades of National Party rule.



It could have been yesterday, that day, 40 years ago, when the National Party wrenched power from Smuts. That victory was based on warning white voters that there was the great "swart gevaar" that threatened their very lives. They had to act to stem this, or forever hold their peace.

They chose to act, and the result was that the NP took over government, clinging, initially, and eventually assuming such control as to remain firmly in power for the next four decades. And therein lay the danger, the danger that eventually eroded this country's respectability and acceptability as a Western ally to the extent that this country is today the polecat of the world.

Afrikanerdom had been riven by the great debate over participation in World War 2. At the same time, the rural, farming community faced devastating economic collapse. The Nats blamed Smuts and took up slogans which dealt with everything except the real issues of the day. Smuts, apparently, felt reasonably comfortable — as did many newspapers — over the election. What all of them did not consider seriously was the rural, conservative vote.

Held to ransom

This sounds familiar. It is the same rural vote that is still clinging to old-style apartheid today. It is the same rural vote that is still trying to hold the country to ransom — and certainly succeeding in spite of what President Botha is trying to tell us. It is this vote which has halted the National Party firmly in its tracks, which has brought the reform programme, for what it was, to a standstill.

The NP came into power on a ticket of white right and might. That master architect of apartheid, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, immediately went to work, and introduced apartheid walls. Blacks could have their own place in the sun, but not on the sunny side of the street, which would be the preserve of whites.

The education system had to be changed, because, he believed, blacks exposed to the same kind of education would also aspire to everything else that whites aspired to — which was not their station in life. He did not see blacks as anything beyond hewers of wood.

That was the birth of Bantu Education.

The Tomlinson Commission reported that blacks would create their own states, totally independent, and their sojourn in the "white" areas would be temporary. Migration to the "white areas" would be rigidly controlled. And so was born Influx Control, and the homelands policy.

As blacks would be in the "white areas" only temporarily, the housing provided required only the barest facilities. Hundreds of thousands of NE 51/6 and NE 51/9 houses were built. (NE meant "Non European".) These are the structures that are the landmark of any black township, that still stand today as a stark monument to lack of planning. These are the houses that have created such serious socio-economic-political problems today.

The homelands are an economic and political disaster. The so-called independent states — Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei — are still wholly dependent on South Africa. There has been a coup in Transkei and an attempted coup in Bophuthatswana. Transkei, Venda and Ciskei operate largely like small banana republics. The South African taxpayer has to pay for it.

The "non-independent" states — Qwa Qwa, Lebowa, Gazankulu, kwaZulu, Kangwane and kwaNdebele, are all non-viable.

There is a legislative assembly for each of these, with the usual trappings. Ten in all, we have. Plus the other three houses which make up the tricameral parliamentary system. Each has its own Education Ministry, Health Ministry, etc. And we pay for all of this.

Right now, the Government is working on even more structures, structures which are ostensibly designed to "broaden" democracy. We will probably have a Super Cabinet, an Indaba, various consulting bodies, made up of people from all groups, regional councils, local councils.

Human rights took perhaps the biggest bashing of all during the past 40 years. The security laws which have been introduced only since the '60s are an amazing indication of the government's desperation. Mr John Vorster, as Minister of Justice, set the ball rolling. It is still rolling, and various Ministers of Justice have been helping push it along. The banning of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress was perhaps the most powerful indicator of what was in store. Dozens of black organisations have since been banned.

There have been more deaths in detention than at any other time in our history. More people have left the country and gone into exile than at any other time in our history — thanks to the National Party. Polarisation has grown in leaps and bounds, and, right now, there is much debate about whether black and white can ever find each other, again, all thanks to the NP's 40 years of power.

The NP also achieved other remarkable feats. We graduated from being kaffirs, to being natives, to being non-European, to being plurals, to being blacks. Bantu Education is now Education and Training. Native Affairs is now Development Aid. Native Reserves became Bantustans, which became homelands, which became non-independent states which became self-governing states. And that, without even being independent.

It was the National Party which declared that black women had to carry passes. The problem was that these documents were so bulky, how they would carry them on their person at all times was a problem. The men, at least, could depend on their outsize pockets. The answer was simple: passes for black women would be in pouches which they could hang around their necks so that they could produce them on demand.

Today, the NP still thinks it is on course in its attempt to broaden democracy. But then, there are still white voters who believe that democracy is just a Greek invention which has no place in our lives. It is for this reason that the CP is perceived to be making such great strides in gaining political acceptability among whites.

We are nowhere near solving the complex problems of the country. Forty years, and the Government still feels threatened by the *New Nation, South, Work In Progress, Weekly Mail, Sowetan,* and *Saamstaan.* Forty years of power, and the Government still feels threatened, to the extent that repression is at its worst today.

No alternative to NP, says PW

Political Staff

President Botha said last night that there was no alternative to the National Party in South Africa.

He was addressing a public meeting in Parow Civic Centre to commemorate the NP's 40 years in power.

There were 600 empty seats among the 2 000 available.

Mr Botha said the NP's opponents were trying to fight it with cliches, false perceptions and too many self-appointed leaders looking for inspiration overseas.

The reason for the opposition was the fear that the NP would succeed with the broadening of democracy and its aims to achieve security.

Revolutionaries aimed at a communist dictatorship. Liberal politicians offered only surrender while the NP stood in the way of this and for reform.

Whites could not live as if they were the only group in the country, but there was also the need for self-discipline among other groups.

The more agitation there was, the more reaction there would be.

A more balanced approach was needed, he said.

The NP did not have any shortage of policy or principles. It wanted South Africa to move ahead on the road of freedom.

The NP stood for order and rejected terrorism. Bomb explosions should make the country more determined to work for this order.

There was no reason for doubt or despair.

Mr Botha called on people "to take each other's hands" to make 1988 the year of hope.

PFP 'can no longer sit and wait'

CAPE TOWN — The Progressive Federal Party could no longer sit back and wait as others talked of opposition unity, set up duplicate opposition structures and canvassed support in traditional PFP areas, Mr Colin Eglin said in Cape Town last night.

The PFP leader was addressing about 350 people at a rally "Upholding human rights in the face of 40 years of National Party rule".

He said the PFP was appalled at the political fragmentation of people sharing the same liberal values.

With a government floundering and the far right growing more arrogant by the day, it was important that the non-racial opposition mobilised itself into a united and effective political force.

The PFP door remained open to those who were serious about opposition unity: "But quite frankly, the PFP has held off for long enough.".

Country-wide municipal elections were looming and the PFP had also to prepare for a general election.

The national chairman, Mrs Helen Suzman, told the meeting at the Claremont Civic Centre that the real alternative to apartheid and the NP lay in the vast potential of the middle ground, comprising millions of South Africans of all races.

She said it was essential to retain and increase democratic bases in local government structures in metropolitan areas, the frontline of defence against oppression. — Sapa.

Foreign Affairs man misled, says Dalling

NP's invitation to official sparks row

Star 27/5/88 (304)

By David Braun
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A political row has erupted over the National Party's invitation to a senior government official to address one of its meetings in Sandton.

Mr David Dalling (PFP Sandton) gave notice in Parliament yesterday that he would move a motion that the House of Assembly express its strongest disapproval of the issue by the National Party of an invitation, in NP colours under the party logo, to attend a meeting of the NP in Sandton on June 11 to be addressed by Mr Glen Babb, deputy director-general of the Department of Foreign Affairs.

The proposed motion called upon Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha to instruct Mr Babb to withdraw from the meeting and to state that, henceforth, senior officials of his department would not be permitted to address party political meetings.

Mr Dalling said in an interview last night that Mr Botha had since been in touch with him to assure him that when Mr Babb accepted the invitation he had been given to understand the meeting he was to address would be a closed information meeting.

Mr Dalling said the wording of the invitation and the fact that it had been sent to people other than NP members proved that the National Party in Sandton had, either wittingly or unwittingly, misled Mr Babb.

He said: "I accept Mr Botha's assurance that senior officials of his department will not be allowed to address open party-political meetings but I must warn the NP in Sandton that it should stop trying to appropriate Government officials to its own cause."

Sandton NP chairman Mr Kosta Babich said last night that he had apologised to the Minister and to Mr Babb.

Free to accept PFP invitation too — Pik

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — **Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha** last night defended a decision by Mr Glenn Babb to accept an invitation to address a closed meeting of the National Party.

Senior officials of his department could inform any lawful organisation, including parliamentary parties, of the country's external relations on condition that such gatherings were closed.

If the Progressive Federal Party had invited him to talk about the country's foreign relations he would have been free to accept.

SADF in R245 000 claims case

Cape Times 27/5/88

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Civil claims amounting to R245 000 were brought against the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, by 50 Wits students and two security guards in the Magistrate's Court yesterday.

The claims were lodged against the minister for discomfort and other ailments caused by two tear gas incidents in Soweto on May 1, 1986.

In papers before the magistrate Mr M Prinsloo, the students allege that after attending a meeting at Orlando Stadium, members of the SADF stopped their bus and ordered them out between 4.15 and 4.45pm.

They allege that an unknown SADF member then lobbed a tear gas cannister amongst passengers on the bus. Soon after, a second one was lobbed in the immediate area of the bus and amongst passengers who vacated the bus.

Students' claims vary from R4 000 — R5 000 plus 15% form day of judgment.

The case continues.

NDM, ANC agree on vision for SA

Cape Times 27/5/88

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Delegations from the National Democratic Movement and the ANC ended a day of formal talks in Frankfurt yesterday by issuing a statement saying they agreed on the kind of post-apartheid SA they wanted but had important differences on strategies to achieve change.

NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan told the BBC that there had been fundamental differences over the ANC's commitment to armed struggle.

"We voiced our opposition and difference to that strategy. We also got an explanation from them on the origin of the armed struggle. We can understand what they are saying but from our position we are still fundamentally in disagreement to it."

The ANC reiterated its position that it would only consider abandoning armed struggle if the conditions which forced it to adopt the strategy were changed.

Mr Malan said also that the meeting provided an opportunity to discuss in a structured way "a number of issues, some of which we fundamentally differ on, or understand or at least are getting to understand". There was a commitment to continue discussions "with the intention of finding some common future".

The ANC members said they regarded the NDM as an important political force. It represented an important view coming from the Afrikaner people, in particular, that apartheid had to go and that South Africa must become a democratic country.

The NDM delegation was led by Mr Malan who was accompanied amongst others by Mr Pierre Cronje, MP for Greytown, Mrs Esther Lategan, Mr Harald Parkendorf and academic Mr Jannie Hofmeyr.

The ANC delegation consisted of central executive committee members — Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mr Aziz Pahad, and Mr Jacob Zuma, as well as its Bonn representative Tony Seedat.

The authorized statement said that both delegations agreed that the sectarian environment in SA at the moment made it impossible to achieve a resolution to the problems in the country.

It said common ground had been found in relation to the kind of South Africa the delegations would like to see.

This included the protection of language, culture and individual rights in a multi-party democracy.

"However there were important differences with respect to some aspects of the strategy through which this could be achieved."

The statement said it was agreed further discussions would be held to discuss these differences and other issues.

An ANC member said some of the NDM members were staying on to discuss a broad range of issues relating to the "crisis in the country and how to go forward".

From page 1

Pietersburg's role as model town in CP election fight

304A Bday 27/5/88

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

THE ONLY officially CP-run town council in SA, Pietersburg, is to be promoted by the party as an example of a model town in its October municipal election campaign, party officials say.

Described as "the capital of the North", Pietersburg has a CP mayor, CP council and CP MP, and most schools boards are controlled by CP members.

But, the town's CP elders say, their political frustrations at not being able fully to promote their policies in the town will be used by the party as ammunition against government in its election campaign.

Said Pietersburg's CP MP Willie Snyman: "Local government has been hamstrung by central and second-tier government. This will be an important election issue. When government's new devolution of power policy comes to fruition, councils like Pietersburg will have more say in how the town is run."

The CP has run the council by a one-vote majority after five of the nine councillors broke away following the 1982 Nationalist split.

Since then, they say, they have had to operate within the parameters of NP-imposed legislation and, where they have tried politically to influence local affairs, they have been overruled by higher government authorities.

The open-cinema incident in the northern Transvaal platteland town is still a burning issue for the town elders.

Their refusal to grant the local cinema owner permission to open up to all races, after major film distributors threatened to withdraw supplies unless cinemas were opened, was overturned by the Transvaal director of local government.

Objections to the Africa Bank's application to open a branch in the town and the opening up of a certain portion of the town's central business district and the Golden Egg restuarant, as well as an application for an escort agency, were similarly overturned by provincial authorities.

But what makes Pietersburg a model town for the CP, the town's management committee chairman NJ du Preez says, is that it has no black township nearby to contend with. All residents of former black townships around Pietersburg were shifted to the homelands during the years of NP control in the town.

Both NP and CP officials in the town concede that local business is economically dependent on the labour and spending power from the estimated 70 000 blacks who commute to it daily from Lebowa.

