# SOUTH AFRICAN GOVT & POLITICS

## 1987

## AUGUST - OCTOBER

# Schwarz tipped to lead new-look political alliance

WPOST 1/8/87

By PATRICK CULL
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — With the PFP in disarray in the wake of the Dakar controversy, Mr Harry Schwarz emerged this week as the man tipped to lead a new political alliance.

And verligte National Party MPs stated this week that if Mr Schwarz succeeded Mr Eglin as leader of the PFP, and if the MPs who went to Dakar with Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert were expelled, the door would be open for left-wing Nats to defect.

As one MP put it: "I can live happily with Harry and so can a number of others."

Mr Schwarz, who returned from overseas earlier this week, seized the initiative yesterday with a hard-hitting speech that had the Government benches cheering him on.

Stating that the PFP was in no way associated with Idasa — the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa — Mr Schwarz added that neither Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert nor Dr Alex Boraine were members of the PFP.

Lashing out at the ANC in the wake of the Johannesburg bomb blast on Thursday, Mr Schwarz said he was not prepared to talk to anyone who had an AK47 in his hand.

Describing the ANC as a "death machine", he said if the ANC wanted to talk then the solution was simple: "Stop the killing!"

It was the speech



HARRY SCHWARZ

which rescued the PFP, something which Mr Eglin had failed to do when he addressed the House earlier in the day.

Last night the PFP went into a weekend-long think tank session to map out the future, but top of the agenda will undoubtedly be the visit by PFP national chairman Mr Peter Gastrow and the MP for Greytown, Mr Pierre Cronje, to Dakar. A member of the President's Council, Mr Pieter Schoeman, was also on the Idasa-backed trip.

The trio did not consult the caucus before leaving for Dakar and merely informed the leader of the party, Mr Eglin, an hour before he was due to leave on an overseas trip.

It is this which is the nub of the problem as other MPs believe that not only was this totally wrong but, in the light of the PFP's showing in the [illegible] election, was ill-[illegible].

In addition, the three have associated themselves with Dr Slabbert, who has turned his back on Parliament and who is also regarded in many PFP circles as having left the party in the lurch when he resigned at the beginning of last year.

304A

At best, Mr Gastrow — it has been suggested in the past that he is planning to join Dr Slabbert's Idasa — seems set to lose his national chairmanship.

But, more likely, bearing in mind the bloody mood of many MPs yesterday, there will be a concerted effort to expel the three.

There is also concern about the leadership.

Mr Eglin, who assumed command for the second time when Dr Slabbert resigned, has not handled the Dakar issue well and there are moves within the caucus to persuade Mr Schwarz to take the helm.

Essentially, Mr Schwarz's line is that you can be anti-apartheid without having to support the ANC — an approach which is far more in tune with the majority of left-wing opposition voters.

And, more important, it is a position which is acceptable both to National Party MPs and to the Independents.

The PFP, still smarting under that humiliating defeat at the polls, now seems to be bent on blood-letting in a bid to create the kind of image that will be acceptable to the electorate.

[illegible] the majority [illegible] solid in favour of [illegible] action with both the right and the left joining hands in the interests of party unity.

Five [illegible] performance from FP side

# Slabbert condemns blast

# Talks with ANC defended

Cape Times 18/8/87 (30 CA)

By TONY WEAVER

**A DEFIANT Dr Van Zyl Slabbert yesterday stood firmly by his decision to talk to the African National Congress in Dakar and said the conference had shown South Africa could "still negotiate itself out of this crisis".**

He jetted into Cape Town amid super-tight security and immediately condemned Thursday's Johannesburg car bomb "without reservation" and dismissed government attempts to link the Dakar talks to the car bomb.

Dr Slabbert moved straight from the airport to the Idasa offices in Mowbray to address a packed press conference.

The head of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa) made it clear he regarded the Dakar talks as a success for many reasons: People ranging politically from "conservative to radical" had exchanged frank views with the ANC; they had access to first-hand information on the movement and not censored news, and "serious academic papers" were sent in advance for the ANC to study and to lay the grounds for discussion.



**RETURN FROM DAKAR** . . . Dr Van Zyl Slabbert fields questions at yesterday's press conference. With him is the Idasa national coordinator, Mr Wayne Mitchell.
Picture: RICHARD BELL

"This was not a one-day safari or a picnic in the bush. It was a serious debate.

"The government says it is serious about a negotiated settlement and Dakar is in agreement that it is possible. Therefore if the government is sincere it must at least be tolerant of Idasa's initiatives."

It was his belief there had never before been as extensive an in-depth exchange of views between South Africans and the ANC.

Dr Slabbert stressed that the group was in no way a representative group trying to negotiate with the movement "We had no power to negotiate, we had no mandate to meet with the ANC."

Dr Slabbert said he rejected the argument forwarded in some quarters that the Dakar talks had "given the ANC credibility". "The ANC is a fact, has been since 1912, to argue that we gave them credibility is to miss the point that they have an enormous amount of support inside this country."

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An important effect of the talks had been to "demystify the image that people have of whites, of Afrikaners. In Accra (Ghana) people met with Afrikaners for the first time, they were amazed that all whites are not dyed-in-the-wool fascists".

The press conference was dominated by the twin issues of left- and right-wing violence, and Dr Slabbert spoke out forcefully against terrorism.

"I condemn the car bomb without reservation, whoever is responsible. It was an act of terror. If the ANC were responsible, then I must express my deepest disappointment."

If the bomb was timed to coincide with his homecoming from the Dakar talks then "it is a macabre deed . . . an extremely cynical act".

At the press conference, Dr Slabbert said:

□ "The death of (Border Idasa co-director) Eric Mntonga really shattered me, I was deeply distressed. If the time has been reached where death squads can move around and eliminate people, then we are in very serious trouble."

## Wasteland

□ "I reject all forms of terrorism — from whichever quarter — with revulsion. I have said so to the government, I have said so to the ANC. I will explore all means to end it."

□ "The ongoing use of violence on all sides is a certain formula to reduce our country to a wasteland."

□ "I do not simply dismiss (the ANC) as a terrorist organization. Elements of the ANC use terror. A terrorist organization is one which only uses terror, and it would be a distortion to say that is all the ANC does. It is a multi-faceted organization. But I reject unconditionally that part of their operation which uses terrorism, and I made that point in Dakar."

## Armed struggle

□ "The ANC said (to us) that they do not support arbitrary violence."

□ "One area of controversy which exercised our minds (in Dakar) was the question of violence and the armed struggle. The ANC drew a clear distinction between their commitment to armed struggle and the use of uncontrolled violence."

□ "Political terror is the use of indiscriminate violence on innocent civilians for political purposes. Organizations which use this tactic only are terrorist organizations, like the Baader Meinhof or the Red Brigade. Both the ANC and the SADF have committed acts of violence of this nature, both have condemned it, innocent civilians have died through violence on both sides."

Cape Times 1/8/87 (30A)

# Dakar: Tensions mount in PFP

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

TENSIONS within the PFP emerged in Parliament yesterday over the party's participation in Dr Van Zyl Slabbert's ANC mission, and some MPs are known to favour punitive action against fellow members who went to Dakar.

Divisions in the party centre mainly on the failure of the national chairman of the party, Mr Peter Gastrow, the MP for Greytown, Mr Pierre Conje and President's Council member Mr Pieter Schoeman to inform the party before making the trip.

There is also controversy within the PFP over the timing of the Dakar indaba and, to a lesser degree, over the more basic issue of the desirability of talks with the ANC.

Sensitivities over the Dakar mission have been heightened because it was headed by former PFP members Dr Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine, who last year abandoned parliamentary politics to form Idasa which organized the recent ANC dialogue mission.

The conflicts are certain to be raised again at an intensive weekend workshop convened by party leader Mr Colin Eglin to evaluate the strategy and future direction of the party.

The tensions within the party are complicated by the fact that Mr Eglin earlier this week came out in support of his party members who participated on the mission, saying they had made a "positive contribution towards shifting South Africa away from violence and towards negotiation".

Another complicating factor is that the PFP's official policy clearly supports talks with the banned ANC.

In Parliament yesterday, Mr Eglin stressed that the PFP was totally opposed to violence in any form but remained prepared to talk to all people in a "blunt, direct manner" to try to arrive at a peaceful solution to the country's problems.

However, PFP frontbencher Mr Harry Schwarz said later in the debate that he "would not talk to any person carrying an AK-47 rifle" and emphasized that the PFP members who visited Dakar had not consulted the caucus and had not gone on behalf of the party.

Mr Schwarz said that it was being argued in some quarters that "the ANC is not so bad, it doesn't want violence, they are intellectuals, they want a Bill of Rights, an independent judiciary and a democratic non-racial government".

"But if the ANC want to be the kind of good fellows they want people to perceive them to be, then they must stop killing people," he said.

# VAN ZYL SLABBERT
# In the eye of the storm

by ROBERT HOUWING
Weekend Argus Reporter

**THE Dakar talks with the African National Congress and the huge Johannesburg bomb blast have ignited the South African political scene.**

**Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, the main convener of the talks in Senegal and leader of Idasa (the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa), who is in the eye of the storm, returned to Cape Town yesterday. He denounced the blast "without reservation", as well as the "hysterical" reaction in some quarters to the Dakar talks.**

**"If the pattern is going to be one of escalating terror and violence, our society will be torn apart," he said.**

### Peace-seeking

**The Dakar initiative had been a peace-seeking mission from the outset, he said.**

**It had been shown that in spite of increasing violence talking was still possible. The visit had been a start to "opening up Africa to South Africa".**

**On terrorism he said: "I reject all forms of terrorism with unambiguous revulsion. I have said so to the Government and to the ANC."**

**He rejected arguments that by going to Dakar the delegation had enhanced the credibility of the ANC.**

**Nobody had given the ANC more credibility than the Government itself, he said.**

**Meanwhile, the ANC has still not accepted or denied responsibility for the Johannesburg bombing. A spokesman said from Lusaka last night: "The ANC has absolutely no comment to make at this stage."**

**Delegates to Dakar who have been under severe attack since their return are being treated as outcasts in some circles.**

**Progressive Federal Party MP Mr Peter Gastrow last night defended his presence there. "In spite of the bombing, which filled me with deep shock and depression, I am still persuaded that contacts like that are essential.**

**"Not only was I depressed at the incident, but also the prospect of resolving the political and violent deadlock.**

**"Future political compromise has been made more difficult, and the bombing has played into the hands of those who believe the deadlock can be resolved only by military means."**

### "Petty"

**Mr Gastrow said a possible clampdown by President Botha on the ANC, or contact with it, would "simply escalate the whole situation further into military conflict".**

**He described as a "petty, knee-jerk reaction" a Johannesburg City Council decision to boycott conferences at which Dakar delegates spoke.**

**On a possible split in the PFP over the Dakar mission, he said: "That is a party issue which the party itself will address. I don't want to get involved".**

**Another Dakar delegate, Professor Michael Savage, of the University of Cape Town sociology department, attacked the Government as "extremely short-sighted in linking delegates with the blast".**

**"This is a cheap propaganda stunt, aimed against initiatives of the Dakar kind."**

**He said the reprisal threat could not be ignored. "In an undemocratic society you will always find those who do not stick to democratic principles."**

### Independents

**The independent movement has joined others in condemning the bombing.**

**A statement on behalf of Mr Wynand Malan, independent MP for Randburg, and Dr Denis Worrall and Dr Esther Lategan, said the blast and the "accompanying horror and suffering" could in no way be justified.**

**"The acrimony between the various political parties, threats of violence and the apportionment of guilt will not contribute to solving South Africa's problems.**

**"Now is the time to reject the powers dividing us as well as all violence and intimidation — only then can we seek a genuine middle ground solution based on respect and dignity."**



**Dr Van Zyl Slabbert at his press conference in Cape Town.**

**In further reaction the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, said: "The blast has come as a tragic reminder to all peace-loving South Africans that the war between the minority regime and the majority of the voiceless people has to be brought to a quick end."**

**Public statements on the bombing were "not encouraging at all".**

**"The SACC believes that the only way to stop this war is to bring together the warring parties to discuss the real causes," he said.**

# Death threats to Boraine after TV

BY TONY WEAVER

A SERIES of death threats and threatening telephone calls immediately after Thursday night's television news forced one of the executive directors of the Intitute for a Democratic Alterntive for South Africa, Dr Alex Boraine, to take his phone off the hook overnight.

Yesterday co-director Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said at a press conference in Mowbray that he took threats from the ultra-right-wing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging seriously and offered to meet the AWB for talks.

Referring to AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche's comments that he "did not like" Dr Slabbert's table manners, he said: "I have said I am prepared to talk to him, I don't ask that he have the same table manners as me.

"No thuggery or threats will make me stand back from the position I have adopted."

On the question of his personal safety, he said: "I am not going to dismiss these threats, I will take whatever precautions are necessary, but I am not going to lock myself up in a cage."

Dr Boraine said that immediately after Thursday night's television news the threatening calls started.

"Most of the threats I received were a direct response following Magnus Malan's inflammatory statements on the TV news. Several of them actually mentioned his statement when charging me with either organizing the bombing while I was in Dakar, or threatening to take action against me.

"Whether it be Eugene Terre'Blanche or Magnus Malan, there is a climate of violence being cultivated which can do no one any good."

CAPE Times 1/8/87

# Student body's 1st meeting

**Staff Reporter**

THE Independent Students' Movement, formed at a meeting of University of Stellenbosch students on Thursday night, will be formally launched at a public meeting on campus on August 20.

The closed meeting was attended by about 100 students and addressed by the independent MP for Randburg, Mr Wynand Malan.

A constitution underwriting the principles of the national Independent movement was accepted.

At the August 20 launch Mr Malan, Dr Esther Lategan, Mr Dawid de Villiers, chairman of the Independent Trust, and other prominent "Independents" will be present.

At Thursday's meeting, SRC member Mr Hennie Bester was elected chairman.

# IF THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONFLICT IS NOT ABOUT RACE OR CLASS, THEN JUST WHAT IS IT ABOUT?

# THE THIRD WAY

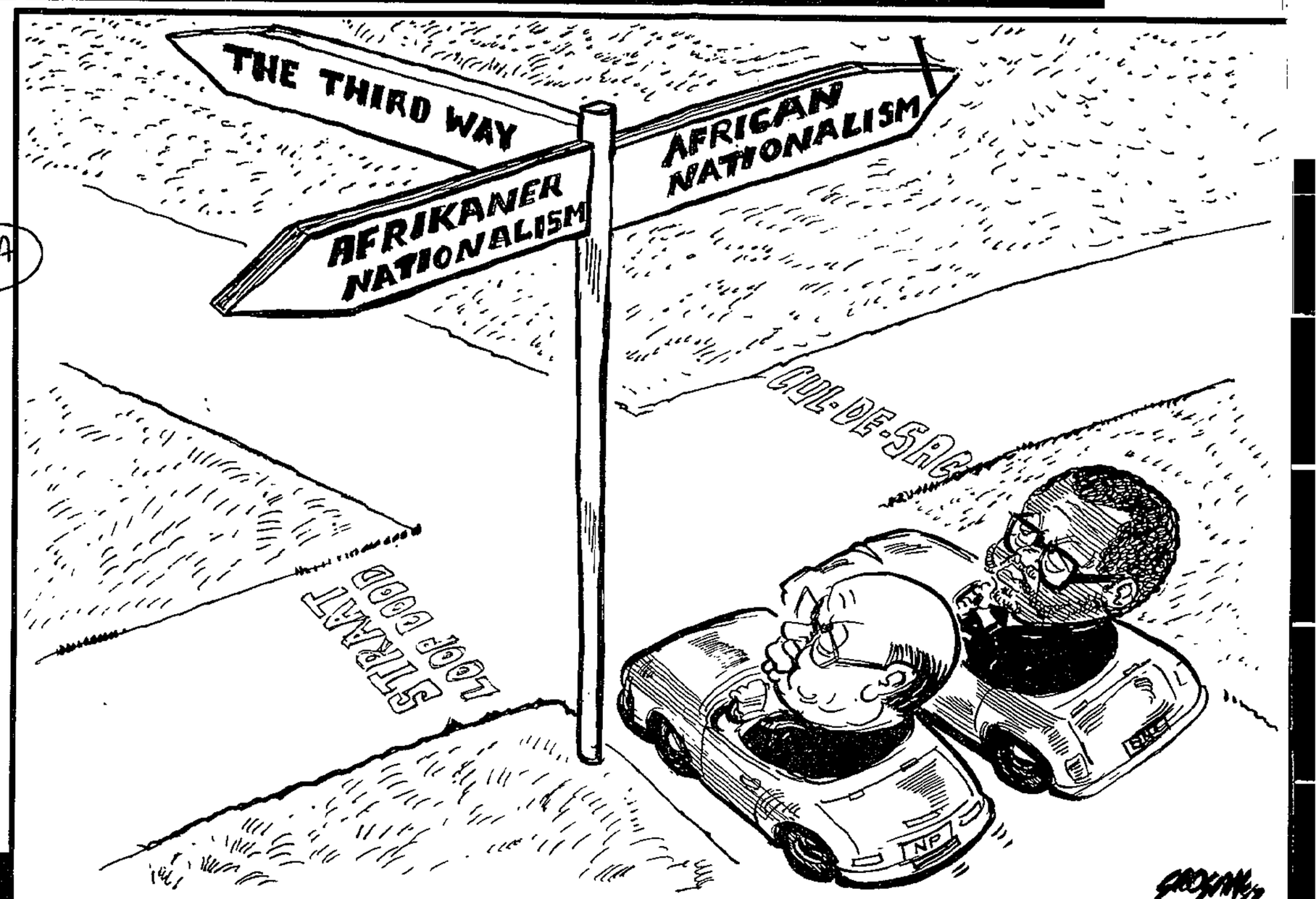
S/Times 2/8/87

(304A)

**In this important, penetrating analysis of South Africa's crisis, an expert on conflict studies says: Let's first agree on the fundamental cause of the struggle**



**By HERMANN GILIOMEE**




ONE of the rare gains of the political turmoil which has gripped South Africa since September 1984 is the growing perception that the country can no longer postpone a decision about its political course.

In Clem Sunter's terms, we have an inescapable choice between a Low Road of authoritarian co-optation and endemic violence and a High Road of genuine negotiations, stability and economic growth.

As this perception has grown, the Nationalist Government and the ANC leadership, as the two main adversaries, have embarked on an urgent search for a formula which will put it at the helm of the journey along their vision of the High Road.

In the case of the National Party, there is the desperate desire for a clever technical formula which would grant it continued control, but which would also persuade the masses that their material needs are being addressed by an increasingly multiracial government.

As the ANC shifts its emphasis from the military to the political terrain, it seeks a powerful universal principle which will be so attractive that large numbers in the opposition camp will either cross to its side or resign themselves to defeat.

In our hearts we all know that peace and prosperity in the 1990s and beyond will not be born out of a clever technical formula.

We realise that the only road to peace lies through genuine negotiations. What is seldom realised, however, is that before the main contending forces can embark on meaningful negotiations, they must clear the first and most difficult hurdle: *they must agree on the very nature of the conflict.*

## Profits

The resolution of conflicts between managements and workers is possible exactly because both parties agree that the conflict is an economic one over the marginal distribution of profits.

By contrast, political conflicts are much more difficult to define. Yet such a definition is indispensable.

Unless the contending parties can agree on this question, unending strife is a foregone conclusion. Press attention to the Dakar *indaba* between an ANC delegation and a group of internal South Africans has focused on the discussions over violence.

More significant, however, was the rivalry between different interpretations of the nature of the South African conflict. The absence of a consensus over this issue forms a major stumbling block to joint strategies in the common struggle against apartheid or to real negotiations getting under way.

In Dakar I contended, against strong opposition, that the conflict in South Africa was not primarily an apartheid-induced one between a privileged white and a disadvantaged black group. Nor is it a class struggle between a white bourgeoisie and a black working class.

It is rather a communal conflict in which Afrikaner and African nationalists, with the National Party and the ANC in the respective vanguards, struggle for control over the same historic homeland

To some extent, communal conflicts such as those in South Africa, Israel, Lebanon, Cyprus, Northern Ireland and Sri Lanka resemble international conflicts. The opposing sides contest not only a disputed territory; they also believe that national sovereignty, integrity and honour is at stake.

The sides have their own armies and stormtroops, symbols and songs, heroes and martyrs, *verraaiers* and *impimpis*.

## Respect

But, in a vital way, communal conflicts differ from international conflicts, making them much more intractable In international conflicts and negotiations, the adversaries respect each other as legitimate, autonomous entities.

In communal conflicts, however, the competing national entities refuse to accord the other the dignity of a respectable foe, much less accept them as a negotiating partner.

The reason is simple: once they accept the nationalist credentials of the other side, they relativise, and thus jeopardize, their claim to sovereign authority over their homeland.

Accordingly, the discourse between the NP and ANC leadership has been restricted to attempts to demonise each other.

President Botha has sought to portray the ANC as a band of terrorists led and inspired by Communists, waging war on the peace-loving people of South Africa

And Mr Oliver Tambo projects the Pretoria regime as a fascist gang of reactionary racists who suppress the hopes and aspirations of all the progressive people of South Africa

Both, of course, are wrong. It is precisely the failure to grasp the depth of the nationalistic commitment of the other side that is responsible for the political stalemate in South Africa.

On the one hand, the Government's attempts to co-opt black leaders to a white-controlled system have been a major affront to all black nationalists, who deeply resent the underlying assumption that they could be bought off through patronage and slightly improved material conditions.

## Clinging

On the other hand, we have the ANC which believes that whites are merely clinging to their privileges and other rewards of the apartheid system.

It is exactly because the ANC ignores the strength of Afrikaner nationalism and a larger white

Yet all the evidence from communal conflicts elsewhere point the other way. As the strife continues, the ethnic commitments tend to intensify, not weaken. Invariably the parties understand the conflict in terms of "survival", which goes much beyond physical survival or material wellbeing to the basic issues of a group's political status and identity, and to their existential fears of annihilation or "bloodbaths".

Not much store should be put upon rationality when ethnic groups are pushed to the wall Theo Hanf, a German expert on communal conflicts, warned:

"It is by no means certain that economic considerations would govern the behaviour of a dominant group if it felt — rightly or wrongly is immaterial to the consequences — that its existence was threatened.

"A scorched-earth policy is not an economically rational concept. Nevertheless it is one often, and particularly practised in civil wars between ethnic or religious groups."

When President Botha says that the Afrikaners have resolved never to be subordinate again, no one should ignore the deadly intent behind those words of the man and his likely successors.

## Leaders

If the ANC is serious about emphasising the political system rather than the armed struggle, it should seriously reconsider its opposition to white group representation and to a power-sharing compromise.

The essence of ethno-nationalism in South Africa and elsewhere is the self-identification of a people with a group — its past, its present and, most importantly, its destiny.

Short of military defeat — which is unlikely, to say the least — the great majority of whites in general and the Afrikaners in particular will insist on choosing their own leaders.

Only such leaders, heading a "group-centred" political community (which may well include strata of coloureds, Indians and blacks), will be able to legitimise to their white constituency the sweeping changes which South Africa will have to undergo in the next two decades.

They may include integration of residential areas, the desegregation of schools, the "blackening" of central government and recasting of national goals and symbols.

Another large political community which has crystalised in recent years in South Africa is comprised of the majority of people who rightly resent being compelled to participate in politics along prescribed "ethnic" lines.

A flexible political strategy could soon put the ANC at the head of this political bloc — one based on African nationalism but also genuinely committed to non-racialism and mobilised to challenge every white effort to use group representation or ethnicity as a cloak for privilege and patronage

## Conflicts

A proposal for a form of bi-communalism built on these two blocs does not spring from conservative or nationalist convictions, but rather from the wish to prevent South Africa from walking the entire grisly course of other communal conflicts.

However, before any political accommodation can be found, the NP and ANC will first have to accept the struggle as a communal one in which the adversaries have the power to inflict untold damage upon each other, and on the economy, without any clear victor emerging.

# Don't shoot this pianist — he may be the only one in tune

S/Times 2/8/87 304A

By



TERTIUS MYBURGH

VERLIGTHEID — or, more accurately, what it was understood to mean when it became a state of mind among troubled Afrikaners in the '70s — may have run its course.

It began as a protest against the Government's hard-line apartheid ways, a recognition that the tablets which Dr Verwoerd brought down from the mountain were, like his feet, made of clay.

Those who could no longer stomach statutory race discrimination, who realised that a fair constitutional arrangement could be achieved only through negotiation with authentic black leaders, were called — and soon called themselves — verligtes.

Slowly, painfully, their standpoint — encouraged by a handful of courageous Afrikaner journalists, academics, churchmen, businessmen and a rare politician or two — gradually became the National Party orthodoxy.

"Reform" became the buzzword. Though devalued by tedious repetition, it was gradually given expression by then Prime Minister P W Botha.

The labour laws, influx control, universities ... in virtually every field, old apartheid bastions were falling.

Soon only Group Areas and Population Registration stood as crumbling pillars to hold up an old and discredited policy.

## Resistance

Even in Parliament the "whites only" sign was taken down with the admission of brown Afrikaners and Indians.

Afrikaners were on their way to making the transition from the oppressive darkness of Verwoerdian ideology to ... what?

That's where they are at the moment: at a crossroads where they must choose a new formula for survival — or perish gradually.

*This* is the big one.

The original, verligte point has been made. Race discrimination now stands universally condemned, surviving as a doctrine only in smallish pockets of resistance on the hard right.

Constitutional justice for all races, especially still-excluded blacks, is the publicly acknowledged objective of all parties, even if creative action is pitifully slow and intellectual confusion is the chief characteristic of much discussion about it.

So, what next?

Verligtheid II?

If there is, indeed, consensus on the pursuit of racial and constitional justice, the only question that remains is the best means of achieving it.

In many quarters, inevitably, the demand is for an orthodox majoritarian solution. After all, this is the model that is viewed by most of the civilised world as the only morally respectable way to order a society.

But *is* it?

Can principles that are, at best, imperfectly applied even in countries where ethnic passions are non-existent or subdued by numbers or history, easily be transplanted to a place like South Africa (or Israel, or Ireland or Sri Lanka) where they are not?

More importantly, is the majoritarian route the *only* means of attaining justice?

In a plural society such as ours, is there not a risk that it merely becomes a codeword to disguise a process whereby the colour of the oppressor is changed, but very little else?

Is there not — as Professor Giliomee suggests in his article on this page — a third way?

## Wisdom

Is it not the beginning of wisdom first to properly identify the *nature* of the conflict? Only then, surely, can one begin to search for solutions.

Does the mere search for another way of achieving noble goals amount to an admission of defeat? Not necessarily: in a predicament as severe as ours, no political stone should be left unturned.

The trouble with the Utopians, here and abroad, is that they simply gloss over uncomfortable realities that stand in the way of facile theories.

Which is why Professor Giliomee deserves credit for pressing his discomfiting argument: force-feed a divided society on unpalatable conventional wisdoms and you precipitate an explosion.

Remember Tacitus: they created a wasteland and they called it peace.

## Conflict

Professor Giliomee will doubtless attract a torrent of criticism: lateral thinkers usually do. In Dakar, it is said, he was condemned as "the Boer in the woodpile".

Give him space, I say. Conflict studies have been his life-long calling and those less schooled in such volatile stuff should beware of displaying either their ignorance or their inability to deal with situations as they find them, rather than as they would like them to be.

Professor Giliomee's standpoint is a commendable attempt to address the uncomfortable fundamentals in a debate that has lately become maddeningly sterile and characterised chiefly by a repetition of slogans and cliches.

As a post-verligte Afrikaner, this Over-Berger from the wheatlands of Caledon may yet be charting a course that opens new opportunities to address our crisis realistically.

# Eglin in move to defuse PFP tensions over Dakar talks

2/8/87

PROGRESSIVE Federal Party leader Colin Eglin moved at the weekend to defuse tensions building up over the participation of two of the party's MPs in the Dakar visit to the ANC.

He said the PFP ruled out final negotiations with a party that 'brought a gun to the table"

The PFP has faced a week of storms on two fronts over the Dakar journeys of Mr Peter Gastrow and Mr Pierre Cronje.

Party members are divided over the wisdom of the talks in the country's present political climate — and the failure of the two MPs to consult the party.

At the same time the Government and the official opposition in Parliament launched blistering attacks on the PFP, saying after Thursday's bomb blast in Johannesburg that the PFP owed SA an explanation.

## Contempt

Mr Eglin said he viewed "with contempt" bids to link the PFP with the explosion that injured 68 people.

His internal problem, though, seemed as real.

Divisions surfaced on Friday when Mr Eglin and Mr Harry Schwarz spoke on the issue in Parliament — and each took a different stand.

Mr Eglin repeated his earlier support for the Dakar undertaking and his approval of Gastrow and Cronje's part in it.

But Mr Schwarz, speaking against the background of the previous day's bomb blast, delivered a fiery denouncement of the ANC and implicitly condemned talks with perpetrators of violence.

**By LESTER VENTER**
**Political Correspondent**

Mr Schwarz said he "would not talk to any person carrying an AK-47 rifle". But he stopped short of a flat contradiction of PFP policy favouring negotiations with all groups.

Mr Eglin admitted yesterday there were strains over the Dakar visit. But he said he and Mr Schwarz had discussed their speeches beforehand.

The Eglin-Schwarz division is seen in Parliamentary circles as the tip of an iceberg of discord in the former official opposition.

Beneath the surface there are two strongly opposing factions — the idealists and the pragmatists.

## Idealists

The idealists believe the party should be the voice and vigilance of liberal thought in SA and should make no compromises to conservative voters.

The pragmatists aver that politics is about power, and power is obtained through votes.

The idealists are identified largely with Claremont MP Jan van Eck, and the pragmatists with Mr Schwarz.

A third group, rallying round Mr Eglin, tries to straddle both strains of thought.

# Killers possibly staged ambush

By BILL KRIGE

THE killers of a top Idasa (Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa) official, Mr Eric Mntonga, may have lain in wait to abduct him outside the Mdantsane home of a lawyer he was visiting.

His body was found last weekend in his car about 22 hours after he left the home of attorney Hintsa Siwisa on his way to visit a friend.

A pathologist said his death had been caused by blows to the side and back of his head.

A knife-thrust to his heart had been made after his death.

Mr Mntonga was found in his car at Tamara in a remote area of Ciskei about 20km from King William's Town.

## Threat

Mr Mntonga's funeral is planned for Saturday at a soccer stadium in Ciskei. Among the likely speakers are Dr Alex Boraine, ex-Progressive Federal Party MP and Idasa co-leader.

Mr Steve Fourie, Mr Mntonga's Border region co-director of Idasa, has since had a death threat phoned to his secretary by someone she described from his accent as "probably white and English-speaking".

Idasa has come under heavy fire from government spokesmen, especially since the bomb blast which wounded 68 people in central Johannesburg this week, for the talks it arranged in Dakar between leaders of the ANC and a group of white South Africans.



In Dakar ... Breyten Breytenbach meets African Lawyers' Association president Benoit Ngoma.

# Lecturer's house is vandalised

CP Correspondent

A RHODES University politics lecturer, who lectured her students on the Dakar talks, this week had her house in Grahamstown vandalised.

Marion Lacey, 45, said she was sitting in her room near the window on the first floor with her hearing aid turned down when unknown vandals defaced her front door.

Dangling from the doorframe was a mutilated and burnt effigy.

Also daubed in red paint were the words: "Your wall won't help."

Lacey said she was not intimidated.

# 'Dakar is only the beginning'

city Press 2/8/87 304A

THE meeting in Dakar, Senegal, was only the beginning. The majority of the 71 delegates were shaken to their roots by the visit and many have a new commitment for a new South Africa in which negotiation politics must triumph over mindless violence.

In the first report-back meeting after the visit, Dr Alex Boraine, executive director of the Institute for Democratic Alternatives in South Africa, said the meeting, held under strict security measures at the University of Cape Town, was a victory over the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

"We proved them wrong. They said we would not be allowed to hold meetings, but here we are.

"The meeting is an important gesture of defiance – a clear statement that we will not be intimidated with threats to shut up," he said.

The UCT SRC said death threats had been made against Boraine and council members and all bags were searched before students could enter the hall.

Boraine said Idasa was concerned about the direction the government was leading the country, a direction that could destroy "all of us".

An analysis of the forces oppossed to the government showed that the ANC was not an organisation resident in Lusaka, New York or London but that "it is as close to you as where you are sitting now".

The ANC was in the townships and in the cities, and "this major, growing force cannot be ignored and that is why the meeting was held", he said.

He said strategies for change were discussed, as well as a system for a nonracial government, a liberated South African economy and a post-apartheid South Africa.

Andre du Toit, of the department of political studies at UCT, who also attended the Dakar talks, said that "Dakar explored and addressed the whole range of the armed struggle".

He said that the ANC was not committed to political terrorism and condemned the Amanzimtoti bombings as its primary targets were either military or official, and had instructed its agents to limit civilian casualties.

The ANC was not prepared to take a stronger line on necklacing, he added. – Sapa.

# 'Talk to poor before ANC'

2/8/87

C/1 Ref

BOYA

BY SELLO SERIPE

IN future, SA businessmen should talk to the underprivileged within the borders of the country, because their visit to the African National Congress in Lusaka in 1985 has so far changed nothing, says educationist TJ Modise.

Addressing more than 600 black and white guests at a conference called by the Black Forum Management this week at the Carlton Hotel, he also accused SA businessmen and senior company personnel of restricting blacks from taking up managerial jobs.

Modise, who is group industrial relations and housing advisor for Steeldale Reinforcing and Engineering Industries, however pointed out that the trip to the Zambian capital was necessary but was mocked by "certain companies in the country which were still discriminating against blacks".

Modise said soon after the Lusaka trip, many liberal companies started promoting blacks to senior positions, but left them to rot in their offices.

"A few months after been appointed, the board of directors would start circulating stories that the black manager was incompetent when compared to his white counterpart," he said.

"The next step would be to open up a branch office in a township and 'transfer' him to it — and that would be the end of him."

# Head blows caused death

THE DEATH of the co-director of the Border branch of the Institute For A Democratic Alternative For South Africa, Eric Mntonga, had been caused by blows to the head and not by stabbing, the post mortem revealed this week.

The post mortem, attended by a State pathologist and a private pathologist appointed to represent the Mntonga family, revealed he was not stabbed to death as was previously believed.

He had a stab wound below his left armpit and it was first believed that this had caused his death.

The post mortem showed Mntonga had died of a subdural haemorage, brought about by a trauma on the lateral and posterior aspects of the skull.

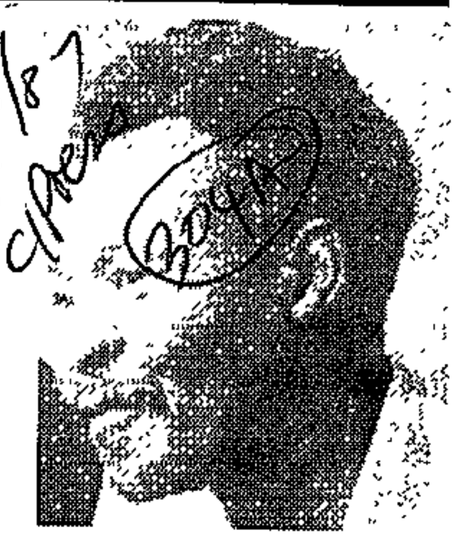
The stab wound, which penetrated the heart, had not caused any internal bleeding which suggested the wound was inflicted after his death.

There was also evidence of strangulation but this had not caused or led to Mntonga's death.

His body had several other injuries, including bruising on both sides of the back of his head.

There was also an injury indicating that he had been struck by a blow in his stomach.

Mntonga's body was found at the weekend in his car parked among bushes near Tamara in Ciskei. – Sapa.



The late Eric Mntonga

CAPE TIMES 3/8/87

# Worrall group 'to fight elections'

**Own Correspondent**

DURBAN. — The independent movement is becoming a broad-based nationwide organization which will fight local-authority elections next year and the next parliamentary elections, Dr Denis Worrall said at the weekend.

Dr Worrall addressed an invited audience of mostly top NRP members in Westville, but which also included a sprinkling of NP and PFP members.

He said the independents were already fighting the elections, by talking to blacks and preparing for a broad-based negotiating forum.

"Where we differ from Idasa (the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa) is that (Dr Van Zyl) Slabbert says Parliament is irrelevant and if you say that you say white South Africa is irrelevant.

"We will be ready for the nationwide local elections in October next year and the next general elections in 1989 or early '90.

"In the elections it will be the party which has demonstrated it can talk meaningfully to blacks who will win the majority of support."

# Police support for right alleged

THE right wing has "absolutely enormous support" from police, particularly the security police, says Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging leader Professor J C Schabort.

And the BBB — formed recently after operating "underground" for more than two years — intends to bring a private prosecution for high treason against government because it has failed to act against the Dakar-talks group, he says.

Schabort says the BBB has numerous supporters in the security forces and the public service.

"I accept at this stage that support is enough proof . . . so we won't call on them to become members."

A police spokesman in Pretoria says: "It would be foolish to say no-one in the police force supports them, but members of the force are forbidden to become members of organisations such as the AWB."

Schabort declines to indicate the extent of support for the BBB from civil servants or in the police force.

He cites a complaint of "undermining the State" that was taken against a BBB member after he displayed a poster reading: "Stop terror, repatriate all non-whites". The man has still not been charged.

**DOMINIQUE GILBERT**

Of the security policemen with whom Schabort dealt in connection with the case about two months ago, he says: "All I can say is we had absolutely enormous support from them."

## Good propaganda

Should a case be brought successfully against the BBB member, it would be the "best propaganda" the organisation could use, he adds.

BBB members stood alongside the AWB and its leader Eugene Terre'Blanche at Jan Smuts airport when the Dakar group returned from West Africa recently.

The BBB delivered a charge of high treason to John Vorster Square against the Dakar group shortly before they returned to SA.

The organisation will support the AWB in its declared intention to prosecute privately against the Dakar group if the State fails to act.

Having consulted with an advocate in Pretoria, Schabort says he has been told the BBB would have legal grounds for also bringing about a private prosecution against government for failing to act against the Dakar group.

But this will be done once only the AWB case against the Dakar group has been completed, he says.

Numerous AWB members, including some of its leadership, have defected to the BBB because it believes AWB policies do not stretch far enough on some issues, Schabort adds.

□ Terre'Blanche could not be reached at the weekend for comment on police investigations of statements made by him or the AWB. A spokesman in the Pretoria AWB office said the AWB had no comment to make.

# Dakar talks: 2 PFP MPs' heads on line

Capt Times 3/8/87 (304A)

**Political Staff**

IT'S make or break today for the Progressive Federal Party, which goes into a special caucus meeting this morning to discuss the participation of two of its MPs in the Dakar ANC talks — and their future in the party.

On the line are the heads of national chairman Mr Peter Gastrow, MP for Durban Central, Mr Pierre Cronje, MP for Greytown, and President's Councillor Mr Peter Schoeman.

There is a strong feeling in the parliamentary caucus that they should at least be censured for not informing the party hierarchy about their participation in the Dakar safari till the last moment, or that they should be called on to resign for participating.

Last week's bomb blast in central Johannebsurg — which the government has attributed to the ANC — has added to tensions within the party created by the fact that the Dakar safari was led by Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, the former PFP leader whose resignation took most of his members by surprise.

## Think-tank

The caucus meeting follows a weekend-long party "think-tank" in Cape Town, at which it is understood there was a strong feeling that having drawn a line on its attitude to the right wing, the party should now draw a line on its attitude to contact and relationships with the left wing.

The Dakar matter will be taken further at today's caucus meeting. It is not likely to cause a major split in the party, but could lead to serious confrontation.

Last night Mr Gastrow said he had "no regrets" about attending the Dakar talks. When asked about his position as national chairman and sentiment within the party that he should resign, he said "that is something to which the party will have to address itself".

Mr Cronje was not available.

Asked about the usefulness of the talks in relationship to the Johannesburg bomb blast, Mr Gastrow said the ANC had not officially accepted responsibility for the blast.

"The bomb blast and its timing will make it more difficult to hold similar meetings. If it was planned by the ANC, more people will be entitled to ask whether such meetings can bear any fruit."

Divisions within the PFP over the Dakar mission came into the open in Parliament on Friday when party leader Mr Colin Eglin and frontbencher Mr Harry Schwarz took different stands on the issue.

Mr Eglin, while stressing the total opposition of his party to the use of violence, reiterated his support for the PFP members who held talks with the ANC in Dakar.

However, Mr Schwarz later launched a fierce attack on the ANC and implicitly condemned talks with the banned organization — in direct conflict with official party policy.

Mr Schwarz also distanced the PFP from Idasa, headed by former party members Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine. Idasa had nothing to do with the PFP, and neither Dr Slabbert nor Dr Boraine were members of the party, he said.

Up to now the ANC's attacks had been launched on two fronts — armed struggle and attempts to isolate the country culturally and economically. Now a third strategy had been added — "Operation White Support".

"I have read newspaper reports in which Dr Boraine has said the picture the government is painting of the ANC is dangerous, because the government was describing the ANC as a murder machine.

"I want to ask what the bomb in Johanesburg was other than a murder machine."

NATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL ARGUS 4/8/87

# Afrikaans writers split over Dakar

**The Argus Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG. — Controversy is brewing between Afrikaans writers over the Afrikaanse Skrywersgilde's motion which "welcomed" the recent Dakar meeting with the African National Congress.

The motion has resulted in the resignation of author F A Venter from the organisation.

The Skrywersgilde decision, which was based on their belief in open discussions and the free exchange of ideas, was taken at its annual meeting in Gordon's Bay.

Of those at the meeting, only Professor Ronnie Belcher of the Universtity of Bophuthatswana opposed the motion, which was proposed by Jan Rabie and seconded by author and film maker Chris Barnard.

Author Anna M Louw has also distanced herself from the motion, and W A de Klerk has said it was "uncalled for".

## Sharply-worded response

Neither Mrs Louw nor Mr Venter attended the meeting in spite of the fact that Mr Venter lives at the Strand — close to Gordon's Bay.

Mr Venter's resignation was followed by a sharply-worded response from new chairman Mr Chris Barnard in the Afrikaans Press and Mr Venter replied by letter to the Afrikaans Sunday paper, Rapport.

Mr Venter wrote that he found it "a pity" that Mr Barnard attacked him before he had a chance to answer his official letter in which he had been asked to reconsider his resignation.

He also criticised the fact that the motion supported a "futile discussion" (in Dakar) between a group of "Prog politicians, radical churchmen, left-wing academics and other political moles with a Marxist terrorist organisation".

He said that what disillusioned him and led to his resignation was that the Afrikaanse Skrywersgilde was so "insensitive" towards the South African situation and, in so doing, harmed the image and credibility of the writer's guild.

# PFP divisions after Dakar unresolved

Appt Times 4/8/87

30CA

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE divisions within the PFP over the visit by party members to Dakar remain unresolved after a special caucus meeting yesterday, and the dispute could well deteriorate still further.

MPs and caucus chairman Mr Ray Swart remained tight-lipped after a 3½-hour meeting, but it is clear that the national chairman, Mr Peter Gastrow, and Greytown MP Mr Pierre Cronje are still in the hot seat.

The failure to resolve the controversy at yesterday's meeting means that it will be tackled afresh at Thursday's regular caucus meeting. Until then individuals within the party will try to defuse the issue.

If the caucus demands a public apology from, or openly censures, the MPs who accompanied Dr Van Zyl Slabbert on his ANC trip, the scene could be set for a major showdown.

It was learned last night that should the two MPs be forced to recant they could decide to leave the party, and it is understood that three other MPs would follow them.

Initially, the nub of the dispute was the fact that neither of the two MPs, nor President's Councillor Mr Pieter Schoeman, had consulted the caucus before leaving for talks with the ANC in Dakar.

It is understood that hard-liners within the party want an apology for the fact that the caucus was not consulted — an apology which would be made public. This, it is understood, the trio are not prepared to do.

However, the division in the party goes deeper and centres on two issues — relations with Dr Slabbert and communications with the ANC while it continues to espouse violence.

The desertion of the PFP by its former leader Dr Slabbert has left a legacy of bitterness, and the decision by a younger member of the party to accompany the Idasa leader to West Africa has re-opened the old wounds.

MBABANE — There was no truth in reports that

partment of Education and Training had no in- | tention of ... from the Hermanskloof ... Bethel Secondary School ... to develop the farm ...

Star 204A 5/8/87

# World has AWB image of Afrikaner — Worrall

By Martin Challenor

The image the outside world had of Afrikaner nationalism was unfortunately created by Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, not reformist academics and clergymen, Dr Denis Worrall said at the Rand Afrikaans University yesterday.

Dr Worrall said he had no doubt an Afrikaner nationalism expressed in terms of language, culture and religion had a moral basis. Thus it was in a position to demand that its right to self-determination be acknowledged and it certainly had the right to be recognised in any negotiation process on the political future of the country.

However, the moral side of Afrikaner nationalism was simply being drowned out by the ideological mix of white racism and white nationalism, neither of which had a moral basis.

Dr Worrall said he worried about just who put across the image of Afrikaners to the world.

"It is not the academic Afrikaners, reformers or churchmen. It is unfortunately Mr TerreBlanche and the AWB," the former Ambassador to Britain said. "That is the message and image. It is highly unfortunate but that is the reality."

Dr Worrall said there was no future in South Africa without fundamental political change, which entailed an end to apartheid and deciding the political future by negotiation.

He believed Afrikaner nationalists had a creative and intellectual role to play in future negotiations, but no single viewpoint currently held by differing political leaders would prevail, he said. "The issue is one of co-existance."

While whites realised fundamental change was vital, they were secretly re-assured by the state of emergency and the intrusion of the military.

Black people were developing a fatalism in which violence was seen as inevitable. "They think it is a big problem and there is no solution."

If the Government was to get real negotiation started, he said, all the options, even the most controversial, had to be put out

## Mission service for clergyman

The Reverend Andrew Masekwameng (78) of St John's Apostolic Faith Mission will be buried on Saturday.

Mr Masekwameng, of 628 Zone 8, Meadowlnds, died at home on Monday after a long illness.

He is survived by his wife Mrs Hilda Masekwameng and a daughter, Mohau.

A service will be held at the St John's Apostolic Faith Mission Church in Zone 1, Meadowlands at 9.15 am.

# Speech disruption deplored

By Martin Challenor

Former South African Ambassador to Britain, Dr Denis Worrall, said yesterday he deplored and regretted the actions of about 120 students who disrupted a dinner at the University of Cape Town on Monday night when he was to have been the guest speaker.

Dr Worrall left when it became evident that he would not be allowed to speak in the face of the students shouting pro-ANC and pro-Mandela slogans and directing derogatory remarks at him.

He drew a parallel with Mrs Helen Sizman of the PFP not being allowed to speak on the Wits campus and student demonstrations at UCT against the visiting Irish academic and former United Nations official, Dr Conor Cruise O'Brien.

A Government delegation, led by Minister of National Education Mr F W de Klerk, is to meet the chairmen of all university councils and university rectors in Cape Town today to instruct them to get their houses in order.

● UCT is to take disciplinary action after a meeting on the campus yesterday was disrupted and a guest speaker, Mr Tamfqua Linda, co-president of the United Christian Conciliation Party, was attacked.

# 'More talks necessary'

**THE Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) was committed to holding further meetings with the African National Congress, Dr Alex Boraine, told a report-back meeting on the Dakar talks yesterday.**

Speaking at the Claremont Civic Centre, he said it was of vital importance that the contacts which were established in Dakar should be continued.

"It is also important that such contacts should involve more and wider sections of the South African people in order to dispel misunderstanding and fear and to reinforce the broad democratic movement," he said.

According to a prepared text of his speech, Dr Boraine, a co-director of Idasa with Dr van Zyl Slabbert, said Idasa was "totally committed" to the politics of negotiation and believed that the only choice facing South Africans was whether negotiations took place before or after a war.

"We will do all in our power to prevent the present inconclusive violence from deteriorating into a civil war where there will be no winners, the casualty rate will be frightening and the country will resemble a wasteland," he said.

Cape Times 5/8/87 (3049)

# 'Patriotic' threats: Slabbert slams Malan

## Idasa 'to continue' ANC dialogue

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**"We will do all in our power to prevent the present inconclusive violence from deteriorating into a civil war where there will be no winners. The casualty rate will be frightening and the country will resemble a wasteland."**

**The Johannesburg bomb blast had brought into sharp focus the violence which was endemic in the South African conflict.**

**Dr Boraine singled out what he described as the "inflammatory statement" by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, implying that the Dakar group was, in some way, responsible for the bomb and that, because of the explosion, the talks had been a total failure and any further possibility of talks should be abandoned.**

**"I dismiss with contempt the smear tactics of Minister Malan and others who have insinuated that we either had prior knowledge of the bomb or that we had actually planned this act while in Dakar," he said.**

**He said the Dakar conference was a serious attempt to address the political stalemate in this country.**

**"We were, and we remain, a group of deeply concerned South Africans who are trying to keep alive the possibility of a negotiated solution rather than mindless violence."**

**Minimum requirements for negotiations laid down by the ANC were that their leaders had to be released and unbanned and that they should have the normal freedom to organize and mobilize their support so that they could obtain a mandate.**

**"I think these demands are reasonable," Dr Boraine said, "Particularly when we bear in mind that the source of violence in South Africa derives from the fact that the use of force is fundamental to the existence and practice of racial domination." — Sapa**

**By ANTHONY JOHNSON**
**Political Correspondent**

THE Minister of Defenge, General Magnus Malan, was creating a climate in South Africa in which AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche "thinks he is doing his patriotic duty when he wants to eliminate me," Dr F Van Zyl Slabbert said yesterday.

Speaking at the Cape Town Press Club yesterday, Dr Slabbert slammed General Malan for saying he (Slabbert) would have to account to South Africa for the Johannesburg bomb blast following his meeting with the ANC.

"Why? What for? I did not speak on his behalf and did not compromise him once."

Dr Slabbert said General Malan had used the media "at length" to present a negative picture of the Idasa-sponsored Dakar mission, which had been greeted with "hysteria" and "distortion" by the government-supporting media.

Dr Slabbert proposed that he and General Malan "have a Network together and let the people make up their own minds".

### 'Infantile logic'

The Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) executive director warned that the government was creating a right wing reaction which it "bemoaned" but then could not control.

Dr Slabbert said it was "infantile logic" to suggest that he could have stopped the Johannesburg bomb blast.

The government-supporting media had "pumped up" the Dakar talks as an effort to negotiate or mediate in a bid to show it up as a failure but the participants had no mandate to do this.

Expectations generated that the talks could achieve "peace in our time" and an end to bombing were deliberately exaggerated by the Nationalist press.

The Dakar mission was merely a "very small step — an exploration — to find what is necessary if we want to talk and find a way away from violence," he said.

"Do we talk or fight? Do we kill or find a way out of it? This is what Dakar was all about."

The "hysterical" reaction of the government-supporting media to the venture demonstrated how polarized South Africa had become.

"For every attempt at rubbishing the ANC exactly the opposite effect takes place in the townships," Dr Slabbert said.

# Maputo, SA have talks on Cahora Bassa

The Star's Africa News Service

MAPUTO — Mozambique and South Africa yesterday exchanged information and held mutual consultation about matters relating to the operation of the Cahora Bassa dam, says a statement issued here.

No further details were given after a South African delegation led by the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, travelled to Maputo for talks.

The statement issued here said the meeting was within "the framework of the agreement entered into on May 2 1984", signed by Portugal, South Africa and Mozambique.

On that date Portugal, South Africa and Mozambique signed an agreement on Cahora Bassa.

It is understood that yesterday's Maputo talks were organised after the Portuguese government had approached South Africa on the matter.

Cahora Bassa has been inoperative for years because rebels of the Mozambique National Resistance Movement (MNR), have sabotaged a large number of electricy pylons which carry power from the dam.

The Mozambican authorities have not yet reacted to reports that a government delegation is to travel to South Africa today or tomorrow for a meeting with Foreign Minister Pik Botha on security matters.

Cape Times 5/8/87

# Half-empty white college 'scandalous'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

IT WAS "scandalous" that the white Cape Town Teacher's College in Mowbray was almost half empty when colleges for blacks were "bursting at the seams" and turning away potential teachers, Mr Jan van Eck (PFP Claremont) said yesterday.

Speaking during the committee stage of the white own-affairs education and culture vote, Mr Van Eck said the 200 potential black teacher that were being turned away from the new training college in Khayelitsha could easily be accommodated in Mowbray college.

After the Mowbray TTC board had decided to open its door to all races, it approached the minister, but permission was refused.

"This is nothing more than white avarice, which greatly contributes to the deep and serious deterioration of race relations," Mr Van Eck said.

He said said the government's actions made nonsense of its declared reform policies.

Indeed, own-affairs education "perfected and completed" the apartheid ideology.

The government's actions clearly showed it had no intention getting rid of race discrimination.

# CP rejects 'Colonel' Bloomberg as new MP for Bezuidenhout

**Political Staff**

The Conservative Party (CP) is considering contesting the election of the new MP for Bezuidenhout, Mr Sam Bloomberg, on the grounds that he is a colonel in the police reserve.

This is a position of profit paid for by the State which could disqualify Mr Bloomberg under the Constitution.

The CP action is a retaliation against the National Party which is contesting the election of the CP Standerton MP Mr Jacob de Ville on the same grounds. He was a deputy sheriff — a paid State position — when elected.

The Conservative Party is trying to amend the Constitution to prevent him from being disqualified. But indications are that the Government will not allow the amendment to go through and this is likely to force a by-election in Standerton.

Mr Frank le Roux, MP for Brakpan, the CP's chief whip, said today the party's proposed amendment to the constitution would have excluded deputy sheriffs from the category of jobs for which an MP could be disqualified.

He said the constitution had been amended many times by the National Party.

He himself, when he was elected a National Party MP in 1972, had benefited from such an amendment. He was a sworn appraiser and as such received money from the State.

There were several NP and United Party MPs who were also sworn appraisers. By common consent the relevant section of the constitution was suspended while all of us resigned our positions as sworn appraisers. Then we were excluded from the provisions of the section.

"This has happened several times."

These jobs included cabinet ministers, justices of the peace, officers of the defence force on half or no pay.

Mr le Roux said that when a Parliamentary select committee had investigated the question in 1979 it had been suggested that the position of deputy sheriff should not disqualify an MP.

The position was essentially the same as that of a justice of the peace or sworn appraiser for the purposes of this provision of the constitution, Mr le Roux said.

# Govt threatens to cut varsity grants

**Parliamentary Reporter**

CAPE TOWN — The government yesterday threatened to cut subsidies to universities which failed to maintain "good order and discipline" and "uninterrupted and undisturbed" tuition and study and issued draft conditions under which grants might be witheld.

Universities have till the end of the month to comment on the draft conditions after which they would be finalised and put into effect, the Minister of National Education, Mr F. W. De Klerk, announced after a meeting between education ministers, university principals and chairmen of university councils.

The move follows recent campus disturbances — the latest being on Tuesday when University of Cape Town students chased the former Ibhayi mayor and co president of the United Christian Conciliation Party, Mr Thamsanqa Linda, off their campus. A rightwing student movement had invited Mr Linda.

A warning was also issued to universities yesterday by the white own affairs Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Piet Clase, who said during debate on his budget vote that while universities were allowed to criticise the government, the responsibility of the state to support it from public funds fell away if a university "exceeded its traditional functions".

"A situation has developed in the Republic of South Africa that now threatens the country's universities," Mr De Klerk said, adding that it posed a threat to the maintenance of good order "in general".

● In brief the conditions amount to the universities being requested to take all reasonable steps in future towards ensuring:

● The uninterrupted and undisturbed tuition of and study by students;

● The functional, constructive and educationally responsible utilisation of taxpayers' money;

● The application of effective measures to maintain good order and discipline; and,

● The maintenance of the universities' traditional academic values and standards.

Education ministers and university heads reached consensus in general that the present situation was "indeed a serious one", and that it posed a threat to the essence of the university and what it stood for.

● Meanwhile six UCT students have been suspended for the rest of the academic year and expelled from residence following the disruption of Dr Denis Worrall's speech on Monday night.

In addition, six students have been fined R250 and 13 students R100 each for their involvement in the incident during which 150 students prevented Dr Worrall from speaking.

However, legal action against both the perpetrators of the violence at UCT and the university authorities is being contemplated by some students injured in the fracas, and their parents.

According to the father of one student, he and other parents were to meet to discuss possible civil action against the UCT authorities.

**See also page 13**

# PFP to finalise Dakar impasse

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The PFP caucus meets today in what is a final attempt to resolve the impasse created as a result of two MPs travelling to Dakar with the Idasa-backed group for talks with the ANC.

And MPs are far from optimistic that the party is going to be able to reconcile the deep divisions which have been exposed as a result of the Dakar visit.

It is understood that the two MPs, the national chairman of the Party, Peter Gastrow and the MP for Greytown, Pierre Cronje have been asked to apologise for going on the junket without consulting the caucus, having only informed the PFP Leader Colin Eglin one hour before he was due to leave for overseas.

A public apology has been demanded from the two MPs.

Dakar, however, is only the surface issue.

A number of MPs are bitter that the two MPs and a member of the President's Council, Pieter Schoeman, went to Dakar with a group lead by the former leader of the PFP Frederik van Zyl Slabbert.

Older members of the Party are still bitter about Slabbert's sudden resignation at the beginning of last year, and regard it as little less than an act of treachery.

The other issue concerns relations with the ANC.

Harry Schwarz threw down the gauntlet when he spoke in the House of Assembly last week stating that he was not prepared to talk to anyhone who had an AK47 in his hand.

This statement runs counter to a resolution taken at the PFP's Federal Congress last year when the leadership was applauded for initiating contacts with the ANC and urged to continue this contact.

One member of the caucus even went as far as to state that it would be little short of a miracle if the Party was still intact after the showdown.

It is reliably understood that if Gastrow and Cronje are forced to apologise they may opt to leave the Party rather than do so, and one source stated that at least three other MPs would follow, one of whom is considering resigning as an MP.

# The PFP and fighting city crime

LETTERS
PO Box 1138
Jo'burg 2000

Dear Sir,
I REFER to the report headlined "Special crime fighters to hit streets" (Business Day, July 28), which dealt with Johannesburg City Council's resolution to investigate establishing a police unit controlled by City Hall.

It is important to more fully (than the space constraints of the report permitted) elaborate the Progressive Federal Party approach to the issue as it was detailed during the debate and elswhere:

1. — Most PFP (and other) public representatives receive persistent complaints from their constituents about escalating crime, inadequate policing of neighbourhoods, and the fortress-like conditions which residents have been obliged to endure in their own homes. Consequently, people are unable to enjoy the normal amenities of suburban and city life.

2. — Policing is not a municipal function in SA. However, since central government is unable to adequately fulfil the security needs of its citizens, it was felt that a local initiative was required.

3. — The PFP, which first initiated the concept of a city-based police force, is conscious of the fact that the most basic right which each citizen is entitled to enjoy is that of security in his person and property. That, after all, informs the original purpose of civil, and civic, government.

4. — We believe that the establishment of a city-controlled police force gives practical expression to our commitment to neighbourhood law and order. Equally, however, we are opposed to oppression, and the misuse of certain sections of the SA Police in this regard is a matter which the PFP has chronicled and acted upon over time. It was therefore stressed, during the debate, that we do not perceive of the force performing any of the functions for which black local authorities' municipal "kits konstabels" have become notorious (e.g., evicting tenants, demolishing shacks and allegedly assaulting squatters).

5. — We believe that the characteristics of a municipal police, on secondment from the SA Police but controlled by civic authorities, can, in addition, perform a unique function. It was suggested that such a force be sent on a special course on race relations in order to display the requisite sensitivity which is required in the racially-charged atmosphere of sections of Johannesburg.

6. — The PFP also indicated that while certain residents look at every black on the street corner as a potential criminal, the reality (as borne out by the Institute of Race Relations research published in your newspaper) is that greater incidents of violent crime against person occur in racially segregated suburbs rather than in grey, or defacto integrated, parts of the city. It is important thus to deracialise the emotive question of crime.

7. — Where there is a coincidence between race and crime it is important to understand that only a limited number of criminals are pathological. The major cause of urban crime and violence appears to derive from unemployment. While this assumption does not condone crime, we have suggested in Council and elsewhere that the only long-term solution to the problem lies in full employment opportunities. Although this is easier said than achieved, it is extraordinary that central government has cut back on the funds it provided Johannesburg with to implement public works programmes' utilising the unemployed.

8. — However, a suitably-trained and adequately staffed police force operating "on the beat" in the suburbs and CBD can achieve two important, and interlinked, ends: firstly, to help restore the lost right of security to the people of Johannesburg, and, secondly, to help change perceptions about crime and policing.

**TONY LEON**
**City Councillor, Johannesburg**

## Pik meets Mozambique Minister in Cape Town

# SA may get tough at talks

**By David Braun, Political Correspondent**

**Cape Town**

**South Africa is likely to show Mozambique both stick and carrot at the top-level talks between the two countries today.**

What is certain to be on the agenda is the bomb blast in Johannesburg last week and Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan's warning that he held Mozambique and Zambia responsible for terrorist attacks in South Africa.

There are also indications that South Africa could again offer to mediate in Mozambique's civil war by trying to persuade the MNR rebel movement to sit at a conference with the Frelimo government.

A delegation led by General Jacinto Veloso, Minister in the Office of the President of Mozambique, is to meet a South African team led by Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha in Cape Town today.

The talks are to take place at Mr Botha's official residence, Newlands House.

This is the first top-level meeting between the two governments since the crash which killed President Samora Machel and after recent allegations by Maputo of South African complicity in attacks in Mozambique.

The meeting follows an invitation by Mr Pik Botha on Friday for immediate talks with a view to discuss setting up a joint security commission to investigate the Homoine massacre and whether South Africa was involved — as alleged by Mozambique.

## Dam talks

Also on the agenda of today's talks will be Cahora Bassa, after a meeting on the subject this week in Maputo between the two countries.

Relations between South Africa and Mozambique are almost completely broken since the discovery of the "Vaz diaries" at the MNR's bush headquarters at Gorongoza in 1985.

They claimed South African assistance to the MNR since the signing of the Nkomati Accord, which expressly prohibited Mozambique and South Africa from undermining each other.

Diplomatic sources said today there was no ready explanation why Mozambique had suddenly decided to resume contacts with South Africa.

Three possible explanations are:

- Mozambique fears reprisals from SA after last week's bomb blast in Johannesburg.
- There is genuine concern for deteriorating security in the region.
- It could be a smokescreen, with Mozambique having no option after allegations of SA involvement in the Homoine massacre but to take up the offer to set up a commission of inquiry.

# PFP MP IS DEFIANT ON HIS DAKAR VISIT

**THE Dakar safari issue, which has sown much dissent within Progressive Federal Party ranks, would probably be resolved "with dramatics" by the end of this week, the PFP MP for Greytown and a participant in the African National Congress talks, Mr Pierre Cronje, said in Hillcrest near Durban.**

SOWETAN CORRESPONDENT

However, he refused to elaborate on whether any disciplinary action would be taken against the three PFP "rebels" — himself, Mr Peter Gastrow and Mr Pieter Schoeman — who attended the West African conference last month.

## Honest

But he warned during a report-back on the controversial mission to the ANC that he personally would refuse to have "limits of patriotism defined by other people" placed on him.

In his address, which received a standing ovation from about 120 people, he said the Dakar safari was an honest attempt to create an "imaginative and constructive" alternative to the precipice down which the country was heading.

Four basic topics had been discussed. These were:

- How to achieve a non-racial democracy;
- A "new" South African constitution;
- The economy in a post-apartheid South Africa;
- National unity, and how to reconcile vastly different ethnic backgrounds.

On the question of violence, Mr Cronje said this was obviously part of the ANC strategy, but State violence also had to be considered.

This was not just anti-Government rhetoric, he said, as the State had only recently admitted guilt in paying out R1,2-million compensation to victims of police violence in the Eastern Cape township of Langa.

## Concerned

"But the ANC don't see the situation being resolved militarily. They acknowledge that the South African Defence Force is invincible in terms of what they (the ANC) can put together."

However, the ANC did not believe that the status quo itself was invincible. For example, at the moment, three-quarters of township residents on the Reef were refusing to pay rent — and there appeared to be little the authorities could do.

The ANC were also extremely concerned at the level of "mindless" violence in the townships, he said. This was blamed on the fact that because so many "authentic" leaders were imprisoned, thugs were able to take control of much of the black anger.

Talks between Ministers within a week

# SA and Canada set for meeting

1818 Star 304A

**By Alan Dunn, The Star Bureau**

WASHINGTON — A diplomatic tiff between the South African and Canadian foreign Ministers seems to have lapsed amid signs that they will still meet within a week.

Silence fell between Mr Pik Botha and Mr Joe Clark yesterday after Mr Clark issued a second statement concluding: "If I am not welcome, that is a decision for him to make."

The South African Ambassador to Canada, Mr Hennie de Klerk, was due to leave Ottawa for home last night — a clear, customary signal that talks between foreign Ministers are on. Thee meeting takes place during Mr Clark's August 10-15 African tour.

The contents of a Canadian External Affairs Department announcement on Wednesday sparked a brief diplomatic dispute about Mr Clark's intentions in South Africa.

"He is not welcome if he wishes to stage a circus," Mr Botha fired back.

Hours later, Mr Clark said: "Mr Botha knows our positions on South Africa and on dialogue. They have been expressed both publicly and to him by our ambassador.

"I continue to believe there would be value in us meeting ..."

According to Toronto's *Globe and Mail* newspaper, Mr Clark's schedule will allow him about 12 hours in South Africa.

Mr Clark would further meet the African National Congress (ANC) president, Mr Oliver Tambo, in Lusaka, Zambia, during his visit, the *Globe and Mail* said. He will see other senior members of the movement, and has reportedly requested a meeting with jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

The African tour is in preparation for two international conferences — a meeting of Francophone and Commonwealth countries in Septem ber and October in Canada, where South Africa is expected to be a hot issue.

Mr Clark also plans to visit Mozambique where he will invite President Joaquim Chissano to send a government Minister to the Commonwealth conference "because of the importance of Mozambique in any dicussion by heads of government of the situation in southern Africa".

The passages in the External Affairs statement which seemed to cause the upset said Mr Clark would question Mr Botha on South African's intentions to initiate basic change and talks with black leaders. He would also personally make known to Mr Botha Canada's policy on apartheid.

Mr Botha charged that Mr Clark, in requesting the visit, had mentioned talks on the southern African situation as a whole.

FREDERIK VAN ZYL SLABBERT

# The lessons from Dakar



**The *FM* spoke to Idasa chairman and former Official Opposition leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert soon after his arrival in SA after his controversial talks with the ANC in West Africa.**

***FM*: What specifically did the Dakar talks achieve?**

**Slabbert:** One has to be quite clear as to what Dakar was all about. There has been a tendency to either overestimate it or underestimate it. There are those who pump it up as an attempt at mediation and then knock it down as being inadequate. Dakar was never an attempt to mediate anything. We had neither the mandate nor the power to mediate. It was an attempt to have a workshop between predominantly Afrikaans-speaking individuals and the ANC on certain critical issues; to clarify positions; to get rid of ambiguities and to see if there was a meeting of minds on some issues.

In that sense Dakar was an immense success. We came away with a clear idea of where the ANC stood on the armed struggle. They got a very clear idea of the concern of delegates on the question of arbitrary violence and the capacity for escalating violence in our society. We also clarified points on multi-party democracy and so on. That essentially is what Dakar was about.

**In the wake of the Dakar talks, do you believe it is going to be easier or more difficult to accommodate all the competing aspirations in SA?**

Based on the experience we had, I'm greatly encouraged. That doesn't mean there aren't very critical issues over which people will differ, but one came away with a feeling that throughout the conference these were South Africans trying to get to grips with a South African problem. As a very preliminary step towards the kind of tough debate that lies ahead if we are to move beyond the present conflict, Dakar was a good omen.

**The Dakar delegation included some influential businessmen. What role do you see for businessmen in bringing about reconciliation in SA?**

The business lobby is very powerful for two reasons. Firstly, business is essential for growth, and the economy is there to either prop up domination or get rid of it. Business has a crucial role in deciding to what extent free enterprise is going to survive as a factor for growth in a future SA.

I've never said business has to choose a political party or an organisation, but it certainly has to define its own position in the very difficult period of transition SA is going through. The only way to do so is to have the information at its disposal. The worst that can happen is that business gets trapped in a cocoon of ignorance as happened in Rhodesia, where increasingly there was an official view of what was happening, although the vast majority of people who experienced the changes in society knew that things were different.

We are being trapped in the position where we can rely on only one source of information. That is why it is important for businessmen, and any other group that wishes to play a role in shortening this conflict, to try to get first-hand information.

**How can violence be de-escalated or eliminated altogether?**

I can only state what the ANC said and that is that the only prospect for an end to violence, and for them to reconsider something like the armed struggle, is if the conditions which led to them adopting this strategy were to disappear. These are the banning of their organisations, the imprisonment of their leaders and the basic elements of apartheid which persist in law.

This is a formula put forward by the ANC as to how the violence can be stopped. Only the government can exercise the option to accept the formula. But even more so the government has the option of calling the bluff of the ANC, so the option for playing on the violence issue seems stronger on the part of the government than the ANC.

**What then would you regard as a positive step away from escalating violence?**

Two things; firstly an unambiguous commitment to freedom of association, in other words a movement away from compulsory group membership, that would have a fantastic effect; and secondly allowing communities to generate their own leadership free of a State of Emergency. You can't arrest 500 community leaders — as happened in the eastern Cape — and then say, come and talk to us.

Anyone who goes forward under those circumstances does so at the risk of his life. But you can be sure these steps are not going to be enough. Eventually you are going to have to get to the unbanning of organisations and the release of prisoners.

You take a chance, that's the risk, but if you don't start along that road we know what's going to happen — conflict, escalating conflict.

PFP CAUCUS (304A)

# Some to quit?

**The PFP** row over the inclusion of three members of the parliamentary caucus in Idasa's "Dakar safari" remains unresolved.

There is still strong speculation in parliamentary circles that the three men involved — national chairman and MP for Durban Central, Peter Gastrow, MP for Greytown, Pierre Cronje, and President's Council member Pieter Schoeman — may be forced to publicly explain their actions and possibly even apologise, or quit.

There is talk of serious divisions in the PFP caucus as a result of the trip and suggestions that if the crunch comes, the three "Dakarites" and one or two other caucus members will leave the party and probably parliament as well. Such action would dump the PFP into an even deeper crisis than it faced after its election setback.

It seems clear that the main dispute is not contact with the ANC per se, but the manner in which the three involved themselves in the Dakar initiative. PFP MPs — on the party's own initiative — have met ANC leaders (in Lusaka) before.

It is obviously a major problem for Eglin and one which is unlikely to blow over quickly — particularly with President P W Botha waiting to wade onto the Dakar issue during his Budget vote debate next week. ■

FINANCIAL MAIL AUGUST 7 1987

# Stand by for a major speech from PW

A MAJOR government review of key policy issues can be expected in parliament next week when President PW Botha's vote is discussed.

For five days — three in the House of Assembly, one in the House of Representatives and one in the House of Delegates — Botha will outline the government's position on various issues.

It is widely expected that the counter-attack against the Dakar talks with the African National Congress will feature prominently. Until now, the government has been relatively subdued on the issue, giving PW a full rein not only to attack the Dakar delegates and the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa — particularly Van Zyl Slabbert and Alex Boraine — but also to lambast the ANC and the "communist threat".

Given the hawkish mood in parliament, it will not be surprising if new moves against the ANC and "subversives" are announced.

**Weekly Mail Reporter, Cape Town**

With possible legislation against "militant" trade unions and threats to university subsidies already in the pipeline, Botha can be expected to be tough and hard-line on security-related issues.

A Conservative Party MP has already tabled a question asking the government why it has not banned the United Democratic Front. This could be the cue for the government to demonstrate to right-wing whites that it is not, despite CP accusations, soft on communism, the ANC and other "revolutionaries".

But Botha may also use the occasion to take steps against the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging. There is growing concern in government circles about the AWB and its methods.

Earlier this year, Botha said he wanted legislation on the National Statutory Council passed in 1987 and he subsequently appointed Dr Stoffel van der Merwe to spearhead the negotiations.

Although Van der Merwe and constitutional development and planning minister Chris Heunis have both said the concept of the NSC is up for negotiation, it is likely that government plans for political rights of black people outside the homelands will be outlined.

With the news that Botha has taken over the handling of the Margo Commission from Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, it is clear that Botha is determined to dominate the centre stage of government politics.

304A W/Mail 7-13/8/87

# 'Police kidnap' claim rejected

**By JO-ANN BEKKER**

SUPREME Court Judge H Daniels yesterday ruled that even if South African police had kidnapped senior ANC official Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim from Swaziland, he could still be tried by a South African court.

The judge, sitting in the Piet Retief circuit court, dismissed outright Ebrahim's application contesting the court's jurisdiction to try him on the ground that his abduction by alleged South African agents was a clear violation of international law.

The judgement could have important implications for about 10 people — alleged members of the ANC's regional political military council in Swaziland — believed to be in South African prisons after similar abductions. The State is accusing Ebrahim of being the head of this council.

Judge Daniels found the police had properly denied any involvement in Ebrahim's capture. He said the application had not made a case for the involvement of other state agents.

But, the judge added, even if Ebrahim "had been captured in violation of international law and the seizure was by the South African state or with its connivance, that would not impair the jurisdiction of the South African court" to try him.

Ebrahim's attorney, Priscilla Jana, said her client was considering appealing the judge's decision. He was also considering bringing another application.

Ebrahim, 50, who has served 15-years for sabotage on Robben Island, will now join three alleged ANC guerrillas in a major political trial due to begin in Piet Retief on Monday.