CP Northern Transvaal chairman Piet Niemand said: "We need them (blacks) for labour and their spending power. It is rubbish that the CP hates blacks. We've got to get on with them on a friendly basis. We need each other."

However, if the CP were able to implement fully its policies in the town, it would, for example, reintroduce influx control measures, reverse the opening up of the CBD and reintroduce separate facilities at the local post office.



● SNYMAN

It would also continue to prevent the development of any black township, as it has done in the past, in the Pietersburg district.

Du Preez said thus far there had been "no dramatic changes" in the way Pietersburg had been run since the CP came to power in the council.

"But we have an influence on land allocations and zonings. And, of course, through the Regional Services Councils, if we have to chose between granting funds for a whites-only hotel in Alldays or for a black school in the northern Transvaal, there's little doubt as to what we'd do," Du Preez said.

"In the town, we govern in the interests of our ratepayers. But even under a CP council we've created facilities, such as toilets, for blacks and they use the parks."

He added that the council had circumvented the possible dilemma of having to face criticism over "whites-only" park benches by removing all benches.

"The CP council, in conjunction with coloured and Indian management committees, has provided for swimming pools, city halls, tennis and soccer field and even a squash court in the coloured and Indian areas so there can be no problem about them wanting to use our facilities," Du Preez said.

The white council also "makes a contribution" to the coffers of the Indian and coloured townships against the wishes of the town's elders, he said.

The most conservative black church in SA, and the largest, the Zionist Christian Church (ZCC), has its headquarters near Pietersburg.

Opinions solicited from several black daily migrants to the town, most of whom wear the ZCC badge, revealed a despairing acceptance and even a lack of interest in Pietersburg's status quo.

But a prominent black churchman attached to the Northern Transvaal Council of Churches commented: "Here we are treated like third-class citizens."

The churchman, who asked not to be identified, said facilities for blacks had been provided in the town only after crippling consumer boycotts were called in 1985/86 in protest at the lack of facilities and transport arrangements for blacks.

National Party councillor and NP chairman in the region Schalk Schalkwyk claimed Pietersburg was being run in the interests of a political party and its members, and not the town's residents.

"Able civic officers were chucked out and replaced with CP members, and department heads are hamstrung by the opinions of the council or the management committee."

Schalkwyk conceded that under CP control, Pietersburg had continued to flourish economically as a result of massive investment in the town, which has been proclaimed a growth point for decentralisation benefits.

He said NP members had decided to stand as "independents" in the coming elections, although the CP would fight the election on a party political basis.

CP officials — predicting a full CP council after October — said three of the party's candidates were also to stand as "independents" because they were civil servants and felt their jobs would be threatened if they openly linked themselves with an opposition party.

SA divided - Ray Swart

Sowetan 27/5/88 27/5/88 (30 4 M)

THE South African nationa was divided as never before after 40 years of National Party rule, Mr Ray Swart, the PFP MP for Berea, said yesterday.

This day 40 years ago the National Party was voted into power to oust the United Party.

Mr Swart said yesterday that by 1948 South Africa found itself more and more under the spotlight of world opinion.

It had reached the crossroads where it could either choose to identify more closely with the concepts of the Western world and begin to dismantle its discriminatory practices or commit itself still further to those practices and the racism inherent in them.

"To our shame in 1948 we chose the latter course. History will show that it was a tragic decision for which we are already paying a very high price." — *Sowetan Correspondent.*

Change begins at home, says JCI's Hofmeyr

At a conference on the social role of business, executives are reminded that in South Africa today, business priorities go further than balance sheets. By HILARY JOFFE

DEBATE at the Five Freedoms Forum's business conference last weekend centred around practical ways for business people to remove discrimination and provide for greater employee participation in their own organisations.

But the speakers and the over 120 participants at the conference, held just outside Johannesburg on Sunday, emphasised too that business leaders must speak out publicly to urge change.

In their keynote addresses to the conference, JCI chairman Murray Hofmeyr and Sentrachem managing director Johan van der Walt focussed on the need for greater opportunities, benefits and participation for employees. But both stressed that business leaders had a responsibility to make public their commitment to change.

"We haven't achieved what we should have and change, like charity, begins at home," Hofmeyr said. "But business dare not abandon the effort to persuade government to rethink its own strategy."

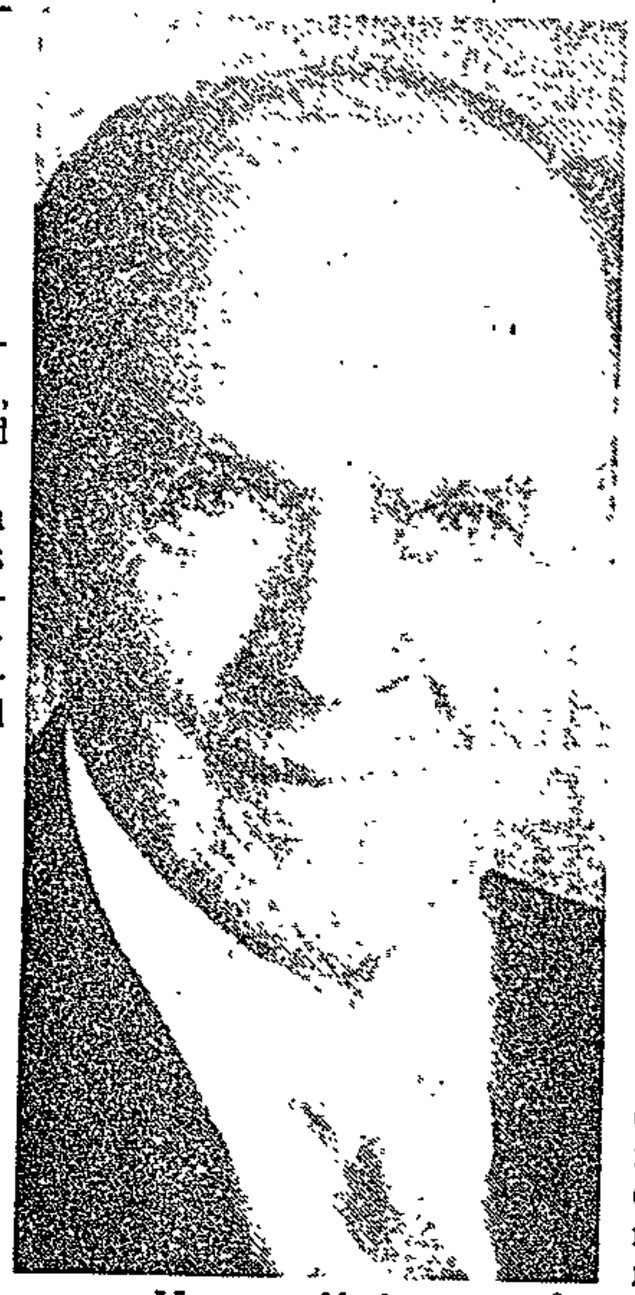
He said government policies had gone a major way towards making business difficult or impossible and business must speak out against "the arrogance of banning 17 organisations or of telling two newspaper editors their future was in their own hands", he said.

He said the government had shown a willingness to create a platform from which business could express its views, within a narrow definition, but there was no evidence they had any impact on the government.

Black trade unions had provided a profound stimulus for managements to abandon their paternalistic approach and enter the real world of negotiation, Hofmeyr said. But government policies were making industrial relations very difficult.

Speaking of last year's miners' strike, Hofmeyr said: "If the government believes that in a society with disadvantaged people, trade union rights can be granted without political rights, this can only be the greatest folly ever perpetrated. Of course trade unions have developed a dual agenda," he said.

He stressed the need for proper and upward communication in the workplace to overcome the polarisation between management and workers. JCI's mines have been working towards participative management with a system of "Employee Indaba Groups" which has helped problem solving and improved morale, he said.



Murray Hofmeyr

While Hofmeyr stressed pragmatism, Van der Walt focussed on the need for chief executives to be visionaries, initiating and leading change.

"Is it an impossible dream to envision a free and just society, a stable democracy in South Africa in which the capitalist system, as we believe in it ,would flourish," he asked.

He believed chief executives should state their commitment publicly and their companies should be seen to be upholding core values such as opportunity for all.

In the debate which followed, Wits University Business School lecturer Nick Binedell urged business leaders not to take a narrow view of the firm and to actively engage in political action:

"My fear is we will get our organisations right in a small and not very successful economy," he said. "If we believe the political situation will destroy the future of the economy we have to fight it. The problems of South African business are by and large directly political ones," he said.

Many of the conference's central themes — removing workplace discrimination, equalising opportunity, increasing employee participation and enhancing black education — were not new. But the conference was marked by a sense of commitment to actually bringing these about. Workshop sessions focussed on practical ideas which business people could implement in their own workplaces.

"It had the tone of a revivalist meeting," one observor commented.



TALKS: Mr Wynand Malan MP, leader of the National Democratic Movement, watches as high-ranking ANC official Mr Thabo Mbeki makes a point at a press conference.

ANC, Malan group discuss future SA

FRANKFURT. — African National Congress leaders and prominent anti-apartheid Afrikaners led by Mr Wynand Malan MP have found common ground on a future South Africa after talks here, but admitted there were important differences in their strategies for achieving that future.

All South Africans should be included "in the process by which we develop a just and prosperous future", the ANC and an eight-member National Democratic Movement delegation said in an joint statement after yesterday's meeting.

But according to Mr Malan, they disagreed on the issue of violence and the ANC's boycott of elections.

LEVERAGE

The four-person ANC delegation was led by Mr Thabo Mbeki, a prominent figure in the organisation.

The main area of discussion is understood to have concerned the possibility of the ANC lifting its blanket boycott of all elections in South Africa.

The NDM is keen to exploit what political leverage there is from electoral opportunities, even under a segregated system. But the ANC is afraid that accepting any aspect of the political system based on apartheid could be a slippery slope.

Mr Malan said he opposed the armed struggle but understood the ANC's explanation for it.

The statement issued after the meeting said :

"Common ground was found in relation to the kind of South Africa we would like to see. This included protection of language, culture and religion, and protection of individual rights in a multi-party democracy.

"However, there were important differences with respect to some aspects of the strategies through which this could be achieved."

Today the four-man ANC delegation will meet Dr van Zyl Slabbert, co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa, for informal talks. — The Independent News Service.

Break-up of opposition 'appalled' Eglin

Staff Reporter

THE Progressive Federal Party would no longer sit back and wait while others, who talked about unity, set up duplicate opposition structures and canvassed support and money in traditional PFP areas, party leader Mr Colin Eglin said.

Reviewing 40 years of National Party rule, he implored whites not to erect racial barriers and not to deliberately restrict themselves to being a permanent part of an embattled racial minority.

"I urge you to have the courage to step out of the shadows of apartheid to become an integral part of a non-racial South Africa of tomorrow — become part of the sensible majority in a South Africa which in spite of 40 years of apartheid still holds great promise for the future."

"Floundering"

Addressing about 350 people in the Claremont Civic Centre last night Mr Eglin said the National Party was floundering and the far right was growing more arrogant by the day.

It was important that the enlightened non-racial opposition mobilised itself into a united and effective political force.

The PFP was appalled at the political fragmentation of people who shared the same basic liberal values. The party was determined to play its part in ensuring that the "verligte" opponents of the National Party "get their act together".

The party had held off for far too long. "We can no longer sit back and wait while others who talk about opposition unity, set up duplicate opposition structures and canvass support and money in traditional PFP areas," he said.

"Whatever others may be doing, we in the PFP intend to get stuck in to ensure that we are in a position to defend the values on which we were founded and in which we believe today."

Left deep scars

The road ahead would not be an easy one, but 40 years of apartheid had left deep scars on the nation.

But the civilised, decent or liberal values in which the PFP believed and the concepts of equal rights, individual freedom, equal dignity and security under the rule of law, would live on.

Mrs Helen Suzman, the MP for Houghton, said the real alternative to apartheid and the National Party lay in the vast potential of the middle ground of millions of South Africans of all races.

She said: "This solid phalanx remains true to the basic principles of democracy. It needs mobilising so that those principles which embody an open non-racial society will be introduced in South Africa."

Mr Tony Heard, former editor of the Cape Times, said the Conservative Party was a "Frankenstein force" created and nurtured and set loose on South Africa by the National Party.

The Nationalists were reaping what they had sown.

P W could rule by decree, says study

By Michael Morris
The Star Bureau

LONDON — President Botha could take the extreme step of suspending the Constitution and ruling by decree if pressures from the left and right become unbearable, says the International Institute for Strategic Studies.

The institute's newly published strategic survey portrays Mr Botha as a politically embattled leader, partly distrusted within his own community, pressed from other quarters to attract the ANC into discussion, conscious of the power of black trade unions, and keenly aware of the need to generate a higher growth rate to finance the country's expanding and costlier security services and reforms.

"The indications," it says, "of a continuing movement of Afrikaner support to political groupings on the right and left of the NP are of more than academic importance to future political developments in South Africa.

"Botha would like to press ahead with his own plans for reform which are less a blueprint for the future than groping attempts to co-opt blacks into various bodies established by the Government."

But he faces a dilemma, says the survey.

His hopes of avoidng elections until 1992, and also of evading the Rev Allan Hendrickse's demand for the scrapping of the Group Areas Act, confront him with "a political and constitutional dilemma".

ELECTORATE

The institute says: "To repeal the Act would cause a haemorrhage of NP support to the CP. Botha's other option would be recess Parliament, suspend the Constitution and rule by decree until ready to face the electorate. This course would be extreme, but not beyond possibility."

At the same time, the report says, South Africa recognises that the political future must involve the ANC.

"The problem for the Government has been to find a way to square the circle of attracting the ANC into discussion without being seen to back down from its own long-standing position that the ANC must renounce violence before talks can occur."

But the institute notes an apparent flexibility in both Government and ANC positions — the Government suggesting it might be possible to legalise the ANC if it suspended violence, and the ANC calling for a united, rather than the traditional unitary, South Africa.

But the survey says the Government's reaction to ANC veteran Govan Mbeki's freedom does not augur well for the release of Nelson Mandela — a precondition for negotiations.

The institute believes, however, that "critics and supporters alike agree that the Government appears to have broken the back of the largely spontaneous uprising in the black townships after nearly 2½ years".

PFP candidates tackle Jo'burg's burning dilemmas

By Shirley Woodgate,
Municipal Reporter

Progressive Federal Party election candidates who attended this week's city council meeting have voiced opinions on wide-ranging municipal issues — the George Harrison statue, Saturday's shooting at the Chelsea Hotel and a proposed bottle store in Hillbrow.

Reacting to the growing cost of the Harrison monument to be unveiled on June 24 in Settlers Park, which rose from R500 000 in 1986 to R730 000, Mr Jack Bloom (Ward 34) said the money could have been better spent on a municipal police force or upgrading open spaces in Bruma where the statue was seen as a distraction rather than a focal point to the city's eastern entrance.

He slammed the style of the statue as reminiscent of Russian revolutionary art or that of the Fascist era of Mussolini.

Mr Cliff Garrun (Ward 31) said the incident at the Chelsea Hotel, where Mr Louis Carew was shot dead in a fight, highlighted the lack of law and order in the Hillbrow area.

Calling on the management committee to implement PFP plans for a municipal police force, he said: "This type of street incident could be eliminated by a visible police presence which would put a stop to drinking in public and unruly gatherings which could lead to trouble."

Mrs Gene Gunther (Ward 26) said her Hillbrow Caring Association planned to oppose an application for a bottle store between Claim and Banket streets after receiving complaints from elderly people in a neighbouring old-age hotel.

"If the application is granted by the town planning committee, this will be the third bottle store within one-and-a-half blocks.

"There is no doubt that liquor outlets attract hoboes and vagrants, and the present unacceptable situation in the area will be worsened," she said.

Release of Wynberg six welcomed

CAPE TOWN — The oppressed people of South Africa had come to the conclusion that the courts were instruments of oppression, the Wynberg Crisis and Relief Centre said in Cape Town yesterday.

The comments were made at a news conference welcoming the release of six of the "Wynberg Seven" who were convicted of public violence in the Wynberg Magistrate's Court last year.

They were released on May 19, 19 days before completing their one-year prison sentence.

At the conference, the group demanded the release of Wayne Jordaan, who was sentenced with them and is serving an effective three years.

The six released are Miss Venecia de Klerk (20), Miss Dee Dicks (20), Mr Julian Stubbs (20), Mr Showqie Enous (19), Mr Nasier Masoet (19) and Mr Igsaan Amlay (19).

The parents of the six also attended the press conference.

The Wynberg Crisis and Relief Centre said it believed the "Wynberg Seven" were likely to be scarred for life psychologically. — Sapa.

Flak from Vlok for liberals who talked to ANC in West Germany



WYNAND MALAN: leader of the NDM.

BONN — SA liberals yesterday met ANC leaders and tried to persuade the movement to lay down arms and join in a ballot-box fight against apartheid.

Defying Government threats to confiscate passports of whites meeting the ANC, the South African group and four ANC leaders held a second day of talks in a Frankfurt hotel.

Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, former leader of the Progressive Federal Party, analysed Pretoria's crackdown on dissent with Mr Thabo Mbeki, ANC information secretary, and three other members of the exiled group's executive committee.

Their talks followed discussions on Thursday by the ANC and eight members of MP Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement.

NDM member Mr Harald Pakendorf, former editor of *Die Vaderland*, said the white liberals wanted the ANC to join the political process.

"We disagree about violence, about the ANC's strategy of boycotting elections. They say they won't participate; we want them to participate," he said.

Bomb attacks in Pretoria during the talks severely embarrassed the liberal Afrikaners. Mr Malan, who returned to South Africa on an overnight flight, was immediately attacked by the Government for meeting the ANC.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok coupled condemnation of the bombs with an attack on Mr Malan and fellow liberals, saying it was incomprehensible that they wanted to talk with the ANC.

Mr Vlok's views were echoed by *The Citizen*, which brushed aside Mr Malan's statement that the NDM opposed violence and armed struggle.

"We can tell Malan and Co that their fellow South Africans are filled with revulsion at the thought that there were people who were chatting to the ANC in Frankfurt while the ANC endangered the lives of people in Pretoria with a double bomb attack," the paper said.

The Frankfurt talks, part of a series of meetings abroad between liberals and the ANC that began three years ago, showed common ground on long-term goals, both sides said. — Sapa-Reuter.

How Weeked Argus readers remember . . .

1948

THE DAY THE NATS WON

Weekend FOCUS 3

LAST week WEEKEND ARGUS invited readers to tell of their experiences on May 26, 1948 — the day 40 years ago when the Nationalists were elected to power and which they celebrated on Thursday with joyous festivities. How vividly many still seem to remember that day — when first news came that the great General Jan Smuts had lost his Standerton seat and later that his UP government had fallen.

Here are some of the responses as prepared for publication by WEEKEND ARGUS political writer FRANS ESTERHUYSE.

TO Mrs Dorothy Allenberg, of Thornton, the news of General Smuts' defeat is as vivid as if it happened yesterday:

It was about midnight. My husband and two small children were asleep, but I was sitting up in bed awaiting the peep-peeps before results were announced over the radio, with music playing in-between.

I had a feeling of uneasiness as already the UP had lost some seats. So when the Standerton results were to be announced I felt assured of Smuts's success.

My disbelief when I heard the news was unparallelled, and, unashamedly, tears ran down my cheeks.

There was a silence, and then, slowly and softly the music started — Valse Triste *by Jean Sibelius; "sad waltz", beautiful but mournful music. For 40 years I have wondered — was this coincidence that that was the next record, or had some UP supporter on duty at the SABC quickly procured the record? I have always felt the latter was the answer.*

MR FitzRoy du Toit, of Diep River, was a strong UP and Smuts supporter.

As I walked to Diep River station to catch the early-morning train to Cape Town, a friend called out: "The Nats are in."

"By how much?" I asked.

"About two," he replied.

People were too shocked to talk, except to ask in bewilderment: "However did this happen?"

In the office a Nationalist colleague with whom I had had many political discussions, approached me and said belligerently: "Now we've got you. You'll never get in again."

My only comment was: "This will lead to shooting."

It seems now that both prophecies were correct.

THIS is how Cape Town businessman Mr Alexander Joles remembers "the morning after the Nats took over":

It was about one week before the 1948 election that a well-known Stellenbosch industrialist asked me to send some Persian carpets on approval.

When I called on the morning after the election and entered the lounge I could not see any furniture as tables, chairs and sideboard were all entirely covered by Die Burger's *election results.*

My client regretted that he had to ask me to take all carpets away as he could not possibly concentrate on making a choice just then and would contact me at a later date.

Forty years ago, and I am still waiting . . .

MR Fred Warren, of Seaforth, was at his bench in the basement workshop of a radio and TV dealer in Oxford Street, London, when he heard about the election result. He had already made ar-

A NEWSPAPERMAN'S THOUGHTS ON THE DAY

by JR COLMAN

IN 1948 there was Kimberley City, a safe United Party seat, and Kimberley District, the rural environs, thoroughly Nat. After 1948 Kimberley was cut in two electorally, one half of the townsfolk going to Kimberley South and the other to Kimberley North, and in the next general election the Nationalists won both seats. Voila!

In 1948 Mr Harry Oppenheimer, a novitiate in politics, won Kimberley City comfortably. But my most vivid memory of the fateful May election is nearly getting beaten up in a Kimberley cafe for suggesting that Jan Smuts might lose. It was my first election as a newspaperman. There were many to come in the next 40 years provincial as well as national, and two referendums and the side I backed lost them all.

Only 1948 was a surprise.

A consequence of that election has been the destruction of democracy as understood (in its limited white context) by South Africans at the time. This was the notion that the other fellow had a chance at election time to put his own choices, pals or otherwise, into office. The nationalistic character of the National Party put paid to such tradition. Elections meant victories not for a political party but for another nation, the Afrikaner volk. They were conquests.

After 1948 the high offices of state, political and administrative, were to become, with few exceptions, jobs for Afrikaners, though money for their salaries and the education of their children, came largely from "English" pockets. Not that the English seemed to mind, a long suffering attitude acknowledged in recent times by Finance Minister du Plessis. When he chided Conservatives for resenting the "white" taxpayers' money that was spent on blacks.

BEFORE the 1948 election South Africa's future, to judge by my own recalled sentiments, seemed promising and secure. There was anxiety about "the Native problem" but no great fear (a personal view) that it would not be solved eventually in a decent, civilised, liberal manner. Fool's paradise maybe.

In the event, 1948 has brought to the NP's opponents frustration and helplessness of the kind felt by the unenfranchised; it has also brought insecurity and a loss of national pride. I think there is much nostalgia for the days when the South African flag flew in places like the Western Desert proud and respected in the company of staunch allies. Immigrants poured into South Africa in the late forties, and the Nats felt obliged to slop Britons from getting South African citizenship too quickly. Who gives up a British passport now?

I believe South African whites have lost far more since 1948 than they realise. The process has been gradual and insidious: Freedoms are drying up as sensitivities are blunted. We take for granted imprisonment without trial (of others, of course), press restrictions, official secrecy, lower standards of political conduct. Conscription for military purposes which are often obscure and not disclosed are cheerfully accepted by a heavily propaganised voting public become increasingly apathetic, ignorant and supine.

Of course, white discomfort under Nat rule is hardly comparable with the suffering and humilation of blacks and other racial groups. Apartheid's evils are well chronicled, but because of the separation of races (apartheid's supreme achievements) these wrongs one scarcely comprehended by the whites, by the people whose opinion can kill or prosper the polecat writ.

After 40 years, what now? The NP celebrants can look back this week on a wasteland of opportunity, at home and abroad. They have looked after themselves and can feel satisfied with their fat condition. But outside the world is bleak and hostile and at home is a riven realm, under threat of military and economic vilence. Not only Nat policy did this. But since calamity from apartheid has been the prediction of informed critics for many years, it seems fair enough to give the party of Malan, Strydom, Verwoerd, Vorster and Botha most of the blame. There has been some reform. It is still going on, bits of it. But I do not believe that the political party that brought our country to its present condition should be thought capable of leading us out.

MR Sid Robbins, of Milnerton, was a 21-year-old UP secretary in Vryheid, northern Natal. The seat was then held by the UP's Louis Steenkamp.

It had been a tough election campaign, with UP meetings smashed up by sjambok-wielding mobs.

There was a militant pro-German and anti-Smuts element in that district. They were people who had openly rejoiced at nazi victories during the war years, and in the election there was virtually mass hysteria among them.

When the election results came out, I was sitting in the lounge with my uncle and aunt. The headmaster of the local school happened to be present.

News came that Smuts's seat had fallen. The headmaster openly rejoiced, while we were in the depths of despair. Later there was almost hysterical rejoicing when it became known that the Nationalists had won the election.

The thought that came to me was that the new breed of patriots were now our rulers. It made me sick.

People who complain nowadays about meetings broken up by the Afrikaner-Weerstandsbeweging in the Transvaal have not seen anything.

MRS Jean Selvan, of Fish Hoek, was emigrating to South Africa from England.

I was on a KLM flight which was about to land at the old Palmietfontein airport at Johannesburg. With me was my small daughter, Carol (now Mrs Carol Fourie) who was then

an astounded Beukes remarked: *Good heavens, what do I write now?* or words to that effect. The leader had to be rewritten.

Mr Ross, then a young ex-serviceman, says he had "no axe to grind" with the Nationalist Afrikaner's struggle at that time.

This was their Mount Everest and I granted them that. But I believe that since that election the Nationalist Prime Ministers have made one fatal mistake: They shouted from the rooftops that they were going to introduce apartheid and wrote it into the country's statute books.

That was when our troubles began — in spite of the fact that we have had segregation since the time of Jan van Riebeeck.

MR N Shaw, of Cape Town, arrived back in South Africa shortly before the election after serving six years in the SA Air Force and 18 months with the United Nations Relief Fund administration in Italy.