● See PAGE 9

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30+A EPOST 7/8/87



# Slabbert: road to talks still open

**Post Reporter**

THE alternative to negotiation was destruction, and negotiation was possible provided the political will was there, the executive director of Idasa, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, said in Port Elizabeth last night.

Addressing a mixed audience of about 1 600 people, Dr Slabbert said if the Government was as concerned about negotiation as the 50 South Africans who recently visited Dakar for talks with the ANC, a minimum condition would be that they were tolerant of the Dakar initiative.

Sharing the platform with Dr Slabbert to speak on "South Africa, what now? What next?" were Mrs Mary Burton, national president of the Black Sash, and the Rev Mike Mjukula of the Interdenominational African Ministers' Association of South Africa (Idamasa).

Dr Slabbert said the Government "needed to wake up to the fact that they could not fabricate their customers and even if they don't like the people concerned they have to negotiate".

At the Dakar talks, the ANC had said it would cease to use violence and negotiate if the South African Government released their leaders, unbanned the organisation and committed itself to dismantling apartheid.

The Government had "pumped up" the Dakar talks in an attempt to show that negotiation was a failure, he said.

"It's ridiculous to pretend that we went there to negotiate — we had no mandate," he said.

"The relevance of Dakar should be viewed from the perspective of a very small but necessary beginning."

There were two choices crystallising in South Africa at present, Dr Slabbert said. One was of a multi-racial autocracy and the other a non-racial democracy.

With structures such as statutory councils, city states and Regional Service Councils, the Government was attempting to co-opt blacks in the same why it had co-opted coloureds and Indians into the tricameral Parliament — "sharing power, but not losing it".

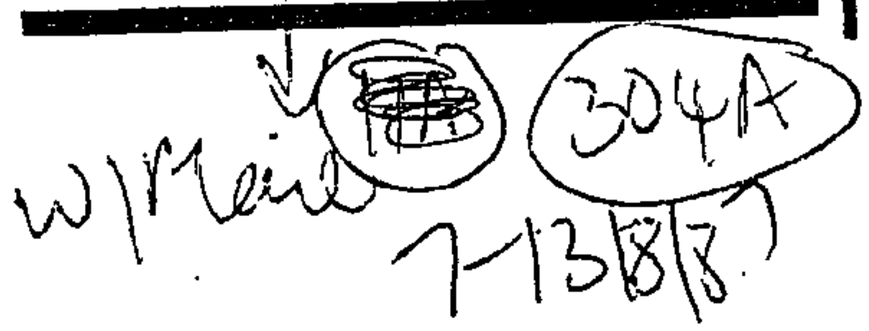
The Government would probably "multi-racialise" South Africa even to the extent where there were more black faces in the Cabinet than white ones. This would however not be a non-racial government, but one comprising deliberately selected people.

# Dakar: PFP won't act

THE Progressive Federal Party caucus has decided not to take any action against three members of the party who participated in the Dakar conference.

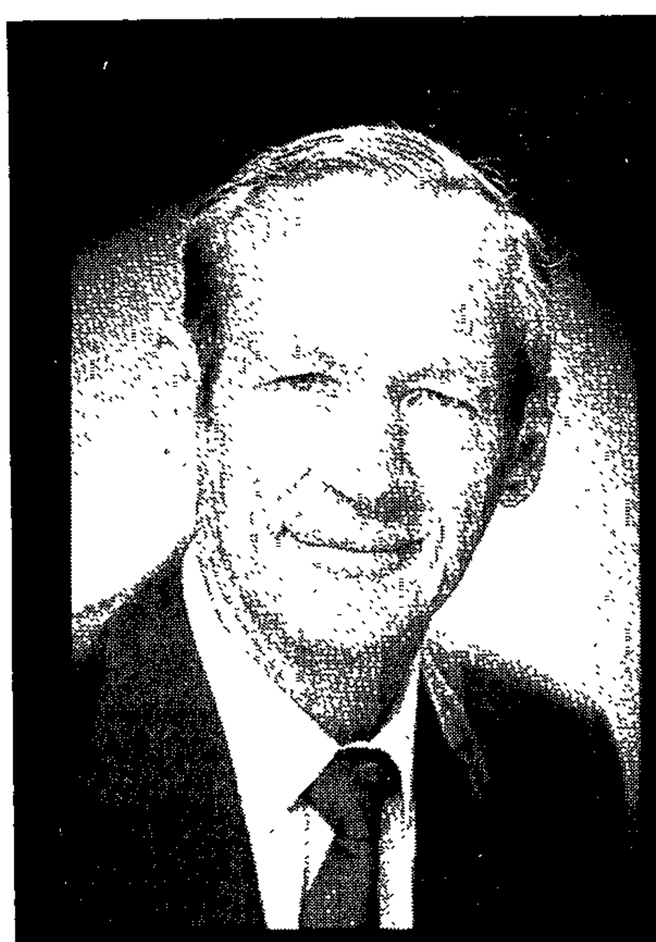
In a statement, the acting chair of the PFP caucus, Roger Hulley, said the caucus had accepted the "expressions of sincere regret" at not having discussed the visit with the party's leader, Colin Eglin, beforehand.

The caucus endorsed Eglin's statement that the three had made a positive contribution to the wellbeing of South Africa and its people. — Sapa



# Face to face on 'Dakar safari'

Aug 8, 1987



Mr ANDREW SAVAGE

## Straight talking on violence marked Idasa's conference with the ANC

**Mr Andrew Savage, former PFP MP for Walmer, was a member of the group of South Africans invited by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa) to meet an African National Congress delegation in Dakar, Senegal, last month.**

**This is his account of the "Dakar safari" — and, in particular, the crucial debate on the ANC's use of violence.**

**By ANDREW SAVAGE**

FIRST, let me deal with the question, "Why did you go to Dakar?"

I went because I believe there is no hope for South Africa unless we rid ourselves of apartheid now.

It is rubbish to say we are doing so! The constitution is the very substance of apartheid.

I have immediate empathy for someone who has suffered under apartheid and is now fighting the system, but that does not mean I support him. First, I want to know what he stands for.

I also went because the ordinary South African knows little about the ANC. Their statements cannot be published or quoted and P W Botha releases only selected excerpts which suit his purpose.

The delegation never claimed to represent a constituency or have a mandate.

It consisted of 61 people, mostly Afrikaners who rejected apartheid. It had taken great moral courage to take up their present position.

There were 17 ANC delegates headed by Thabo Mbeki, a quiet, modest, cultivated man with an MA in economics — and a nice sense of humour.

They generally shared an academic distinction with degrees in most of the disciplines, from universities right round the world.

They are able, articulate and dedicated. Whether they were specially selected as the most suitable for us to meet, I am not able to say. Three were members of the ANC's national executive committee.

I did not find them dogmatic ideologues. I felt that it would be possible for a government sincerely trying to eliminate apartheid and establish a non-racial democracy to reach an acceptable compromise with them.

The Dakar trip has been condemned by Government sources and others for giving status to the ANC but this ignores the credibility the organisation already has. It is recognised internationally by over 40 countries.

It has also been said that it was disloyal to meet with South Africa's "enemies". This might be the opinion of many whites, but the majority of South Africans might well define the National Party Government as "the enemy".

Not until one has been on a trip like this, does one realise Africa's deep commitment to the elimination of apartheid. The compulsion to purge colour discrimination from the continent overrides all differences.

Each session of the conference began with a paper on some aspect of South African affairs, from which flowed the subsequent debate.

The issue of violence was debated in depth.

Idasa delegates acknowledged that the armed struggle originates with the fact that the use of State force is fundamental to the existence and practice of apartheid, but delegates offered a range of arguments against its use by the ANC.

Violence was attacking the State where it is strongest.

The ANC also admitted that there is no way that the type of guerilla activity possible represents a serious threat to the SA Defence Force. They believe, however, that the use of violence will create public pressure on the Government to come to terms.

I believe the opposite effect is more likely. It will line everybody up behind an authoritative government which will have the conditions necessary to whip up a war psychosis.

This is evident in the reaction to last week's bomb explosion.

We felt that a major asset of the ANC was its ability to accrue a growing legitimacy at the expense of the Nationalist Government. Violence worked against this process, enabling Government to capitalise on the world's repugnance of terrorism.

Violence also inhibits the growth of a broad front of support in the struggle against apartheid.

Because of the ANC's inherent logistic and communication difficulties, it is impossible for it to control violence within recognisable parameters.

Violence feeds on itself. It tends to escalate uncontrollably and it makes the struggle so ugly that an acceptable resolution of the conflict becomes impossible.

Unlike a strike or boycott, its effect on the economy is to smash it.

I believe that the ultimate goal must be a political resolution. After all, the problem had its origin in political exclusion on the basis of colour. Violence could make a political solution unattainable.

These issues were debated as they should be — face to face.

The ANC's response was that the armed struggle was an essential part of their strategy.

It was focused on the army, police and strategic installations, but admitted that "it would be dishonest to say we can prevent the loss of civilian lives operating at a distance, frequently through half-trained troops".

They argued that the armed struggle was not an initiative, but a response to the systematic use of force by the apartheid government. They reminded the conference that the organisation had foresworn violence for the first 50 years of its existence.

They did not see the political and the armed struggle as counter-posed. The one augmented the other.

They complained of white failure to analyse the political aspects of the armed struggle. The ANC wants white support, but it certainly is not the only issue.

The ANC rejected the contention that it was the armed struggle that prevented progress and pointed to the UDF, a non-violent organisation, whose non-violent stance had not kept it out of the Government cross-fire.

Their strategy is to:

- Involve the masses,
- Reject the Government's definition of "legal" and "illegal" because, with power to make, execute and judge, it had prostituted the rule of law.
- Pursue the armed struggle — it was what made people take the movement seriously.
- Isolate the South African Government diplomatically, culturally, economically and militarily.

On negotiation they pointed out that the EPG initiative illustrated the problems one faces trying to negotiate with the National Party Government.

They added that it was necessary for the Government to do certain things to set the climate for negotiation. No negotiation was possible without the release of ANC leaders and negotiation could not be tied to Government creations like the National Statutory Council.

It was the Government's preconditions that made negotiation impossible, they said.

There was no historical precedent which required one adversary to renounce violence prior to such a meetings. Indeed, cessation should be an item on the agenda. One could, however, have a moratorium for, say, three months, but it must produce results.

The ANC's major achievement has been in the field of sophisticated international diplomacy. It has outperformed the SA Government continually. Some, like Thabo Mbeki, make Pik Botha look like a bull in a china shop.

I found them touchy about criticism of the sanctions and disinvestment offensive and I still have no evidence that they have attempted to analyse its likely consequences.

But they are quite pragmatic about this and say:

"The last thing we would want to do is wreck the economy. If you can show us a better way than socialism to order the economy, we would listen, but don't expect us to tolerate a situation where 18% of the population owns 80% of the assets."

The ANC spokesmen stated emphatically that the organisation had not tried to destroy other political groupings like Azapo or Inkatha but the acceptance of pluralism did not extend to advocates of fascism or racism. They stated that in a post-apartheid era, the ANC might dissolve into components.

They said thet they had no problem with a bill of rights and that they would protect all individual rights, but would have no truck with privileges which attach to a white skin.

The existing constitution could not be adapted or reformed. The emphasis was on discontinuity and a break with discredited institutions, whether parliamentary or a judicial system which consistently refused to use even the discretion allowed it.

They were not opposed to the devolution of power downwards, but federalism to preserve white privilage would not be tolerated.

The ANC is confident in the outcome of its struggle, but in my opinion, underestimates the Government's strength.

It also has unrealistic expectations of sanctions and disinvestment and it hopelessly underestimates the power of the Government to co-opt a large section of the black population.

I think the effect of violence on the white community will be exactly opposite to the one they hope for.

P W Botha would not have been alarmed by a single thing he would have heard at that conference. He has built all initiatives discussed into his strategy for the future and decided to live with the cost.

Although he can delay the inevitable by the decision to retain white domination until it is finally wrested away, we will pay a terrible price for doing so.

The power to avoid this scenario rests with whites. They rule. The initiative is in their hands.

# Can freedom withstand the fire?

CAPE TIMES 8/8/87



**Political Survey**
**By GERALD SHAW**

306/P

LIBERAL institutions — which accord a high value to freedom in cultural, political and economic life — are under fire in South Africa as never before.

The liberal universities are under assault from within and without, their traditional freedom and autonomy in jeopardy as a result of student indiscipline on one hand and Nationalist authoritarianism on the other.

Predictably, crass indiscipline on the part of a tiny minority at UCT, including both radicals and so-called moderates, is providing a handy pretext for state interference — with the state subjecting the traditionally independent universities to a nasty species of political blackmail.

It is not only the universities that are embattled. In the House of Assembly the only party which has insisted unashamedly on liberal values of freedom and human dignity — the PFP — is under great internal strain following an election setback.

And parliamentary government has been grievously undermined by constitutional changes which inflate the power of the executive at the expense of the legislature, enabling the security establishment to become all-powerful in shaping the country's direction.

The third repository of liberal values — the English-language press — is likewise wilting under sustained government pressure and is increasingly curbed by emergency regulations which have made it difficult in the extreme for newspapers to tell their readers what is going on.

Finally, there is the Christian church, likewise under fire and suffering internal strain with its leadership figures such as Archbishops Tutu and Hurley subject to sustained vilification by the propaganda machine.

APART from moral considerations, there are obvious pragmatic reasons of self-interest why liberal values and the institutions which embody them should be cherished and protected by a beleagured white minority in a changing South Africa.

Looking forward, only the most complacent and poorly informed of white South Africans can imagine that the present scheme of things in the country can endure.

South Africa is in a state of violent transition which on present form seems likely to be horribly protracted.

If the tradition of press freedom has been eroded out of existence by the time major changes are on the cards, if the independent universities and independent research organizations such as Idasa have been silenced and brought to heel, if the PFP is impotent in an impotent House of Assembly and the Christian church is persecuted and discredited — what structures will remain to ensure that liberal values survive the transition?



Flashback to the disturbances at UCT ... liberal values under attack.

If the cause of economic liberalism and free enterprise has already been to a large extent lost to an centralized authoritarian state, will not one species of tyranny merely replace another?

It matters little whether a tyranny is of the Right or of the Left — the effect on individual freedom and dignity is pretty well identical.

THE torture of solitary confinement is essentially the same harrowing experience for the victim whether the jailers are the KGB, the Gestapo or any other security force equipped — like the SAP — with powers to detain and interrogate at will.

Yet how conscious are people of the long-term threat to their freedoms? Does anyone ever reflect that Mr Ian Smith's emergency regulations are still in force in Zimbabwe — having been taken over and retained intact by Mr Mugabe when he took over?

How much public concern is there about the erosion of freedom of the press, for example?

It has been truly said that a man is not free who cannot see where he is going — even if he has a gun to help him get there.

Some people would rather be kept in the dark, it seems.

Is there not a role here for the PFP? As an outsider, it seems to me that the PFP should acknowledge that the party is not a serious contender for power in circumstances where only the white electorate has any real say.

Accepting this, and whatever its potential support may be in other communities, the PFP might well concentrate on its traditional strength as a spokesman for liberal values in the style established by Mrs Helen Suzman in her years as a lone MP, later joined by Mr Colin Eglin when he won Sea Point from the United Party.

The PFP is strongly entrenched in its liberal, upper-class strongholds and from this secure base is well-placed to monitor unrest and infringements of human rights, with its MPs using parliamentary privilege to tell the people what is going on, enabling the press to publish information which would otherwise be suppressed under emergency regulations.

MPs with the courage and conviction of a Jan van Eck or a Tian van der Merwe can do their country a service by getting the facts on the public record, calling the executive to account and acting as a brake on the abuse of power.

It *IS* important that liberal freedoms be kept alive. In this way, perhaps, some credit may be earned in the black community for the entrenchment of such values in the future. The PFP, respected among blacks for its stand against torture and infringement of human rights, is rather more credible as an advocate of free enterprise capitalism than the Nationalist spokesmen who pay lip service to free enterprise.

The PFP's advocacy of dialogue with the ANC has likewise earned it a measure of credibility among blacks — in the same way that Idasa has established itself very firmly in black esteem and in Western capitals as a result of the trip to Dakar.

YET the liberal objective of persuading people to talk rather than fight is becoming increasingly difficult to sustain. An irrational climate of mistrust and suspicion is engulfing the Dakar delegates.

So these are tough times for people in the universities, in politics and elsewhere who are convinced that the way ahead must be sought in negotiation — and who seek to maintain contact and communication with all significant black organizations, including the ANC. Increasingly, such people will be feeling the heat.

If they give way to pressure invaluable opportunities to state the case for freedom, convincing sceptical blacks of the merits of free enterprise capitalism will be squandered.

As things stand, capitalism and free enterprise are increasingly associated in black minds with their daily experience of restriction and brutal repression.

If liberal institutions and values go to the wall in the dying days of white supremacy, what hope can there be that they will be revived and entrenched in the new South Africa?

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Parliament and Politics

# 'Buthelezi backs JEA' — Heunis

CAPE TIMES 9/8/87

By BARRY STREEK

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was in total agreement with the establishment of the new Joint Executive Authority (JEA) for KwaZulu and Natal, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said yesterday.

"The Chief Minister of KwaZulu and the Administrator of Natal, as well as I, are in total agreement and are convinced that this step will lead to an even better spirit of co-operation and realism in KwaZulu and Natal," Mr Heunis said in a statement.

The JEA would provide "a structured basis on which further negotiations and, in fact, joint decision-making on a regional level will take place".

"I regard it as a very important step towards greater structured regional co-operation as well as power-sharing between the black and white communities in that area," Mr Heunis said.

Regulations for the establishment for the KwaZulu/Natal JEA were published in the Government Gazette yesterday.

They provide for the JEA, which is to be based in Durban, to consist of five members of the Executive Committee of Natal, to be appointed by the Adminstrator of Natal, and five KwaZulu ministers.

The ten members will elect a chairman and vice-chairman at its first meeting.

The JEA will not have legislative powers, but the administration of laws and functions can be transferred to it by the State President, and it will have executive powers.

All decision-making will be by consensus. If there is a dispute, the matter will be referred to the Chief Minister and the Administrator and will be regarded as a JEA decision if agreement is reached between them.

In his statement, Mr Heunis said the set of rules for the JEA were drawn up by the KwaZulu Government and the Provincial Administration in co-operation with this department.

"A very important factor in this significant event is that the parties concerned took the initiative in working towards a co-operative mechanism, which would provide for getting the job done without entering into the thorny area of political rights, group domination and other pitfalls."

Hendrickse asks for ... Minister condemns

withdraw, the 27 Labour Party MPs left the House.



**DIPLOMACY** . . . The new British ambassador to South Africa, Mr Robin Renwick, presents his credentials to Mr P W Botha. Mr Renwick introduced himself, and was spoken to, in Afrikaans.

# Blacks to be brought into PC?

CM Tabs 8/8/87
30kb

By PATRICK CULL

BLACKS may be brought into the President's Council.

Major changes to the current structure of the PC with the aim of bringing in blacks, are currently under consideration.

Mr P W Botha mentioned the possibility at the beginning of last year and since then has repeated the offer on a number of occasions. There have, however, been no ostensible developments.

It is understood, however, that the PC is now on the verge of proposing changes that will "make room" for blacks on the 60-man body, which effectively serves the president in an advisory capacity and also is used to resolve legislative deadlocks when the three Houses cannot agree on a bill.

At present there are 41 white members of the PC, 13 coloured members and six Indian members.

It is apparently proposed to reduce these numbers proportionally so that "space" can be made for 16 blacks to be appointed.

The white component — most of them government supporters — will however retain the majority over the combined total of the other three racial groups.

Because of this, any legislation to bring a new PC into existence is likely to meet with strong opposition from an increasingly militant Labour Party.

## Objections

**HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The Department of Manpower is having difficulty placing religious objectors in positions as many people were not in favour of being served by objectors, the Minister of Manpower, Mr Pietie du Plessis, said.**

**Replying to the debate on his vote of the Budget, he said he was giving attention to the placement of religious objectors.**

**It was not always easy to find them suitable positions, because of some people's opposition to religious objectors.**

**Mr Du Plessis said these people had his sympathy, because he could understand why someone would not want to be taught by a teacher who,for example, refused to serve his country. — Sapa**

# No total privatization

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The Department of Public Works was one of the most privatized government operations, but it could never be handed over totally to the private sector, the Minister of Manpower and Public Works, Mr Pietie du Plessis, said yesterday.

Replying to committee stage debate on his budget vote, he said large-scale use was made of the private sector in capital projects, and even maintenance work, which was contracted out on an annual basis.

It was, however, necessary to maintain a central control and the pool of experience in public works, which had been built up over the years. — Sapa

# Eglin 'still has hope'

Own Correspondent

**PORT ELIZABETH. — The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin, has not lost hope in finding a peaceful solution to South Africa's problems.**

**Speaking at the Port Elizabeth airport yesterday en route to Grahamstown, where he was to address the party's National Youth Congress last night, Mr Eglin came out against despondency.**

**The government had made him despondent, but the South African people continued to give him hope, he said.**


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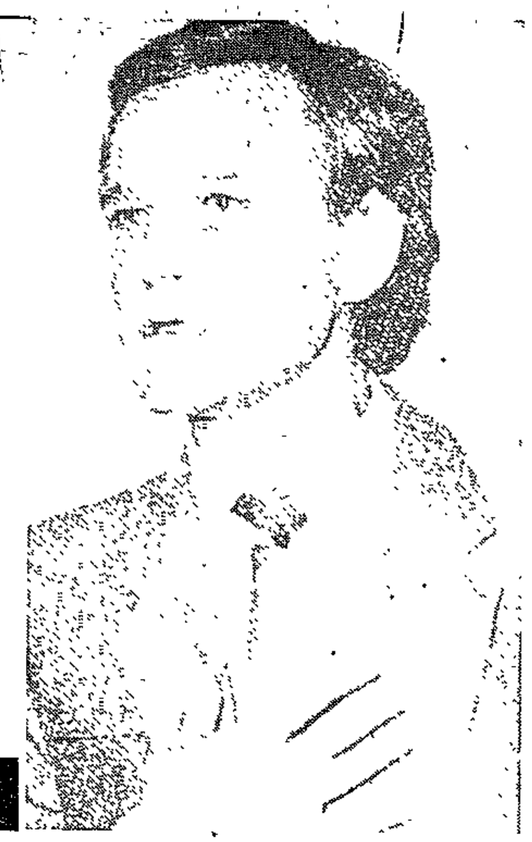
THE THIRD WAY

IF THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONFLICT IS NOT RACE OR CLASS, THEN JUST WHAT IS IT

Hermann Giliomee's analysis of the conflict

# If only there were just two groups to deal with . . .



*LAST WEEK Professor Hermann Giliomee argued for a third way out of our political impasse — one that would at least recognise conflicting nationalisms as a prime factor in a future settlement. Here Stoffel van der Merwe, Deputy Minister of Information and Constitutional Development, responds ...* Aug 9 1987

**By STOFFEL VAN DER MERWE, Deputy Minister of Information and Constitutional Development**

THE best decisions in life — and in politics — are those that are based upon the facts as they are and not on the "facts" as someone wishes them to be.

For this reason I welcome the basic insights contained in Hermann Giliomee's article on this page last Sunday — although I do not agree with all his conclusions.

Giliomee's basic thesis is that the conflict in South Africa is in essence what he calls a "communal conflict", and not primarily a racial conflict as it is often described, nor a class conflict as the ANC or the SACP would want it to be in order to fit their ancient social theories.

The "communal conflict" is not much different from what one would normally describe as a conflict between groups, each with its own nationalistic aspirations.

A further useful insight is that "to some extent communal conflicts... resemble international conflicts".

Europe is a piece of real estate roughly comparable in size to that of South Africa, that had been inhabited for centuries by a number of cultural groups about as numerous and diverse as that of modern South Africa.

In the absence of the queasiness and the preoccupation with human rights that are the hallmarks of the 20th century, the tribes of Europe fought many wars, effected many forced removals and extinguished many lives in a centuries-long process in which each group was eventually consolidated into a nation and owned its own piece of land in which it became a sovereign nation-state.

By the second half of the 20th century the stage was reached where each of these groups was reasonably safe behind international boundaries and its right to self-determination more or less guaranteed.

Under the cover of this luxurious overall safety of the group, these nations could devote all their attention to safeguarding the rights of individuals against the overpowering might of the state.

It is interesting to note, however, that in times of war — when the overall safety of the group is threatened — it is regarded as legitimate to move individual rights to the deep background until such time as the danger to the group as such has been averted.

In the normal European situation, one can thus discern two levels of politics: one at which the safety of the group is guaranteed (international politics), and one at which the individual is protected against the might of the state (domestic politics).

No wonder, therefore, that Hermann Giliomee discerns a "likeness to international politics in what he calls "communal conflict".

For some reason the peoples in South Africa (perhaps because of less aggressive natures?) fought far fewer wars and exterminated far fewer people than their counterparts in Europe, North America or Australia. (The longest and most destructive war in our history was fought against a European power anyway).

For a long time they furthermore practiced a far less rigid form of separation than on those continents, with the result that the various groups came to form a much more integrated pattern of settlement than for instance in Europe.

Whereas in Europe each nation protected its own territory jealously and forcefully against settlement by other groups, the people in South Africa intermingled almost carelessly, with the result that members of most groups are scattered throughout the subcontinent in large numbers.

As a consequence of this, the problem has arisen that the potential for conflict between groups cannot be handled at the level of international politics and with the aid of international boundaries.

Indeed, the challenge of South Africa is to handle both levels of politics (that between groups and that between the state and the individual) within the bounds of one political system, i.e. at the level of domestic politics.

If Hermann Giliomee is correct when he says that "to some extent, communal conflicts... resemble international conflicts", then it surely follows logically that the solution to the problem must also, to some extent, resemble international political solutions.

This, I believe, is a very valuable insight into the South African situation.

I have, however, some difficulties with certain facets of Giliomee's further analysis. One is that it amounts to an over-simplification of the situation.

If indeed it was only a communal conflict between two opposing nationalisms, the solution could perhaps have been as relatively simple as that of the late Dr Verwoerd.

The fact is that the situation is complicated by a meeting of the first and the third worlds, by racial connotations which are problematical everywhere in the world, by the fact that even within particular groups huge differences have developed between traditional and modernised sections, and by the many cultural problems that stem from the disruptive effects of urbanisation of the original cultural patterns.

The second problem with Giliomee's analysis is that he sees it simply as a conflict between two nationalisms — i.e. between "Afrikaner and African nationalists". This leads him to the conclusion that the solution lies in "a form of bi-communalism", whatever that may be when it is translated into a political system.

But it is a fallacy to disregard the many cultural divisions in the ranks of what he glibly terms as "Africans" (After more than ten generations I regard myself as "African" as any other African).

The mistake of disregarding the group loyalties of, for instance, the Zulus, the Xhosas or the Tswanas, will be at the cost of a peaceful future.

A third problem which flows from the previous over-simplifications is that he simply sees the National Party and the ANC as "in the respective vanguards" of the two nationalisms which he identifies. From this he deduces that the solution lies in these two organisations coming to some arrangement.

Oversimplification again. The fact is that the ANC with its quaintly un-African socialist philosophies cannot hope to accommodate the various aspirations of all the groups in South Africa.

One scientific study after the other shows that yes, a large number (but not a majority) of black people hold the ANC in high symbolic esteem; but no, up to 80 percent of black people see no future in their declared policies of violent revolution or state socialism.

The ANC certainly has its supporters, but so have many other black leaders and organisations.

The real lesson of the French, the Russian and many other revolutions is that violent revolution does not bring democracy, but instead retards it by decades, if not by a century or more.

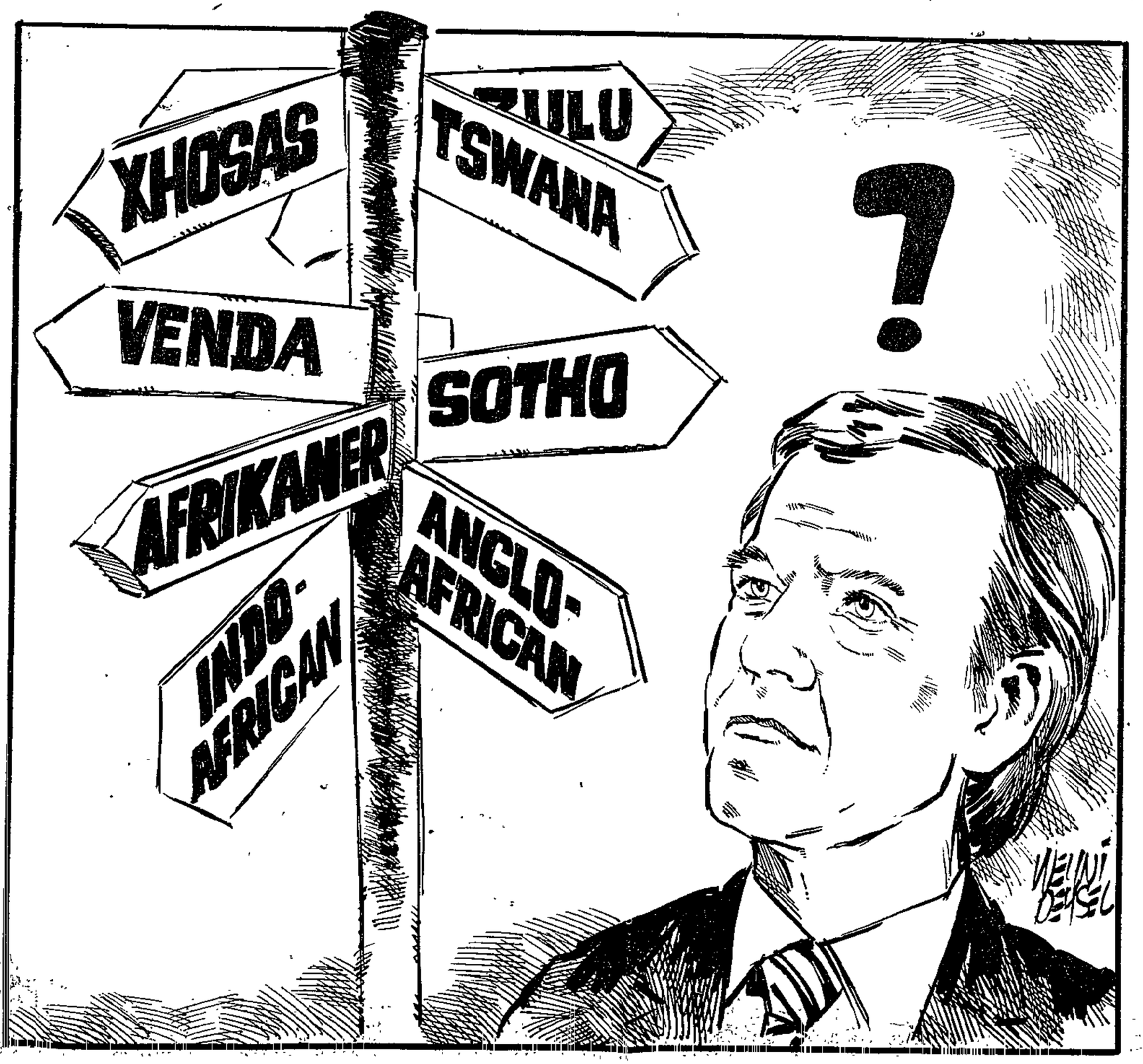
It makes no sense to try to cohabit with people who deal in violence if the aim which one pursues is democracy — a system which is essentially based upon the assumption of the peaceful settlement of political disputes.

I thank Giliomee, however, for his insight that the sole motivation of Afrikaners (and whites in general) is not to prevent the loss of their material "privileges". In fact it goes much, much deeper.

The one thing that equals the Afrikaners' determination to safeguard the future of their own cultural heritage is their determination to create a future dispensation that will be experienced as a just system by all who live in it.

If we simply exchanged one form of domination for another form of domination we would have gained very little, if anything. If we can develop a society in which a variety of groups can live together without any group or any significant number of individuals experiencing it as an oppressive system, then that would be progress.

That is the ideal to which we are committed.



# And now a grey light for Group Areas?

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

WHEN State President Mr P W Botha rises to address his vote in Parliament on Thursday, he is expected to usher in a vital 60 closing days of this year's Parliamentary session in which two fundamental constitutional issues will be tackled — Group Areas and negotiation.

The Government plans to have its President's Council report on the Group Areas Act tabled before the session ends. A draft of the report, it was learned, recommended elective "grey areas" before it was shelved in the lead-up to the May 6 elections.

The report was not made public.

Legislation that will enable the creation of a National Statutory Council is also to come before Parliament before it closes for the year early in October. The NSC is an intended negotiating forum where a new constitutional deal involving blacks will be hammered out.

Mr Botha will set the tone for these events.

He will do so against an intense Government desire to get negotiations under way.

A top constitutional source said this week the Government believed that the climate for negotiation — although not yet ideal — was better than it had been for three years.

## Hope

South Africa's ambassador to the United States, Dr Piet Koornhof, told a leading US newspaper: "Not in my lifetime has there been a more genuine hope than at this moment ... the next 60 to 90 days are critical."

The issue of negotiations has been given a vivid backdrop by the controversial talks by an unofficial party of Afrikaners and the ANC in Dakar, and the subsequent bomb blast in Johannesburg in which 68 people were injured.

Mr Botha's office is one of the tightest and most remote divisions of Government and little is known of Mr Botha's intentions for Thursday.

However, it has been taken for granted that he will make a blistering attack on the Dakar participants. It has also been speculated that he may introduce some measure to block similar non-Government undertakings.

## Signal

The Government is known to be wrestling with some gesture or signal that will give credence to its proposed negotiating process.

Although not directly linked to the process, nor to Mr Botha's speech, the incarceration of Nelson Mandela remains on the Government agenda.

Delegates learned from the ANC in Dakar that the ANC believed some weeks ago that there were meaningful prospects for Mr Mandela's release. The ANC sent a message to the South African Government that senior members were prepared to come to South Africa, under indemnity, to speak to Mr Mandela and attempt to cool the temperature in the townships.

It was understood there was no South African reply.

# Treurnicht could gain from new boundaries

**By DONALD SIMPSON**

**THE reallocation of constituencies before the next general election is going to to be one of the neatest balancing acts.**

**Not only are white party-political interests at stake, but now also those of the establishment coloured and Indian parties.**

**And, interestingly, there may be more resistance from the rural Indian and coloured MPs than white MPs to the suggestion that at long last South African constituencies should all be of the same size.**

**This is not because the whites representing small constituencies are all Conservative — far from it. It is National Party leader and head of state P W Botha, with the pocket boroughs in Namaqualand, who has most to lose and not Dr Treurnicht, whose party has Transvaal constituencies of average size nationally.**

**In fact, the typical CP constituency is slightly above average size nationally.**

**President Botha will be able to "sell" the idea of losing Cape seats by the balancing gains in the Transvaal. This is correct if no swing from the NP to the CP occurs.**

**However, this is not the picture if a swing from the NP to the ultra-right occurs. Then the CP picks up a lot of seats, depending on how much swing occurs.**

## Strategy

**Perhaps in the end the decisive factor to persuade coloured and Indian rural MPs not to resist too much the reallocation of constituencies to the urban areas will be the same as that for rural white MPs — namely, as an intended limit on Conservative growth.**

**Better more urbanised coloured and Indian MPs than none at all in the case of the Houses of Delegates and Representatives.**

**The position of the CP must still be a dominant consideration of government strategy.**

**Its parliamentary strength is a gross understatement of its real strength politically, as it is "punished" in two ways by the voting system of South Africa, the first-past-the-post Westminster system.**

**First, the split HNP-Conservative vote in the election cost the CP eight constituencies, two of which are in the Free State.**

**With these, rightfully, the CP's, it would have 30 MPs — the number predicted pre-election by Jaap Marais.**

**Secondly, the system itself "punishes" parties far behind the leader in votes unless their support is regionally concentrated. The CP would have 44 seats, double its representation now, proportionate to its votes in the election. The CP at this level of support is still not quite strong enough regionally.**

## Possible

**This question of regional concentration of CP voters is a key to the proposed strategy of the Nationalist Government, and yet it may be self-defeating.**

**The CP, like Dr Malan's HNP in 1948, is potentially concentrated in a sufficiently strong "region" — namely, the Free State and rural and industrial Transvaal.**

**It is theoretically possible to win an election in single-member constituencies with 26 percent of all the votes, even with only two parties contesting. This comes about by winning just over half of the votes in just over half of the constituencies and none in the remaining half.**

**This extremely unlikely theoretical result becomes a reality for the CP at around 40 percent, as in 1948 with the NP.**

**It has occurred in the UK in the 1929, 1951 and 1974 elections, as well as in New Zealand in the last four elections.**

## Equalise

**The CP is well placed under the Westminster system if it achieves a swing from the Nationalists. Its emergence as the strongest minority could guarantee it just over 50 percent of the House of Assembly MPs.**

**The Government has announced that it will equalise the constituencies, abolishing the 15 percent loading and unloading from urban to rural.**

**The inaccuracy of the urban registers compared with the rural ones may actually produce a pro-loaded urban situation, as equalised constituencies on paper may hold fewer people than is apparent in urban seats.**

**None of this will materially hurt the CP more than a net three or four constituencies if the swing its way occurs.**

**Boundaries can be gerrymandered to assist one group or another, but CP voters are much better mingled and camouflaged against the NP than the old United Party voters were.**

**Many voters simply do not feel any difference of note between the NP and the CP as they would between the UP and NP of old or the NP and PFP, for example.**

**This may be a false impression, especially to the unenfranchised of South Africa.**

**The average size of the equalised new constituencies on 1987 figures may be approximately 18 250 electors.**

## Correct

**On this basis, all things being equal, the PFP-led group of 21 MPs on the left is exactly correctly represented.**

**The NP will on average have smaller constituencies than nationally overall, perhaps four seats extra in all.**

**These, of course, come from the CP, which, on average, has larger constituencies, even with its rural seats, and which could, on 1987 results, expect four more MPs to yield it 34 with the split-vote seats.**

**The coup de grâce for the CP is the voting system. If its support rises, research at the University of Potchefstroom shows that it will substantially gain MPs with a modest poll of total votes around 40 percent, and the PFP voters could only marginally help the National Party if they switched to the NP, as they are in the "wrong" areas, by and large, to be of help.**

● *Mr Simpson is a researcher at the University of Potchefstroom. Research for the above article was partly funded by the Human Sciences Research Council.*

ST Times (304A) 9/8/87

regular visits he gets from a small Said George, who works at a visits to bookshops, what the kids Then there is the nursing staff. for the man who gave up his again, Savvas said.