Fresh in his memory were his experiences in the town of Lecce, in the heel of Italy, where he had worked among Jewish displaced persons who had come from all over Europe, including the ghettos of Warsaw. Young Jewish men and women, singing songs of liberation after the war-time defeat of nazi Germany, had made a deep impression on him. He had watched the first emigration of Jews from Italy to Israel.

I was in bed in my hotel room in Durban when a waiter brought me the morning newspaper. The paper had huge black headlines saying Smuts had been defeated. The headlines were underlined with fat black lines. It was like a fu-

Looking back, Mrs Wilmot says: "We have gone from bad to worse. During the war years Smuts and his followers were deeply involved in the war. We were loved throughout the world. Meanwhile the Broederbonders were working like beavers to prepare for the election. The war gave them a great chance."

MR Willie Lubbe, of Somerset West, then a businessman in Cape Town, was in his home in Moulle Point on the night the results came out.

To me it was an impossibility that Smuts could lose. I went to bed early while my wife, Gussy, stayed up virtually all night to listen to the results.

During the night she awakened me saying Smuts had lost. I couldn't believe it. It really shook me.

To add insult to injury, a Nationalist relative telephoned me to say: "Jou koning het uitgeval."

Mr Lubbe, who later served as South Africa's trade representative in London and as a minister (economic) at the SA embassy in Washington, said he had never got over the shock of Smuts's defeat.

"We went into the desert immediately. Thinking back, I find it hard to recall anything the Nationalists have done which I can say is a good thing. When you look at the mess, you realise what had hit the country."

MRS Mary Harris, of Cape Town, said she and her husband were emigrating to South Africa at the time. She had been to Southampton to see her husband off on the Capetown Castle and she was to follow six weeks later.

From Southampton she returned to her sister's home in Scaynes Hill. Then the news came that the Nationalists had won. One of her first thoughts was whether it would still be worthwhile going to South Africa.

Looking back, she saysit was worthwhile, in spite of the Nationalist victory.

MR Hugh Vince, of Claremont, a former senior telex operator for Reuter news agency and later for SAPA, quoted extracts from his diary of events on election night and after . . .

Tom Frew (then Cape Town representative of Reuter) left at 1 am after being on duty all day. I was the death-watch telex operator and came on duty at 11 pm. . . I had to handle the results that came in and keep our election chart up to date.

The first result was Sea Point at 11.30 pm. As the time went on I began to realise that the NP stood a chance of winning against all odds. My colleague and most senior operator Jack Dahl took over from me at 7 am and he just laughed when I told him I thought Malan would win . . .

Mr Vince remarks that after 40 years, only recently, the last of the old UP members have "packed it up". Smuts, though a man of great intellect and "more British than the British about Royalty", neglected South Africa. He made many promises to ex-servicemen which he never followed up and that was why many voted for the NP.

Smuts was ruthless in clamping down on anyone in his party who could take over his position — he killed Jan Hofmeyr and others in the process. And now we find history repeating itself. P W Botha is even more ruthless.

MR H D Owen, of Rondebosch, says in a letter headed "The day the world ended" that he was then a 32-year-old ex-soldier who had served South Africa for seven years. He was confident of a UP victory for various reasons.

He believed ex-service people would vote solidly for the UP. Although there had been stories of ex-servicemen's dissatisfaction, he could not agree because Smuts had made no extravagant promises and, therefore, had not broken any.

Smuts had been a world figure, had served on Allied war councils and was a respected politician.

The NP/Broederbond war record, on the other hand, had been "one of utter failure and their fascist supporters were the dregs."

The service manager of the firm brought him the news, saying: "Fred, cancel your booking. The Nationalists are in and the Englishman will be out on his arse."

Mr Warren writes:

Within a week I had a job with H Polliacks in Barrack Street, Cape Town, and I was living at the Ritz, Three Anchor Bay, for £13 a month.

My thoughts at the time were that I had never had it so good but I wished they had TV (I had been in TV from the earliest days).

Forty years on, and I have got as far as Seaforth. I still think it is good out here...

Kipling's The White Man's Burden *should be required reading for all journalists and educators. You cannot build a people up by doing for them what they should do for themselves.*

When I think of the hardships of my parents in the late twenties I have little sympathy for the poor here who fritter away the little they do have on crisps, cola and cigarettes..."

the pilot told us that Smuts was out.

I could not believe it. There was much interest among the passengers and the election was all they talked about. They could not believe that Smuts could be out.

I thought at the time it was a great pity. Smuts had done such a fantastic job. I was sorry he had lost.

Looking back today, Mrs Selvan says Malan, Strijdom and other Nationalist Prime Ministers "have made a terrible mess." However, Mr P W Botha seems to be doing a better job, but she believes the militant right-wing Afrikaner-Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) should be outlawed.

MR Bill Ross, a retired printer, of Edgemead, was a proofreader on the old UP newspaper *Die Suiderstem* in Cape Town.

He was working through the night while the election results were coming out. Late, a telex message came saying Smuts had been defeated at Standerton.

The news was received with shock and amazement. Mr Ross recalls that editor Piet Beukes, in his shirtsleeves, had already prepared a leading article which had apparently taken for granted that Smuts would be returned to power. When the message came,

turned soldiers for voting Smuts out. I was stunned.

When I think back, I believe two factors could have contributed to Smuts's defeat: The dissatisfaction of returned soldiers who believed he did not give them what they had been promised, and the influence of Afrikaans dominees who backed Dr Malan, himself a dominee. I didn't blame anybody; I said good luck to them.

MRS Jean Wilmot, of Claremont, recalls that she had cast her vote in Somerset West for Sir De Villiers Graaff, the UP candidate for Hottentots-Holland.

She travelled back to Cape Town early to board the Johannesburg-bound train with her two young children. On the journey she received the news of the UP's defeat.

A steward came to my compartment to tell me there was a rumour that General Smuts had lost his seat. I got out at the next station and was told that Smuts had, in fact, been defeated and that the Nationalists were winning.

Gloom descended over the people on the train. I was shocked by the news. We were strong Smuts supporters and he was our great statesman.

burg manager that the Nats would never lose power, except possibly in a revolution. I have never voted for the NP and never will as I consider all right-wing parties to be opposed to my Christian beliefs...

MRS Yvonne Cartwright, of Southfield, was listening to the radio in her upstairs lounge in the old Palace Hotel in Kenilworth, Cape Town, when news came that Smuts had been defeated and Malan had won. She ran downstairs to tell her husband.

We were terribly shocked. We had never expected it. It shook us rigid.

We were Smuts supporters and we believed he was good for our country. We were then one of the richest countries and now, it seems, we are one of the poorest. Many people, especially young people, have been driven away. Over the years we have watched the downward slide.

Mrs Cartwright, whose husband died in 1955, says she believes the biggest mistake the Nationalists made was to embark on their apartheid programme.

Apartheid is to be found everywhere in the world, but if only the Nationalists had not named it.

...and what others have to say...

MAY 26 1948, and the following two days I will never forget. I was 18 years old and had left the Franschhoek High School the end of 1947. I was a big supporter of Dr Malan and decided to apply for a job at the Nasionale Pers. I was successful and started in February 1948. Not one of us expected the National Party to win the election.

That Wednesday we were given time off to go and vote. I went back to work and the staff stayed on to await the results. With others, I was responsible for putting up the results in the window of our building in Keerom Street. A huge crowd waited in the street. We were very disappointed when the first results came out but were overwhelmed with joy when results in the Transvaal and some in the Cape came out.

I went home on the Thursday during the day to eat and went back to work. That night when the NP started to take seats from the United Party some of the people working with me went and bought brandy and started to celebrate the possibility of a victory. When the news that General Smuts was defeated came through the glasses were filled again.

In the end I had to put up every result because I did not touch liquor and the other fellows were not capable of climbing the ladder to put up the results in the window. The crowd in the street increased and cheered every time a result came through.

S S Van DEVENTER

Kraaifontein

IT was 7.30 pm on May 26 1948, and I was in St Georges Street watching The Argus workmen putting up the scoreboard. Quite a few other people were also there. Some were reading the later editions of The Argus, others were standing in groups talking about the United Party and the Nats. As the time passed, I took a walk to the polling booths. Long queues were there, talking about which was the best party to rule South Africa.

J V CULLEN

Diep River

MY son was born on May 22 1948, and so on the fateful day of May 26 I was in the Queen Victoria Hospital in Johannesburg, cringing as the nurses and sisters, the majority of whom were Afrikaans-speaking, crowed and cheered at each election result. It was a miserable time for me, and I regret to say the political scene hasn't improved over 40 years.

(Mrs) JEAN MARTIN

Rondebosch East

ON May 26 1948, I was at supper with my family and was too young to understand the importance of the day. What I do remember was a conversation which revolved around ideology versus logic.

I've never forgotten how true the words spoken have proved to be. What I find difficult to understand is that after 40 years we still cling to ideology no matter the terrible consequences.

O J SMITH

Fish Hoek

WHEN Dr Malan's National Party Government took office on May 26, 1948, I and another coloured seaman, William Group, were members of the engineroom crew of the ship Loch Dee, registered in Glasgow.

That day we were in Melbourne, and the news was brought to us by three out-of-breath local friends, who blurted out that the "apartheid government was in!"

We did not react much, but Captain Thomson, who was in charge, came to us, and said we should take the rest of the day off, and go along with our friends.

We went into the city and were surprised when sales girls came out of the shops to embrace us, some sobbing.

I almost fell over when a red-haired girl, about 18, walking towards us, threw her arms around me in a tight hug, but two of our Australian male friends held me up.

We asked our friends what it was all about, and they explained the population were mostly then of British stock, and regarded the people of St Helena island, and the Cape Coloured people, as Britain's oldest allies in the southern hemisphere, and they were now emotionally drawn to us, as a result of discrimination we faced under Dr Malan.

The staff in restaurants invited us in for free refreshments, and the same applied at cinemas for the duration of our stay.

Everywhere the Australians were raising their arms in the air saying, "We will take them, we will take them!" which was carefully explained to us, meaning they would take coloured people as immigrants.

The same day Dr Malan's government started to close the doors, the Australians opened their hearts and arms.

L J DUNNETT

Newfields

I WAS a boy of 15 when the National Party came into power. We were living in East London at the time and I remember well the gloom and despondency that prevailed in our home. My parents, although being born in the Cape Colony, belonged to the generation of English-speaking South Africans, who literally had one foot in the British Isles. In fact, we as a family stood up at home when God Save The King was played over the wireless.

My father was a clerk on the South African Railways and I heard much talk that being English-speaking, he would now be victimised, and that any chance of him receiving promotion would disappear. Immigrating to Rhodesia was earnestly discussed by him and quite a few English-speaking colleagues and several, incuding my father, eventually joined the Rhodesian Railways in the early 1950s.

I fortunately was working by then and elected to stay on in the Union, and looking back over the years, am indeed thankful that the NP came into power when they did. I have seen this country prosper and advance as never before. Their "South Africa First" outlook has paid off handsomely and the immense courage, statemanship and strength shown by most of those in the forefront of the NP, has won over many English-speaking South Africans. Indeed, during this 40 year period I have become both a loyal and proud South African.

It is very much my view that despite what the English Press, certain business leaders and the so-called intelligenstia have been saying for the past four decades, this country would have been on its knees by now, and certainly not a safe place to live in, if the United Party had retained power in 1948. They, and their various offshoots, notably the PFP, would not have had the strength and resolve to withstand the tremendous pressures that have come from both inside and outside which are endeavouring to destroy this lovely land.

K BARRY-COX

Vredehoek

WE were on the stoep of our house in Somerset West when a neighbour ran in to tell us: "The Nats have taken over — they have won the election."

In a state of shock I said: "This is the end of the world" to the great consternation of my son Pierre, then aged four.

I have not changed my mind in the ensuing 40 years — and he, now 44, agrees with me.

(Mrs) N C OKES

Kommetjie

Clear sight into ANC

I WOULD like to thank you for publishing the article on the ANC which appeared in Weekend Argus on May 21. There has been such a paucity of any significant political reporting in the local press for some time time now that it was really reassuring to find an interview with a highly qualified academic who has a clear insight into the ANC.

Anyone who shares Mr Vlok's wish to destroy the ANC is really being very irresponsible and extremely short-sighted. The ANC is the oldest political grouping/party in this country and has massive support. I find it absolutely terrifying that white South Africans in particular are being blinded to the realities of black politics by a total media clampdown.

J Mac ROBERT

Bergvliet

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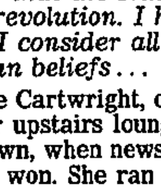

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Tutu, Pik trade barbs in heated TV debate

NEW YORK — The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and the Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, traded criticisms in an occasionally-heated American television interview on Thursday.

Archbishop Tutu and Mr Botha were interviewed separately on ABC-TV's "Nightline", in contrast to a programme three years earlier in which they appeared together.

Archbishop Tutu criticized the United States for failing to take tougher steps against South Africa to induce the government to abandon apartheid.

"We are saying: 'Look, in South Africa, many of the things that you hold dear are being treated with considerable disdain. Why don't you do something that will indicate to the South African government and to the victims that you actually do mean what you say?'

"Political power still remains very firmly in the hands of the white minority, and until we deal with that problem, we are playing marbles."

Mr Botha argued that economic sanctions and the withdrawal of some industries "mean robbing our black people of jobs, of sending their families into starvation".

He said a poll had shown that 75% of blacks opposed sanctions. When asked why the government would not allow blacks to express such views by allowing them to vote, Mr Botha denied that blacks are being denied political power. — Sapa-AP

Rebels with

A look back at the angry, upstarts of the '60s

BOLA

"In its present sociological context and political implication, Afrikaans bears the stigma of being identified with the policeman, the warder, the judge and the white politician . . .

"To be an Afrikaner is a political definition. It is a blight and a provocation to humanity . . .

"To me it is of little importance whether the language dies of shame or is preserved and strengthened by its potentially revolutionary impact." — Confessions of an Albino Terrorist — Breytenbach.

Earlier this month Afrikaans author Andre Brink, internationally the most successful of all the Sestiger writers, was quoted as saying: "It is becoming more and more difficult for me to explain the role of violence to people.

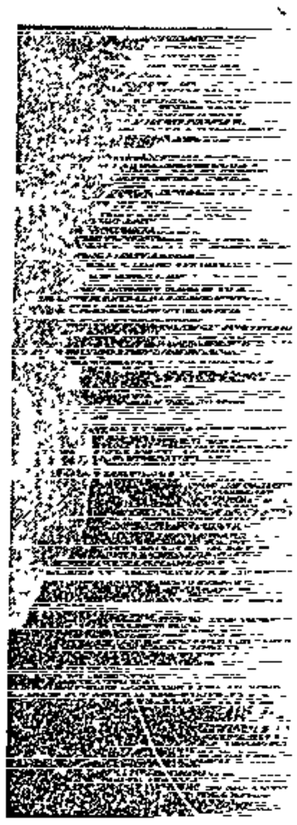
"It is difficult because, in principle, I cannot support violence. But since the Dakar meeting (between Afrikaans intellectuals and the African National Congress), I have accepted violence because I am associating myself completely with the ANC struggle, not only the ANC aims but also its methods."

There was the expected outcry from the Right. It was announced that Brink's statement was the subject of a security police investigation, Brink himself on his return home said the report was "distorted".

Where did it all start? KARIN BRYNARD, political writer for *Insight* magazine, traces the history of the Sestiger movement and the progress of the young Afrikaner "rebel" writers up to the present day.



ANDRE P BRINK: outspokenly critical of the Government.



BREYTEN BREY: poet



ANNA M LOUW: black revolt prompted her to visit townships.



JAN RABIE:

Thus spoke one of the great sons of the Afrikaans language — poet Breyten Breytenbach, who first shocked his community by marrying a Vietnamese girl (considered to be non-white) and later outraged them by siding with the "enemy" and spending seven years in prison for terrorist activities.

Like Andre P Brink, who recently stated his comprehension of and understanding for the violent tactics of the outlawed ANC, Breytenbach is a product of the '60s and the consequent estrangement between Afrikaans authors and the Afrikaner establishment.

The "Winds of Change", first pinpointed by British Premier Harold MacMillan in 1960, were to have a severe effect on the young Afrikaans authors.

It was the time of black protest, of Sharpeville and of the banning of the ANC. It was also the time of "volkstrots" (pride of the nation), of the fulfilling of an Afrikaner nationalist dream since the early 19th century of an independent republic.

There was economic wealth and an idyllic vision of a political solution (to the black problem) through separate development, morally boosted by the Dutch Reformed churches.

But it was also the time of growing isolation.

The liberal voice was weakening in force and liberal authors such as Alan Paton (Cry, the Beloved Country) were not really taken seriously.

On the literary scene, Afrikaans authors were quietly but seriously exploring town and farm life in the idiom of local realism or the so-called "boere romantiek" (boer romanticism).

It was in this milieu of self-satisfied *gemutlichkeit* that a few young Afrikaner upstarts began to question their own reality and the results of their parents' nationalist drive — greatly fanned by the symbolic Ossewa Trek (ox wagon trek) of 1938 — which in the '60s was still growing.

These angry young people became known as the Sestigers, the birth of this movement being one of the most important events in the literary history of the Afrikaans language.

They were to barge on to the placid scene of so-called high culture and such patriotic clan festivals as "Die Wonder van Afrikaans" with angry denouncements of the "soetige" (sugary) literature. Their writings tackled many a holy cow and taboo, like sex, politics and morality.

To the Afrikaner establishment they were as alien and "volksvreemd" (foreign) as the Beatles, some of whose songs were banned on SABC.

But they were Afrikaners, born in towns like Vrede in the Free State platteland (Brink), Nelspruit (Chris Barnard) and Oudtshorn (Etienne Leroux). Leroux is also the son of a minister in both Malan and Strijdom's Cabinets and the godson of another Afrikaner bard, C J Langenhoven.

Another was Anna M Louw, born on the farm Soetwater in the Hantam district of Calvinia. The black revolt of 1960 prompted her to visit the townships of Langa and Nyanga near Cape Town. The result was a novel, "Twenty Days that Autumn", for which she was awarded the Olive Schreiner prize.

But even prior to that, in 1956, Jan Rabie explored the relationship between black and white in a collection of short stories, "Een-en-twintig", which launched the new era in Afrikaans literature.

Like Anna M Louw and Rabie, the authors of the 1960s weighed their surroundings and found them too light.

Their voices were new and fresh in all respects — no wonder that they were regarded with much suspicion and struggled at first for recognition and to get their works published.

The fact that they were eventually recognised had much to do with the great guru of Afrikaner thought, philosopher and poet N P Van Wyk Louw.

Van Wyk Louw was specially worried by the shallow, stale and unremarkable quality of Afrikaans prose of the time (up to 1955) — but he hailed the exceptional talent of these young writers as an emancipation of Afrikaans literature. Their work, he insisted, was of world standard.

Dr John Kannemeyer, literary historian, points out that the Sestigers applied their art in an international context — they experimented with and were influenced by new literary and philosophical forms such as surrealism and existentialism.

They travelled extensively and kept abreast of the new literary and philosophic trends in Europe and the US and were both stimulated and influenced by the works of Jung, Sartre and Camus, as well as by authors such as Lawrence Durrell, Virginia Woolf, Kafka and Waugh.

Unlike their predecessors, who largely concentrated on the small Afrikaner world, the Sestigers elevated Afrikaans prose to universal art.

At the same time they viewed their world much more realistically, much more openly. Taboo's like sex, religion and "the colour problem" were addressed more outspokenly. And this, of course, resulted in clashes with the state, church and establishment — and ended in publication control.

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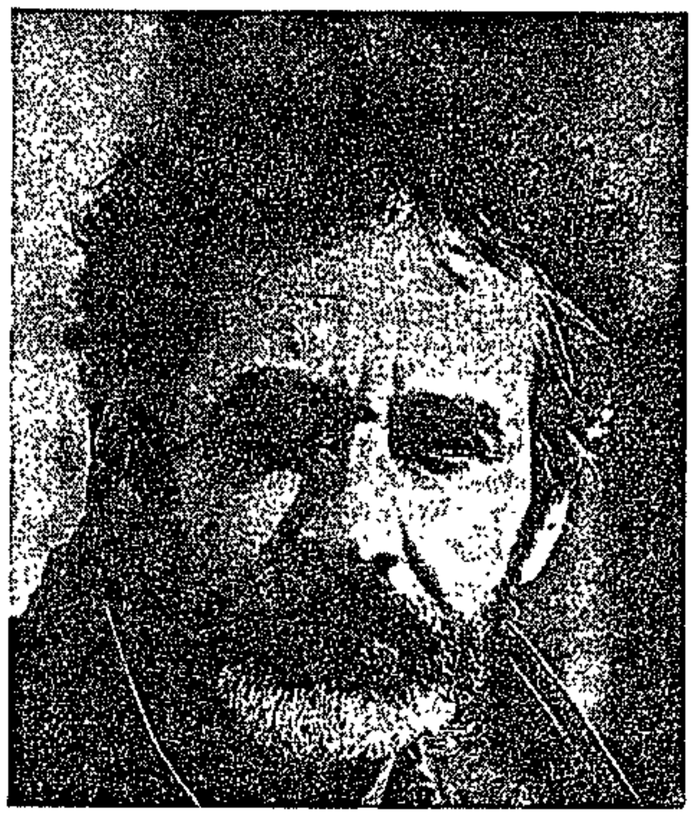
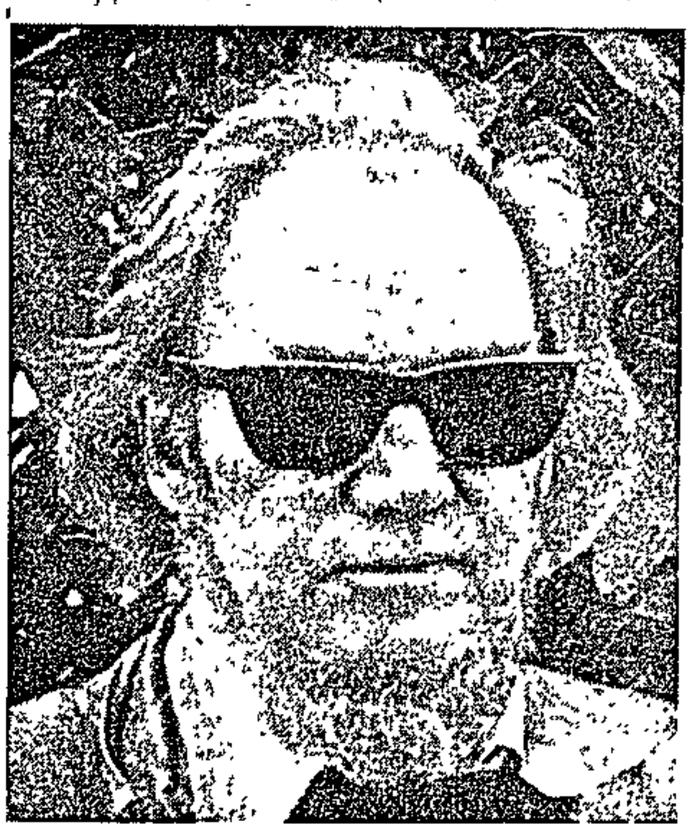


BREYTEN BREYTENBACH: most important poet since the 1930s.



ETIENNE LEROUX: most important novelist in Afrikaans literature.



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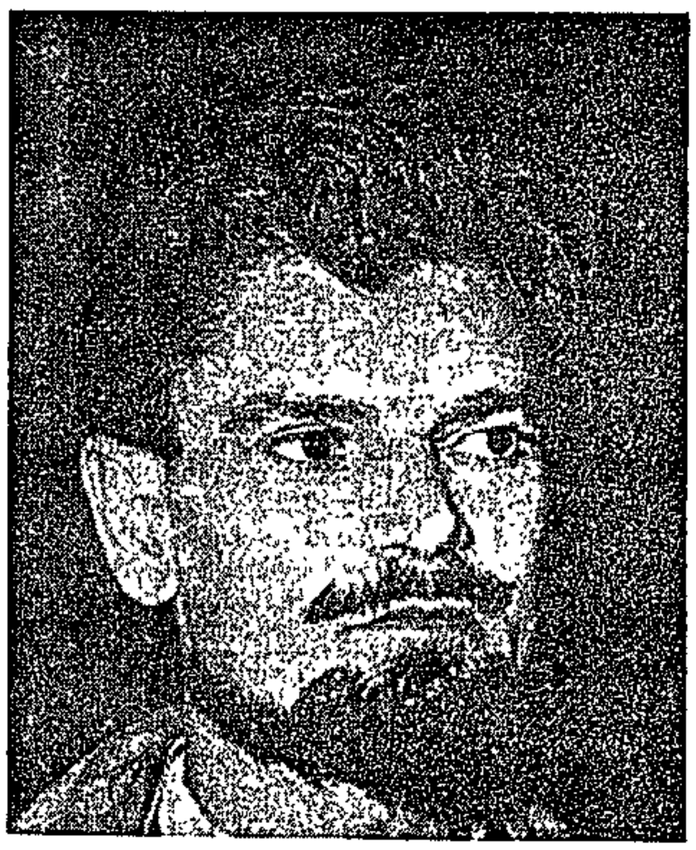
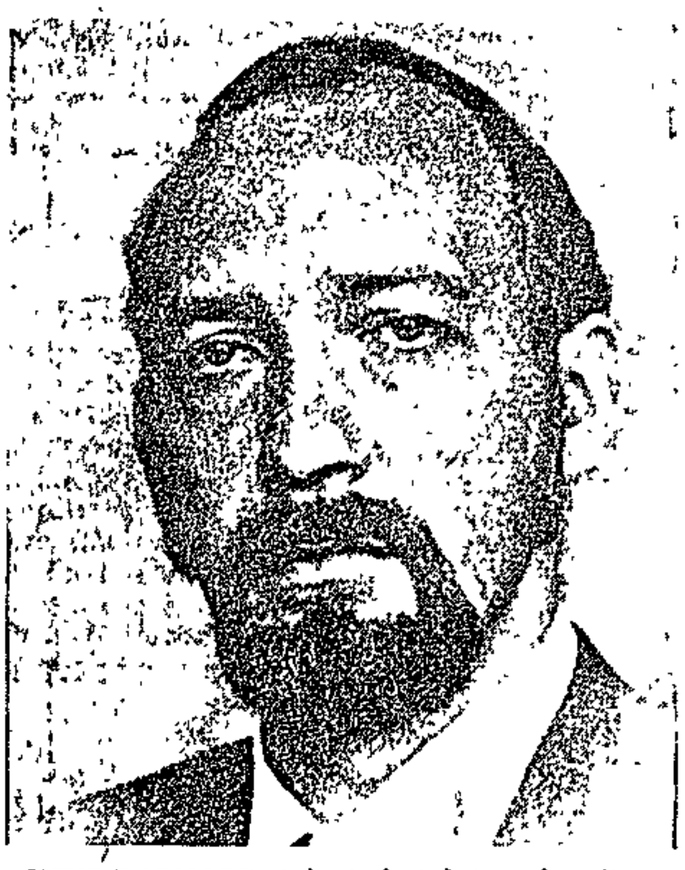


JAN RABIE: catalyst of the new literary movement.