# Divided they stand

9/8/87 (304A) S/Times

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

THE Progressive Federal Party caucus this week papered over cracks that opened on the Dakar visit to the ANC — but the strains that led to the split still seethed below the surface.

Three senior party members apologised to their leader, Mr Colin Eglin, for not giving him and the caucus more timeous and adequate information about the trip before leaving.

They were Mr Peter Gastrow, MP for Durban Central and the party's youthful national chairman, Mr Pierre Cronje, MP for Greytown, and Mr Pieter Schoeman, a President's Council member. Their apologies were released to the media.

The outcome of the affair that highlighted deep divisions within the party was seen as a victory for its conservative faction.

And although the Dakar differences are now ostensibly settled, the questions and tensions that were revealed continue to gnaw at the fundamentals of the party's existence.

Some party sources are not ruling out the likelihood that the party could in future split over its internal differences.

On Thursday, party cohesion will be tested anew when the PFP faces the full brunt of Government attack in the Parliamentary debate on the State President's vote. Mr P W Botha will himself lead the assault.

The Dakar incident — ostensibly a procedural technicality — has illustrated the rise of a conservative, pragmatic faction in the party. Until now a group of idealistic, liberal purists were seen to hold the sway.

The idealists were responsive to a swell of opinion, mainly among party rank-and-file youth, that Parliament governed without the legitimising assent of the majority of the population. It should, on those grounds, leave the institution, they said.

## Demoralised

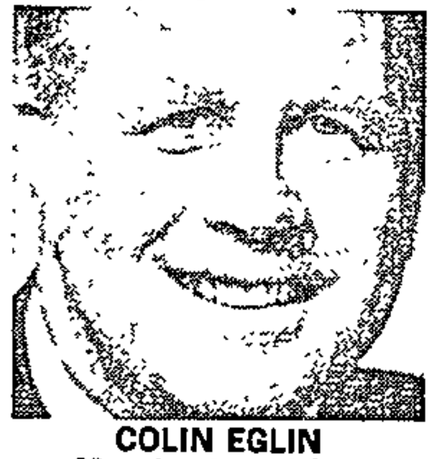
Or at least the party should not pander to the prejudices of the electorate and should spell out its ideals, such as on universal franchise, unequivocally.

This faction peaked immediately after the May 6 election, as the badly demoralised party assessed its losses

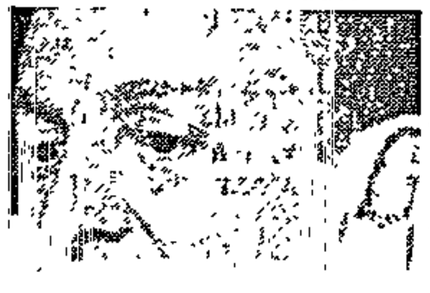
## Faction cracks show in PFP's Dakar dilemma



PETER GASTROW
A party idealist



COLIN EGLIN
Man in the middle



the day before the expedition's leader, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, returned to South Africa.

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The pragmatists are associated with Mr Harry Schwarz, MP for Yeoville, Dr Marius Barnard (Parktown), Mr Ray Swart (Berea) and Prof Nic Olivier (nominated).

A large group straddle both strains of thought and gather around Mr Eglin.

The existence of the two factions arises from what the party's analysts call its "dual constituency" ... and illustrate the dilemma of promoting liberal thought in South Africa.

The PFP's dual constituency consists of the largely conservative white voters on the one hand, and black and extra-Parliamentary politics on the other.

## Opposed

Years of the terror war of the ANC, and the propaganda war that has been mounted as part of the Government's counter-assault, have created a voting population vigorously opposed to the ANC and anything associated with it.

Yet a serious political group cannot move very far in black politics without bumping into the United Democratic Front, the ANC itself, or schools of thought sympathetic to it.

The PFP's principles commit it to working for a reconciliation of the two aspects of


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ntroducing the Isuzu KB Fleetside 1,6ℓ petrol – a defiant
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gun-metal front bumper with extra
cooling slots; inertia reel seatbelts;
R MONEY, a step-up rear
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George, who works at a ... visits to bookshops, what the kids ... Then there is the nursing staff, ... the ... who gave up ... again, after ...

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9/8/8 304A S Times

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## Demoralised

Or at least the party should not pander to the prejudices of the electorate and should spell out its ideals, such as on universal franchise, unequivocally.

This faction peaked immediately after the May 6 election, as the badly demoralised party assessed its losses to the National Party.

However, this period also saw the pragmatists gathering muscle. They argue there is no point being in politics if one is not going enter the market for votes

They point to the successes of the Independents, who stood on very much the same principles as the PFP — but played their rhetoric much closer to the Nats and were much more successful in drawing disenchanted and doubtful Nat voters. The latter is the key to electoral success for any opposition party.

In this respect the pragmatists saw the Dakar talks as harmful to the party's image, particularly in the wake of the Johannesburg bomb blast the day before the expedition's leader, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, returned to South Africa.

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The PFP's principles commit it to working for a reconciliation of the two aspects of its dual constituency.

While in Parliament it runs an Unrest Monitoring Action Committee, headed by Mr van Eck, and a programme called Outreach, aimed at establishing contact with communities outside the Parliamentary orbit

Some PFP members, many observers, and thousands of voters believe the party is, in a polarised society, trying to mix fire and water.

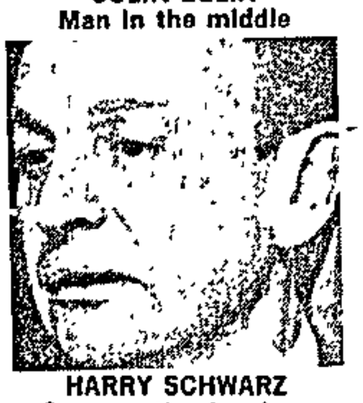
# Faction cracks show in PFP's Dakar dilemma



PETER GASTROW
A party idealist



COLIN EGLIN
Man in the middle



HARRY SCHWARZ
Conservative leanings


...irai — much more style for a whole KB Fleetside 1,6 ℓ petrol – a defiant ... with the kind of features normally ... a huge 73 litre fuel tank; tinted windows; 195 x 14 radial tyres on ... styled wheels with chrome nuts; a gun-metal front bumper with extra cooling slots; inertia reel seatbelts; ...NEY; a step-up rear bumper; and a load - compensating braking ...em with a load-sensitive brake limiting ...e to ensure that the rear braking effort ...irectly proportional to the load being ...ied. The new hydraulic clutch also fea... ...oid operated limiting valve that slows

# Eric Mtonga was a 'hero and a martyr'

**CP Correspondent**

A FORMER border co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa, Eric Mntonga was a "hero and matyr" who fought for a peaceful South Africa.

These were the words of the speakers at Mntonga's memorial service attended by scores of people in the East London's city hall on Tuesday night.

The large crowd clapped hands, stamped feet and sang freedom songs throughout the 90-minute meeting which was addressed by several clergymen and speakers from Idasa and the South African Congress of South African Trade Unions.

Mntonga was found dead in his car 20 kilometres outside King William's Town last week. An autopsy found that he died as a result of a blow to the head.

The regional director of Idasa, Steve Fourie, said Mntonga's murder was no doubt politically motivated.

He said the murder of Mntonga followed the pattern of unsolved murders in the Eastern Cape and border over the past few years.

Fourie described Mntonga as a strong man who knew exactly what he believed in.

"Although he was knowledgeable he was prepared to listen.

"He had great strength in his commitment to the struggle for a just and peaceful South Africa.

"It makes no sense that anyone should murder a man with those kinds of views except to those who force their will onto other people," he said.

Another speaker, Joe Jongolo, a field worker for the Lutheran Church and a member of the UDF, said people should not mourn the death of Mntonga, but should show their determination by standing up to the enemy.

He said Mntonga died in the struggle for the betterment of humanity.

"He died at the hands of a brutal enemy which we must face. We have got a right to defend our people," he said.

Mntonga will be buried tommorrow at Mdatsane. – Elnews

SOWETAN, Monday, August 10, 1987

# TALKS AGAIN ON ACCORD

**MAPUTO — Conditions have now been created to reopen dialogue with South Africa, Mozambique's Minister of Co-operation, General Jacinto Veloso, has said.**

At the same time, however, he contradicted reports from Cape Town that there had been an agreement with South Africa to investigate the Homoine massacre.

General Veloso was speaking on his return from Cape Town where he held a meeting with South Africa's Foreign Minister, Pik Botha.

He said that at the meeting relations had been discussed in global terms so that both sides could find out if there was the will to make the Nkomati Accord work.

"Apparently there is," he said. "Everything leads us to believe that there exist the conditions to reopen dialogue."

## Confirmed

Mr Veloso confirmed that both countries had agreed on the creation of a commission to discuss problems in the relations between the two countries but he emphasised that this commission was separate from the joint security commission formed at the time of the Nkomati agreement.

"The security commission has not functioned since the discovery of the Gorongosa documents," he said, referring to rebel documents found by the Mozambican authorities which indicated that South African army officers and officials had visited the rebel headquarters after the Nkomati Accord was signed.



☐ Malan . . . open and vociferous.



☐ Eglin . . . English face, English style.

# Pathfinder: the new role for the PFP to play

**KEN OWEN**

THE PFP, thoroughly demoralised, is indulging in a good deal of scapegoating as it tries to come to terms with its reduced status.

The scapegoating is understandable, but it doesn't help to answer the question that must be answered if the PFP is to recover: what are the causes of its failure? Enough time has passed since the election to make a calm appraisal.

Firstly, it must be said that a party whose charismatic leader had recently jumped ship, proclaiming the futility of the journey, and left his crew to sink or swim, was bound to be weakened. The damage was not simply to the party, but also to the very idea of parliamentary endeavour.

As a result, the party lost traditional support from students, both voters and volunteer workers, and it suffered its most damaging losses in constituencies close to the universities.

There was another problem, seldom mentioned. In the minds of almost all Afrikaners, English-speakers are forever cast in the role of subsidiary players in politics. Slabbert's departure brought to the PFP leadership an English face and an English style, which was a disadvantage, and Horace van Rensburg's accusations of anti-Afrikaner bias aggravated the problem.

The ostentatious refusal of the Independents to be associated with the PFP had no grounds in policy. Wynand Malan is an open and vociferous proponent of negotiations with the ANC, more so than most PFP members. On economic policy he stands to the left of Helen Suzman. But he knew that Afrikaans voters, perhaps for colonial reasons, will not follow English leadership, and he exploited that phenomenon.

The sad fact is that, except for a few cultural or political refugees, English leadership has never attracted Afrikaans support and, barring transformation of the sociology of Afrikanerdom, never will. The PFP is destined to remain an overwhelmingly English party, or to die.

Then there is the vexed question whether the electorate as a whole shifted to the right under pressure of President Botha's campaign emphasis on security matters. On this opinions differ.

Professor Lawrence Schlemmer has evolved a sophisticated analysis of the election results that purports to show the voters did not shift to the right; the parties shifted to the left. In particular, Schlemmer argues, this is true of the National Party which, in adopting fundamental reforms, picked up support from reformist English voters.

The analysis is comforting but misleading. The National Party, despite its shift, remains firmly positioned on the wrong side of the line separating race-based from democratic politics. If the National Party moved from apartheid to neo-apartheid, English voters, at best, moved from the PFP's non-racialism to neo-apartheid. The party went left, the voters right.

In any event, such reforms as repeal of the pass laws have been bought at the cost of a major retreat from democratic political structures — towards an imperial presidency, mandarism, suspension of the rule of law, military-civilian administration, and so forth. The voters have moved, in fact, both to neo-apartheid and to neo-fascism.

The impulse for this rightward shift, of course, was the fear raised by threats of revolution, buttressed by terrorist actions and demonstrated with horrible vividness by the atrocious practice of necklacing. The PFP's argument is to negotiate sooner from strength rather than later from weakness.

But that implies that the party merely seeks terms of surrender, like Ian Smith at Lancaster House. The constant emphasis in public debate is on what black people will not accept: they will not accept group rights (a point on which I happen to agree); they will not accept capitalism; they will not accept a bill of rights, or First World standards, and so forth.

If that is so, many of the English voters on whom the PFP must depend will prefer to play for time, and the Nationalists do offer time: time to educate and export the children, time to emigrate, time for something to turn up, time to live out one's life under the protection of the army.

English South Africa is a disintegrating community, with no emotional refuge in church, state, academies, Press, Parliament or politics. The defeat of 1948, though it might not have been so perceived at the time, was permanent and the community's exclusion from the centres of power — even the power to shape their own lives — is also permanent. To think it can create a political party to seize power and shape the future — or negotiate it — is fantasy.

This analysis is bleak, but also liberating. Freed of the temptations of power, the PFP can be what it chooses. It can, like the socialists, make itself an instrument of black liberation. T E Lawrence once warned that it was a "Yahoo life", but it is not a dishonourable one. The result, however, would be quickly to eliminate the PFP from Parliament entirely.

Alternatively, the party might follow its former voters into a closer, if uneasy, alliance with the NP, hoping to moderate the neo-fascism while stimulating the racial reform. That, too, would be a Yahoo life.

Or the party can revert to its traditional role of pathfinder, trying to delineate a vision of post-apartheid South Africa, and to discover the paths that lead from here to there. It can make of Parliament the platform from which to propagate the ideas which are its heritage: the rule of law, the restraint of power, the rights of free speech, equality before the law, the sanctity of life and the security of person, the success of capitalism, and the efficiency of markets, the ownership of property, the right to vote and to liberty.

These ideas, tested by long history, are all that the dwindling English community can offer South Africa. They are not new, but in the struggle for power between Afrikaner and African, they are cast aside and are dying. There is really nobody to uphold them or to fashion them into a vision of the future except the PFP, and no place to do so except in Parliament.

# AWB in bid for 'English Rightwingers'

By Bart Marinovich

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) has appealed to "all concerned English-speaking Rightwingers" to join the predominantly Afrikaans organisation.

An advertisement appeared in The Star classified section last week urging "concerned" English-speakers to telephone two numbers in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg.

The Star contacted one of the organisers behind the move.

"One of our members felt we should attract English speakers to a meeting. We want them to discover the aims and objects of the organisation and if they feel the same as we do, they can sign up," she said.

"We want English speakers to jointhe AWB. We want them to discover for themselves what the AWB is all about and not form opinions of the organisation based on the image projected by the media.

"We feel a lot of English speakers think the same as we do. They really don't have anywhere to air their political views.

"The language of the organisation will remain Afrikaans, but we want English-speakers to become members and attend meetings."

She said she had received a"good response" from English speakers.

Meetings on the Witwatersrand would be arranged as soon as she received enough calls from the different areas.

# Salima to Dakar: will history be repeated?

10/8/87 3044 SJMR

**Similarities between two peace conferences held in Africa three decades apart are examined by Dr Alan A Cooper.**



Dr Slabbert



Colonel Stirling

Salima to Dakar is a long journey. The period 1956 to 1987 is equally a long journey in time.

Two men made those journeys — a wartime hero, Colonel David Stirling, and Dr Van Zyl Slabbert. Colonel Stirling formed the Capricorn Africa Society in 1949 in the early, difficult years before the formation of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and organised a conference on the shores of Lake Nyasa near Salima in June 1956. Dr Van Zyl Slabbert helped organise the now well-known conference at Dakar in July 1987.

Both men had the same objective — to try to reconcile warring political elements and to produce a non-racial society; Stirling in the Federation, Van Zyl Slabbert in South Africa. Both could be termed "white liberals," both applied an almost messianic spirit to their negotiations.

## Concept disappeared

Stirling failed and the Federation split up. Northern Rhodesia, now Zambia, became a one-party state. Nyasaland, now Malawi, a benevolent autocracy under the chief opponent of the Federation, Dr Hastings Banda and Southern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe, underwent great trauma as finally white rule, after a bloody civil war, gave way to the Marxist-Leninist model practised by Prime Minister Robert Mugabe. The concept of multiracialism preached by Stirling disappeared.

Stirling made a bid for unification of the three Central African territories with the East African countries, Zanzibar and Northern Bechuanaland, in 1951.

He argued the territories were open to communist subversion and extreme African nationalism and Southern Rhodesia was in danger of absorption by South Africa.

He wrote to leading British Conservatives and toured Central and East Africa and Britain urging support for a conference of settlers from British colonies south of the Sahara to be held in Salisbury before the projected reconvened conference on the Central African Federation in Salisbury which was finally held at Lancaster House, London, in April 1952.

The irrepressible Stirling found allies with Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Godfrey Huggins who were concerned about the growing opposition to Federation in Southern Rhodesia and strident attacks by African nationalist leaders. They were later to withdraw their support.

In April 1953, the British Parliament approved the Federation which becane constituted on August 1 in an uneasy birth

In the liberal euphoria that followed, the Capricorn Africa Society began recruiting Southern Rhodesian African members in an intensive drive. It remained firm to its stated declaration not to descend into the arena of politics but to operate by influencing leaders of all parties and all races towards the idea of a common Federal citizenship. This apparently persuaded many Africans to join.

Now at his peak, Stirling organised a multiracial congress of delegates at Salima in Nyasaland in June 1956. The writer attended as a journalist.

On the shores of Lake Nyasa, a bamboo-hut village had been built with sleeping, eating and conference facilities for several hundred delegates. Among those attending could be found delegates of all races and of all political persuasions, including churchmen and African National Congressmen. All met in an atmosphere of partnership, speeches were full of brotherly sentiment.

At the end, delegates signed a contract outlining the high-minded principles of Capricorn policy. These included proposals for a qualitative franchise based on the multiple vote, land reforms to give the African more ownership and hence more qualifications to obtain a vote, multiracial trade unions and more expenditure on African education.

But the Capricorn contract did not approve of universal suffrage and African support for it dwindled. The society's association with and support for the Federation finally ended its attraction for the African moderates and brought bitter attacks from the African Nationalist Congress parties. Soon the Capricorn Contract, an attempt at a liberal interracial consensus in Central Africa, was forgotten and the Salima negotiations condemned as the final rounds leading to the break-up of the Central African Federation began.

There would seem some similarities between the talks at Dakar and Salima. The actors were different, the political pressures different. But will the outcome of the Dakar talks be the same as the failure of the Salima talks? Will history repeat itself?

● *The writer lectures in politics at the University of Bophuthatswana.*

CAPE Times 10/8/87 3064

# Support for PFP Dakar trio

PORT ELIZABETH. — The Young Progressives National Congress has expressed its "unequivocal" support for the Progressive Federal Party members who attended the talks in Dakar with the African National Congress.

A resolution passed unanimously by the Congress over the weekend read: "This congress supports all initiatives towards negotiation between all groups working for an end to apartheid and unequivocally supports those PFP members who recently went to Dakar."

The congress also expressed dismay at the dismissal of the editor of the Cape Times, Mr Anthony Heard: "In times of wide-spread press censorship, Mr Heard has done all he can in his power to educate and inform white South Africans. All South Africans would suffer this loss," the resolution said.

# ANC can't cater for all — Stoffel

CAPE Times 10/8/87

3044

**Political Correspondent**

THE ANC, "with its quaintly un-African socialist philosophies", cannot hope to accommodate the various aspirations of all the groups in South Africa, according to the Deputy Minister of Information and Constitutional Planning, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe.

However, Mr Van der Merwe, the government's chief negotiator with blacks, said that the banned organization was highly regarded by a large number of black people in South Africa.

## Violent revolution

Writing in the Sunday Times yesterday, Dr Van der Merwe said that "one scientific study after another shows that yes, a large number (but not the majority) of black people hold the ANC in high symbolic esteem; but no, up to 80% of black people see no future in their declared policies of violent revolution or state socialism".

"The ANC certainly has its supporters, but so do many other black leaders and organizations."

"It makes no sense to try to cohabit with people who deal in violence if the aim which one pursues is democracy — a system which is essentially based upon the assumption of the peaceful settlement of political disputes."

"If we simply exchanged one form of domination for another form of domination we would have gained very little, if anything.

"If we can develop a society in which a variety of groups can live together without any group or any sigificant number of individuals experiencing it as an oppressive system, then that would be progress."

Without the parliamentary process it is conceivable that white rule will be less predictable, more arbitrary and erratic, fragmented and probably more ruthless ... BRUCE CAMERON of the Political Staff reports



# Parliament the power base for political reform

PARLIAMENT remains the real power base for political change, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, Director of the Centre for Policy Studies at the Wits Graduate School of Business, says in an analysis of the recent white elections.

Professor Schlemmer's analysis is one of four of the elections in the latest edition of the increasingly highly regarded magazine, *Indicator South Africa*, published by the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal.

Professor Schlemmer warns against the fashionable trend to regard white politics as irrelevant or as a side show.

It would be unrealistic to assume that major change could occur in South African society if most whites were to oppose it, those making this assumption are courting the ultimate disaster of civil war.

## Rubber stamp

Those supporting the trend argued that the dynamic for change lay in the interaction between extra-parliamentary forces and white executive authority with Parliament little more than a rubber stamp.

In many ways this was fair comment, he said, but it could not be overlooked that "the composition of Parliament and the support it gives in the process of government and administration is crucial to the relationships between the executive authority and the vast civilian/security administrations.

"The legitimacy of the decisions of Cabinet Ministers to these functionaries rested very largely on the parliamentary process and the verdict of white voters."

And without the parliamentary process it was conceivable that white rule would be less predictable, more arbitrary and erratic, fragmented and probably more ruthless ...

"White electoral politics and the rituals of Parliament still have a powerful gatekeeper function in the interplay of power."

## Suspension

When all was said and done the normalisation of South African society would have to be ushered in or condoned by the white Parliament "if we are to avoid what could be much more lethal than black unrest, namely armed white popular resistance".

But in another article, visiting Canadian professor to the Centre for Intergroup Studies at the University of Cape Town, Heribert Adam, predicts a constitutional suspension of Parliament before the elections in 1989.

"The power holders may deem this necessary, not because their own re-election would be threatened by either the white ultra-right or the liberals but to prevent upheaval of a second election campaign for the Indian and coloured Houses of Parliament.'

He suggests that a democratic veneer for a purely executive state would be provided by periodic referendums on issues carefully selected and pre-tested by the Government.

The executive, endorsed by the referendums in which everyone would have an equal vote, would include recognised black leaders willing to be co-opted.



Professor Schlemmer

This scenario could involve the offer of important portfolios to a released Mandela, Buthelezi and other credible opposition figures.

## Reject scenario

The ANC/UDF was likely to reject such a scenario but not necessarily other black factions.

He claims that Government planners calculate that "such a non-racial system of periodic pleblescites would broaden democracy" meeting demands for a universal franchise regaining some domestic and international recognition.

He does concede that there would be trouble from the ultra-right.

However both Professor Adam and Professor Schlemmer are firmly of the opinion that the Conservative Party has no chance of taking power.

Pooh-poohing the CP gains in the last election, Professor Schlemmer said that if it had broken away before the 1981 election "the impression of gains by the rightwing since 1981 would not exist".

He concedes though that the CP will have an inhibiting effect on the National Party moving dynamically on reform because of the possibility of losing another 13 to 16 seats to the CP in 1989.

Both argue against the theories that the 1987 election showed a dramatic shift of the white electorate to the right.

Professor Adam says in some ways the NP has moved into the role which the PFP occupied in the past taking over the ideological currency of negotiations, reform and power-sharing.

Professor Schlemmer says there can be no argument that the Botha government has shifted into a reform position albeit cautiously and without sacrificing conservative credentials.

If it had not the CP would never have broken away.

White electoral support had been funnelled into the reform orientated centre.

## Faster reforms

He also feels that in spite of the caution over the CP the general drift of the electorate to "conservative reform" will weaken to allow the NP to move into the current position of faster reforms.

Professor Schlemmer finds that the independent group could have considerable influence with the capacity to draw off half of the PFP support and up to 25 percent of present NP support.

Their strength being their firmness of security while demanding faster reform.

# Probe into minister's suspension

Religion Reporter

The Gereformeede Kerk circuit in the Pretoria area is investigating the case of the Rev Theuns Eloff — who went on the controversial Dakar trip — after an announcement on Sunday that the minister had been suspended.

His co-minister in Brooklyn, Dr Michiel Venter, would not be drawn today on whether Mr Eloff was still under suspension.

### RAISED AT CIRCUIT MEETING

Dr Venter said the matter was still in its early stages of investigation. He confirmed that it was raised at a circuit meeting last night but said the issue had not been finalised.

Two objections were lodged with the Brooklyn congregation's church council when it became known that Mr Eloff, who is also the chairman of the Reformational Movement of South Africa, had gone on the Dakar trip as a delegate for consultations with the African National Congress.

He attended the meeting in his personal capacity.

On Sunday it was announced from the pulpit that he had been temporarily suspended — but it was later determined that a full investigation was neccessary and "guilt" had to be determined before a minister could be suspended.

Mr Eloff is presently "on study leave" and all attempts to reach him were unsuccessful.

Mr Eloff was one of the Dakar delegates who received abusive phone calls on his return.

# Indaba: why Indians may be sceptical

**In failing to broaden its base among the substantial black opposition, Inkatha is not addressing the real problem, argues Dr Karl P Magyar of the Department of International Relations, Witwatersrand University.**

Dr Oscar Dhlomo's article, "Why Indians ought to support the Indaba" (The Star, July 29), requires a response to place his arguments into a greater perspective. His article has omitted many details which are well known to Natal's Indian community but of which the white community is generally ignorant.

Dr Dhlomo starts by citing the results of a survey commissioned by the kwaZulu-Natal Indaba which elicited greater reluctance by the Indian community to support the Indaba's proposals.

There are indeed reasons to question the Indaba's survey as it was hardly commissioned by a neutral body but was part of a massive and well-financed publicity campaign. That survey also referred to substantial support among the white community, yet we are at a loss to explain the recent white election results in Natal in which the Indaba-supporting NRP and PFP lost more than half of the parliamentary seats to the NP.

## Observers only

The Nats were mere observers at the Indaba and Mr Stoffel Botha quickly distanced the NP from the Indaba's final proposals. This brings into question the Indaba's entire public support efforts. It has yet to be proven that a majority of the white community supports the proposals. Yet why did Dr Dhlomo single out the Indian community in his article?

Next, Dr Dhlomo notes that the Indian community was fully represented at the Indaba — with the Natal Indian Congress being described merely as a "notable absentee".

The NPP and Solidarity parties together were elected by only about 15 percent of the eligible voters in the election to the House of Delegates. And their participation at the Indaba was considerably less than enthusiastic. In fact, the Solidarity Party raised some very important objections to the proceedings which allowed the whites to gain twice the representation of the Indians in the second House, even though the Indians outnumber the whites in Natal.

And to say that the NIC "kept itself fully informed of the proceedings" without mentioning why is misleading. In fact, the NIC and its parent, the UDF, were adamantly against the entire Indaba.

It is ironic that Dr Dhlomo refers positively to the participation of the Indian political parties at the Indaba. In an article in August 1983, Dr Dhlomo warned that Indians who took part in the trichamber parliament "will be rightly regarded as co-oppressors". Later that year he repeated that the black struggle against oppression would be directed against "white, Indian and coloured oppressors".

Yet Dr Dhlomo observed that Indians have nothing to fear in Natal; they "are on fairly good socio-political terms with the African majority in the country". These are virtually the same words which Dr Dhlomo used in an article dated August 9 1985.

A few days later saw the Inanda affair in which blacks and Indians clashed violently for several days outside Durban. There were 65 deaths, hundreds of injuries, and vast destruction in that conflict. To this day it has not been explained who the perpetrators were; nor who the mysterious non-Zulu-speaking blacks were.

And does Dr Dhlomo not recall that Chief Buthelezi had warned Indians not to vote for the trichamber parliament — or face the consequences of a very angry black community?

Before the first trichamber elections, Chief Buthelezi spared no undiplomatic invective in warning Indians not to take part.

Then in 1985, a few days after the Inanda conflict, Chief Buthelezi observed: "There was a lot of resentment at the fact that some Indians had entered Parliament." He added: "I had warned that the new political dispensation was a recipe for violence."

The Indian community was not involved in the initiation of the Indaba. That was the product of the kwaZulu Administration and Natal's soon-to-be ex-Provincial Executive. As Mr R M Cadman, the Administrator of Natal, said in a speech in 1985 before the Indaba was launched: "The Natal Consultative Committee was a white initiative, the Buthelezi Commission was a black initiative, the current developments represent a joint initiative." That statement, more than any other, reflected the marginal role the Indians play in Natal, despite their numbers. This certainly cannot be described as extending the hand of friendship.

Dr Dhlomo ends with the usual promises that the acceptance of the Indaba's proposals will lead to a peaceful, integrated, non-racial and prosperous society. It will of course also put the heads of the kwaZulu Administration into the Chief Executive office in Natal, but this he does not mention.



Buthelezi . . . strong warning.

**'How the rising expectations of the black masses will be realised is not explained.'**

As for the certainty of prosperity, neither Dr Dhlomo nor the Indaba offer any hints on how this is to be done. In fact, the entire exercise concerned little more than constitutional juggling that seeks to broaden the traditional white-only elite by adding a new black elite. But how the rising expectations of the black masses will be realised in view of the prevailing nationwide economic malaise and kwaZulu's poor economic development record, is not explained.

Yet this is what the Indaba should have focused most of its attention on.

To be sure, Dr Dhlomo's call for friendship between blacks and Indians is welcomed. But it is not really necessary as Indians have hardly antagonised blacks nor posed any threat to them in the past. Are we to detect in this invitation perhaps yet another subtle reminder to this apprehensive community?

It is not only the Indian community which is apprehensive. Perhaps Dr Dhlomo would have addressed more potential supporters had he extended his hand of friendship to the much greater number of fellow-blacks who need to be converted to the Indaba cause.

## Formidable sector

The kwaZulu Administration draws its support from the more rural and traditional sectors of Natal's black population. Opposed to kwaZulu leadership are members of the UDF, ANC, Azapo, significant urban areas and other organisations to the left of Inkatha — and most of them are Their numerous members tend to be young, urbanised, educated and professional blacks — certainly a formidable sector that cannot be disregarded so easily.

Therein lies the Indaba's biggest failure. Inkatha and the kwaZulu Administration claim impressive numerical support but in failing to broaden its base among the substantial black opposition itself, Inkatha is not addressing the real problem. It is not the Indians who need conversion to the Indaba, but many blacks themselves. And by helping Inkatha to power in Natal, Indians and whites may well have to take part actively in resolving any emerging clashes among blacks in the future.

The Indian community is not the problem — nor the enemy.

Cape Times 11/8/87

# Theuns Eloff suspended

JOHANNESBURG. — A minister of the Gereformeerde Church at Brooklyn in Pretoria, the Rev Theuns Eloff, has been suspended temporarily by the Congregational Church Council, after complaints from the congregation about his participation in the Dakar meeting with the ANC last month, SABC Radio News reports.

Mr Eloff's assistant-minister, the Rev Machiel Venter, says two other congregations will be asked to help investigate the complaints. Mr Eloff's duties have been suspended until the outcome of the investigation is known

# No charges against AWB after demo

**Own Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG. — The Attorney General for the Witwatersrand said yesterday no charges would be brought against the Afrikaaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) for possible violation of the Internal Security Act after the group's protest at Jan Smuts airport during the homecoming of the Dakar delegates last month.

The AG, Mr Klaus von Lieres, said the AWB action did not infringe any of the prohibitions on political meetings covered by Section 26 of the Internal Security Act.

"In theory, the AWB may have contravened airport regulations, but we are not going to prosecute on that.

"There was nothing unlawful in terms of security legislation about the actions of the National Union of SA Students or the AWB," Mr Von Lieres said.

Late last week, he withdrew charges against one of the 18 people — 15 of them journalists — arrested at the Jan Smuts fracas.

The rest will re-appear in court on Wednesday.

## President expected to make announcements

# ALL EYES ON BOTHA

**THE clouds are gathering for an electric storm when President Botha addresses Parliament tomorrow at the start of the debate on his portfolio.**

Several major issues have been held over for Mr P W Botha to deal with personally and there have been conspicuous and sometimes ominous silences from the lower echelons on these matters.

As one opposition MP said in Parliament the other day, the word has gone out to the National Party from the top man: "Don't steal my thunder."

He was talking about Government reaction to the Dakar African National Congress safari but the remark could have applied to a number of issues.

Dakar will almost certainly be one of them and may well be the main thrust of the speech.

**SOWETAN CORRESPONDENT**

### Press

Opposition MPs expect some "horror stories" about the ANC to be theatrically unveiled, spiced with plenty of smears of the Progressive Federal Party and other liberal organisations seen to be "soft" on the ANC.

The speculation is still strong that Mr Botha may carry out his pre-election threat to cut off the life-giving foreign funds of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) which organised the Dakar trip.

Another threat which has been hanging heavily in the air is that legislation may be introduced to curb the alternative Press.

### Threats

Home Affairs Minister Dr Stoffel Botha made some very threatening noises about them before the July recess.

PFP MPs are not confident that reform will figure strongly in the President's address but elsewhere it has been speculated that he will deal with long-awaited National Statutory Council and even perhaps the Group Areas Act.

These are certainly the two obvious next steps on the reform road. National Party sources have confirmed that both will be dealt with in some way before the end of the current parliamentary session and if Mr Botha does want to keep the thunder for himself, he is likely to do so this week.

The President's Council report on the Group Areas Act which is understood to have recommended that local authorities be given the option of zoning "grey areas" for all races, will probably be published soon and Mr Botha may announce the date.

### Bill

Legislation on the National Council is also expected this session and it would be natural if Mr Botha chose to make the announcement himself.

He may also give some detail on one critical aspect of this Bill — the question of elections to choose urban black leaders to serve on the council.

Mr Botha referred to the possibility of these elections during the election campaign.

It has also been reported authotitatively that Mr Botha will also announce the release of the crucial Margo Commission report recommending reforms to the tax system.



PRESIDENT BOTHA

# Boesak sanctions call

PATRICK BULGER

UDF patron Allan Boesak called last night for tighter international sanctions against SA and demanded that foreign governments take events in SA more seriously.

Boesak said at the very least foreign governments should consider cutting air links with SA.

He was speaking at the launch of the "Friends of the UDF" at Johannesburg's Carlton Hotel. The organisation has been formed to collect funds for UDF projects.

National treasurer Azhar Cachalia said that, because of a Supreme Court ruling, the UDF was not at present an "affected organisation" — which would prohibit it receiving foreign funding. But government was clearly planning new legislation to cut off foreign funds.

Cachalia said an organisation like the "Friends" would increase the self-sufficiency of the UDF.

He said the funds would be administered by an executive committee, which would be elected at annual meetings.

Controversial Munnik Commission figure Yusuf Surtee, who came under the spotlight earlier this year for his role in funding the "Unban the ANC" advertisements, was also present. He told Business Day he had been approached to become a "Friend" and that he was considering it.

# When 'I want' is always the bottom line

IT is said that the late Henry Ford was trying to be amusing when he said customers could have their "Model T" Fords in any colour they wished, so long as it was black. President Botha, however, is in earnest when he says to those he negotiates with that they can have any solution they want to their problems, so long as it is his solution.

That, in a nutshell, is his philosophy. And those who think I treat him unkindly should take a look at what he is doing in Namibia. It is the "I want" philosophy of government in its purest form.

In Windhoek we have a "transitional government" appointed by President Botha at his own discretion. It was presented to the world with great fanfare as a representative government (though it was created without an election, which is the usual prerequisite for a representative government outside our bizarre region), and we have had to endure the farce for years.

## Confrontation

Suddenly, however, Mr Botha's own creation has opted for, of all things, one-man, one-vote elections. And, as we all know, Mr Botha regards that as being tantamount to communism. So, there is a confrontation between Mr Botha's Government and the "transitional government" he appointed.

It is not their first tiff. When the "transitional government" was required to appoint a Constitutional Council to look at the sort of constitution an independent Namibia should have, it made the silly mistake (also made, incidentally, by the first President's Council) of assuming that it was genuinely free to do the choosing.

Thus, rashly, Mr Justice Victor Hiemstra (the South African Supreme Court judge appointed as chairman of the body) and his 16-man council chose a constitutional model which was not unlike the Zimbabwean constitution negotiated at Lancaster House, except that it sought to protect minorities by way of an entrenched Bill of Fundamental Rights.

It was a constitution acceptable to 90 percent of the territory's inhabitants, the good judge claimed, although it might be seen as revolutionary by some whites, and it was endorsed by all but the two smallest of the six partners President Botha appointed to the "transitional government" (one of the dissenters being, surprise, surprise, the National Party of South West Africa).

But President Botha did not like the constitution. He felt that it did not protect "group rights" or, in less euphemistic terms, that it strayed from the apartheid model. And what the President and his Government do not like is simply not allowed, no matter who else, or how many others, might like it.

The latest salvo in the bickering has been a pouting riposte from the "transitional government" accusing the South African Government of reneging on "the letter and spirit" of Proclamation R101, the imperious order whereby *El Grande* set the whole exercise into motion.

One might reasonably ask why, if the people President Botha appointed as a "transitional government" are willing to risk one-man, one-vote elections, Mr Botha should object?



ISSUES

By Hugh Roberton

After all, Swapo has made it clear that it would boycott such elections, as it has boycotted all "internal" elections in the past, so there is absolutely no risk of the elections leading to a Marxist government.

## Bottom line

But there is every risk of the elections leading to a government which genuinely is committed to scrapping apartheid, right down to the bottom line — political power. And that, clearly, is what sticks in President Botha's throat.

Indeed, the only objection his Government has voiced to the proposed elections is that they would be held in terms of a constitution which ignores "group" rights in favour of fundamental individual rights — in other words, a constitution which eliminates apartheid.

Since apartheid is the only way in which "group rights" can be defined, let alone protected, it would not be unreasonable to conclude that President Botha is opposed to any government in Nambia which is non-racial, whether it is led by the very people he has appointed, or by Swapo.

President Botha has made it clear that his objective in "negotiating" with blacks in South Africa would be to create a fanciful system where no "group" would "dominate" any other "group" and where adequate provision was made for "group rights".

His Government's objection to the Kwazulu-Natal indaba proposals was precisely that they did not protect "group rights" — and so, like Namibia, whether or not the overwhelming majority of people in Kwazulu and Natal want the indaba plan implemented, President Botha and his Government will not allow it. And that is that.

They will not allow it because once they have permitted the demise of apartheid (or "group rights" — call it what you will) in such places as Namibia and Natal, they cannot effectively resist making the same concession for the whole of South Africa.

Thus there is a built-in stalemate to any "negotiations" with President Botha and his Government. No matter what the majority may want, even the majority of whites in the particular region like Natal, they will not be allowed to have their way — even if, as in the case of Namibia and Kwanatal, to do so would represent not the slightest risk of Swapo, or the ANC, or any "communists" coming to power.

The "evil empire" of communism is not really Mr Botha's main preoccupation. It is apartheid that is his bottom line.

# From Nationalist organiser to delegate at Dakar talks

**PHILLIP VERSTER used to be a youth organiser for the National Party. Now, he addresses anti-government rallies and raises his fist in a black power salute.**

**Some members of his family are prominent officials in the South African Defence Force that has virtually declared war on the exiled African National Congress (ANC).**

**Recently Phillip travelled to Dakar to hold talks with the banned movement that some of his relatives are fighting. He is typical of a small group of Afrikaner youth who have taken slow tentative steps out of the laager of their right-wing upbringing into the arena of liberation politics. He told SYLVIA VOLLENHOVEN of his reasons.**



Phillip Verster and Professor Andre du Toit singing the national anthem
PIC: RASHID LOMBARD

THE first time I met Phillip he was addressing a meeting on the campus of the University of Cape Town. The audience listened with the feint impatience of veterans indulging a new convert.

Until Phillip experienced his political turnabout, the bravest breakaway in his family was that of his father. Verster senior refused to follow in the military tradition of the rest of the family and became a dentist. It was a blow to his elders.

Phillip's grandfather was a general in the dreaded Bureau of State Security (BOSS) and one step away from being the country's intelligence chief.

"My grandfather has disowned me. He tells people that I am not his relative," said Phillip, who is studying engineering at the University of Stellenbosch.

"The dilemma of young white people like myself is that we have only minimal access to the South African reality. When we are exposed to the truth, it shocks us. We can either refuse to face the reality or become critical and unsure, all at the same time. The latter is what happened to me," he said.

Phillip went to Afrikaans schools in Stellenbosch where everybody's parents voted for the National Party. For him and his family it was a logical next step that he should become a youth organiser for "the Party."

"Most Afrikaner students are not brought up to be politically active. They accept what has been given to them. But if you do become involved in politics, you support the National Party. Nothing is ever questioned," said Phillip.

But several years ago he became uncomfortable with the government's homelands policy. "I began to realise that they did not have all the answers," he said.

At the same time he met a journalist who had been researching a book on the destabilisation of the black townships by the security forces. "I used to have a typical approach towards black politics. I put people into radical or moderate groups ... those who were right and those who were wrong.

"I believed Inkatha (the Zulu movement of Gatsha Buthelezi) was the political future of South Africa," he said.

Later he met an Inkatha member who told him that the release of jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, was essential and the ANC had to be unbanned.

"I could not believe my ears when I heard a so-called reasonable, moderate man, calling for the unbanning of a terrorist organisation," said Phillip.

He decided to visit black townships and saw for the first time, how people fought a daily battle against poverty and oppression.

The first shock for Phillip's family was his resignation from the National Party. Then, almost single-handedly he started the first branch of the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) on the Stellenbosch campus.

He tried to start a branch of the End Conscription Campaign (ECC), but it was banned by the university authorities.

"I decided there was no logic in not talking to the ANC. I managed to persuade about eight fellow students that we should travel to Lusaka and speak to this organisation about which we knew so little," he said.

The campus has about 7 000 students. When the government got to hear of the small group's plans to talk to the ANC all their passports were confiscated by the authorities.

Last month Phillip, who managed to get a temporary passport valid for six months, was part of the Dakar delegation. The group, led by former parliamentarian, Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, held talks with the ANC in Dakar, Senegal. "I sat around the table with the ANC, thinking that I have to remember these discussions very carefully because at the end of the day I would have to explain it to my father. When I came back I sat talking to him for two hours but he refused to say anything, except that I was being used by the communists."

"Now he has let me know that he would prefer it if I did not visit him," Phillip said.

He used to share a house with several other students in the university town. When the landlord heard Phillip was going to Dakar, he gave all the students notice to leave the house.

When Phillip came back he was given a week to remove his belongings and find another place.

"I am working against an inborn conviction that everything I say is part of the total onslaught to destabilise South Africa."

A day before we spoke, he had met a group of his father's friends at a party Phillip drew scant encouragement from one woman who told him: "But we know you, we saw you grow up in front of our eyes, so what you are saying can't be all that crazy."

BOKA

# WARNING ON ANC

**THE mere fact that the Government had allowed Dr van Zyl Slabbert and company to "burn their fingers" in Dakar should not be interpreted as though the Government would turn a blind eye to future talks with the ANC, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said in Parliament yesterday.**

"Let Dakar be a lesson to all South Africans," Mr Botha said during the debate on his vote.

If some South Africans did not wish to pay attention to his earlier warnings, he wished to put these warnings in plainer English, so that everyone could understand what was at issue.

"A leopard (the African National Congress-South African Communist Party Alliance) never changes its spots. 'Don't judge by appearances."

It was a fact that several forces were at work, directly or indirectly, to try to wreck South Africa's future or to inflame political events in their own self-interest.

"They will persist in this way, with even greater insensitivity and with more sophistication."

The State President said the Government would therefore have no choice but to consider taking certain steps to prevent South Africans from becoming victims of this process.

These would include the following:

- The consideration of stricter control with regard to the issuing and renewal of passports for South Africans who collaborate with South Africa's 'enemies';
- The consideration of amendments to legislation to restrict the flow of funds from abroad to be used for undermining the State and promoting extra-Parliamentary politics;
- The appointment of a joint Select Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry into activities and funding of extra-Parliamentary groups;
- Just as the Government of the United States of America is taking steps to bring the staff of embassies who are acting off limits in that country under control, or to restrict their movements, similar steps can be considered in South Africa with regard to certain members of staff of specific embassies.

Mr Botha said that during the past few weeks there had been widely divergent reactions to the "low-profile" the Government had taken in regard to the Dakar safari.

He wished to remind members the Government had on several previous occasions explained its stand, on the basis of hard intelligence, with regard to safaris to meet the ANC.

Dr van Zyl Slabbert, head of Idasa, has firmly rejected accusations made by President P W Botha that the Dakar conference was held 'to co-ordinate strategies and to find out what the ANC expects of the democratic patriots.'

And he has challenged the Government to reveal any details it wants about the financing of his institute for a democratic alternative for South Africa.

Cape Times 14/8/92

# Treurnicht rejects talks with the ANC

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The white man's freedom in his own fatherland was not negotiable, not with a peaceful ANC that wanted a black government, and even less with a violent ANC that was contemplating a bloodbath, the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said yesterday.

Speaking in committee stage debate on the State President's vote, he said the CP did not recgonize the ANC's "so-called peoples' power" because it went directly in the face of the white man's claim to his own country and his own government.

But what was more, the ANC's idea of "one black nation" was not generally accepted in black circles.

"Further we say it is now also the time that full self-determination for whites be recognized by all reasonable people — at least the same right as the Swazis, Sotho, Venda, Tswana and Xhosa have."

It was ironic that black self-governing states, according to the Minister of Consitutional Development and Planning, could make agreements with other governments and get greater exclusive powers within a single constitutional dispensation together with whites, he said. They had the best of two political worlds, but for the whites there was only one recipe: Give up your independence in a multiracial state on the road to a black majority government.

Dr Treurnicht said the CP rejected the double standards whereby any other group could get independence, but the right of whites was subject to the consensus of people who denied and fought against the white man's rights. — Sapa

# PW gives impetus to talk with blacks

**By TOS WENTZEL**
**Political Correspondent**

NATIONALIST politicians hope moves announced by President Botha can break the stalemate in launching negotiations with black leaders.

They believe several important statements by Mr Botha in Parliament yesterday were part of an effort to set the scene for such negotiations and to strengthen the hand of the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, who has been involved in exploratory talks to test prospects for negotiation.

Mr Botha announced a Bill to provide for the introduction of a consultative national council. He said attempts would be made during the current session to complete the Bill to set up the council.

It was significant that Mr Botha adopted a more conciliatory attitude to the release of security, or political, prisoners. Almost all black leaders have called for the release of political prisoners as a prerequisite to talks with the Government.

In the case of political prisoners, he said their renunciation of violence would no longer be decisive in determining their release.

It now appears that prisoners who have been in jail for a long time could be released on the recommendation of bodies such as the release advisory council, which is under the chairmanship of a judge.

Although he said the Government would not sit at the negotiating table at the point of a gun with the handing-over of power to the revolutionaries as the main item on the agenda, Mr Botha also said:

"The longer clumsy politicians and other rash victims woo the ANC, the longer it will take to get the ANC (as an accountable and responsible party) so far as to join other South African interested parties around the negotiation table."

He did not seem to rule out completely the possibility of talks with the ANC or with a section of the movement.

The debate on Mr Botha's vote continues today. He is expected to make an announcement on South West Africa.

● See pages 4 and 8.

# Envoys fear tough curbs on activities

AR643 14/8/87 3044

**Political Staff**

**DIPLOMATS today feared a Government crackdown on their funding of certain organisations, a restriction on movement of personnel and even expulsions following warnings by President Botha.**

**However, Government sources were ruling out expulsions, but said that restriction of movement and the control of funding were on the cards.**

**The Government was considering restricting certain diplomats to certain areas and even to metropolitan areas, the sources indicated.**

**The principle is not new; it is applied in the United States, Britain and Russia.**

**In his speech in Parliament yesterday President Botha said: "Just as the Government of the United State was taking steps to bring the staff of embassies who are acting off-limits in that country under control, or to restrict their movements, similar steps can be considered in South Africa with regard to certain members of staff of specific embassies."**

**There was general agreement in diplomatic circles today that the threat was aimed primarily at activities of American diplomats.**

**Some expressed surprise that the Government had not acted earlier, particularly against funding UDF-aligned organisations.**

**A spokesman for the United States Embassy said: "There is nothing definite. We are waiting for clarity."**

**A German Embassy spokesman said: "We are considering the President's speech and any action we will take in this regard."**

**The British Embassy declined to comment.**

# Slabbert speaks despite protests

JANE STRACHAN

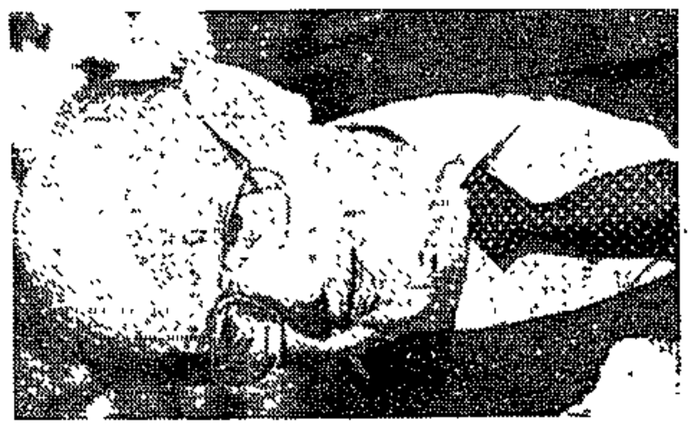
A THREATENED walk-out by property executives from a convention in Cape Town yesterday, in protest against the presence of Frederik van Zyl Slabbert as a speaker, did not materialise.

Curiousity overcame detractors and "the man from Dakar" had a high turn-out. Sources say a number of members of the SA Property Owners' Association (Sapoa), tried to exert pressure on the organisation to remove Slabbert from the convention agenda.

It is not known if any members boycotted the convention when the address was not struck off the programme.

A Johannesburg municipal representative says there were no civic delegates, but this had nothing to do with the recent management committee decision that councillors and council officials would boycott any get-together which featured anyone from the controversial tour.

● See Page 13



Mr P W Botha

# P W Botha calls off the 1989 election

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

**PRESIDENT P W BOTHA yesterday called off the 1989 white election, mooted passport controls to curb contacts with the ANC, threatened to "restrict" foreign embassy staffers, and proposed restrictions on foreign funding to extra-parliamentary groups.**

In a hard-hitting one-and-a-half-hour address to Parliament, Mr Botha launched a fiery attack on the "African escapades" of what he called "these Dakar pilgrims" who, he alleged, went to "co-ordinate strategies" with the "ANC-SACP alliance".

In a day of high drama, Mr Botha also:

□ Vowed not to lift the emergency — totally or partially — "as long as revolutionaries try to create trouble".

ON PAGES 17 & 18

- **Violence 'doesn't make Dakar a failure', says Slabbert**
- **President's leadership style imperial, says Eglin**

□ Outlined new conditions for the release of security prisoners that is likely to lead to the release of senior ANC executive member, Mr Govan Mbeki, and could later pave the way for the release of ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela.

□ Disclosed that the government hoped to finalise the National Council Bill aimed at establishing a negotiating forum with black "leaders" during the current parliamentary session.

□ Announced that the Margo Commission report on restructuring South Africa's taxation system would be tabled in Parliament next Thursday and "strongly urged" the public to avoid action based on speculation about the government's eventual response to the report.

Mr Botha caused a major stir in the House when he announced that the government would table an amendment to the constitution during the current session in terms of which a white election would only be necessary in 1992.

The official opposition, the Conservative Party, immediately condemned the move and charged the proposed postponement stemmed from government fears that it would lose the scheduled election in 1989.

And PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin declared last night: "There is no way we will support this gerrymandering of the constitution".

Following a lengthy and scathing attack on the ANC, Idasa and bodies that backed contacts with the ANC and offered financial support to the government's extra-parliamentary foes, Mr Botha said the government would have to take steps to stop gullible and naïve South Africans being caught in traps set by "foreigners and revolutionaries".

The President said: "Several forces were at work, directly and indirectly, to try to wreck South Africa's future or to influence political events in their own self-interest."

The government accordingly had "no choice" but to take certain steps "to prevent South Africans from becoming further victims of this process". These steps included:

□ "The consideration of stricter control with regard to the issuing and renewal of passports for South Africans who collaborate with South Africa's 'enemies'." A passport was not a right but a privilege, he stressed.

□ "The consideration of amendments to legislation to restrict the

To page 2

From page 1

## P W Botha

flow of funds from abroad to be used for undermining the state and promoting extra-parliamentary politics."

□ "The appointment of a joint select parliamentary committee of inquiry into the activities and funding of extra-parliamentary groups.

□ "Just as the government of the United States of America is taking steps to bring the staff of embassies who are acting off limits in that country under control, or restrict their movements, similar steps can be considered in South Africa with regard to certain members of staff of specific embassies."

In an unprecedented attack on Western embassies in South Africa, Mr Botha said his government viewed "in a very serious light ... the interference of foreign governments and their embassy personnel in the furtherance of extra-parliamentary politics".

Mr Botha said the government was aware of the activities of "these people" and of their support for organizations like Idasa.

"In this process they are making use of South Africans to do their 'dirty work' for them while at the same time they are undermining the sovereignty of the RSA ...

"No self-respecting government will allow its hospitality to be abused in this way," Mr Botha said.

# Idasa funeral surprise as Boraine called to 'explain'

By LOUISE FLANAGAN, East London

THE funeral of Eric Mntonga, murdered co-director of the East London branch of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, took a surprising turn when Idasa's national directors were asked to explain the institute's role.

The presence of African National Congress flags and the tributes from unions, friends and jailed Barbara Hogan showed that Mntonga's position in Idasa was not questioned.

The master of ceremonies at the Mdantsane funeral, Jeffrey Wabhena, called on Idasa directors Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Alex Boraine, two of the many speakers to pay tribute to Mntonga, to justify Idasa's role.

Both directors received a warm welcome from the crowd of about 2 000

"What Idasa tries to do is a very small drop in the ocean of the struggle for freedom and justice in South Africa," said Slabbert.

Boraine said Idasa "believes that apartheid can't be reformed. The land belongs to all its people.

"I believe the people shall govern. You don't have to tell blacks that but whites have to be educated.

"We must be led from the land of oppression to the land of freedom. We will go to the people and talk to them and persuade them that South Africa must be changed.

Boraine also referred to Idasa's position with regard to the ANC. "To grow, Idasa must sit at the foot of the giants who have gone before and served the country for 75 years.

"We must talk to those who are in exile, that's why we went to Dakar. There can be no solution to our problems without the ANC," Boraine said. "Even though people tell us we are traitors, we will continue."

Both Slabbert and Boraine emphasised that Idasa would not be stopped either by Mntonga's murder or threats to other Idasa members.

— EInews




**Keeping an eye on the forces of "Justice, Peace and Security" at the Idasa funeral last weekend were these security guards, hired after rightwing threats to Idasa members**

Picture: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Afrapix

KWAZULU-NATAL

# Joint authority

**KwaNatal's** Joint Executive Authority (JEA), which became reality last week after a proclamation in the Government Gazette, is not a "super-government" for the region, says Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis. Instead, it is an instrument for the KwaZulu and Natal provincial administrations to rationalise functions and eliminate duplication.

The formal go-ahead follows nearly three years of talks between KwaZulu, the former New Republic Party-controlled Natal provincial administration, and government.

In terms of the rules of procedure gazetted last week, neither KwaZulu nor Natal are deprived of any duties or powers; but they can ask the State President to authorise the JEA to perform, on a co-operative basis, tasks the two previously performed separately.

The president can, if he deems it advisable, transfer the administration of a law or a provincial law of either KwaZulu or Natal to the JEA.

The JEA will have an equal number of members from the KwaZulu Cabinet and the Natal Executive Committee. Decisions will be reached by consensus. If there is no consensus, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and the Administrator of Natal will jointly decide the issue. ■

FINANCIAL MAIL AUGUST 14 1987

# Idasa: Botha threatens stricter passport control

C Times 304A 14/8/87

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — It appeared members of the Idasa delegation which held talks with the ANC in Dakar last month had been "ashamed" to mention their real destination on their departure forms at Jan Smuts Airport, Mr P W Botha, said yesterday.

He recounted details obtained from the departure forms — "generally used for statistical purposes" — and said he had studied them "with great interest".

"A certain cleric by the name of Eloff, Theunis, said he was departing to the United Kingdom on holiday," Mr Botha quoted to laughter from National Party members.

### 'Ashamed'

"Case number two: Schoeman, Pieter Cornelius, member of the President's Council, said he was going to the UK on a business visit.

"Case number three: Gastrow, Pieter Hans Paul, Member of Parliament, said he was going to a conference in the UK, as did Sonn, Franklin, and Cronje, Pierre.

"Savage, Andrew, (a former PFP MP) said he was visiting France, and Boraine, Alexander — he has such terrible handwriting — said he was going to Great Britain on business," Mr Botha said.

"It seems the Dakarites were ashamed to say where they were going, but we knew, and we let them go," he said.

Mr Botha said the fact that the government had allowed Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and company to "burn their fingers" in Dakar should not be interpreted as though the government would turn a blind eye to future talks with the ANC.

He said the government would have no choice but to consider taking certain steps to prevent South Africans from becoming further victims of this process.

These would include the following.

□ "The consideration of stricter control with regard to the issuing and renewal of passports for South Africans who collaborate with South Africa's "enemies";

□ "The consideration of amendments to legislation to restrict the flow of funds from abroad to be used for undermining the state and promoting extra-parliamentary politics;

□ "The appointment of a joint select parliamentary committee of inquiry into the activities and funding of extra-parliamentary groups; and

□ "Just as the government of the United states of America is taking steps to bring the staff of embassies who are acting off limits in that country under control, or to restrict their movements, similar steps can be considered in South Africa with regard to certain members of staff of specific embassies".

Mr Botha said that during the past few weeks there had been widely divergent reactions to the "low-profile" the government had taken in regard to the Dakar safari.

Mr Botha said: "Drs Slabbert and Boraine have on several occasions admitted that Idasa gets most of its funds from abroad."

On his return from the Dakar talks on July 31, Dr Slabbert declared there wasn't "anything sinister or illegal" about the funds received by Idasa and that it had up to that stage laid all its cards on the table as far as the press was concerned.

"This is, however, contradicted by information at the disposal of the government.

"Idasa owes it to the South African public, in accordance with its undertaking, to reveal all information, including the actual origins of its funds and the manner in which the funds are chanelled to it."

On one occasion, Dr Slabbert himself described the purpose for which foreign funds were used by Idasa as "the most patriotic act imaginable".

The question now arose whether it was a patriotic act to employ foreign money for holding talks with a communist-controlled, banned organisation.

"I think that Dr Slabbert, as well as certain Western governments, owes all peace-loving South Africans an answer.

"I would also like to ask Dr Slabbert why he was so eager, after the Dakar talks, to report to certain Western governments on his African escapades.

"Was this perhaps an indication of where his patriotism lies or in whose interests he has been acting?"

As to the expense of the Dakar safari, Mr Botha said, the "entire circus" cost half a million rand "at the very least".

This money came mainly from various Western governments and institutions.

The third aspect which the government viewed in a serious light, was the interference of foreign governments and their embassy personnel in the furtherance of extra-parliamentary politics.

"The government is aware of the activities of these people, and of their support for such organisations as Idasa," Mr Botha said.

"In this process they are making use of South Africans to do their "dirty work" for them while at the same time they are undermining the sovereignty of the RSA — something I also seriously warned against in my speech on April 17, 1986."

### 'Misled them'

No self-respecting government would allow its hospitality to be abused in this way.

Mr Botha said the Dakar delegation was unprepared.

"No wonder that some of the naive, credulous Dakarites are now secretly accusing Van Zyl Slabbert of having misled them, and even of selling them out.

He said the ANC delegation at Dakar had been chosen after much deliberation.

"It was composed of specially selected revolutionary propagandists, cunning diplomats and several prominent SACP members, while Umkhonto leaders were deliberately excluded.

"It is no wonder that the ANC delegation was astonished that they were not seriously confronted on fundamental matters, such as their communist links and the second phase of revolution.

"They were also amazed at the way in which the majority of the white delegation were uninformed, as well as at their resigned acceptance of the "historical reality" of the armed struggle and the ANC's explanation that nationalisation would not take place immediately after so-called liberation." — Sapa

## Ongoing violence 'doesn't make Dakar a failure'

**IT WAS ridiculous for the State President, Mr P W Botha, to use the continuing violence in South Africa as a reason for describing the Dakar conference as a failure, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said last night.**

**It appeared from Mr Botha's comments that he knew far more about what went at the Dakar conference than those who attended it.**

**"This is typical of the government's propaganda campaign where they present one-sided views without actually investigating them first hand."**

**"In the same way he presents the Dakar initiative as an attempt at negotiations, only to knock it down as a failure, when it was clearly stated, and repeatedly so, that the people who went to Dakar had no mandate to negotiate anything."**

**"It is therefore patently ridiculous to use the continuing violence on all sides as a reason for describing Dakar as a failure.**

**Only the government of South Africa could reduce the violence or stop the armed struggle.**

**"No 'safari' or visits by any delegation by South Africa have the power to reduce the violence or stop the armed struggle."**

**"Only the government of South Africa can do that.**

**"While Mr Botha says his government is committed to negotiation, he neither creates conditions for negotiation nor tells us with whom he is prepared to negotiate."**

**The delegates to Dakar were given as full as possible a briefing in London. Any of them could have pulled out then and he rejected the statement that some felt "misled" or "sold out" who, if they existed, should speak for themselves and "not hide behind the President".**

**Dr Slabbert said he had reported to foreign governments because they were interested and would do so for this government as well, "if they are interested".**

**He had nothing to hide.**

**The government could disclose whatever details it had on the funding of Idasa whose accounts were audited an available for government inspection. If there was anything illegal, the government could act at any time.**

**"It is sad that at this critical stage of our history the head of state has to spend so much time in such an undignified manner on a venture essentailly aimed at promoting understanding, getting rid of stereotypes and exploring the possibilities of negotiation in South Africa." — Sapa**

# CHARTING A CHANGE

304A

The African National Congress (ANC) hinted after the Dakar talks with Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's group last month that it might modify its "blueprint," the 1955 Freedom Charter, says a recent *Economist Foreign Report*.

It states that the substance of the discussions was economic policy as outlined in the charter. Whites voiced concern at the call for large scale nationalisation: "The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole."

According to the report, the ANC side agreed that there was a distinction between ownership of minerals, which belong to the nation, and rights to extract it, which might be purchased. This section might have to be reworded, an ANC representative suggested.

"As for the nationalisation of banks and 'monopoly industry,' the ANC line was that the State already controlled a large part of the economy and that the ANC would like to use 'existing structures' to benefit blacks," says the report.

The group was also concerned about land being "redivided among those who work it," to quote the charter. "They were told that, in the first place at least, such a plan would affect big farms near SA's northern borders, where guerrillas operate. These farms are now standing idle or run by managers."

The report says the idea of a "transition period," while blacks assumed power, was discussed.

The ANC said that what happened would depend on the circumstances: if it was a negotiated takeover, the transition would take place gradually and within the law; if blacks took power after a civil war, they would be likely to act more drastically.

The ANC team did not convince the whites of the rightness of its violent opposition to the government, even though it insisted that ANC guerrillas were not aiming at "soft" civilian targets.

The report concludes: "ANC delegates insisted that they did not intend to impose a one-party system. The constitutional future would be left to a constituent assembly. A one-party state was not, however, ruled out."



FIM. 14887

## New policy could pave way to talks with credible leaders

# Political prisoners may be free

**By David Braun, Political Correspondent**

**Cape Town**

**The Government's new approach to the release of security prisoners is a fresh attempt to get meaningful negotiations with credible black leaders off the ground.**

Nationalist sources were today cautiously optimistic that President Botha's new policy towards the release of security prisoners, announced in Parliament yesterday, could pave the way for the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela and others who have already served long terms in prison even though they may not formally renounce violence.

And in what has been interpreted as a tacit acceptance of the necessity of having the ANC at negotiations, Mr Botha yesterday said: "The longer clumsy politicians and rash victims woo the ANC, the longer it will take to get the ANC, as an accountable and responsible party, to join other South African interested parties around the negotiating table."

Mr Botha announced in Parliament that renunciation of violence would no longer be decisive in its own right in determining the release of security prisoners.

He had already given instructions to the Minister of Justice to give attention to the case of former ANC national chairman Govan Mbeki, who has served more than 20 years in prison and who has reached the age of 76.

Mr Botha said all other cases, including Nelson Mandela's, would be given periodic consideration on the basis of scientific advice from statutory advisory bodies and after consideration of what would be in the best interests of South Africa.

A senior Government source said last night the new approach could be seen as a concession towards meeting one of the major conditions many internal black leaders had set for negotiating with the Government.

The Government was hopeful the new attitude would facilitate the process of negotiation, he added.

Progressive Federal Party spokesman on civil rights Mrs Helen Suzman said if the new policy was going to result in some of the men who had spent the major part of their lives behind bars being released, it would certainly be a "tremendous thing".

"I can think of nothing more likely to reduce some of the hostility towards South Africa than the release of these men, apart from the human considerations involved."

Mr Botha's commitment to negotiations with black leaders in a formal structure was confirmed yesterday when he announced that legislation providing for a forum would be introduced this session of Parliament.

The new National Council Bill would provide for the election of urban black representatives in the structure.

Mr Botha also defended kwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi from attacks by the Conservative Party in the Assembly yesterday.

● See Page 4.

## Main points made by President

**Political Correspondent**

PARLIAMENT — Important announcements made by Mr Botha on the first day of his budget vote debate were:

- There will be no general election for whites in 1989. Legislation is coming to enable the different houses of Parliament to serve their customary five-year terms separately.
- There is to be stricter control over the issuing and renewal of passports for South Africans who "collaborate with South Africa's enemies".
- Legislation is to be amended to restrict the flow of funds from abroad which is used for undermining the State and promoting extra-parliamentary politics.
- The report of the Margo Commission into the taxation system will be made public on August 20.

DD 14/8/87

# Dakar delegates were unprepared says Botha

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — The Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) delegation under Dr Van Zyl Slabbert apparently preferred to make light of his warnings on the ANC and the South African Communist Party (SACP), the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, said yesterday.

The governments sandpoint in this case was: "If the people do not want to hear, let them learn the lessons themself."

"Doctors Slabbert and Boraine have on several occasions admitted that Idasa gets most of its funds from abroad.

"Idasa owes it to the South African public, in accordance with its undertaking, to reveal all information, including the actual origins of its funds and the manner in which the funds are chanelled to it."

The question now arose whether it was a patriotic act to employ foreign money for holding talks with a communist controlled, banned organisation.

"What we have here seems rather to be an unholy alliance between 'strange bed-fellows' for the purpose of undermining the government's reform intiatives.

"I would also like to ask Dr Slabbert why he was so eager, after the Dakar talks, to report to



MR P. W. BOTHA

certain Western governments on his African escapades.

"Was this perhaps an indication of where his patriotism lies or in whose interests he has been acting?"

As to the expense of the Dakar safari, Mr Botha said, the talks had cost R500 000 "at the very least".

Prior to his departure for Dakar, Dr Boraine had tried to create the impression that the delegation was representative of the Afrikaner community, that there would be real "eye-ball to eye-ball" talking and that their delegation did not include any "push-overs".

Furthermore, on their return, they broadcasted to the world at large how successful their talks had been and what "reasonable people" the ANC were.

"Allow me to tell you what actually happened.

"The Dakar delegation went there totally unprepared; the majority of them were not informed beforehand as to the nature of the talks nor as to the level of the ANC delegation.

"It is easy to make statements in public and to create the impression that the Idasa delegation had confronted the ANC on several matters.

"The facts prove the opposite.

"They maintained divergent standpoints and were consequently extremely vulnerable."

On the other hand, the ANC delegation had been chosen after much deliberation.

"It was composed of specially selected revolutionary propagandists, cunning diplomats and several prominent SACP members, while Umkhonto leaders were deliberately excluded.

"It is no wonder that the ANC delegation was astonished that they were not seriously confronted on fundamental matters, such as their Communist links and the second phase of revolution.

The delegates went to Dakar to "co-ordinate strategies and to find out what the ANC expects of 'democratic patriots'."

This was apparent from Mr Thabo Mbeki's comment on Radio Mozambique on July 29 this year when he stated that: "The Afrikaners who went to Dakar wanted to understand what the ANC would expect of them in terms of action to oppose the system of apartheid."

"I would like to stress once again that the ANC's revolutionary policy and strategy is still being carried out to the letter.

"Logic dictates that any party — and that includes the ANC — that wants to bring about change in South Africa will, for that reason, have to negotiate with the legally elected government.

Mr Botha said "Anyone going to speak to the ANC behind the government's back, or who supports this organisation consciously or unconsciously in any way, is strengthening their evil intentions."

"The government cannot think for adult citizens of the country, but has the responsibility of warning the public of 'traps' set for South Africans by foreigners and revolutionaries.

"The mere fact that the Government allowed Van Zyl Slabbert and Co. to 'burn their fingers' in Dakar, must not be interpreted as though the government will turn a blind eye to future talks with the ANC as a matter of course'," Mr Botha warned.

# PW's logic on talks called ridiculous

DD 14/8/87 304A

CAPE TOWN — It was ridiculous for the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, to use the continuing violence on all sides in South Africa as a reason for describing the Dakar conference as a failure, Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, said yesterday.

Responding to Mr Botha's criticism of the talks, Dr Slabbert, the leader of the Dakar delegation, said it appeared from Mr Botha's comments on the conference that he knew far more about what went on there than those who attended it.

Dr Slabbert said: "This is typical of the Government's propaganda campaign where they present one-sided views without actually investigating them.

"In the same way he presents the Dakar initiative as an attempt at negotiations, only to knock it down as a failure, when it was clearly stated, and repeatedly so, that the people who went to Dakar had no mandate to negotiate anything."

"It is therefore patently ridiculous to use the continuing violence on all sides as a reason for describing Dakar as a failure.

"No 'safari' or visits by any delegation by South Africa have the power to reduce the violence or stop the armed struggle.

"Only the government can do that and, whilst Mr Botha says his government is committed to negotiation, he neither creates conditions for



DR SLABBERT

negotiation nor tells us with whom he is prepared to negotiate."

"This is simply becoming an empty rhetorical gesture."

"As far as the delegates who went are concerned, they were given as full a briefing as possible."

Dr Slabbert said as far as reporting to foreign governments was concerned, he did this because they were interested.

"If this goverbnment is interested I will do so for them as well."

Dr Slabbert said the government could disclose whatever details it had on the funding of Idasa.

"We have no objection to this whatsoever.

"If anything is done illegally, the government is in a position to act at any time," he said.

Obviously, Idasa had to take the steps mentioned by the government seriously.

The organisation remained committed to working for a non-racial democracy. — Sapa

# Neighbours view SA with fear, revulsion



GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — South Africans should be under no illusion about the growing fear and revulsion with which they were viewed by neighbours in the region, Africa Institute council chairman P Smit said.

He told the institute's annual meeting SA was seen as a dangerous and unpredictable bully intent on destabilising, impoverishing and intimidating them.

Smit stressed a new South African perception of southern Africa was essential if the political climate in the region was to improve.

South Africans tended to underestimate the extent to which SA's economic, technological and military power effectively overshadowed that of its neighbours.

Smit asked: "Surely as the oldest independent state on the subcontinent SA is mature enough to react with restraint to the many irritations emanating from neighbouring states?"

By forging bonds of co-operation rather than severing them, SA could counter sanctions and international isolation. This, however, entailed more than verbal protestations of goodwill and offers of assistance.

South Africans should see southern Africa not as an enemy, but an asset in their quest for long-term security and material well being.

Bearing in mind SA's trade surplus with the rest of Africa — most of it with nearby countries — amounted to about R2,9bn the economic hinterland clearly warranted careful attention.

Smit said: "Would it not make sense if SA's private and public sectors were to co-operate in imaginative schemes aimed at expanding and strengthening economic ties."

The choice for SA seemed clear — "either we continue on the present path of growing polarisation, hostility and violence in the region, or we make a concerted effort to strengthen mutually beneficial economic links".