CHRIS BARNARD: talented stylist and writer of short stories, novels and plays.

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same time they viewed ld much more realisti- ch more openly. Taboo's religion and "the colour were addressed more ly. And this, of course, in clashes with the state, nd establishment — and publication control.

In the early '60s the socio-political voice of these authors was not as probing and condemning as it became later — towards the '70s — when many writers such as Brink and Leroux became more occupied with their commitment, relevance and involvement in Africa and the political problems of South Africa in particular.

When the Publications Control Board was established in 1963, the battle between the literary community and the State started in all earnest. Morality was high on the board's list of priorities.

Many of the great literary works of the 1960s and 1970s, such as Brink's political novel "Kennis van die Aand" and Leroux's satyrical "Magersfontein, O Magersfontein" were banned. (In evidence against "Kennis" a woman stated she was stimulated 36 times while reading the book).

Several major publishers started rejecting manuscripts, in view of the potential economic loss in case the books were banned. This resulted in the establishment of an independant publishing company, Taurus, run by authors and academics at Wits University — John Miles and Gerrit Olivier, among others.

The rift between these writers and the establishment passed the point of no return. Authors of the '20s and '30s, says Dr Kannemeyer, were also concerned with their social environment. But they focused on the poor white problem in novels such as "Ampie", the Afrikaner underdog.

The "Ampie" of the Sestigers had changed his skin colour. He was the underdog of apartheid.

The difference, says Prof Elize Botha of the University of South Africa, was that the Sestigers brought new significance to Afrikaans prose and poetry. Their "Ampie" would represent a fresh look at universal human questions and as such were unequalled in the literary history of Afrikaans.

They had an alternate view on life, says author and academic John Miles of Wits University, which paved the way and greatly influenced all later literature — up to the so-called "Grensskrywers" (border war writers) of the present day.

The most important of the Sestigers, according to Dr Kannemeyer, were:

● Jan Rabie (born 1920), the catalyst. Married to artist Marjorie Wallace, whom he met during seven years in Europe, he wrote the first novel of importance for the new movement on his return to South Africa in 1955. His Greenpoint home soon became a gathering place for the new writers. He was the first to produce "betrokke" (relevant) works in Afrikaans, exploring the racial situation and conflict in the country.

● Etienne Leroux (born 1922) also married to an artist, travelled extensively and became a part-time farmer in the Koffiefontein district of the Free State. The English translation of his novel "Sewe Dae by die Silberteins" (1962) was listed on Time magazine's best seller list and highly praised by Graham Greene. Leroux is greatly influenced by Jung and is generally regarded as the most important novelist in Afrikaans literature — and on the international front.

● Dolf van Niekerk (born 1922) is a novelist and playwright, but also known as a radio announcer. His most important work is "Die Son Struikel".

● Andre P Brink (born 1932), studied at the Sorbonne in Paris and on his return to South Africa in 1961 produced his first novel "Lobola vir die Lewe" (1962). In the '70s and '80s he has become South Africa's best known author. His novels are translated into more than 20 languages — among them Turkish, Russian and Czech. He received the Martin Luther King Memorial and the French Prix M'edisi Estranger prizes and was nominated for the Nobel prize for Literature in 1982.

Brink has played a leading role in the battle against censorship, through numerous letters, public statements and interviews with Cabinet Ministers. He is also editor of the Sestiger mouthpiece by the same name. He is outspokenly critical of the Government and one of the country's foremost literary and drama critics. He is also a literary translator, having translated works of Mark Twain, Cervantes and Graham Greene.

Brink returned to Paris in 1968 with the intention of staying there. He witnessed the student uprisingsand decided to come home ... "the whole very deep process of self searching that was going on in all strata of that society then, freed me to start examining very, very deeply my own commitment to my particular society. I just felt it would be a luxury to stay on".

"Kennis van die Aand", "Droee Wit Seisoen" and "'n Oomblik in die Wind" are a few of his well-known novels, all best-sellers in English.

● Chris Barnard (born 1939) is married to film maker Katinka Heyns (Fiela's Child). On returning from Paris in 1965 he worked as a journalist. A stylist of great talent, he is best known for his short stories, novels like "Mahala" (1973) and plays.

● On the poetry side, Breyten Breytenbach (born 1939) is the most important. He studied fine arts as well as Afrikaans/Nederlands at the University of Cape Town. His first important work "Die Ysterkoei Moet Sweet" was published in 1965. After his marriage to Yolande (his Vietnamese wife), he lived in Paris. Yolande was denied a visa to visit South Africa, upon which Breytenbach became more involved with French anti-apartheid organisations. He was arrested in 1975 in terms of the Terrorism Act and sent to jail for nine years.

He is viewed as the most important poet since the 1930's (N P van Wyk Louw) and has received numerous international as well as local literary awards — including the Rapportprys.

But already many of the new generation of young Afrikaans writers regard the Sestigers as passe. A new breed of Afrikaner writers are questioning the Sestigers' effectiveness as the conscience of the "volk". They see the Sestigers as somewhat ineffective in changing society, and in recent years even Breytenbach has dissociated himself from the Sestigers.

Indeed, Afrikaans literature, since the advent of the Sestigers, seems to have gone full circle, with a new breed of angry young men at the forefront again.

Extra-parliamentary forces take stock

Star 28/5/88

PATRICK LAURENCE

The talks in West Germany between dissident political leaders from South Africa — notably Mr Wynand Malan and Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert — and their exiled compatriots from the outlawed African National Congress have re-focused attention on a dispute which has been hotly debated for generations.

It is, simply, whether anti-apartheid forces should participate in, or totally boycott, government-established political institutions.

Protagonists of participation believe that the institutions can be used to destroy apartheid from within; their opponents contend that they lead almost inevitably to co-option and collaboration.

During the black township rebellion of 1984-86 the mood was strongly against participation in extra-parliamentary movements. It was the one point on which the rival ideologies of the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation converged.

Dr Slabbert added to the anti-participation forces by resigning from Parliament in February 1986, referring scathingly to many of his fellow MPs as "sinecured cowards" on a "safe-route to a retirement gratuity and a pension". His decision was hailed by the ANC and the UDF, with the ANC labelling him a "new Voortrekker".

Since then, however, the rebellion of 1984-86 has been largely crushed by what Professor Andrew Prior, of the University of Cape Town, has called the "counter-revolution of 1987".

The exultant perception that a new order was imminent has given way to a sombre sense of the old order's strength. The situtuation is being assessed again and discarded options are being reconsidered.

Mr Malan's fledgling National Democratic Movement (NDM) hopes to reconcile participation in institutional structures with extra-institutional opposition forces and, more ambitiously, to build a bridging alliance between them. To do that, he needs the understanding, if not the blessing, of the ANC and its ideological sympathisers in South Africa.

Dr Slabbert recognises that the situation has changed drastically since his resignation, that politics of mass mobilisation and protest rallies have led, temporarily at least, into a cul de sac.

A reappraisal is necessary, he told the Saturday Star shortly before leaving for Europe. "I have no problem with the principle of participation. I resigned for strategic considerations."

Little has emerged from the talks between Mr Malan and the ANC, apart from a bland statement about agreement on the kind of post-apartheid society they would like to see and predictable differences over the use of violence to bring a new non-racial order into existence.

But, in the long history of debate over participation in apartheid structures, the ANC has usually adopted a more flexible line than its rivals in Pan-Africanist Congress, the Black Consciousness Movement and, above all, the fiercely anti-collaborationist Non-European Unity Movement.

The debate has heaved back and forth as competing political heavyweights cast their influence on one side or another.

The charismatic young black consciousness leader Steve Biko was an implacable opponent of participation, seeing specially created racial and tribal institutions as a device designed by the apartheid state to divide blacks against one another.

In a vivid analogy he compared the attempt to destroy apartheid from an apartheid platform with challenging a man to a duel while having to accept the unloaded of his two pistols.

Against Mr Biko's view is the advice of the astute Inkatha leader, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi: blacks need not be victims of the regime's strategems; they can paralyse institutions and turn them into "chariots" in the fight against apartheid.

But amid the debate and uncertainty, one prediction can be made fairly safely: as long as the restrictions on the extra-parliamentary organisations remain in force, as long as they are denied freedom to organise and mobilise, they will have no option by to pursue the time-honoured strategy of boycott.

In these circumstances they can only reply by delivering a resounding rebuff to attempts to co-opt them individually or to lure them into battle against government proxies on a terrain where the odds are stacked against them.

Saturday prayer

Give me a quiet acceptance Lord
Of things I cannot change.
My prayer for this will bring to me
A peace that's rare and strange.
This calm God promised to us
Passes comprehension, and,
I find through grace I can accept
What I don't understand.

— Joy Anderson

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ANC rejects the Slabbert alternative

PROSPECTS of extra-Parliamentary groups participating in electoral structures have been stonewalled by the ANC.

The banned organisation showed little sympathy for the strategy in talks in Frankfurt this week with a National Democratic Movement delegation and Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert.

The talks were to centre partly on a document drawn up by Dr Slabbert — setting out the need for a new strategy, and highlighting the participation option, according to sources close to the meeting.

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

The sources said the Slabbert document had been circulated among the participants, including the ANC, beforehand. Delegates gained the impression the ANC had already decided not to endorse participation.

But Mr Wynand Malan, the NDM leader, said the ANC's stalling did not mean the end of what has become known as the "participation debate".

While the ANC would not approve participation "in the present status quo", a follow-up meeting was intended in which new strategies would be planned, Mr Malan said.

The effect of the meeting, he said, was "to influence them to think in alternative ways, rather than to think alternative things".

The NDM delegates felt participation was a vital response to the Government's strategy of co-opting blacks to roles in official structures.

The ANC delegates said they did not believe the Government was genuine in saying all groups, including the ANC, could participate as long as they foreswore violence.

They pointed to the UDF, now restricted, which they said had a non-violent platform.

Refusal

The NDM agreed with the ANC analysis but charged that their refusal to participate gave the Government exactly the end it desired.

The Frankfurt meetings ended an extraordinary week of revelations, denials, and more revelations.

It began with a Sunday Times report last Sunday — based on interviews with Dr Slabbert and others — that said the former leader of the opposition had a plan that involved a comeback to Parliament for himself and participation by groups that are now extra-Parliamentary.

Dr Slabbert rebutted the suggestion that he intended to return to Parliament, and that he was "rallying" the left.

Later reports confirmed that a document setting out the participation concept had been drawn up, largely by Dr Slabbert.

Then further reports disclosed that Dr Slabbert and the NDM, with whom he had had intensive discussions on participation, were to discuss the issue with ANC.

40 years on, black is still not beautiful

29/5/88 ST Times Botha

Mandla Tyala

looks at apartheid four decades later



THEY nearly choked on their drinks when I suggested we should doff our hats to the National Party for having survived the "total onslaught" for 40 years.

We had touched several bases in the discussion — AIDS in Africa, why the world's supposed number one democracy would not elect a black President and, of course, 40 years of apartheid.

"A tiny minority of four million whites holding the rest of the world at bay for four decades is no mean feat by any standards," I ventured.

Particularly deserving of acknowledgement, I continued, were the NP's backroom boys.

They have blurred the battle-lines well: Apartheid is no longer a simple issue of whites sitting on black shoulders. It had evolved into a terribly complex structure, easily able to confound the cursory observer.

Friends from North Africa I lived with for a while in the US were incredulous every time they quizzed me about our country: "You people tell us you are oppressed. Four million whites against 20 million blacks — so where's the problem?"