# PW waves the big stick

- *Probes into foreign funds*
- *No more talks with the ANC*
- *Checks on embassy staffs*

WEEKLY MAIL REPORTER

SWEEPING clamps on South Africans who talk to the African National Congress, foreign funding of extra-parliamentary groups and the activities of certain embassies in South Africa are on the cards after President PW Botha's opening speech on his vote in parliament yesterday.

And the State of Emergency will not be lifted, even partially, unless the government's security advisers recommend it.

Botha lambasted the recent Dakar talks with the ANC and said the banned organisation was "laughing up its sleeves at the naiveté of 'useful idiots' who, as Lenin puts it, can be used to further the aims of the first phase of the revolution".

But he warned the mere fact that the government allowed Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and company to "burn their fingers" in Dakar should not be interpreted "as though the government will turn a blind eye to future talks with the ANC".

Botha said the government had no choice but "to consider taking certain steps to prevent South Africans from becoming further victims of this process"

He stopped short of announcing any specific measures.

But he said the government was considering "stricter control with regard to the issuing and renewal of passports for South Africans who collaborate with South Africa's enemies."

It was also investigating amendments to the law "to restrict the flow of funds from abroad to be used for undermining the state and promoting extra-parliamentary politics" and the appointment of a joint select parliamentary committee of inquiry "into the activities and funding of extra-parliamentary groups".

Botha added: "Just as the govern-

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Miners at Embalenhle chant slogans as the massive NUM strike, involving more than 200 000 workers, gets underway
Picture: ERIC MILLER, Afrapix

# As strike heats up, Anglo warn: We may call SAP

By JO-ANN BEKKER and HILARY JOFFE

SOUTH Africa's largest-ever legal strike reaches the end of its first week today with no sign of an end to the deadlock — and indications of growing support for the wage stoppage.

The National Union of Mineworkers announced yesterday 10 more mines had joined the national strike in spite of increased police and mine security harassment and a bomb scare.

The Anglo American Corporation, however, claimed there had been "a drift back" to work on the mines.

Commenting on this discrepancy, the independent Labour Monitoring Group said: "As in the case of war, the first casualty of the conflict is truth and significantly different claims are being made by the parties The unwillingness of the mine owners to co-operate with the press and other groups has made independent accurate assessments of the extent of the strike nearly impossible "

The LMG, which conducted surveys in six mining regions, estimated 66 percent of the work force in those areas was on strike.

And, in a move that is likely to raise the temperature of the dispute, Anglo American has announced it may call in the SA Police to enforce Supreme Court orders evicting strikers from the East Rand Gold and Uranium Company (Ergo) plant and restraining them from re-entering it.

At a press conference at Anglo headquarters in Johannesburg last night, Theo Pretorius, MD of Anglo's Transvaal mines, said his company would decide tonight whether to ask police to carry out the court orders granted yesterday.

This would depend on whether sabotage stopped at the high-technology plant, he said. He claimed there had been 14 serious cases of sabotage since the beginning of the strike.

Anglo representatives also detailed allegations of coercion and intimidation by strikers and shaft stewards at two mines.

●To PAGE 2

The contents of this newspaper have been restricted in terms of the Emergency regulations

PW waves the big stick

●From PAGE 1

ment of the United States of America is taking steps to bring the staff of embassies who are acting off-limits in that country under control, or to restrict their movements, similar steps can be considered in South Africa with regard to certain members of staff of specific embassies

"If the US can do it, we can also do so."

The government viewed in a very serious light the interference of foreign governments and their embassy personnel in extra-parliamentary politics.

"The government is aware of the activities of these people and of their support for such organisations as Idasa.

"In this process, they are making use of South Africans to do their 'dirty work' for them while at the same time they are undermining the sovereignty of South Africa.

●It was ridiculous for the State President to use the continuing violence on all sides in South Africa as a reason for describing the Dakar conference as a failure, Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said in Cape Town.

"No 'safari' or visits by any delegation of South Africans have the power to reduce the violence or stop the armed struggle," he said. "Only the government of South Africa can do that."

# Botha warns Clark: Whites won't let SA become Marxist state

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said he told Canada's Foreign Minister, Mr Joe Clark, today that South African whites would not capitulate and were not prepared to turn the country into a Marxist state.

Mr Botha told an impromptu Press conference at the Union Buildings after a 2½-hour meeting with Mr Clark that whites were, however prepared, to share power and remove discrimination.

He had told Mr Clark in a "serious" meeting, which lasted an hour longer than scheduled, that the Government would not, however, negotiate with the African National Congress if it said it would stop its terror campaign only for the duration of the talks.

He warned Mr Clark if foreign governments maintained their campaign against the South African Government they would create "A Greek tragedy".

Mr Botha told Mr Clark that South Africa felt betrayed by the West, and that its punitive measures delayed reform.

"He (Mr Clark) told me the Canadian government does not expext this Government to negotiate the installation of a Marxist regime and they were against the use of violence to achieve political objectives. — Sapa.

Cape Times 5/8/87 3047

Parliament

# Botha sinks low, says safari MP



Mr Peter Gastrow

**Political Staff**

THE MP for Durban Central, Mr Peter Gastrow, who was one of the Progressive Federal Party members in the Dakar safari, yesterday hit back at the State President for questioning his patriotism.

He said Mr P W Botha had showed, in raising the matter in Parliament, that he was prepared to sink to the lowest level of debate.

Mr Gastrow said he rejected with contempt anybody trying to decide his patriotism for him.

"This government, or its successors, will have to have their own Dakar one day,' said Mr Gastrow.

There were millions of blacks in South Africa who sympathized with the ANC even though they did not favour violence.

Mr Gastrow provoked rounds of interjections as he told Mr Botha he would be surprised how many of his own Nationalist members had stopped to question him about the Dakar talks and what had happened there.

Mr Botha had also referred to the departure form he had filled in at Jan Smuts Airport, insinuating that he had lied or tried to decieve someone that he would be attended a conference in the United Kingdom.

He had, however, checked with travel agents who had said he had filled in the form correctly in that he was going to a conference and that he was departing for the United Kingdom.

The form did not ask for his final destination.

Mr Gastrow said he had returned from Dakar "a little wiser" and with greater understanding of where there was a possibility for compromise.

He agreed the SA Communist Party had an influence in the ANC but he was not "totally convinced" that it was under the total control of Moscow.

Nothing would stop him from playing a role in creating a future for his family. He would do it within the law and without violence to which he was totally opposed.

"I will not allow the State President to intimidate me, paint me or taint my integrity," he said.

# Clark: Violence obstructs talks

**JOHANNESBURG. — The Canadian Foreign Minister, Mr Joe Clark, yesterday said failure to agree on a suspension of violence obstructed possible negotiation between the South African government and the African National Congress.**

"The question of the suspension of violence remains a very difficult question," Mr Clark told a news conference before flying from here at the end of a five-day, four-nation African visit.

He faced reporters after meeting two-and-a-half hours in Pretoria with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

Earlier in the week in Lusaka, Mr Clark met officials of the ANC and the president of Zambia, Dr Kenneth Kaunda.

"I have raised with the ANC and the South African government the negotiating concept, but it is clear from both conversations that the reason the concept had foundered in the past was the question of the suspension of violence, and it remains a very difficult question," Mr Clark said.

"We think that failure to seek and find some means to end this by negotiation will be catastrophic for all people on this subcontinent."

The subject of apartheid is set down on agendas for October summits in Canada of Francophone and Commonwealth nations, Mr Clark said.

Neither Pretoria nor the ANC ruled out negotiations, he said. "The question was about the conditions under which it might most usefully proceed."

Earlier, Mr Botha told reporters after the meeting that "we disagreed on the causes of violence and the pace of reform".

"He (Clark) told me the Canadian government does not expect this government to negotiate the installation of a Marxist regime and they were against the use of violence to achieve political objectives," Mr Botha said.

Mr Clark said Canada did not intend to implement further sanctions.

But he said that Canada had initiated some sanctions and if no better method to bring about an end to apartheid could be found, his country would "disrupt diplomatic and economic relations".

Mr Clark, who left for Nairobi shortly after the conference, said his talks with Mr Botha had been candid. — Sapa

CAPE TIMES 15/8/87 30 KA

# SA 'won't tolerate export of revolt'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha yesterday warned Mozambique that South Africa would not tolerate the "export of revolution" to the Republic and vowed to destroy the ANC "wherever they may be."

Mr Botha told the House of Assembly: "South Africa reserves the right to destroy revolutionary violence against it with everything at its disposal ...

"Our rules of the game are that we do not tolerate the export of revolution — this Mozambique, the SA Communist Party and the ANC have to understand.

"Terrorists have to be stopped wherever they may be."

Speaking during the debate on his budget vote, Mr Botha said South Africa accepted the sovereignty of "the Marxist state of Mozambique" but this did not give it the right to allow terrorists to launch attacks against South Africa from its territory.

It was clear that the Frelimo government support had enabled the ANC to "conduct and expand it activities" and continued to do so. "This has to be stopped."

Counter-action by South Africa did not imply "irresponsible escalation or instigation of conflict".

The government at times knew "a long time in advance" that guerillas were being sent into the Republic "and you will be surprised how many are stopped before they get here".

Mr Botha said South Africa was exporting only good-neighbourliness while terrorism was being exported to the Republic.

"South Africa is accused of destabilizing the region but the truth is that the whole of Southern Africa is being destabilized from outside at South Africa's expense."

On the Southern Angolan conflict, he said South Africa was still prepared to take part in talks with Angola but that this would not be possible "as long as the superpowers keep Angola as their playground".

He said the withdrawal of the massive and growing presence of Cuba in Angola would mean the situation in the whole of Southern Africa would be "totally changed overnight".

Mr Botha said South Africa was sceptical about a "new initiative" by Angola to negotiate a settlement in the region.

However, the Republic was still prepared to participate in an all-parties conference — including South Africa, the MPLA government, Unita and all the parties of Namibia — that could lead to peace and Namibian independence.

South Africa would stick to its international obligation to abide by UN Resolution 435 for Namibian independence, but he emphasized that South Africa would not allow "a Marxist/communist government to come to power in Windhoek through revolutionary methods".

It was not possible at this stage to hold a national election in Namibia as this would compromise the Republic's international obligations in terms of Resolution 435.

However, to give "new impetus to political development" in Namibia, he had requested the transitional government to consider holding an election for the recomposition of second-tier authorities.

Mr Botha said these elections "need not necessarily be held on an ethnic basis" but he stressed that Namibia was "a land essentially consisting of different minorities" and any future solution "must recognize this fact".

# A demagogue Boer with a 'craving for freedom'

A dare-devil in a fast car, it is said, recently had a narrow escape. He crashed into a car driven by the leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

Both men were obviously upset and by the time they got to exchanging names and addresses, Eugene Ney Terre'Blanche gave his full name — to which the young dare-devil replied: "Don't try and scare me with that one!"

Whether he likes it or not, the "Groot Karwats" (Big Stick) has obtained the image of a "mad dog radical", of a man who tars and feathers opponents publicly, who takes over airports where he creates near mayhem, and whose followers openly carry weapons at "volk saamtrekke" (mass rallies), and who, according to reports last week, has now set his sights on attracting more right-wing English speakers into his movement.

Among blacks, he is just as notorious. Black leaders often express disbelief at the fact that he has not been silenced. But, even so, Terre'Blanche got quite a few votes in an independant poll by the black newspaper, *Sowetan*, on May 6.

Attending a "saamtrek" of the AWB is like sweating through a Wagner opera. It has all the ingredients of the great German master at his best — three to five thousand people patriotically booming out "Kent Gij Dat Volk?" (Do You Know That Nation?), some of whom wear Voortrekker dresses, kappies (bonnets) and khaki clothes. All this is set against a backdrop consisting of the intimidating red, black and white of the swastika-like AWB emblem, huge Transvaal flags and banners calling the "volk" to stand up and be counted.

Terre'Blanche (he changed his name from the ordinary Terblanche to stress the literal meaning of "white earth") is the only white politician who draws bigger crowds to the Pretoria City Hall than the State President. When he solemnly takes his place behind the rostrum, the noise dies down until you can hear a pin drop.

He doesn't start talking immediately, creating a tense, expectant silence. And just as you begin to wonder if he plans to start, a deep, melodious voice fills the air, softly telling the sad story of a solitary Boer, the "Groot Gryse" (Paul Kruger), closing his eyes for the last time in a far-off land.

Another story he favours concerns a virtuous young man who wakes beside a little brook somewhere in medieval France with the urgent realisation that he has to relieve Jerusalem from the Muslims. This story in particular provides Terre'Blanche with ammunition to attack the presence of Muslims in Parliament — the "samoosas" as he refers to them.



**Personality**

**EUGENE TERRE'BLANCHE**

**Written by: KARIN BRYNARD**

By this time the soothing fireside voice has given way to a frenzied, emotional pitch, which he keeps up for an hour or more until his voice has gone hoarse.

Being a part-time playwright and poet, Terre'Blanche understands the dynamics of true drama (one of his plays, "Sybrand die Watermaker", was a setbook for Cape secondary schools earlier this decade). His sense for the dramatic is also reflected in the khaki uniforms the AWB youth in die Boere Brandwag wear — "It gives them a sense of pride and belonging," Terre'Blanche explains.

His interest in politics started at school in the Western Transvaal town of Ventersdorp (which became famous the day its moral leaders decided to burn and ban all "subversive" reading material such as photo-comics and girlie magazines). He was chairman of the debating society and captain of the school's first rugby team. He also wore Western Transvaal rugby colours.

His father, a staunch Afrikaner nationalist, had a great influence on his early political endeavours — one of which was forming his own cultural organisation, "Jong Afrikanerharte" (Young Afrikaner Hearts).

On leaving school, Terre'Blanche joined the police, serving in the State President's and Prime Minister's Guard. Apart from being a founding member of the Herstigte Nasionale Party of Jaap Marais (who to this day bars AWB members from his party), Terre'Blanche was one of six men who founded the AWB one night in a Heidelberg garage in 1973.

It remained a secret organisation until 1979, when it was involved in the tarring and feathering of an historian who dared to challenge Afrikaner views on the Day of the Covenant. In the same year Terre'Blanche started his own political party — the "Blanke Volkstaatparty" — which has remained dormant since.

In 1982, when he was charged with terrorism after arms caches were found buried in the maize fields of AWB members, the AWB was still a small organisation. It is only recently that Terre'Blanche has managed to draw large crowds of up to five thousand.

It's a soft-spoken Terre'Blanche you meet in the AWB headquarters in Sunnyside, Pretoria; one who loves children and treats women extremely politely. Here he is affectionately called "Gene" and he hospitably offers his guests "boeretroos" (coffee) and Lexingtons. "I am not a racist", he pleads in his small office, adorned by a painting of an ox-wagon, a stuffed antelope head and the aggressive colours of an AWB flag.

"I am only a Boer with a craving for freedom".

# TWO YEARS AFTER RUBICON . . . AN

# THERE HAS BEEN REFORM, THERE HAS BEEN CHANGE. SO WHERE DID IT GO WRONG?



By HARRY SCHWARZ

*YESTERDAY, two years ago, President Botha made his Rubicon speech. Analysts agree that it contributed more than anything else to failed international and domestic business confidence and led to a plunge in the rand. PFP finance spokesman Harry Schwarz takes the last 24 months under review...*

I WAS part of a group sitting around a television set in London, waiting with considerable expectation for the State President to speak.

The purpose of my visit included speaking to bankers and politicians, to put the case against disinvestment and sanctions.

The indications that change was on the way were there, and this was what I was marketing.

The President's speech would lay down the guidelines. I had tried to keep the options open to reduce expectations, pointing out that it was a party congress and that the nature of the speech would have to be such as to keep the party faithful happy, but at the same time it would point to the road ahead.

But there was no stopping the expectations, the optimism, the hopes were high.

Then came the speech. British television carried it almost in its entirety, and as it progressed there were looks of bewilderment, followed by disappointment and disbelief. When Rubicon was all over, the debate began.

It was a confused debate; the viewers could not understand the message, they could not understand how anyone could have lost such an opportunity, that there could have been such an inability to appreciate that television created world audiences, not merely an address to a party political congress.

Now that time has passed the occasion can be viewed more objectively and, in so doing, disappointment becomes even greater. More important than an analysis of the Rubicon speech is what has happened since then.

There have been changes, real changes, more than some anticipated, more even than some whites wanted, and they have come quicker than most people thought. Certainly, there are people who wanted the changes to come more quickly. There are those who said: "We want it all, we want it now."

The tragedy, of course, is that when the individual reforms came, they were overshadowed by unrest, by overseas pressures and by the emergencies.

One recalls the drama of the 1960s over the burning of the Passes. The incidents of hardship due to the application of Influx Control are not forgotten.

In these circumstances, one might have imagined that with the abolition of the Pass Laws and of Influx Control, there would have been jubilation in the streets. It was not to be. On the contrary, the streets were not the scenes of jubilation, but of disorder and protest and police action.

It all went wrong. Even the removal of discriminatory laws was followed by more unrest. No recognition or credit was given abroad for change which was in fact effected.

Now the issue is politics. Economic considerations, which are equally serious, such as population growth, lack of jobs and the inability to grow sufficient crops, take a back seat and are merely regarded as a breeding ground for more political demands. Somehow, a change in the political power structure is marketed as a solution to everything.

Now there is a willingness on the part of people to talk, to create structures for talking, and even negotiation. But when this is done, it is rejected.

There are pre-conditions which keep changing. Instead of talking to see if common ground can be found without attaching preconditions, there is posturing and position-taking.

Since Rubicon, the Conservative Party has grown, and it has established a power base.

It is the Official Opposition, it demands the return to the impossible days of 1948, and cries for partition, and its spokesmen want job reservation back in what they call White South Africa. The Conservative Party has become a real factor in the South African political scene.

The AWB speaks with a loud voice, its leader draws large audiences, and other rightwing fringe organisations are mushrooming. With increasing pressure, the swing to the Right cannot be regarded except as a real threat to reform.

Some in the outside world portray the rightwingers and even the ultra-rightwingers as expressing what white South Africa really thinks, and so knock the possiblity of general negotiation and solution-finding even more.

But with all the changes, and all the real changes, the packaging was dreadful. Such change as was effected was certainly badly marketed.

It was the Huntington Theory almost in reverse. Instead of demonstrating that the change was meaningful to blacks and to the world abroad, and that it was insignificant to the right wing, and that it would not affect their lives, it came across as being extremely serious and dangerous to conservative whites, and can be regarded as not meaningful and insignificant to most blacks and overseas observers.

If we look at South Africa today, there are no Pass Laws and no Influx Control.

Many statutes have had the discriminatory provisions taken from them and at this very moment Parliament has removed the last vestiges of job reservation.

There is a 10-year programme to equalise the quality of education. There are plans for housing and movements towards equalising social services and much more.

If this had been packaged correctly, how different the result might have been, and what is important is it might have created a completely different atmosphere in which negotiation in respect of other matters would have been more readily possible.

Today, when there is a demand to remove apartheid, what precisely is being asked for?

Is it the removal of the Group Areas, Population Register and Separate Amenities Acts?

Certainly they are part of apartheid, and an integral part at that, but if they are repealed, the demand to remove apartheid will continue. The reason for this is that the issue today is political power.

Who will exercise this power, and in what structure and system will it be exercised?

How will the power be used, particularly in regard to the economic system and with it the disparities of income and wealth?

The phase of removal of discriminatory laws is in my view almost over. Only a few laws are left to go, and they will go. It is only a question of time.

The next two phases relate to the economic and political systems after apartheid, and we should concern ourselves more and more with what comes after apartheid.

Will South Africa have a free world-type democratic political and economic system, or will we be in a one party socialist-orientated state?

Can moderate centrist opinion keep the radicals from the left and right at bay? Can polarisation leading to even more violent conflict be avoided?

The answer to these questions depends to a considerable measure on whether the lessons flowing from Rubicon have been learnt, and whether the problems are now handled correctly.

There is a way out for South Africa, but let us not botch it up again. We have got too few chances left.

ILL BATTERING HIS WAY THROUGH THE POLITICAL FLOES

# w Ice Age?




# 'erhaps it is not too ate for negotiations, ut simply too early

, the Government, by ce of its own logic, now abide by the conse-s. one of these being en if it wanted to open to the ANC, its con-y will now not let it. is a reality and radi-do well to at least it.

recent article in the n magazine Com-y, sociologist Peter and Anglo's Bobby raise the intriguing of whether South Af-ma is not that it late for negotiations, but perhaps too early.

There is much truth in that: neither Pretoria nor a diasporic ANC have inflicted sufficient damage on each other although, in truth, the military component of the ANC/comrades struggle has been severely dented by the scale and ferocity of the State counter-assault.

It is in this uneasy interval that the ground work could be laid for an eventual accommodation (solution is too presumptious a word). However, it is a long step from this to suggesting immediate and unconditional negotiations between Mr Botha and Oliver Tambo.

It is thus rather in the prospects for atmosphere creation (forgive the sociology-speak) that our greatest hope must lie.

## Moves

But we immediately encounter a problem of perspective.

The right wing and the Government would argue that moves aimed at engaging the extra-parliamentary left creates the atmosphere for white capitulation, nothing less, while a reformist view holds it creates an atmosphere of compromise.

The first view suggests a serious lack of faith in the strength of one's own arguments and the wiles of ones negotiators, while the second implies almost super-human qualities of skill, patience and faith.

Yet it is in the latter option that a happier future surely lies. The lesson most often taught in the last dramatic years, and as regularly ignored by the Government, is that the wider and more indiscriminate the repression, the more powerful the unifying factor among the resistance.

The United Democratic Front, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and even, to an extent, the African National Congress, are affiliations of loosely defined viewpoints and philosophies.

The UDF, certainly, is an unlikely grouping of tactics and philosophies united mostly by the need to survive against the all-embracing State attack — more than one UDF and Coastu leader has made this point.

Where once a flexible sensitive Government may have driven a fleet of ideological casspirs between the main players, they opted in the first instance for the rubber ones.

## Silly

Which brings us back to Mr Botha and his vote.

The view that mere recognition of the role of the ANC and the extra-parliamentary radical left under present conditions is traitorous is not only silly, it is dangerous. Isolating and demonising the UDF made the organisation not politically weaker, but stronger.

If the Government cannot politically afford to be seen engaging the ANC or the extra-parliamentary left, it could at least temper its rhetoric and obsession for control so as to allow others to try and establish the bridge heads.

They might just be needed in the future.

of democracy".

The first is the local government elections scheduled for October next year, and the second is election of black representatives to the National Statutory Council — a sort of revamped version of the Native Representatives Council which Dr Hendrik Verwoerd so enthusiastically scrapped in 1956.

The prognosis for black participation appears fairly bad, and in that there should be little grounds for satisfaction by anybody.

As much as Mr Botha's uncompromising political style is at fault in failing to provide the opening for credible black leadership to come forward, so also to blame is the radical left's congenital lack of tactical sense which prevents them from seizing the platforms to oppose the Government.

What remains is not, however, an encouraging scenario.

In the short term the Government will negotiate only with those blacks who make themselves available.

There are already ominious indications that some state agencies are going out of their way to help create "legitimacy" for various

ice floe?

That raises the second point which has engaged much heated debate in recent months and is now a topic pretty well flogged to death, but not quite — not least of all because of the Government's insistence in keeping it alive.

With whom *should* the Government negotiate?

The suggestion that Mr Botha negotiates directly with the African National Congress is no longer practicable; it is perhaps not even desirable at this point.

## Suspend

There are a number of reasons for this: the refusal, or inability, of the ANC to suspend the armed struggle; the National Party's cynical, damaging but successful demonisation of the ANC for its own political deficiencies; the obsessive security force view of communist influence in acts of even mild and legal resistance.

Historically, then, we have reached a point where even the prospect of recognising the ANC is anathema to the majority of whites, although this need not have been.

Having created those con-

City Press
PROSPECTS

# Boraine blames capitalism for checking black freedom

304A



***Prospects*** **has completed a series of articles which detailed the Constitution of the United States of America, the oldest democratic constitution in force in the world today.**

**This week, *Prospects* publishes a criticism of the South African constitutional and social system by Dr Alex Boraine, former Progressive Federal Party MP and now director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA.**

**This series on democracy is sponsored by the National Endowment for Democracy in Washington.**

THE basically undemocratic nature of the South African system of government was underlined by the white election in May, but this constitutional exercise was not the only example of the undemocratic character of SA society.

There are a number of other factors:

● Monopoly capitalism.

For generations, whites have been in control of the economy, which virtually gives them control over the lives of all South Africans.

The so-called free enterprise system has ensured that whites end up on top of the heap and blacks are way below.

Is it any wonder then that more and more blacks associate capitalism with apartheid and, in their resistance to apartheid, are against capitalism as well?

Economic progress, in terms of white South Africans, has often led to deprivation and discrimination for blacks.

While democracy ought to guarantee the right of the individual to equal opportunities and freedom of movement, our economic structures have checked that freedom for the majority of South Africans with the major decisions and choices being made by a small minority.

● The bureaucracy.

The civil service, which oils the wheels of society's progress and development, is almost entirely in the hands of a small minority and has been so for decades.

Blacks have been captive to red tape and bureaucratic nightmares in terms of where they live and how they live, and are subject to the whims of civil servants almost from the moment they wake up until they go to bed at night.

The anti-democratic nature of our bureaucracy is best illustrated in the formation and control of the police and military.

There are no black commissioners or generals and there is very little likelihood that this will ever take place under the existing order.

Tragically, neither the police nor the army are regarded as the protectors of the people and, instead, are seen as the visible part of an oppressive regime.

This militarisation is intensified with the appointment of joint management committees so that scores of towns throughout South Africa are now very largely being controlled and run by the military.

● Education.

Ever since the Bantu Education Act was passed in 1953, black schools, instead of being centres of learning and growth, have been little more than centres of repression and conditioning.

Spending on pupils per capita, teacher-pupil ratios, supportive structures and black input at high level are all coloured by discrimination.

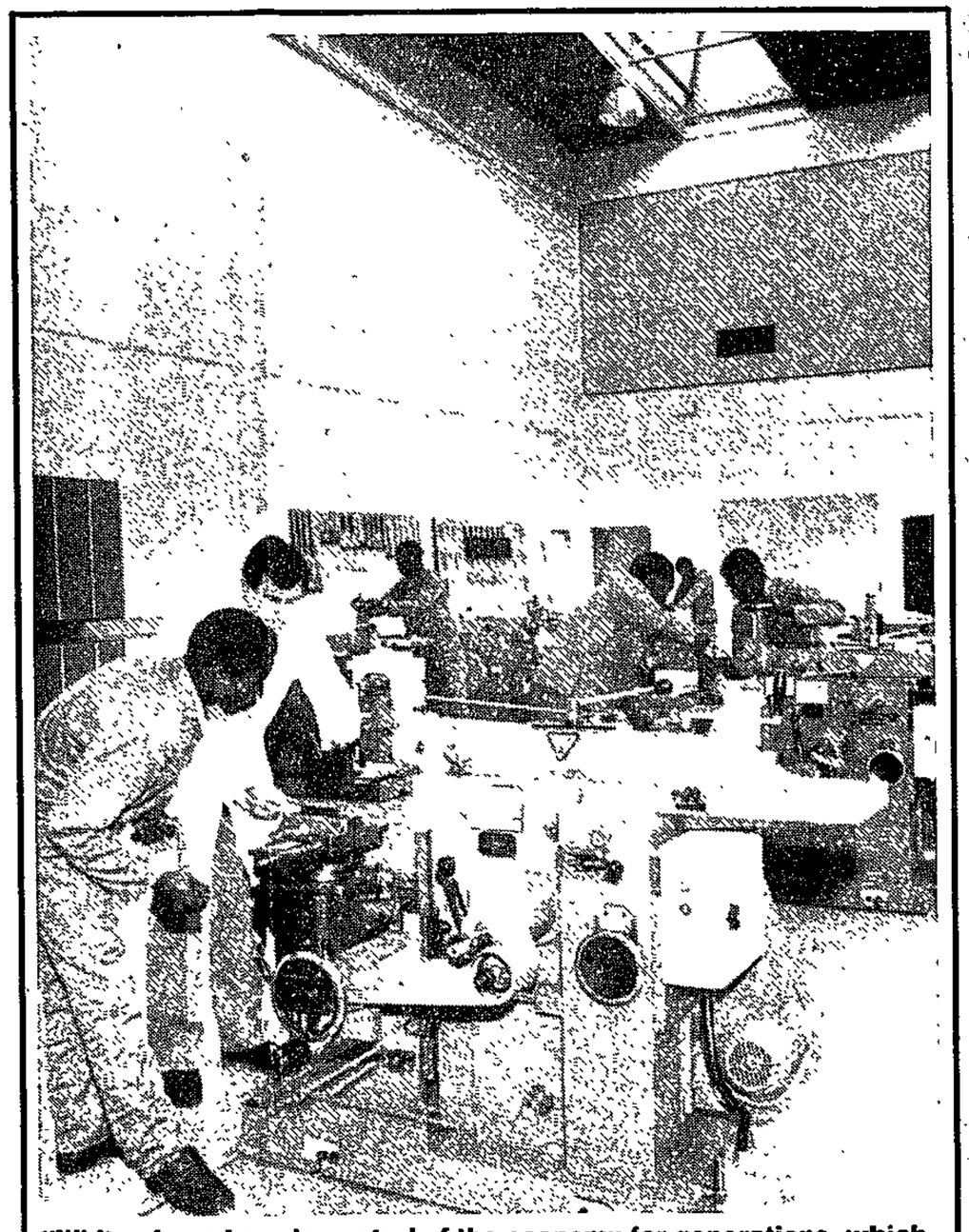
Because there is no democracy in the structures, we have an extremely serious crisis in education for blacks with the police and the military stationed on school grounds and university campuses.

● The legal system.

For decades, magistrates, who are civil servants, have been largely white and the special courts for pass offences have been like demented sausage machines, with verdict after verdict pouring out, ensuring that there is hardly a black person in South Africa who has not been on the "wrong side of the law".

It is well known that poverty deprives a person of the opportunity for a fair trial in many instances, and the vast majority of the poor also happen to be black.

The case books are replete with incredible miscarriages of justice in terms of sentences which have been meted out.



**"Whites have been in control of the economy for generations, which gives them control over the lives of all South Africans."**

The rule of law has been abandoned and thousands upon thousands of people have been detained without trial, had banning orders served on them and, although many judges and advocates seek to uphold justice, they can do nothing about the laws which are made in a Parliament with no black representation.

● The media.

Radio and television are securely in the hands of the ruling party and, in terms of news selection and special programs, have become a giant propaganda machine which churns out distortions and partiality to an unsuspecting public

While some newspapers are to be congratulated on their attempt to convey the real South Africa to their readers, they, too, have to ask some hard questions in terms of their control, reporting and staff composition, as to whether they are truly democratic or whether, in large measure, they represent the establishment.

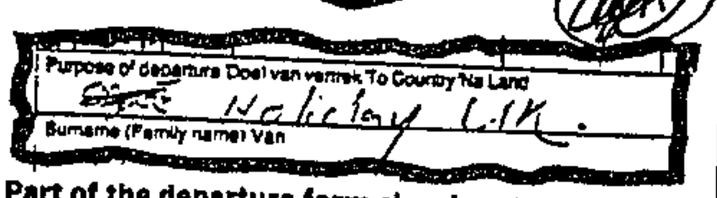
● Next issue: The SA Constitution as an undemocratic factor in South Africa.



**"In South Africa, spending on pupils per capita, teacher-pupil ratios, and black input at high level are all coloured by discrimination."**

S Times 16/8/87

# Dakar cleric: I was framed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Holiday U.K.
Surname (Family name) Van

**Part of the departure form showing the alteration**

By NORMAN WEST

A DEPARTURE form signed by a prominent member of the Dakar delegation was mysteriously altered to give a false reason for his overseas trip.

This was used in Parliament this week by President Botha to ridicule the South Africans who visited the ANC — to the amusement of National Party members.

Now an outraged Rev Theunis Eloff is demanding explanations why his stated purpose for leaving the country was deliberately falsified — and by whom.

When Mr Eloff left South Africa with other members of the Dakar mission he gave as his purpose of departure "sake" (business in English).

The form was handed directly to an official and not to one of the other members of the delegation.

Copies of the original departure form now in the hands of Mr Eloff, however, show that the word "sake" was roughly scratched out and the words "Holiday, U K" written alongside in a cursive and quite different handwriting.

It was this reason President Botha used in Parliament to support his claim that some of the Dakar travellers had no qualms about violating the truth or showing how uninformed they were.

## Misery

Yesterday Mr Eloff told of the "misery" he had endured because of the suggestion that he, a member of the clergy, had deliberately lied to immigration officials.

Shocked at President Botha's statement, he had asked the Department of Home Affairs for a copy of his departure form and received it on Friday.

It clearly showed the falsification of his statement.

"I find it particularly sad that the State President presented this false information to Parliament as the truth and that it was conveyed as such by the media".

A spokesman for President Botha's office said yesterday he had no comment.



# Even though PW has called off the big poll, all races are set to take the political fight to the towns in ...



P W BOTHA
A hornets' nest



DIRK LAURIE
Correct results

# ELECTION '88

**MORE South Africans than ever before will go the polls next year — despite the next scheduled parliamentary election for whites being called off by President P W Botha**

More than 7 100 councillors of all races will be elected to 1 130 ethnically separate local authorities, probably in October, 1988.

And, if present Government plans go through, black South Africans outside the homelands will be asked to elect leaders to the proposed National Statutory Council. This election is expected to take place sometime next year

Mr Botha was blasted by both Opposition

**By LESTER VENTER**
**Political Correspondent**

parties in the House of Assembly for his plan to scrap the parliamentary election scheduled for September 1989.

Now the local authority elections will take on the mantle of a general election as political parties seize the opportunity to flex their muscles and test and demonstrate their strengths.

An added interest to the election — the date yet to be decided, but it looks like October 21 and 22 — will be the involvement of all ethnic political structures

Among white parties, the Conservative Party will bid to demonstrate its claimed growth after its unexpectedly strong showing in the May 6 House of Assembly election.

It will concentrate its assault on Transvaal and Free State platteland towns, where its best growth potential lies

The Progressive Federal Party, demoralised after its May 6 drubbing and still fragmenting under current pressures, desperately needs to show it is still a viable force.

## Strategy

The Independent movement intends to have an organised structure to back its fight in the polls Mr Wynand Malan, the only Independent MP, said the movement will field candidates in selected constituencies.

He said white electoral politics was only one element of the movement's strategy and was not overly disappointed at the proposed cancellation of the 1989 election.

Professor Dirk Laurie, the analyst who accurately predicted the CP's performance on May 6, said CP support had remained constant since its formation in 1982 and he did not expect the party to make significant gains next year.

He said the party's growth potential lay to its right, at the cost of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, more than the likelihood of gains from the National Party to its left.

The polls could finally seal the demise of the HNP, leaving the CP as the focus of ultra-conservatism

The potential showed by the Independents in the three constituencies they fought on May 6 could be reflected on a wider scale, Professor Laurie said.

A difficulty the movement would face would be to field candidates that matched the status and appeal of its May 6 contenders.

The effect of Mr Botha's plan to scrap the 1989 election for whites will leave the coloured and Indian houses committed to a poll.

In the Indians' House of Delegates the governing party, the National Peoples' Party, and its opposition, Solidarity, are pitched in a struggle for power An election will unleash an intense squabble between them.

The coloured Labour Party dominates the House of Representives. But Mr Allan Hendrickse and his MP's are so widely discredited that "spoiler" candidates could cause major upsets.

Elections for black local authorities will inflame seething antagonisms in the black community.

## Untested

While large-scale stawaways can be anticipated, attention will focus on the performance of two recently-formed black parties.

The United Christian Conciliation Party of Bishop Isaac Mokoena and the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance of Mr John Gogotya have made untested claims of wide support.

Legislation enabling the creation of a National Statutory Council will come before Parliament soon.

The NSC is a forum designated by the Government for negotiating a national political dispensation that will include blacks.

A feature of the legislation will be a provision for the election of blacks to the NSC.

Once again, the credibility of participants will be at issue.

A variety of black bodies, principal among them the United Democratic Front and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha, have ruled out participation.

The chief director of Constitutional Planning, Dr Joh van Tonder, said the method of holding the elections would be negotiated with black leaders.

# PFP divided as MP quits



● VAN ECK

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The PFP's internal differences broke into the open yesterday with the resignation of Jan van Eck, who said election setbacks had paralysed the party leadership.

Van Eck, who succeeded former PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert as MP for Claremont, was elected unopposed on May 6. He intends staying on in Parliament as an independent.

Senior members of the western Cape executive tried unsuccessfully yesterday to prevent the move, which is likely to spark more resignations among the PFP rank and file. But no more parliamentary defections seem likely at this stage.

Van Eck, chairman of the PFP's unrest monitoring and action committee, said in his letter of resignation that it had "become abundantly clear that the party that I have supported since 1971 is fast disappearing".

He said: "The setbacks suffered by the PFP during the election have shocked the party's leadership into a state of paralysis.