Belong

The truth is the "Europeans Only" toilet signs of yore may have been pulled down, but blacks still know where they belong.

They should know for instance that God's beaches are not for everybody. Even President Botha's Cabinet colleagues now know exactly where not to dip their toes.

On buses, the "Whites Only" signs may have disappeared but, as some of us have experienced, finding yourself in the wrong bus can lead to unpleasantness.

It is a well-played game. While a black ambassador apologises for apartheid overseas, black communities are being uprooted at home for the comfort of their white neighbours.

While blacks, the "non-communists" that is, are ostensibly being brought into the law-making process with the left hand, the screws of the Group Areas Act are being turned with the right.

Not so long ago, one could hardly go to the loo without a pass on one's person.

Now we get to carry the same book as the baas and the Government is even generous enough to provide a tissue after messing up your hands with the tar they use for fingerprints.

Now it's no longer immoral to marry the madam, but then she becomes off-white in the eyes of the Government. In fact, you can even be intimate with her without the forensic experts storming in at an ungodly hour.

The National Party has expended great energy in their attempt to make apartheid palatable — at a cost of innumerable lives and billions of rands.

If, for instance, we had not been spending so much time creating three ministries for every government service and working overtime to keep white teachers away from black pupils, maybe some of us would have been whistling *Die Stem van 'n nuwe Suid-Afrika* in space by now.

But then these industrious efforts have not come to naught. Despite the world clamour which has grown steadily since Sharpeville, Pretoria has managed to keep the wolves from our laager.

The truth is that the apartheid propaganda machine is working at full throttle.

Demand

It continues to put the case for separate-and-unequal with zeal. In fact, friends of Pretoria now take every opportunity to point out to anti-apartheid activists that South African blacks are better off than the Ethiopians, for instance.

We should not be so ungrateful, we are admonished by Pretoria's apologists, as to demand shoes when there are people right on our continent who do not have legs.

So it seems apartheid will be with us for a while.

With municipal elections and possible regional structures for blacks coming up, it looks like the backroom boys have not stopped re-doing the make-up on the face of dear old separate development.

Foolish

Our brothers and sisters who will find themselves in these new positions of affluence at the taxpayer's expense are obviously not going to be foolish enough to bite the hand that feeds them.

They are certainly not going to pick up the popular call for "one city/one municipality".

There are other factors at play, which do not fall within the ambit of this article.

Pretoria has, for instance, had good friends in Prime Minister Thatcher and President Reagan and other powerful conservatives before them. There is also what is seen by blacks as connivance by big business.

But the point remains: The Nats really have cause for bringing out the mampoer after holding the lid down against so much resistance for so long — and in the face of world condemnation.

May 29 1988

29/5/88 (304A) STimes

ANALYSIS

Another 34 seats — and then we'll have 328 MPs

By LESTER VENTER and DRIES VAN HEERDEN

ANOTHER 34 seats are to be added to the three Houses of Parliament, says a Government committee report.

The committee, called to reassess the balance of power between the provinces in the wake of continued population growth in the Transvaal and urban centres, recommends the House of Assembly get another 16 constituencies, the House of Representatives 13, and the House of Delegates five.

Including nominated MPs — those seats at present indirectly elected will fall away — the totals in the Houses will be: Assembly 186, Representatives 95 and Delegates 47 — making 328 MPs in the tricameral Parliament.

In the Assembly, the balance of seats between the provinces will be: Transvaal 91, Cape 56, Natal 21 and Free State 14.

Legislation to this effect needs now to be published and then a delimitation commission established to draw the new constituency boundaries. This is expected to happen later this year. After that, the way will be open for a general election any time from early next year.

On the face of it, the gains for the Transvaal could favour the Conservative Party, which has its stronghold in that province.

Recent runaway victories for the CP in Randfontein confirmed a trend that was already evident during last year's general election — the real stronghold of the CP is the blue-collar constituencies on the Rand rather than the platteland.

A crucial issue, however, is the system of "loading" and "deloading" of constituencies has been in operation since 1910 mainly to accommodate the dwindling rural population.

This implies that constituencies, usually urban, may be loaded by 15 percent more than the provincial average while others, usually, rural, may be similarly deloaded.

Provision is even made for "area constituencies" which allows a deloading of 30 percent in cases where the area exceeds 25 000km².

In the past this system has worked to the obvious advantage of the NP Government — to such a degree that in the 1974 election they received only 56 percent of the votes but captured 73 percent of the seats.

All this has changed dramatically in the past eight years. The CP is now firmly in control of the hearts and minds of the plattelanders and NP support has shifted markedly to the urban areas.

The place of the traditional farmers and blue-collar workers who used to support the NP has now been taken by the Afrikaner-Yuppies, the New Rich and the professionals who live in the suburbs of the Cape Peninsula, the PWV area and the Durban-Pinetown area.

The 1987 results clearly showed this trend. In the Transvaal, the only NP constituencies that can still be described as rural are Klerksdorp, Lydenburg, Potchefstroom and Rustenburg. In the wake of the Standerton and Schweizer-Reneke results, all of them are in jeopardy.

From a purely political point of view it would be suicide for the NP not to support a radical reapportionment of constituencies to counter its dwindling support in the rural areas.

The Delimitation Commission will obviously also take into account factors such as constituencies becoming too large and unwieldy for MPs to serve effectively and the snowball effect its decisions may have on the process of depopulation in the rural areas.

But the fact remains that the growing urban areas in the country are severely under-represented in the House of Assembly and that some measures to rectify this are inevitable.

NDM group heads for ANC talks

A NATIONAL Democratic Movement delegation left for Cape Town for talks with with the ANC.

According to reporters at Jan Smuts Airport, Idasa's Frederik van Zyl Slabbert was not on the same flight. But he flew out of Cape Town in the morning. A spokesman at his home said was in Europe.

The meeting was described by NDM MP Peter Gastrow as "a necessary task of the NDM's strategy to have discussions over a broad front with all relevant political groupings in South Africa." Leader of the movement, Wynand Malan, as well as Esther Lategan, Jannie Hofmeyer, MP, Pierre Cronje, Harold Parkendorf, Stellenbosch University's Prof Gerrit Erasmus and Prof Andries van der Walt will attend the talks, an NDM statement said.

Johan van Zyl, former executive director of the Federated Chamber of Industries, will act as a consultant.

Slabbert, Cronje, Hofmeyer and Erasmus were involved in the "Dakar Safari" to meet the ANC last year. – Sapa

CP MPs' walkout

CONSERVATIVE Party official opposition MPs walked out of the first public debate of the three Houses of Parliament yesterday to express their rejection of the Government's power-sharing policy.

Speaking soon after the start of the "extended public committee" including MPs and members of the Cape Provincial Executive gathered to debate the budget for the Cape Province, CP MP Mr Tom Langley said there was an attempt to make his party irrelevant as official opposition.

Tvl may get 15 extra seats in Parliament

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

PARLIAMENT — Transvaal will be given an extra 15 seats and Natal an extra one if recommendations of a special committee of inquiry are accepted.

A report tabled in Parliament last week also recommends:

- The system of MPs indirectly electing more MPs should be scrapped.
- The present imbalance in the representation of the four provinces in the House of Assembly should be corrected.
- The number of seats in the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates should also be increased, expanding the total parliamentary establishment by 20 seats to make a new total of 328.

In the process of this expansion, provision has been made for diluting the concentration of Western Cape seats in the House of Representatives.

The House of Delegates is to get a seat representing Indian voters in the Free State.

The eight seats nominated by the State President (four in the Assembly, and two in each of the other two Houses) are to be retained.

The recommendations were published in a report of the Joint Committee on the Constitution, appointed from all three Houses to investigate the distribution of seats between the provinces.

According to the report, if the number of voters registered on June 30 last year was used as a basis to determine the distribution of the present number of Assembly seats between the provinces, the Transvaal would be entitled to 88 (against its current 76), the Cape 46 (it now has 56), Natal 19 (20) and the Free State 13 (14).

If recognition were given to the unique position of Walvis Bay and the present 13 area constituencies with an area of more than 25 000 sq/km (nine in the Cape, three in the Transvaal and one in the Free State), then the Transvaal would have 91 seats, the Cape 56, Natal 19 and the Free State 14.

The committee felt that Natal, and any other province for that matter, could not have a reduced presence in Parliament, however.

Furthermore, it was felt that the Transvaal should not have an absolute majority of seats in the Assembly.

Accordingly, it was decided to recommend that Natal be given an extra seat to give it 21 in the new Assembly. The total number of Assembly seats, after adding the extra elected seats and deducting the indirectly elected seats, would then be 186 (182 directly elected and four nominated by the State President, which are retained).

ILRIG Bolivian: the unfinished struggle 1985 30 cents

Reform should have been quicker — PW

Star 30/5/85 (304A)

CAPE TOWN — Constitutional reform should have been faster and have progressed much further by 1988, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said last night in a interview on "Netwerk".

Reminiscing on his 40-year association with National Party rule, Mr Botha said that he blamed foreign intervention in South Africa's domestic affairs for much of the delay, and that there were strong traditions which many sectors of the South African population had difficulty in giving up.

Asked specifically by Mr Jan Pretorius, the interviewer: "Are you where you wanted to be in 1988?", Mr Botha replied: "No. It should have gone a lot quicker and we should have progressed a lot further."

On the Government's relations with the private sector, Mr Botha said South Africa had a great future if the State and the private sector worked together with tenacity, determination and dedication.

Mr Botha, who has spent 52 years in politics and is the only surviving parliamentarian from 1948, was asked why he was optimistic about the future of South Africa when South Africans were aware of attacks on the country and internal problems.

He replied that South Africa had a dynamism in the composition of a great part of its population. If people had the tenacity, they would overcome.

Africa was collapsing while the Western world was unable to accept the one truth, that only with the help of South Africa could it bring progress to Africa.

Mr Botha was asked what his reaction was to claims that he was a "difficult" person. Mr Botha admitted he was probably difficult, but that all public figures were difficult to a certain extent.

However, if one looked at his friends, and those people with whom he had worked for years, the question had to be asked: "If it was so difficult, how is that I have so many good friends?"

The interviewer said some people maintained the so-called Information Scandal still affected South African politics and asked Mr Botha what his impressions were of that period.

Mr Botha replied that there was nothing wrong with using State money to put South Africa's case overseas. Neither was it wrong for the State, by way of Parliament, to use secret funds for this. What had been wrong was that funds had been used to create the wrong impression for that purpose.

Another mistake was that the funds had been concealed from the Cabinet and "the Cabinet had not been fully informed on these events".

"After I became Prime Minister I tried to end this. Today, funds are still being used, but there are proper controls and funds which are for a specific purpose are allocated as such," he said.

Commenting on his relationship with Mr John Vorster, especially after Mr Vorster was no longer State President, he said the two of them had been good friends for years and differences had not affected the friendship. He said that towards the end there was conflict, but it did not come from his side.

He was happy to say that he and Mr Vorster's family were on a good footing today. — Sapa.

Republic Day — a time to renounce apartheid

Star 30/5/88 (304A)

Mr David Webster of the Five Freedoms Forum explains why the organisation sees no cause to celebrate Republic Day and puts forward an alternative role for the day.

Twenty-seven years ago tomorrow, a former British colony on the tip of Africa became a republic and thousands of white South Africans celebrated late into the night in the streets of Pretoria.

But, as they danced, millions more South Africans watched in silence, the millions relegated to the political, social and economic sidelines by the simple chance of being born the "wrong" colour.

They, unlike their white countrymen, had not been asked for their views on whether or not South Africa should have become a republic. But then they had never before been asked for their opinion on anything that affected their lives.

This Republic Day will be no different from that first one in 1961. Many white South Africans will celebrate again while their black countrymen remain sidelined by the numerous laws known collectvely as "apartheid".

The Five Freedoms Forum (FFF) shares the view that the Republic of South Africa has so far failed to provide any reason to celebrate. Millions of our fellow South Africans remain disenfranchised, impoverished and discriminated against by these apartheid laws — and that is no cause to rejoice.

If any hard fact has to be remembered tomorrow, it is that the republic is built on the system of apartheid.

But, perhaps, tomorrow can yet serve a useful purpose for those millions of South Africans who would gladly celebrate the end of apartheid — on whatever day that happened to be.

It would be fitting to use tomorrow — Republic Day — as a day to rededicate ourselves to working towards a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

APARTHEID IS NOT THE SOLUTION

The FFF and its subscribing organisations have decided to make such a rededication tomorrow and, at the same time, highlight the fact that apartheid is not any solution to our problems. In fact, it has created most of the problems we face today.

The FFF believes that such action is necessary because, after 27 years of a "white" republic and 40 years of rule by the National Party, it often becomes all too easy to believe that the system of apartheid is here to stay.

History refutes that belief.

Further complicating the issue is the belief that apartheid can be reformed and that some reform measures have already taken place. Despite much tampering with its facade, many of the pillars of apartheid remain standing — the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act to name but two.

As part of its commitment to ending the nightmare, the FFF has undertaken two special projects which form part of its current campaign, "101 Ways to End Apartheid".

The first of these projects is a fete which will take place tomorrow at St George's Church, Sherborne Rd, Parktown, from 10 am.

The second project, organised in conjunction with the South African Tertiary Institutions Sporting Congress, will be an all-race sports gathering to be held on Saturday (June 4) at Wits University, from 9 am onwards.

A major objective of the two projects will be to focus attention on the fact that an alternative vision for South Africa does exist and is very much alive.

There is nothing anyone can do on this Republic Day to alter the past. There is a lot that can be done to influence the future. Very little has occurred during the past 27 years to unite all South Africans in a single non-discriminatory democratic country.

The next 27 years can be very different. Tomorrow would be a good day to start.

PW: Reform should have gone quicker

CONSTITUTIONAL reform should have been faster and have progressed much further by 1988, President P W Botha said last night.

Reminiscing on his 40-year association with National Party rule, Mr Botha said on "Netwerk" that foreign intervention in South Africa's domestic affairs were to blame for much of the delay.

There were strong traditions which many sectors of the population had difficulty in giving up.

He was asked specifically by Mr Jan Pretorius, the interviewer: "Are you where you wanted to be in 1988? "

Mr Botha replied, "No. It should have gone a lot quicker and we should have progressed a lot further."

Commenting on the government's relations with the private sector, Mr Botha said South Africa had a great future if the state and the private sector worked together with tenacity, determination and dedication.

Mr Botha — who has spent 52 years in politics and is the only surviving parliamentarian from 1948 — was asked why he was optimistic about the future.

He replied that South Africa had a dynamism in the composition of a great part of its population. If people had the tenacity, they would overcome. Obstacles were not there to destroy one but occurred to make one strong.

Africa was collapsing while the Western world was unable to accept the one truth — that only with the help of South Africa could it bring order and progress to the African continent.

Asked what his reaction was to claims that he was a "difficult" person, Mr Botha admitted he was probably difficult, but that all public figures were difficult to a certain extent.

However, if one looked at his friends and those with whom he had worked for years, "if I was so difficult, how is that I have so many good friends?" — Sapa

Talks knock Govt myth of solution without ANC

Star 30/5/85 (304A)

By Colleen Ryan

Last week's talks between white South Africans and the African National Congress could have helped to demolish the Government-created myth that it is possible to solve the country's problems without negotiating with the outlawed movement, says business consultant Mr Christo Nel, who attended the meeting as an observer.

He dismissed reports that the purpose of the meeting between the ANC and Mr Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement had been to secure the movement's "approval" of participation in parliamentary politics.

"The meeting was an exploratory one, to explore ways and means of breaking the logjam in South Africa. The principle of parliamentary participation was debated, but it was certainly not a case of the NDM going cap in hand to the ANC to ask if this was okay."

Mr Nel dismissed reports that Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert would shortly be returning to parliamentary politics.

He described Mr Malan's decision to meet the ANC as "very courageous" — particularly in the light of the massive Government propaganda campaign after last year's meeting between the ANC and Dr van Zyl Slabbert's Idasa movement in Dakar, Senegal.

Mr Nel, who also attended the Senegal meeting, is not a member of the NDM but promotes communication between business leaders and black organisations. He said his motivation for attending the meeting in Frankfurt was because "the ANC exists".

"You cannot wish the ANC away. They are a major representative. The Government itself has defined and acknowledged the importance of the ANC by positioning the ANC as the so-called total threat."

He said Mr Malan's meeting with the ANC would help break down the perception created by the Government that the organisation was so far removed from whites that it was impossible to talk to them. He said it was inevitable that the Government would eventually have to talk to the ANC in spite of its present rhetoric.

"Over the last five years the Government has been very successful in branding anybody who does not agree with them on whatever grounds as being radical and unpatriotic. That is a very unfortunate perception but today dictates the thoughts and notions of the vast majority of whites.

"The Government has positioned the ANC as the ultimate in polarisation. That perception of polarisation will only be broken by people who have the courage to take the lead, not into the ANC, but into communicating openly with the ANC. People like Wynand Malan and others have to show whites that this is possible."

Mr Nel said a "creative minority" was beginning to emerge in white politics, of people who understood the need for rapid change. "One mistake that people who are hoping for change make — especially in the white community — is of placing hope in the laps of mass organisations; structures in white politics such as the National Party or the Progressive Federal Party.

"The necessity of talking to the ANC and other black groups has been emphasised more than ever by the Government's banning of the UDF and forbidding Cosatu to enter into the political process."

OPENING THE WAY

"What the Government has done is to finalise the polarisation. It has stated in clearly defined terms that only those people that they like to talk to will get spoken to. The polarisation is there and so you won't get a resurgence of the ordinary white Left countering government strategy.

"That opens up the way for tight units of people, including people like Wynand Malan, who move with enough integrity and courage to explore ways out of the logjam."

Editor's account of '40 years of fear' under NP

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BLACK PRESS REVIEW

David Wightman

IF Nationalist supporters read the black papers (which they don't) to see what blacks thought of 40 years of National Party rule, they wouldn't be rejoicing about the anniversary.

Sowetan editor Aggrey Klaaste wrote a grimly personalised account of life under apartheid under the headline "40 years of fear".

Similarly, Khulu Sibiya, editor of City Press, who is 40 years and two months old and "a product of apartheid", wrote in similar vein that as a man told to be a "kaffer op sy plek", he should have been indoctrinated to believe that the policy worked, "but I haven't and it doesn't".

Mr Klaaste said it would take a book to tell the story of his life — 48 years — under National Party rule.

"I have squirmed, protested, pleaded, got drunk as an excuse for my oppressed state," he says.

At the age of 16 the "first imprints of the apartheid system were burned into my person" when he applied for a passbook at 80 Albert Street, Johannesburg.

"The depersonalisation that was created by most of the trappings of apartheid was perfected at the pass office.

"The first mistake I made at Albert Street was to tell the truth. I said I was born in Kimberley instead of playing it smart like everybody else by swearing I was born and bred in Johannesburg.

"To say you were born outside of Johnannesburg was to damn yourself to endless ways of getting the right endorsement in the book. For many years I have battled, with frequent arrests for having the 'wrong' stamp in the book, to qualify to be a legal resident of Johannesburg."

Mr Klaaste goes on with other chilling reminders of the shadow that seemed to be hanging over our lives", but concludes: "We should be full of hate, at least I should be. I am not . My intention is to try and build a strong black nation for the future of all South Africans.

"Unlike the Afrikaners, with the benefit of history and hindsight, it will be towards the building of a united country."

Mr Sibiya writes that he has relentlessly voiced his anger over what he believes is an immoral and unjust system. He says the biggest problem with the Nationalists is that they have always believed that they can do things for blacks and not with them.

"That is why even today any good proposal by the party is immediately rejected by the majority of the people because it is not done in consultation with them, but for them.

"Black political opposition groups in this country are not born by mistake or through the influence of the outside world: they simply come into being out of sheer desperation, as a direct result of NP rule.

"The Governent has been in power for far too long. The reason it moves at a snail's pace with its reform policies is that it does not want to rock the boat that put it into power. It is worried about the right wing and scared stiff about the left wing."

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Interference causing reform delay — President

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT Botha says foreign interference is a main factor causing delay in constitutional development.

In a television interview he said he had not achieved what he wanted to. The country should have progressed much further in constitutional development.

He had repeatedly pointed out to foreign leaders and important visitors that the more foreign interference there was the greater the delay would be in solving South Africa's problems.

Mr Botha said the country had the problems of the First World with those of the Third World, which had to be maintained together while the Third World had to be uplifted to the standards of the First.

This was not easy and it would be a long road.

There were also strongly rooted traditions among the population groups which they did not want to abandon in the process of development.

All these things had a delaying effect but perseverance was needed.

Mr Botha said that if everyone helped to let Parliament work as it should, then it remained the best form of government.

The Star has plan to put brake on SA brain drain

By Winnie Graham

The Star hoped to lobby the Government to permit graduates to do two years of community service instead of military training, the editor-in-chief of The Star, Mr Harvey Tyson, said in Johannesburg last night.

Addressing the LINC (Lions Information Network Communication) supper club, Mr Tyson said he believed a selective approach would help stem the enormous brain drain South Africa was experiencing among post-graduates.

APPROACH

Many of these young men were leaving the country because, for one reason or another, they did not want to do national service.

In reply to a questioner who asked why The Star did not start a "hard-nosed" campaign on the question of compulsory military training, Mr Tyson said he was not in favour of an aggressive approach but preferred to lobby behind the scenes.

"We believe the skills of many post-graduates could be put to far better use within the community," he said.

"The Defence Force may argue it is already using doctors, teachers and engineers for this, but government could go much further with the idea by devoting the energies of skilled people to help the under-privileged community."

Mr Tyson said at a recent lunch for Starbridge leaders of all races that 22 ideas for bridging had been put forward in 15 minutes. To assist the community in getting some of these ideas off the ground, The Star hoped to create an infrastructure for "combined operations".

It was Starbridge's specific goal to publicise and promote understanding through:

- Promoting meetings between people of different races.
- Providing publicity for the excellent projects which were being carried out and, by their success, were bringing about better understanding.
- Providing a network infrastructure which would help all communities help one another.

The Star, he said, planned to publish lists of all relevant action groups and charities so that each would know how to link with others.

ABANDONED

A Starbridge brigade of workers for the community was another project under consideration.

Mr Tyson said South Africa's mission hospitals, many of which had been abandoned or were just "staggering along", could become a network of nerve centres where people with specific skills, including doctors, teachers and engineers, could give time to the under-privileged.

Collision claims

Republic Day festivities to be low key

By David Braun
Political Correspondent

South Africa today commemorates the 27th anniversary of becoming a republic — but the occasion seems set to pass by almost unnoticed.

Most Ministers will be spending the day either relaxing at home or, in the case of Cape National Party leader Mr Chris Heunis, working at the office.

President Botha is apparently not planning to hold any public meetings, nor will he address any festivals — he intends spending the afternoon watching sport.

Mr Heunis and his staff are putting the finishing touches to his speeches for the budget vote on constitutional development and planning, which starts on Thursday.

Very few Ministers, it seems, will be addressing Republic Day festivities.

In Verwoerdburg, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok will be addressing the "lake festival" at Verwoerdburgstad.

He is expected to touch on the recent conviction of several policemen who are to be hanged for murder. Mr Vlok, who is MP for Verwoerdburg, will speak at about 10 am.

At Senekal, Deputy Defence Minister Wynand Breytenbach will address a meeting at a function for a local army unit at 10 am.

on overcrowding and health

No tax aid for us, says Eskom

The electricity supply giant Eskom is an "entirely self-funded independent organisation" and does not get funds from the taxpayer, the commission said yesterday.

Reacting in a statement to what it said was a tendency in the media to include Eskom in the list "of those who are supported by taxpayers' money," the commission said:

"Eskom is not, and never has been, in receipt of Government funds collected from the taxpayer."

It was "an entirely self-funded independent organisation which gains its revenue from sales of electricity and loans in the financial market," the statement said. — Sapa.

Namibian gas: test results awaited

WINDHOEK — Soekor was processing and analysing geological information obtained from the third test hole in the offshore Kudu gasfields of Namibia, the Director of Geological Survey, Dr Roy Miller, said yesterday.

The work was being done on behalf of the Namibian State-owned Swakor, which holds concessions for offshore prospecting.

Dr Miller said a report from Soekor on the test results was expected in about four months' time.

"Swakor will decide on its next step on the basis of that report", which would also determine the siting of the next test hole, he said.

In spite of exceptionally good results obtained in the third Kudu test hole this year, Namibia did not have a proven, viable gasfield at this stage, so more drilling was needed, he said.

Swakor chairman Mr Skerf Pottas announced last month that two gas-bearing sandstone layers had been found in the third Kudu hole drilled to a depth of 4 526 m into the Atlantic off Luderitzbucht in southern Namibia.

The combined gas flow from the two sandstone layers was about 1,23 million cubic metres a day.

A flow tempo of about 350 000 cu m a day was considered sufficient for commercial production.

Mr Pottas said the gas pressure was almost identical to that of the first Kudu hole drilled in 1974.

The second hole drilled last year did not yield encouraging results, he said.

Dr Miller said Swakor was hoping to attract private-sector investment to help fund the huge costs of exploration. Technology to convert gas into liquid fuel had made great advances in the 15 years since the first dry methane gas was found in the first Kudu hole. — Sapa.

NRP meets to wrap up affairs

DURBAN — The Natal head committee of the defunct New Republic Party met at the weekend to tie up its affairs.

About 50 people representing 13 constituencies in the province attended, a spokesman for the party said.

The committee donated R8 500 to Mr Ralph Hardingham, its sole MP, who represents Mooi River, to help finance his constituency office.

About R100 000 was left in the NRP's residual fund in Natal, the spokesman said. This would be used at the discretion of trustees, who include former leader Sir de Villiers Graaff and Dr Fran Cronje.

As Mr Hardingham is a sitting MP, the NRP has decided not to deregister.