"It has now become so scared of possibly alienating any further white voters that it is virtually completely unwilling to take a bold lead, especially on issues or policy aspects that are 'sensitive'."

Van Eck cited the PFP reaction to the Dakar talks with the ANC and the "petty squabbling" in the party caucus over the issue as other reasons for his resignation.

The former chairman of the party in the western Cape and editor of the PFP's Deurbraak newspaper said he had no fundamental differences with PFP principles and policies, but that the party had become unwilling to accept the practical consequences of these.

He cited the "growing unwillingness" within the party to accept the consequences of its professed desire to forge closer links with extra-parliamentary organisations "that share our commitment to a non-racial SA".

The PFP caucus had become "very

● To Page 2

# Van Eck quits 'petty' PFP

● From Page 1

isolated and removed from its grassroots membership".

Van Eck also noted that while the party always professed a commitment towards negotiation "the distressingly petty and negative way in which it responded to the Dakar visit can only be interpreted as a lack of commitment to genuine negotiation in practice.

"The incredible petty squabbling within the caucus over the Dakar visit was a sorry sight for the once proud and courageous party."

Van Eck said he was "determined to remain an MP for Claremont to carry out the mandate which voters gave me in 1986.

"My decision not to leave Parliament itself is further motivated by the belief that Parliament is, and can indeed be, very relevant if one makes use of it to the benefit of the voters and the non-voters outside."

His resignation follows hot on the heels of that of PFP western Cape regional director Paul Vorwerk.

More resignations from the PFP are expected, particularly in the western Cape and among young Progs.

PFP leader Colin Eglin was not available for comment earlier yesterday.

# As trendy theory fails, it's back to basics again

Sunday 17/8/87 (304A)

**KEN OWEN**

THE PRINCIPAL victim of President Botha's postponement of the 1989 elections is the Conservative Party, which might otherwise have established political domination of the Free State as well as the Transvaal.

The principal beneficiary, perhaps, is the PFP, which has been given time to overcome the disarray of its traditional supporters — time to shed some myths.

The first myth is the trendy idea that revolution is just around the corner unless successful negotiations can be concluded with the ANC. The truth is far worse than that.

Since 1976, the Nationalist government has endured everything that an angry black proletariat, led by a Marxist revolutionary party and supported by an outraged international community, could throw at it. And survived.

White SA has not emerged unscathed. It has sacrificed much of its parliamentary tradition and its legal heritage; it has lost irreplaceable talent; it has conscripted and brutalised its young men; it has violated all civil liberties; it has lowered its living standards and lost a vision of the future; but it has survived.

What is more, it has done so without unsheathing its heaviest weapons. Almost all its power has been held in reserve.

There has been no martial law; critical newspapers survive, however deficiently; pass laws have been eased, not tightened; and people travel without permits; food and fuel are not rationed to supporters; foreigners come and go; there is no effective curfew; protests have been inhibited or banned, but many forms of protest remain open to a populace too indolent or unimaginative to use them; intellectual dissidents are bullied, not shot.

The armed forces intrude into civil administration and political life, but no mortar has been fired in anger. The army merely supports an undermanned police force.

Nor has international pressure proved to be of any value. The West, misjudging, has driven President Botha and his people — almost without important exceptions — into a defiance reminiscent of the Boer republics. Sanctions spread, and are expensively circumvented, but they have lost political utility.

White SA has a limitless capacity to deflect such external pressures on to black people. The economy is stagnant, perhaps permanently so, but a leaner business class has found ways to make better profits from a smaller base, while many of its leading lights quietly establish alternative bases abroad.

Inflation transfers wealth from poor to rich; the victims of sanctions are the unemployed, a growing army threatened by Asian levels of deprivation; anger is swamped by the apathy of the starving.

Some revolutionary theorists still look to the trades unions; it is another self-deception. The black union movement was born of economic prosperity and skills shortages in the early Seventies; it is threatened now by mass unemployment. The police and the army recruiting depots turn away eager blacks who clamour for a chance to earn a living by upholding an unjust order.

Almost effortlessly, the armed forces terrorise the entire region, and disrupt it at will, roaming as far as Cabinda and who-knows-where-else. The effect of the ANC's bombs and mines — crude, inefficient weapons — has been to create a neo-fascist counter-revolution: President Botha Imperator.

Not that government provides a stable order. Things are worse than that. Already the Nationalists have delegated control of vast sections of the country, and millions of people, to the Matanzimas and Mangopes and Sebes.

At the end of the process of making the country "ungovernable" lies not liberation but the rampage of the *witdoeke*; the terrible lesson of Crossroads repeated in KwaNdebele and Ciskei.

The revolution has had its chance, and has made a disaster. It is time to go back, beyond Soweto 1976, to discover the sources of progressive change in SA. The fissures in apartheid theory were already so wide that the Broederbond embarked on a study — it has been publicly documented — to discover an alternative future based on power-sharing.

One reason was the discovery that SA had been fundamentally altered by the rapidly-expanding economy which put new power into the hands of black workers. Economic growth made the legitimacy of the black trades unions inevitable, just as urbanisation made the pass laws untenable, and just as a widening prosperity gave to black people the status and influence of consumers.

It was, as a major novelist said, a time of "howling change".

No more. The expanding economy, the engine of change, has been halted, its resources diverted to defence of the status quo. Revolutionary Utopianism has brought only deprivation and oppression, and a condition so hopeless that a great migration of skill and talent has begun as people flee a bleak South African future.

There is a better way. A great American historian, Eugene Genovese, has described how the slaves of the Deep South — more powerless even than black South Africans — managed to modify their situation by invoking the moral code of their oppressors. The same technique succeeds here.

As soon as the destructive theory of revolution — the quick fix — is decisively rejected, vast resources are unlocked: the education system continues to operate and a growing economy opens a myriad of opportunities for new, rising classes; political platforms are available, however inadequate they may be, in Parliament, in unions, in courts and Press, in the professions, in local government — even, if one looks for them, in the police and the army.

The PFP can take the lead in a more subtle form of politics: the shifts and manoeuvres by which adult political animals seek advantage, the careful use of availble resources to reach attainable ends, the slow advance, step-by-step, which has characterised the birth of most democracies.

But it does require a clear, final break with the crude revolutionary Utopianism which brings such dreadful consequences as we have seen in the past three years.

# Apartheid tops CP congress agenda

ARGUS 17/8/87 3044

By DAVID BRAUN
Political Staff

PARTITION, reservation of hotels for the exclusive use of whites, job reservation, segregated sport and Aids are all on the agenda for the Conservative Party's Transvaal congress which starts tomorrow.

This will be the first CP congress in the province since the party made spectacular gains in the Transvaal in the May general election.

Even though the CP has won the status of Official Opposition in the House of Assembly, every one of its 22 seats is in the Transvaal.

The Transvaal congress is therefore the most important of the party's annual conferences.

## Closed doors

The congress, in the Pretoria City Hall, starts with formal opening ceremonies followed by a meeting of the ladies committee.

The afternoon will be spent behind closed doors discussing the CP's strategy for the 1988 countrywide municipal elections. Conservatives are in a festive mood after their May election successes and the party leadership has instructed all CP formations to remain on an election footing for the municipal elections.

Tomorrow night CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht opens the conference officially with a public meeting in the city hall at 7.30pm.

Resolutions proposed by the various constituency organisations will be debated on Wednesday.

## Basic thrust

An analysis of the resolutions on the agenda shows the basic thrusts of CP policy:

- Partition of the country into separate independent ethnic entities, including states for the coloured and Indians.
- Rigid segregation of the race groups at labour, social, sport and cultural levels.
- Concern over the impoverishment of whites and particularly the plight of pensioners and farmers.

## Aids causes concern

Growing public concern for Aids has also shown up on the agenda with a resolution proposed by the Potgietersrus wing that the government be urged to fight the disease by every means.

The CP's desire to return to an era of apartheid is revealed in resolutions which call for the reimposition of influx control and which reject any form of multiracial sport.

One resolution calls for white security forces to be pulled out of black, coloured and Indian areas so that these population groups can police their own areas.

## Labour front

Another declares that all hotels in white areas be reserved exclusively for whites while hotels in other areas can be opened to people of colour.

A third calls for the reimposition of job reservation on the mines.

On the labour front, a resolution affirms the CP position of not allowing black trade unions, "especially for domestic servants".

A number of resolutions object to the government's use of television to make National Party propaganda and the "subtle way in which the youth is brainwashed to allow the destruction of all norms and forms of preservation of the Volk and white survival".

# Van Eck quits PFP

Cape Times 17/8/87

30(A

## By ANTHONY JOHNSON
## Political Correspondent

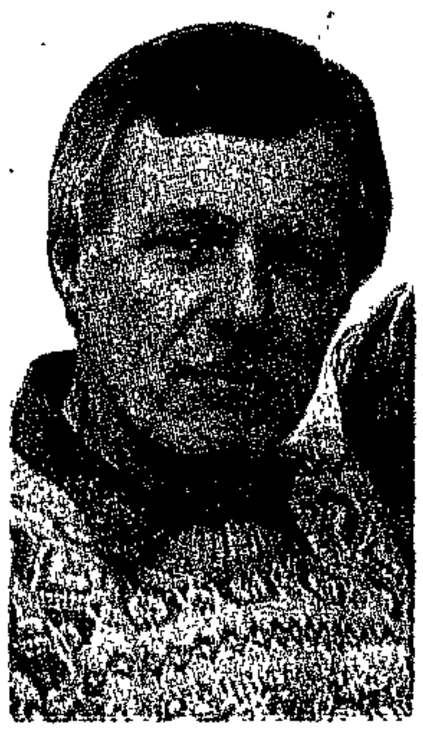
**THE MP for Claremont and chairman of the PFP's Unrest Monitoring and Action Committee, Mr Jan van Eck, resigned from the party yesterday.**

The move sent shock waves through the youth and left wings of the Progressive Federal Party and is likely to shake further the morale of a party still licking its wounds after losing several MPs in its May election setback.

Mr Van Eck last night said he was determined to remain in Parliament as an independent MP.

He said in a resignation statement that "it has become abundantly clear that . . . the party I have supported since 1971 is fast disappearing".

Mr Van Eck, former chairman of the PFP's Cape Western region and editor of the party's newspaper, Deurbraak, said he had no fundamental differences with the PFP's policies or principles.



Mr Jan van Eck

But there had been a "growing unwillingness" within the party to accept the practical consequences of its "professed desire and commitment" towards genuine negotiation and forging closer links and alliances with extra-parliamentary organizations "that share our commitment to a non-racial South Africa".

Mr Van Eck said that although the party had "always professed its commitment to genuine negotiations, the distressingly petty and negative" way in which it responded to PFP representatives going on the Dakar mission "can only be interpreted as a lack of commitment to genuine negotiations in practice".

He said that ever since deciding to embark on its strategy to become part of an alternative government, the PFP had "consciously started shedding some of its bold, straightforward and honest image in order to draw the support of more conservative voters".

The May election setback had "shocked the party's leadership into a state of paralysis" and it had become "scared" of alienating any more white voters instead of taking a "bold lead" on sensitive issues.

Mr Van Eck said the PFP's caucus had become "very isolated and removed" from its grassroots membership.

## Eglin surprised

"I found it very difficult to function in a caucus where more emphasis was placed on the formalities of Parliament than on ways and means of courageously and uncompromisingly opposing the government . . .

"I have never seen it as my role to contribute towards making the government better. I have always seen it as my role to rid South Africa of its present government," Mr Van Eck said.

The leader of the PFP, Mr Colin Eglin, said he was "disappointed and surprised" at Mr Van Eck's resignation.

"Certainly at no stage did he discuss his problems with me and I have always said that my door is open."

Mr Eglin said he would react in full to Mr Van Eck's statement, which he had not yet seen, when he returned to Cape Town today.

The PFP's Cape leader, Mr Roger Hulley, said he regretted Mr Van Eck's resignation "at a personal level — but the step was not entirely unexpected".

Mr Hulley called on Mr Van Eck to "resign his seat and test the support of his voters" as he had been "elected by the PFP in a safe PFP seat".

Mr Van Eck's resignation follows that of the regional director in the Western Cape, Mr Paul Vorwerk, who last week quit the party after an 18-year association.

Mr Vorwerk said last night: "I could no longer reconcile myself to the role of the PFP, which is allowing itself to be determined by the constraints of white politics rather than the need for genuine change in the broader political spectrum."

By last night no MPs had signalled their intention to follow Mr Van Eck's example.

The national chairman of the PFP, Mr Peter Gastrow, who recently travelled to Dakar to meet the ANC, said: "There is unfortunately very little space for lone rangers in politics and as an individual Mr Van Eck is unlikely to contribute towards the viability of opposition politics either inside or outside Parliament."

● Interview — Page 3

★ Cape Times, Monday, A

# MP: PFP will lose the youth

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

IF the PFP continued on its present course it was bound to lose most of its young supporters and eventually wither away, the MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, said yesterday.

In an interview soon after he had resigned from the PFP, Mr Van Eck said: "The May election setback had a very negative effect on the PFP's commitment to being more than just a white party."

Mr Van Eck feels the priorities of the party have been moving away from its professed commitment to strengthening extra-parliamentary links and "identifying more strongly with the aspirations and struggle of the disenfranchised majority".

He added: "If the party continues on its present course it will lose most of its youth support because it will have lost its image of a party of the future.

"The youth, the lifeblood of the party, will only grow if the party makes it possible for them to demonstrate that it is part of the broader political set-up."

Mr Van Eck believes the PFP has a vision for the future but has become increasingly loath to "shape it through active involvement in the total community" because of the risk of losing support among an increasingly conservative white electorate.

## 'Pandering to conservatives'

He has no disagreement with the party's principles but felt it needed a programme of action to implement them.

He believes it is still possible to straddle the growing divide between the fears of the white electorate and the aspirations of the black majority, "but not when the party is pandering to the wishes of the more conservative white voter".

Asked if he expects to be given a "rough ride" by his former colleagues following his resignation, Mr Van Eck said: "I would be very naive if I did not expect a rough response from them — but I must stress that my battle is not with the PFP but with this government and I will in future be directing my energies in that direction."

Mr Van Eck said he bore "no malice" towards PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin and "most of my former colleagues" but had the "greatest admiration and respect for what he, Mrs Helen Suzman and others in the party had done to "keep enlightened opposition and the flame of freedom alive in South Africa — frequently at great cost to themselves".

# Swiss admit contribution

BERNE. — Switzerland helped finance the Dakar meeting, a Swiss government spokesman said at the weekend.

Berne contributed the equivalent of $29 000 (about R58 000) with the remaining $150 000 (about R300 000) coming from the Norwegian, Swedish and Danish governments, as well as a number of individual groups, he said.

The spokesman said the Swiss government had received no protest from Pretoria. — Sapa-Reuter

# Most in SA support ANC — Slabbert

By CLARE HARPER

RESEARCH had shown that most people in South Africa supported the African National Congress — and white South Africans had to accept this, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert told about 1 200 people at Rocklands Civic Centre yesterday.

He was speaking with University of the Western Cape history lecturer Dr Andre Odendaal at a Dakar report-back meeting, organized by the Mitchells Plain branch of the United Democratic Front.

Dr Slabbert said the National Party did not accept that the ANC had been in existence long before them — "we have to accept that reality", he said.

He said it was clear from discussions that there was a way out of "senseless bloodletting".

Recounting an incident in Ghana, when the ANC were asked whether they trusted the (white) Dakar delegates, Dr Slabbert said: "The ANC replied to the 2 500-member audience that the colour of a man's skin has nothing to do with his politics."

The ANC were unanimous that the release from prison and detention of leaders and the unbanning of negotiations were pre-conditions for talks.

"The people who went to Dakar cannot negotiate — only the government has the power to change these circumstances," he said.

He said that the role of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) was not to compete with the leaders of any organizations — "but to persuade as many whites as possible that a non-racial democracy is in the interests of the majority, and in their interests as well".

Dr Odendaal said he went to Dakar because it was important to illustrate to other whites the need to talk to the ANC and to "break out of the straitjacket of propaganda".

He said that one of the particular aspects of the ANC that struck some of the 57 delegates was "their preparedness".

"When questions were raised about why they turned to violence, the ANC recited a poem about a Boer child who died in the British concentration camps," he said.

The ANC, he said, was not engaged in armed struggle because it liked violence but because it emanated from a system in South Africa, from the days of colonialism. "For the first 50 years after the ANC was formed, it tried every means to bring about peaceful change."

# Eloff was not framed, says dept

Political Staff

THE Department of Home Affairs last night denied that the Rev Theuns Eloff, one of the South African delegates to the Dakar talks with the ANC, had been "framed" by a mysterious alteration to his departure form.

Last week the State President, Mr P W Botha, told Parliament that some of Dakar delegates had not hesitated to "violate the truth" in stating the reason for their departure from South Africa.

Among others he mentioned Ds Eloff's had said "Holiday. UK".

## Changed

However, at the weekend Ds Eloff disclosed that a copy of the form he had obtained showed that he had stated in Afrikaans that the reason for leaving was "business". This had been changed to state in English "Holiday. UK".

He could not be contacted last night to react to a statement issued by the Director General of Home Affairs, Mr G B S van Zyl, who said the alteration had been done with Ds Eloff's knowledge by an immigration official.

Mr Van Zyl said the official, who was "competent, experienced and trustworthy", had been interviewed but could not remember the specific case.

However, she had freely admitted that she had changed the form in her own handwriting.

She had explained that often forms were improperly completed and that it was standard practice to correct them after questioning the traveller.

Mr Van Zyl denied that Ds Eloff had had to threaten court action to get a copy of the form.

ARGUS 17/8/87

# Van Eck quits PFP but 'will fight on for non-racial SA'

3016A

**Political Staff**

**MR Jan van Eck, Progressive Federal Party MP for Claremont, has resigned from the party but, as an independent, will continue to seek contact with "all extra-parliamentary bodies working towards a non-racial democratic South Africa".**

Mr van Eck, who is chairman of the PFP's unrest monitoring action committee, said: "Unrest monitoring will remain a priority for me and I will be more free now to actively establish contact with extra-parliamentary organisations like Idasa (Institute for Democratic Alternatives for South Africa), teacher, worker and church organisations and, of course, the United Democratic Front."

Clearly upset, Mr van Eck last night described his "traumatic decision" after a 16-year association with the PFP as a member, editor of its newspaper, MPC for Groote Schuur from 1981 to 1986 and, since September last year, MP for Claremont.

"I have no fundamental differences with PFP policy but I can no longer reconcile myself to what I see as an increasingly ineffecitve party caucus which has become isolated and removed from its grassroots membership," he said.

This was clearly illustrated by the caucus's "negative" response to the Dakar talks attended by two PFP caucus members and one President's Council member.

"The incredibly petty squabbling within the caucus over the Dakar visit was a sorry sight for a once proud and courageous party," said Mr van Eck.

"The grassroots party membership was overwhelmingly excited and enthused by the fact that the PFP had representatives at these talks.

"The petty attitude the caucus adopted towards the fact that Idasa — led by former PFP MPs Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine — arranged a trip to Dakar was not shared by rank-and-file membership."

Mr van Eck said he felt that as an independent member of Parliament he would still be able to carry out the mandate for which he was elected in 1986.

Free of the caucus yoke and its increasing sensitivity to towing a line drawn by the more conservative voters, he believed he would be freer to fulfil that mandate.

"The Claremont electorate is an enlightened one and I was elected on a very clear platform — real negotiation with the really representative leaders of the people and the building of alliances with extra-parliamentary groups who share our vision of a non-racial democratic South Africa.

"I am determined to carry out that mandate and intend to extend my contacts in black education, trade union movements and grassroots organisations generally."

Mr van Eck said the PFP leadership was in a state of paralysis after the setback of the May election.

Scared of taking a bold lead on "sensitive" policy issues which it thought might alienate white voters further, the PFP had lost its courage and moved away from its "previously professed desire to be involved in the extra-parliamentary field".

Mr van Eck found that the caucus placed more emphasis on the formalities of Parliament than on ways of uncomprisingly opposing the Governmment and ensuring the PFP's relevance in Parliament by using the privilege of the institution "to expose the harsh realities so effectively suppressed by this repressive Government and its state of emergency".

"I have never seen it as my role to contribute towards making the Government govern better. I have understood my role as helping to rid South Africa of its present Government," said Mr van Eck.

ARGUS 17/8/82

# I'll swear I didn't know — Dakar dominee

**The Argus Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG. — The Rev Theuns Eloff is prepared to make a sworn affidavit that he did not know of the alteration to his passport before he left South Africa for the Dakar talks.

The vilified NG dominee, who fears that an accusation against him by President Botha may cost him his job, yesterday said he did not make the alteration and that it was not done in his presence or with his knowledge.

Mr Eloff is also prepared to call in handwriting analysts to prove the change was not made by him.

In Parliament last week President Botha read out the contents of airport departure forms filled in by some of the South African delegates who met the African National Congress in Dakar last month.

## CROSSED OUT

Mr Eloff, he said, declared that he was going on holiday in Britain. A copy of the departure form obtained by Mr Eloff shows that he originally wrote "sake" (business) but that this was crossed out and that "Holiday UK" was added in English.

Mr Eloff said his job was in jeopardy because Gereformeerde Kerk law provided for the permanent suspension of a minister who publicly brought the church in disrepute.

"Violating the truth" is an example of such action.

# Van Eck quits, refuses to give up seat

ARGUS 7/8/87

304A

**By TOS WENTZEL**
**Political Correspondent**

THE Progressive Federal Party leadership today called on Mr Jan van Eck, MP for Claremont, to resign his seat and fight an election following his resignation from the party — but he has refused.

Mr van Eck maintained he was still in step with the party's commitment to negotiation and alignments with extra-parliamentary groupings, while the party and the leadership had started deviating from this after the election.

Tensions have been building up between Mr van Eck and some of his caucus colleagues for some time and his resignation did not come as a complete surprise.

**DAKAR TALKS**

Some suspicions were expressed about versions of caucus tensions over the Dakar talks which had appeared in some newspapers.

Mr van Eck was also at loggerheads with the leadership over sanctions. He was slapped down at last year's federal congress when he proposed selective sanctions which would affect only National Party supporters.

Meanwhile, the two PFP MPs who went to the Dakar talks with the ANC, Mr Peter Gastrow and Mr Pierre Cronje, said today they would not resign.

Mr Roger Hulley, MP, Cape leader of the PFP, and Mr Jasper Walsh, MP, acting Western Cape chairman, first called on Mr van Eck to resign his seat when they met him yesterday, and Mr Hulley repeated the call today.



Mr Jan van Eck

The divisional committee of the PFP in Claremont also met Mr van Eck last night and decided that no useful purpose could be served by a lone individual nor by the splintering of the PFP.

**EGLIN DISAPPOINTED**

Mr Colin Eglin, the party's leader, was away from Cape Town at the weekend, but he said he was surprised and disappointed. Mr Van Eck had not discussad his problems with him and he would comment more fully after he had seen Mr van Eck's statement.

Mr van Eck today reiterated that he was standing by his views on negotiation and alignment with extra-parliamentary groups, for which he first received a mandate in the by-election which brought him to Parliament last year.

Following the May 6 election the party had started watering down these commitments.

Mr Gastrow said today that he would not follow Mr van Eck out of the party.

"I had no knowledge of his move. It had nothing to do with any grouping in the caucus. I do not think that as an individual he will be able to do much to influence the future course of events in South Africa."

Mr Cronje said that by moving out and going solo Mr van Eck would not contribute to the solution of the larger problems in the country.

**● Van Eck's statement, page 4.**

3041 STAR 18/8/87

# Why is the Government scared of universities?

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

There has been yet another spate of letters to The Star vitriolic in their criticism of the English-speaking universities in South Africa.

All support the Government in its rather blinkered and restrictive attitude to higher education. Nearly all call for draconian measures to be taken against any student body or staff who do not conform to their ideas.

Universities have for centuries been places where young adults can for the first time experience freedom of thought (away from family influence), freedom of speech and freedom to protest against that which they think is wrong. The first is hard to legislate against, but the last two have almost been outlawed.

The conditions and general atmosphere prevailing on the English-speaking university campuses are symptomatic of the country as a whole and are a direct reaction to the repressive actions of the Government itself. To ban and totally discourage any non-academic activity on the campus is to screw down the top of the pressure cooker.

It will probably not explode on the campus itself, but will contribute to producing a generation of frustrated and bitter adults, more radical than any presently seen at the universities.

Anti-government speeches and demonstrations are condemned as being anti-South African. What is good for the National Party is equated with what is good for the Government and what is good for South Africa. Anyone who has alternative views had better prepare for detention for an indeterminate period of time.

If not detention then perhaps cutting of university funds will be more popular with the rather scared general public, and force the university authorities to put the lid on the pressure cooker themselves with no blame falling on the Government. Of what is the Government so scared?

In the late 1960s, university towns and cities in the US, Europe and Britain erupted with demonstrations. Yet, with the possible exception of the Sobonne in France, academic activities of the universities continued as before. Europe and America did not collapse into anarchy and funding by governments was not withdrawn.

In fact, some of the student activists then are now in positions of influence and probably more moderate than they were as students. The key is that Governments did not intervene and the law took its course, without special legislation. But the law was used with distinct moderation, something that this government seems not to recognise.

Do we have to wait for the present generation of students to be driven into the arms of the Umkhonto we Sizwe, because that is their only way of voicing an anti-National Party message, or do we tolerate dissession now and hope for a better future?

**M Trevelyan-Jones**

Bromhof

# Govt sources deny 'secret negotiations' with ANC

Political Staff

**A UNITED STATES report that talks between a South African government envoy and exiled leaders of the ANC are imminent has been dismissed in government circles.**

**Government sources said yesterday that President P W Botha had repeatedly stated there could be no negotiations with the ANC unless it renounced violence.**

**Yesterday the Washington Times claimed South Africa had opened secret negotiations with the ANC and said this could lead to the release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela within three months.**

**Sources in the South African cabinet were reported to have told the Times that a South African government envoy would meet exiled ANC leaders in Lusaka to discuss the release of Mr Mandela and "other issues".**

**□ AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche has congratulated Mr Botha for his stand last week in Parliament on the Dakar delegates and told him the AWB is government's biggest ally against the ANC and communism.**

**In a telegram sent to Mr Botha at the weekend Mr Terre'Blanche said he looked forward to immediate changes in the legislation to end "collaboration with the enemy".**

**The contents of the telegram were divulged yesterday by AWB official Mr P W Bingle.**

CAPE TIMES 18/8/87 (3094)

# Botha 'owes apology'

**HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The State President, Mr P W Botha, owed the Rev Theuns Eloff an apology for casting aspersions on his honesty, Mr Tian van der Merwe (PFP Green Point) said yesterday.**

**Speaking during debate on the State President's vote, he said that according to the form which Mr Eloff filled in before leaving for London to join the Dakar delegation, he had filled in as the purpose of departure "holiday".**

**However, on inspection, the word "sake" had been crossed out and the word "holiday" written in. As the rest of the form had been completed in Afrikaans, he had doubts that Mr Eloff had written "holiday".**

**The President should have at least given Mr Eloff the chance to explain before calling him a liar, Mr Van der Merwe said.**

**The country was tragically divided. He understood that the African National Congress could not take the country by force. They knew they had no chance.**

**Equally, the government had no chance of wiping out the ANC which had far too great a support throughout the country.**

**Mr Van der Merwe said he could not understand why the government could not talk to the ANC.**

**They had urged the Namibians to talk to Swapo, who were Marxists and were committing violence.**

**They had encouraged Mr Ian Smith to talk to his Marxist opponents, who also espoused violence. Recently they had tried to bring Renamo and Frelimo together.**

**The government had supported guerilla forces in other countries with money and other forms of support.**

**"What separates our position from theirs? Why should we be different?" — Sapa**

# DAKAR: ROW ON THE BOIL

Business Day Reporter

THE war of words over the controversial departure form used by President P W Botha to ridicule Dakar delegates continued yesterday.

Reverend Theuns Eloff yesterday reaffirmed his intention to get a sworn affidavit that his departure form for the Dakar talks was not changed from "business" to "holiday, UK" in his presence or with his permission, and he would get a witness to do the same to clear his name.

And the Department of Home Affairs yesterday also reaffirmed it was satisfied its staff had correctly carried out the procedure by which, if the reason for departure was changed, it was done only after questioning the passenger.

Eloff faces possible suspension from his church, the Gereformeerde Kerk in Brooklyn, Pretoria, for his participation in the Dakar talks.

The church has appointed a commission of inquiry to which members of the congregation can report. The inquiry is to sit until the weekend. The church council will then decide on Eloff's fate within the church.

□ The President owed Eloff an apology for casting aspersions on his honesty, Tian van der Merwe (PFP Green Point) said in the House of Assembly yesterday, SAPA reports.

Botha should at least have given Eloff the chance to explain before calling him a liar, Van der Merwe said.

It was typical of the whole tenor of the debate so far that Members were concentrating on affairs of party political points scoring, and not on more important issues.

# PFP closes ranks to lash Van Eck

CAPE TOWN — The PFP's parliamentary caucus closed ranks yesterday as the party condemned Jan van Eck for resigning from the party and called on him to resign his Claremont seat as well.

And Van Eck's former Claremont constituency committee has resolved to continue to organise the seat under the PFP banner and "to recapture Claremont in the next election".

PFP leader Colin Eglin yesterday dismissed the reasons offered by Van Eck for his resignation as "nonsense".

**Political Staff**

Eglin said his former colleague's statement of resignation "not only abounds with generalities which are not true, but it provides no valid basis for his resignation from the PFP". Commitment to rid SA of the present government was not peculiar to Van Eck.

Eglin said there was "no softening

● To Page 2

# PFP unites to condemn Van Eck resignation

● From Page 1

whatsoever" in the party's willingness to give a bold lead. "There is certainly no weakening on policy issues."

Houghton MP Helen Suzman said she found it difficult to understand how Van Eck could resign from the party for reasons of "conscience" if he had no quarrel with principles of the party.

Suzman asked whether the "decision factor" in his resignation had not been the announcement of the next white election to 1992.

She said Van Eck should resign his seat since the mandate he received in May this year was "to represent the PFP in Parliament, and not the extra-parliamentary bodies to which he now proposes to give his loyal support".

Political comment in this issue by Ken Owen Newsbills by Michael Acott Headlines and sub-editing by Michael Allwright All of Times Media Ltd, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg

# AWB lauds PW's stand on Dakar delegates

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

**AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche has congratulated President P W Botha for his stand last week in Parliament on the Dakar delegates and told him the AWB was government's biggest ally against the ANC and communism.**

In a telegram sent to Botha at the weekend, Terre'Blanche said he looked forward to immediate changes in the legislation to end "collaboration with the enemy".

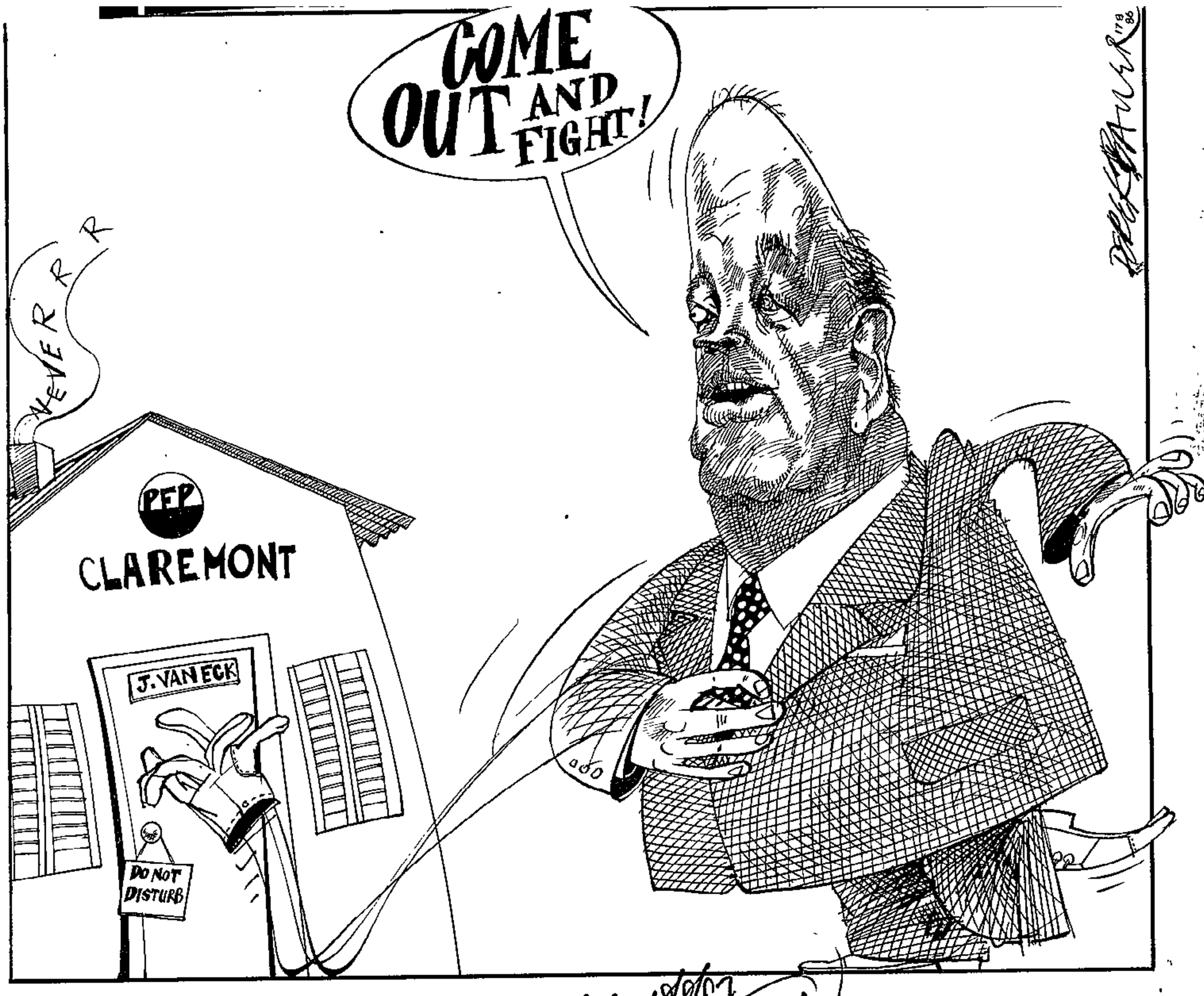
He said: "Their (the collaborators') misplaced pronouncements proves you right, namely that they are being used as useful idiots.

"I repeat my assurances, as made on public platforms, that in the case of conflict and struggle against the ANC and communism, the AWB is still the government's and the armed forces' greatest ally."

Relaying the contents of the telegram yesterday, AWB official P W Bingle said the AWB was, as yet, unaware of any effective police investigation into the organisation or activities of its members.

Police recently said an investigation had been launched into alleged threats made by AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche against the Dakar delegates upon their return from west Africa.

Bingle said: "All we know about the investigation is what we read in the Press."




# Why I won't quit — Van Eck

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

MAVERICK MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, is standing his ground against demands that he should resign.

Party leaders have demanded that he should take the "honourable way" by resigning and fighting a by-election to test the feelings of his constituents.

His stand is that the Claremont electorate is a very enlightened one and that he was elected on a very clear platform and that there is no need to go to his voters again.

He maintains that he still stands for his mandate for real negotiation with the really representative leaders of the people and the building of alliances with extra-parliamentary groups who share the vision of a non-racial democracy in South Africa.

## Watered down

He intends carrying out that mandate and extending his contacts in black education, trade union movements and grassroots organisations generally.

He maintains that the PFP leadership had watered down these principles after the May election setback and was scared of taking a bold lead on "sensitive" policy issues which might alienate white voters further.

Reacting to the demands of people like Mr Colin Eglin and Mrs Helen Suzman that he should resign he points out that they did not resign their seats when they left the old United Party to form the PFP.

He shrugs off what he describes as attempts by some of his former colleagues to indulge in mud-slinging but he does not mind the "maverick" tag.

"One must take a stand regardless of what the majority viewpoint is. One must state what you stand for without beating about the bush.

"I have never been able to be a 'yes man'".

Reacting to the allegation by Mr Eglin that he had not discussed his so-called problems wth him befor announcing his resignation from the party he says that, while he had not done so this time he had on other occasions discussed his misgivings in party forums.

It became clear to him that party leaders were moving away from his viewpoints which he regarded as the basic principles of the PFP.

## Drifted away

Apart from his misgivings this time there had been other tensions on participation in the other Houses of Parliament and on Regional Services Councils.

He did not believe that he was deviating from party principles but that the party had drifted away from these.

He was heartened by numerous phone calls from party supporters in many parts of the country who shared his misgivings and who also feared that the party was moving to the right.

Referring to a reference by Mr Ray Swart, the caucus chairman, to his attitude towards caucus confidentiality, he said he did not want to have a debate on such a low level.

He was determined not to take part in mud-slinging.

In spite of their remarks now that he was on a collision course with the party, there has been appreciation for the work he has done as chairman of the party's unrest monitoring commission.

## Personal risk

At some personal risk he has been present at unrest situations and has helped to diffuse tensions on occasions. It is his outspoken statements in these and other situations that have made him one of the most disliked opposition politicians among Nationalist politicians.

Mr Van Eck was once a Nationalist himself when still a student in Stellenbosch before he became a geography and history teacher.

About 16 years ago he joined the PFP, running some of its publications.

After being MPC for Groote Schuur for a number of years he became MP for Claremont last year.

He is now in the Assembly as an independent — one of only two.

# Leaders slam claims of weakening principles

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

**PROGRESSIVE Federal Party leaders have slammed allegations by Mr Jan van Eck, MP for Claremont, that party principles are being watered down.**

**In his announcement that he is resigning from the party Mr van Eck also alleged that the party was moving away from its desire to be involved in the extra-parliamentary field.**

## Eglin surprised

**Mr Colin Eglin, MP, said there was "no softening whatsoever" in the PFP's willingness to give a bold lead and no weakening on policy issues.**

**The party had neither changed course nor direction.**

**"It provides a home for those South Africans who believe in human freedom and who want to make a practical contribution towards getting rid of apartheid and creating a truly democratic South Africa."**

**He said he was surprised that Mr van Eck had not discussed his apparent problems with him and said his statement abounded with generalities which were not true.**

**The commitment to rid South Africa of the present government was not peculiar to Mr van Eck. It remained the commitment of the PFP and formed the basis of the strategy on which he was returned unopposed as PFP MP for Claremont.**

**Mrs Helen Suzman, MP , said she found it difficult to understand how Mr van Eck could say that he could only live with his conscience if he resigned from the PFP while at the same time stating that he had no quarrel with the principles or policies of the party. There had been no deviation from basic principles and policies.**

## "Honourable course"

**Mrs Suzman said a man of Mr van Eck's high principles should resign his seat since the mandate he received in May was to represent the PFP in Parliament and not the extra-parliamentary bodies to which he now proposed to give his loyal support.**

**Mr Ray Swart MP, chairman of the PFP caucus, also called on Mr van Eck to take "the honourable course" by resigning his seat and putting his case to the voters of Claremont.**

# Idasa: No plans to shut down

ARGUS 18/8/87 (30A)

**Political Correspondent**

GOVERNMENT threats to the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa are to be discussed at a meeting of its board of trustees at the end of the month.

A staff meeting will be held at the same time.

Dr Alex Boraine, executive director of Idasa, who has just returned from a visit to Zimbabwe, said it would be a normal meeting of the trustees but it would be necessary to look at President Botha's recent response to the Dakar initiative of the institute.

Dr Boraine said Idasa had no plans to shut up shop and would continue with its work throughout the country.

His visit to Zimbabwe had been at the invitation of the Speaker of the Zimbabwean Parliament, Mr Didymus Mutasa.

Apart from the President of Zimbabwe, Mr Canaan Banana, he had also met a number of ministers and ambassadors.

He had also addressed a meeting of the British-Zimbabwe Association on the Dakar conference with an ANC member who had been there, Mr Steve Mtwetwe.

His theme at this meeting was that the only way for South Africa was the politics of negotiation.

While Idasa could not negotiate it could point the way to negotiation rather than mindless violence.

# PFP tells Van Eck to quit seat

Cape Times 18/8/82

304A

**Political Correspondent**

THE PFP's parliamentary caucus closed ranks yesterday as the party condemned Mr Jan van Eck for resigning and called on him to give up his Claremont seat.

Mr Van Eck's former Claremont constituency committee resolved to continue to organize the seat under the PFP banner and "to recapture Claremont in the next election".

The leader of the PFP, Mr Colin Eglin, yesterday dismissed the reasons offered by Mr Van Eck for his resignation from the PFP as "nonsense".

The commitment to rid South Africa of the present government was not peculiar to Mr Van Eck, Mr Eglin said. "This commitment remains a commitment of the PFP.

"Indeed, it formed the basis of the strategy on which Mr Van Eck sought the PFP nomination and was returned unopposed earlier this year as the PFP MP for Claremont.

"Mr Van Eck's allegation that the party has become 'virtually completely unwilling to take a bold lead, especially on the issues or policy aspects that are sensitive', is nonsense," Mr Eglin said.

## 'Difficult to understand'

"It (the PFP) provides a home for those South Africans who believe in human freedom and who want to make a practical contribution towards getting rid of apartheid and creating a non-racial and truly democratic South Africa."

Mrs Helen Suzman said she found it difficult to understand how Mr Van Eck could resign from the party for reasons of conscience if he had no quarrel with the principles or policies of the party.

She said Mr Van Eck should resign his seat since the mandate he received in May this year was "to represent the PFP in Parliament, and not the extra-parliamentary bodies to which he now proposes to give his loyal support".

The caucus said it took "strong exception" to the "ridiculous" allegations that the caucus had become "very isolated and removed from its grass-roots membership".

"The caucus operates four-square within the party's established body of policy and resolutions adopted by its congresses, and no deviation from these policies has occurred ..."

The caucus called on him to resign his seat and "put his case to the voters of Claremont forthwith".

Mr Van Eck said last night that he would not resign his seat but would contest it as an independent at the next election.

**TUESDAY, 18 AUGUST 1987**

†Indicates translated version.

*For oral reply:*

*General Affairs:*

*Questions standing over from Tuesday, 11 August 1987:*

**Jan Smuts Airport: AWB**

*14. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether the South African Police arrested or detained any persons at Jan Smuts Airport on 21 July 1987; if so, (a) what are their names and (b) for what alleged offences in each case;

(2) whether the Police took any special precautions at Jan Smuts Airport on the above date; if so, (a) what special precautions and (b) why;

(3) whether the Police had been informed (a) that members of the AWB would be at Jan Smuts Airport on the above date and (b) of the purpose of their presence; if so, (i) by whom, (ii) on what date and (iii) what action was taken as a result;

(4) whether the Police warned any persons present at Jan Smuts Airport that it was illegal for them to assemble there; if so, (a) how was the warning issued and (b) what was the result;

(5) whether the Police instructed or requested two persons, whose names have been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply, to take any action on this occasion; if so, (a) what are the names of these persons, (b) what was each of them told by the Police and (c) why were they so instructed or requested?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes

(a) I do not consider it to be in the interest of the persons to furnish their names.

(b) 15 persons were charged with the contravention of Regulation 2 (1) and 4 (1) of the Media regulations as promulgated by Proclamation R97 in *Government Gazette* 10772 of 11 June 1987.

3 Persons were charged with the contravention of Regulation 42 (1) of the State Airport Regulations as promulgated in *Government Gazette* R1974 of 20 December 1963.

The Attorney-General declined to institute prosecution against the persons involved and the charges were withdrawn after the accused had, through their attorneys, advised the Attorney-General that they, and I quote "unreservedly give him and the authorities the assurance that if they have committed an offence they certainly had no deliberate intention of doing so, and give the Attorney-General and authorities the assurance that they do and always will do everything in their power to observe the laws of the land".

The Attorney-General also indicated that it would be a bad mistake were this exercise of his discretion to be construed as a sign of weakness. It should rather be taken as a serious warning that in future and in appropriate cases he would not hesitate to institute prosecution against erring journalists, TV operators and others of the like.

(2) Yes.

(a) and (b) The South African Police made sufficient arrangements to prevent a possible confrontation between groups of people with different political views. In so doing they fulfilled

their statutory responsibility to maintain law and order.

(3) (a) and (b) No, but as a result of reports in the media, the Police took note of the expected presence of leftist and rightist radicals, and consequently took the necessary preventative measures.

(i) to (iii) Fall away.

(4) Yes.

(a) An officer of the South African Police directed a warning with a megaphone to the persons in English and Afrikaans in terms of section 72 (c) of the Internal Security Act.

(b) The persons dispersed peacefully

(5) Yes, a request was directed to the persons.

(a) Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche and Dr Alex Borraine.

(b) and (c) The request which was directed at the two persons, was intended to promote the statutory responsibility of the South African Police, namely to maintain law and order.

Mr D J N MALCOMESS: Mr Speaker, arising out of the answer of the hon the Minister, can he perhaps tell us at what stage this warning to disperse was given, and how long after the warning had been given the AWB members vacated the airport premises, where they were gathered in fairly considerable numbers?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I would suggest that the hon member formulates in a question the further particulars he requires and have it placed on the Question Paper. I will then go into the matter of the specific times etcetera which he requires, and give him my reply.

**Remission/parole**

*16. Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Justice:

HoA

Whether persons convicted of offences in terms of the Internal Security Act, No 74 of 1982, are entitled to (a) remission and (b) parole; if not, why not; if so, how many persons (i) had applied for and (ii) had been refused (aa) remission and (bb) parole as at the latest specified date for which information is available?

†The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

(a) and (b), (i) (aa) and (bb) as well as (ii) (aa) and (bb): The Prisons Act, 1959 (Act No 8 of 1959), and the Regulations promulgated thereunder do not establish a right for any prisoner to be released prior to the expiration of his or her sentence.

The statistics as required cannot be kept due to the fact that one prisoner's possible conditional release, on parole or probation, can be considered and/or reconsidered and recommended by the Institutional Committee or the Release Board on more than one occasion.

For the hon member's information, however, it can again be mentioned that 153 security prisoners were released since May 1982 prior to the expiration of their sentences The hon member is also referred to the hon the State President's speech in which he dealt comprehensively with related matters.

*New Questions:*

**Alexandra: serviceman shot**

*1. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 430 on 23 February 1987, the investigation into the shooting of a national serviceman in Alexandra Township on 1 January 1987 has been completed; if not, (a) what progress has been made in this investigation and (b) when is it anticipated that it will be completed, if so, (i) what were the findings and (ii) what action has been taken as a result?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

No.

(a) The suspect(s) in the case have not yet been identified or traced.

Hansard 18/8/87



(b) All possible endeavours have been made to trace the suspects(s), but no indication can be given of when the investigation will be finalized.

(i) and (ii) Fall away.

**Guguletu: death of ANC terrorists**

*2. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 43 on 20 February 1987, the investigation into the deaths of suspected ANC terrorists in Guguletu on 3 March 1986 has been completed; if not, (a) what matters remain to be completed and (b) when is it anticipated that the investigation will be completed; if so,

(2) whether a copy of the post-mortem report on C Piet has been made available to his family since the date of the reply referred to above; if not, why not; if so on what date;

(3) whether any further requests for copies of the post-mortem reports have been received; if so, (a) from whom, (b) when and (c) what was the response thereto;

(4) whether the investigation into the escape of any person or persons during the confrontation with the Police on 3 March 1986 has been completed; if so, what were the findings;

(5) whether any persons have been arrested as a result of this investigation; if so, what are their names?

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes.

(a) and (b) Fall away.

(2) No. I wish to point out to the hon member that if the family of a deceased wished to obtain a copy of such a report, they can apply for one to the clerk of the court where the inquest was held. The South African Police has no jurisdiction to furnish documents of this nature to interested parties or their representatives.

HoA

8/8/87 Hansard

(3) No.

(a) to (c) Fall away.

(4) No, the investigation is continuing.

(5) No.

Hansard 18/8/87

**Communication programme: total cost**

*3. Mr P G SOAL asked the Deputy Minister of Information:

(1) (a) What was the total cost of the communication programme including the song "Together we'll build a brighter future" and (b) what specified items are included in this total;

(2) whether this programme is continuing; if not, (a) when and (b) why was it stopped; if so, what aspects of the programme are still in progress?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF INFORMATION:

(1) (a) R8 718 797 for the financial year 1986/87 which includes R4 373 652 expenditure on the "Together we will build a brighter future" project and; an expenditure of R4 345 145 on the "Rent and Services" project.

R3 007 319 for the financial year 1987/88 for outdoor advertisements for both campaigns.

(b) TV commercials
Radio commercials
Press advertisements
Outdoor advertisements
Posters.

(2) Yes. The outdoor advertising campaign will continue until the end of the 1987/88 financial year.

(a) and (b) Fall away.

*Note:* It will be noted that the figure as in 1 (a) above (R8 718 797) differs from the figure as supplied by the hon the State President in reply to oral Question 1 of August 11, 1987, for R7 412 000.

Expenditure on outdoor advertisement of R1 306 852 for the 1986/87 financial year was inadvertently not included in calculating the total costs of the communication project.

# Labour set to support the Dakar talks

**Political Correspondent**

The Dakar conference may be raised in Parliament again this week — but this time in a House where the majority of the members are sympathetic to such discussions.

This will be in the debate in the House of Representatives on President Botha's Budget vote.

The debate on this vote in the Assembly ended yesterday.

The meeting with the ANC is one of the issues on which there are tensions between Mr Botha and the Labour Party, led by Cabinet colleague Mr Allan Hendrickse.

While Mr Botha last week sharply attacked the talks and indicated that steps could be taken to prevent these happening again, Mr Hendrickse earlier issued a statement in which he praised the talks.

**TENSIONS**

The Group Areas Act is another issue on which there are tensions between Mr Botha and the Labour Party, which is determined to use the debate to show that it has not been totally co-opted into the present constitutional system.

A recent statement by Mr Hendrickse that he may again swim on a white beach, in spite of his previous dressing down from Mr Botha, has increased these tensions.

In addition to again calling for the repeal of the Group Areas Act, the Labour Party is expected to reject Mr Botha's plan to have elections for the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates separately from the one for the white House of Assembly.

The coloured and Indian Houses are now due to have elections in 1989 and the white one in 1992.

Tomorrow Mr Botha will move to the House of Delegates, where the Group Areas Act and the slow pace of reform are expected to be at the top of the agenda in the debate.

# BOTHA SPELLS OUT NP'S 'GROUP' POLICY



**PRESIDENT Botha used his Budget Vote debate to spell out in detail his total commitment to the National Party philosophy of "group" and ended his speech, with apologies to Mr Winston Churchill, saying "never in the history of this country have so few people done so much for so many without acknowledgement by the international community."**

## 'Non-racial society a myth'

SOWETAN Correspondent

He believed the majority of South Africa's people — white, black and brown" — were peace-loving and rejected communism. They were in favour of free enterprise and "orderly development."

He had evidence of this from his visits to Port Elizabeth, Lekoa and Moria and said he found a "spirit of goodwill" wherever he went.

### Myth

In a lengthy address he dismissed as "myth" the "melting pot" concept of a non-racial society.

"Minority groups exist wherever a group of people is distinguishable from other groups in the state on the basis of one or more factors, such as their physical attributes, their language and culture, origin and nationality and their religion."

He went around the world citing examples of different groups and said the idea of a non-racial society denied the "group character of our multi-cultural South Africa."

Prof Nic Olivier of the Progressive Federal Party repeated his party's rejection of the group concept saying: "Let's be honest, we can't talk of multi-cultural and multi-ethnic when we really mean race."

"If the argument was not one of race but for cultural, religious and ethnic diversity then you could not, for example, "throw Hindus and Muslims in one group," said Prof Olivier.

Mr Ray Swart of the PFP asked Mr Botha to clarify the "strong words" he used last week when he said "certain members of staff of specific embassies" were "acting off limits."

This had been perceived as a threat to embassies and if Botha's words were justified, what were the diplomatic indiscretions, which embassies were involved and what was Mr Botha doing about it?

Sound foreign relations begged an explanation, said Mr Swart.

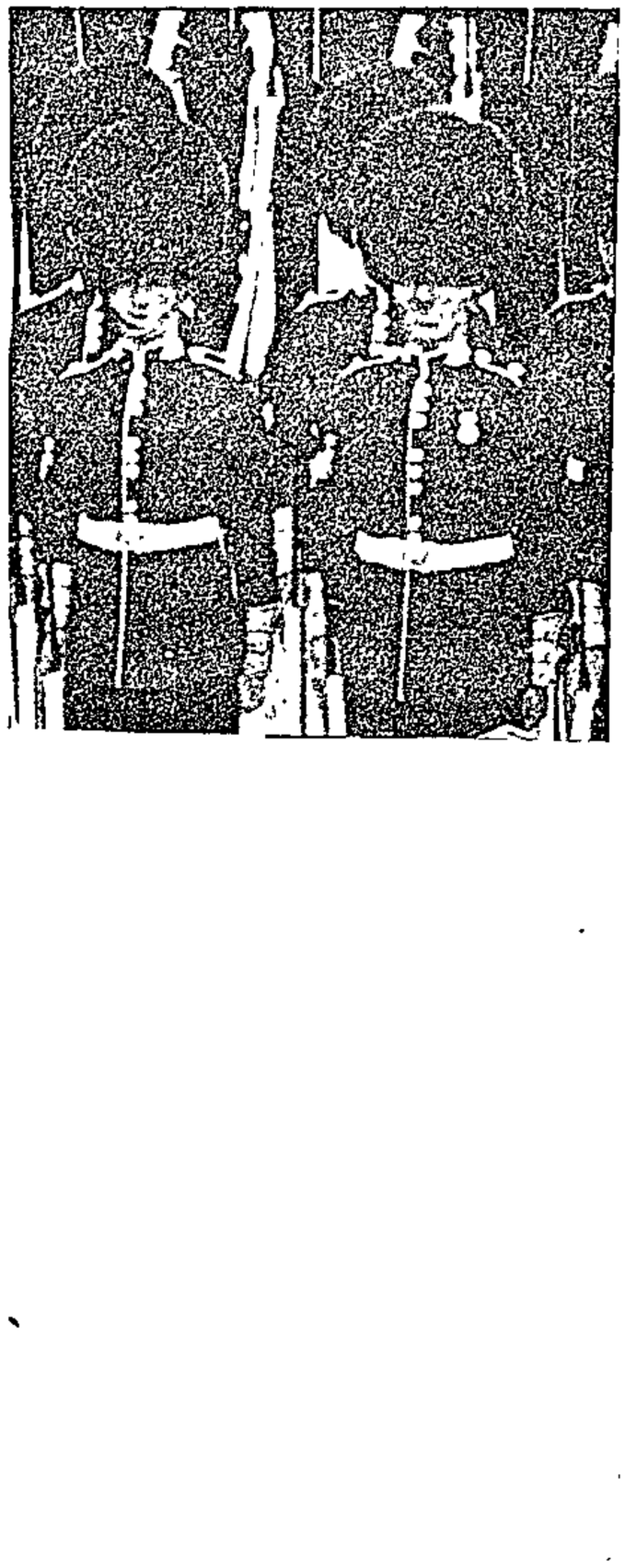
Mr Botha replied that the issue of diplomatic personnel who were encouraging extra-parliamentary activities had been taken up with the governments concerned.

## Having a good time

**ENJOYING themselves at a do in Soweto recently were lovelies Maureen Pelesa and Oumakie Makhothi.**

# Idasa won't close shop

The Guards. London's most fa



taxes.

Government spending is dis-

of responsible local authorities and a free economy.

Saxonwold

# Indaba: Indians were interested

I am at a loss as to why Professor Karl Magyar responded as he did to my article on Indian support for the Indaba (The Star, August 11). I can only conclude that he either missed the whole point of my article, or he is deliberately attempting to sow seeds of mistrust and suspicion between the blacks of KwaZulu-Natal and the Indian community.

For Professor Magyar's information, my article sought to challenge the assumption that the Indian community was apathetic towards the Indaba. It is in that context that I stated an obvious fact, namely, that the Indian community was the only group that was fully represented in the Indaba, both by their political parties and cultural organisations.

Professor Magyar tries to drag me into a debate about the magnitude of the support that the NPP and Solidarity enjoy as Indian political parties. I am not interested in that kind of debate. The point I was making is that these are Indian political parties and they were represented in the Indaba. Professor Magyar also conveniently omits to mention that these were not the only Indian organisations represented in the Indaba. I said that both the Islamic Council of South Africa and the SA Hindu Maha Sabha were represented. Will Professor Magyar claim that these two Indian cultural organisations also do not enjoy support from the Indian community?

I do not understand why the professor finds my description of the Natal Indian Congress as a "notable absentee" at the Indaba, and my observation that this party kept itself "fully informed of the proceedings." He complains that I did not mention why the NIC kept itself fully informed. Yet the purpose of my article was to show that there was keen interest in the Indaba from all sectors of the Indian community, for whatever reason.

The role of the UDF and the National Party in the Indaba was irrelevant to the purpose of my article. I was addressing myself to the specific question of alleged Indian apathy towards the Indaba, and unlike Professor Magyar, I do not regard the UDF and the National Party as Indian organisations.

It is true that both myself, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and many other black leaders in South Africa — including UDF leaders — warned that through the tricameral parliament, the National Party was trying to enlist Indian and coloured fellow citizens as co-oppressors of blacks. I do not understand why Professor Magyar feels that this warning was uncalled for. In fact, he admits that the warning did work because he claims that only 15 percent of Indian voters voted for Solidarity and the NPP. Was Chief Buthelezi wrong in warning that the tricameral parliament was a recipe for violence? Have we not had continuous violence in South Africa since the establishment of the tricameral parliament?

If Professor Magyar's mentioning of the Indo-black violence in Inanda in 1985 is an attempt to blame Inkatha, then he does not understand what exactly happened during that violence. Inkatha was the only black organisation in Natal which took the trouble to call a big Indo-black rally in Inanda to pacify the warring factions.

**Dr O D Dhlomo**
Secretary-General
Inkatha

Ulundi

# Idasa won't close shop

**GOVERNMENT threats to the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa are to be discussed at a meeting of its board of trustees at the end of the month.**

Plans for the Institute to continue and a staff meeting will be held at the same time.

Dr Alex Boraine, executive director of Idasa, who has just returned from a visit to Zimbabwe, said it would be a normal meeting of the trustees but it would be necessary to look at President Botha's recent response to the Dakar initiatives of the Institute.

Mr Botha has indicated that there might be a clamp-down on passports to prevent another such conference and there is to be an investigation into the foreign funding of some institutions.

Dr Boraine said Idasa had no plans to shut up shop and would continue with its work throughout the country.

His visit to Zimbabwe had been at the invitation of the speaker of the Zimbabwean Parliament, Mr Didymus Mutasa.

Apart from the President of Zimbabwe, Mr Canaan Banana, he had also met a number of ministers and ambassadors.

He had also addressed a meeting of the British-Zimbabwe Association on the Dakar conference along with an ANC member who had been there, Mr Steve Mtwetwe.

## Villages attacked

**MAPUTO - Three villages were totally destroyed by a group of Mozambique National Resistance Movement guerillas who allegedly massacred 92 people last week in southern Mozambique, it was reported here.**

**Major Xitaculane, the commander of a military unit now stationed in Manjacaze where the massacre took place, said there had been no casualties as all the inhabitants had fled.**

# Gqozos claim death threats

By Carina le Grange

The black Ciskei military attache and his family who moved into the upper class suburb of Monument Park Extension 2 in Pretoria a month ago have received letters threatening them with death.

Right-wingers are organising a protest meeting about the black family living in the white suburb, and sent out a second petition this week. A banner saying blacks must live in their own areas — using the crude word kaffers — was put up in the suburb yesterday.

Other families, all Afrikaans, have approached **The Star** and said they either support the black family living in their midst or "had nothing against it and the family should be left in peace". But they do not want their names published for fear of right-wing action.

The family which sold the house to the attache has been subjected to threatening telephone calls by callers who said they were from the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB).

The wife of Colonel Joshua Gqozo, Mrs Corinthian Gqozo, said last night that she believed whites in the area may fear to show their support, since the family had received letters saying they would be "run over if they played in the street naked (kaalgat)".

Her husband was not available last night.

## RIGHT-WING REACTION

She said two women had visited her to introduce themselves and she understood others feared right-wing action if they made their support known.

Despite extensive coverage of right-wing reaction, several families last night said they welcomed the Gqozos.

Some of those spoken to also told stories about how people have been "duped" into signing petitions against the Gqozos' presence.

The chairman of the right-wing Action Committee, Mr Louis Joubert, said last night that there has been a "tremendous response" to petitions.

He said more than 40 percent of people had returned their petitions — whereas as small a return as 5 percent is usually accepted as adequate.

He said the committee would wait until after tomorrow night's meeting before approaching Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha about the matter as the MP for Waterkloof, Dr Org Marais, had refused to see them.

Mr Joubert said the National Party had also been invited to address the meeting at which Conservative Party MP Mr Clive Derby-Lewis will speak, but there has been no response.

He said even if only 40 percent of people protested against the black family's presence, they would assume the majority supported action in getting them moved out "as not all people go to the trouble of signing forms".

CAPE TIMES 19/8/87

# Airport arrests: Charges withdrawn

**Political Staff**

CHARGES against 18 people arrested at Jan Smuts Airport after the return of the delegates to the talks with the ANC in Dakar were withdrawn after their attorneys gave assurances they would obey the law, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday.

In declining to prosecute the 18, the Attorney-General had given a serious warning that he would not hesitate in the future to institute prosecution against "erring journalists, TV operators and others of the like".

Mr Vlok, who was replying to questions tabled in the House of Assembly by Mr Tian van der Merwe (PFP, Green Point), said he did not consider it to be in the interest of the people who were arrested or detained at Jan Smuts Airport on July 21 to supply their names.

The Attorney-General had indicated it "would be a bad mistake were this exercise of his discretion to be construed as a sign of weakness".

The police had asked AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche and Idasa director Dr Alex Boraine to take action.

# Weekend meeting to review role of the PFP

ARGUS 9/5/81

3064

**By TOS WENTZEL**
**Political Correspondent**

THE Progressive Federal Party's role in Parliament as well as in the extra-parliamentary field is to be reviewed at a meeting of its federal executive in Cape Town at the weekend.

Future strategies will have to be hammered out against a background of renewed tensions and differences of opinion in its ranks.

It is realised in the PFP ranks that the party's "alternative government" strategy in the general election was a failure and that it should now plan its future strategy on a more modest scale.

Members opinions have been canvassed since the previous post-election meeting of the executive and a number of strategy options have been submitted.

The weekend meeting of the expanded federal council — which will include the regional chairmen of the party — will analyse the responses received from various quaters inn the party.

Party leader Mr Colin Eglin will set out his views on the course the PFP has to follow.

It is expected the meeting will emphasise the role the party has to play both in Parliament and outside.

The party leadership has sharply denied allegations by rebel MP Mr Jan van Eck that principles have been watered down since the election because the party does not want to risk offending conservative white voters.

Mr van Eck does not seem to have any significant personal following in the party but there are signs that his misgivings are shared by some who for the present prefer to work within the party.

Among these are supporters in the Young Progressives.

304A Star 19/8/87

# Idasa head reacts to Govt threats

**Political Staff**

Government threats to the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) are to be discussed at a meeting of its board of trustees at the end of the month.

Dr Alex Boraine, executive director of Idasa, who has just returned from a visit to Zimbabwe, said the gathering would be a normal meeting of the trustees but would also look at President Botha's recent response to the Dakar initiative.

Mr Botha has indicated there might be a clampdown on passports and the foreign funding of organisations like Idasa.

Dr Boraine said his organisation had no plans to close shop and would continue its work throughout the country.

His visit to Zimbabwe had been at the invitation of the Speaker of Zimbabwe's parliament, Mr Didymus Mutasa, and he had met with Zimbabwe's President Canaan Banana.

He had addressed a meeting of the British-Zimbabwe Association on the Dakar conference together with Mr Steve Mtetwe, an ANC delegate to the historic talks.

His theme at this meeting was that negotiation was the only way forward for South Africa.

While Idasa could not negotiate, it could point the way to negotiation rather than mindless violence, he said.

There was a realisation in Zimbabwe that what happened in South Africa had great implications for the whole region. Zimbabwe's allies felt the country could not penalise itself through economic sanctions against South Africa.

In Zimbabwe, problems were now being seen as human development issues, unlike in South Africa where the tendency was still to see everything in terms of race.



Mr Alex Boraine. . . No plans by Idasa to shut up shop.

# Van Eck's decision puts focus on PFP frustration

Star 30/4 29/8/81

**An issue which is puzzling almost every politician in Parliament is discussed by Bruce Cameron of The Star's political staff in Cape Town.**

The sudden departure of Mr Jan van Eck, MP for Claremont, from the Progressive Federal Party was no more of a surprise than the fact that he won nomination for the seat in the first place.

Mr van Eck's lack of popularity is nothing new and some members of the party claim he resigned only because he was heading for the chop anyway. The confrontation could have come as early as tomorrow at the weekly caucus meeting.

His departure is symptomatic of the problems within the PFP.

The reasons Mr van Eck has given for his decision are puzzling not only people in his party but almost every other politician in Parliament.



Van Eck . . . no surprise.

## Big differences

He said the caucus was to the right of the party rank and file with which he, being on the left on the caucus, was in line.

The PFP cannot deny that there are substantial differences in the party, not so much on policy as on strategy. It is the strategy on which Mr van Eck focused, although exactly on what point is not clear.

His departure emphasises the frustration in the PFP which has been in a state of flux since the sudden departure last year of Dr Van Zyl Slabbert.

Dr Slabbert left because he felt he was not getting anywhere and he said he could make a greater contribution from outside Parliament.

He has since proved many a critic wrong in his ability to continue to feature strongly on the political scene.

But he left the PFP floundering. It re-elected Mr Colin Eglin as leader and with the support of some keen young members set out to show the country that one person did not make a party.

The party launched its "turbo charge" to convince the public that it was an alternative government. But this didn't bluff party members, let alone the voters.

All the differences were there at the PFP federal congress in Johannesburg in November.

Mr van Eck was being slapped down on the one side for demanding a policy of selective sanctions against South Africa and on the other Mr Horace van Rensburg, then the MP for Bryanston and now a government representative in Washington, was demanding a firmer stance on the ANC and violence.

The National Party exploited these differences to the full in the elections, shattering the confidence of the PFP in the process.

Then came Dakar and all the old arguments came out of the box again.

But the debate is not only on whether there should be a tougher stance on the ANC or whether there should be more contact with extra-parliamentary groups — it also revolves around personalities and old loyalties in the party.

If the PFP had won ground in the elections the problems would have disappeared, but now it has to assess its future — something it has avoided doing in unambiguous terms.

Some members of the party feel that the PFP should not attempt to curry voter support by hardening its stance on security measures but should put across the point of view of what is happening in the townships.

Mr van Eck says that with his resignation he will now be able to do this unhindered, using Parliament as the platform.

He has been very active in keeping a watch on the unrest and feelings in the townships of the western Cape by playing a major role in the PFP Unrest Monitoring and Action Committee.

Party spokesman have however pointed there was nothing to stop him doing this in any case.

Mr van Eck may have solved his problems — whatever they were — by opting out, but the PFP still has to resolve where it is going.

Cape Times 20/8/87

# White area out for top province official

**Political Correspondent**

**THE Administrator of the Cape, Mr Gene Louw, had turned down the application of a coloured member of the Cape provincial executive committee, Mr Deon Adams, to live in Constantia, cabinet minister Mr Allan Hendrickse disclosed yesterday.**



Mr Hendrickse

**Mr Adams was appointed as one of five members of the Exco following the dissolution of the elected provincial council system last year.**

**Mr Louw heads the multiracial committee which Nationalists hold up as an illustration of the government's "broadening of democracy".**

House if interjecting opposition MPs gave an indication that they "don't want to listen to me".

● Castigated speakers in the debate for saying "not one positive thing" and warned MPs that they would "lose one of their best friends" if they dared to repeat such a performance.

● Slapped down an attempted interjection from the Leader of the House, Mr Miley Richards, by telling him that he had to "take his punishment" and silenced Mr Peter Hendrickse with the retort: "You must keep quiet now, you are a young member and I must warn you that you don't know me."

In hauling "coloured" MPs over the coals, Mr Botha said: "If you want to drive me away from the attitude I have adopted over the past few years, you can't do any better than you did this afternoon."

Nobody had got more protection from Group Areas than the coloured people, and it was "scandalous" that the Afrikaner should be attacked by people who should be thanking them and the government for their community's progress over the years.

Mr Botha said that judging by the reception he had received in the House, "I feel more welcome among the black communities than I do among the coloureds".

"It seems as if the State President's position is being used in this House today in an attempt at belittling (me)

To page 4

3040 20/8/87



From page 1

... It is so easy to talk about apartheid and about the National Party and make snide remarks about the Afrikaner.

"But if it were not for the Afrikaner and the National Party and the government, the coloured population would not be in the privileged position it is today."

He said the President's Council's report on the Group Areas Act and the Separate Amenities Act would be available before the end of September.

Members of the Labour Party were furious at the end of the debate and said they had been insulted by the President's attitude, which did not "befit his status".

Mr Hendrickse said in an interview after the debate that he had noticed a "nervousness" among Mr Botha's white cabinet minister colleagues present in the House during the President's "kragdadige attack".

Mr Botha, he said, had displayed an "unwillingness to listen to what we were saying".

"The LP's speakers put their views truthfully, but what came through was a lack of understanding for our situation," said Mr Hendrickse.

Asked to detail his party's attitude to the government's plans to change the constitution to avoid another white election in two years, Mr Hendrickse said: "What we are saying is that the NP will have to sit down and tell us what reforms they are talking about before we can accept the proposed legislation.

"The talks will have to centre on what reforms there are to be in the Group Areas Act and the Separate Amenities Act. We are talking about their repeal. If a compromise is necessary, we can look at a possible time schedule. The timeframe is negotiable.

"If we make no progress, we cannot accept the proposed legislation."

He said he was prepared to wait and see what the President's Council reports said on the two issues, but made it clear he would use support for the constitutional change as a bargaining lever for the repeal of the two other measures.

"Action or a firm committment is absolutely essential," he said.

He did not think Mr Botha's challenge to dissolve the House of Representatives was "relevant", as the party's congress had approved continued participation in the tricameral system and it would have to decide whether to pull out.

# CP has 'plan to destroy RSCs'

The Conservative Party has launched an ambitious plan to seize control of town councils during next year's municipal elections so it can destroy the Regional Services Councils.

The plan has been extensively discussed by the party at its Transvaal congress in Pretoria.

Delegates were told not only would the CP be able to sabotage the RSCs but it would then have a strong platform to overthrow the Government.

CP member of the President's Council, Mr Jan Hoon, told the congress that by taking over the RSCs the CP could stop Government attempts "to force racial integration down the throats of local authorities".

● See Page 4.

# Threat to PW's election plan

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

**CABINET minister Mr Allan Hendrickse last night threatened to block the government's plans to scrap the 1989 white election unless it promised to repeal the Group Areas and Separate Amenities Acts.**

The government needs the support of the majority of MPs in all three Houses of Parliament to push through the change in the constitution that is needed to postpone the scheduled election.

The Labour Party leader's ultimatum followed a stormy debate in the House of Representatives yesterday, during which a furious President P W Botha lashed out at at LP speakers for what he described as "insulting" and "scandalous" remarks about himself, the Nationalist government and the Afrikaner over apartheid laws.

The stage was set for a showdown when, during the debate on the President's vote, Mr Hendrickse made it clear that the government could not count on the LP's support it needed to bypass the white election and extend the life of the white House of Assembly without a commitment to scrap the Group Areas Act.

**'The coloured owe Afrikaner vote of thanks' — Page 4**

Replying to the debate, an angry and finger-wagging Mr Botha:

- Challenged Mr Hendrickse, "if you are so unhappy", to get his party to adopt a vote of no confidence in the cabinet and force an early election — "but I know you will not do so".
- Suggested he might prevent the Minister of Health Services and Welfare, Mr Chris April, from travelling abroad in future, following a critical speech by the minister.
- Chastised Mr Hendrickse for opting out of state functions on the day they were held.
- Warned that he expected all ministers to act responsibly — "if not, they are free to go ... There are plenty of others who want their posts". He added that it was his responsibility to see that all ministers behaved in such a way that all races had respect for them.
- Threatened to walk out of the

# Blame the colonialists, not Afrikaners — PW

304(A)

Star 20/8/87

**PARLIAMENT — The State President, Mr P W Botha, yesterday severely castigated members of the Labour Party in the House of Representatives over their negative attitude toward the Afrikaner, the National Party and himself.**

Speaking in the House of Representatives in reply to the debate on the State President's Budget vote, he said he took "strong exception" to this attitude from people who should be grateful to the Afrikaner and the Government for their community's progress over the years.

Later the Labour Party MP for Wentworth, Mr Tommy Abrahams, reacted to Mr Botha's outburst by saying Mr Botha's "demonstration" in the House did not befit his status.

Mr Botha said he would not stand by and hear the Afrikaner insulted by members of the House because if it were not for the Afrikaner "the coloured population would not be in the privileged position it is in today".

"If you want to drive me away from the attitude I took up towards you (the 'coloured' people) in the last couple of years, you can't do better than you did this afternoon," said Mr Botha. By "attitude" he appeared to be referring to the "reformist" attitude behind the creation of the tricameral Parliament.

"It's a scandal that the Afrikaner should be spoken of like this in his own fatherland by people who owe him thanks. I object. You've got apartheid on the brain. Why don't you berate the colonialists? If it weren't for the National Party you'd never have sat here. It's the closest you've got to governing in your history. Why this negativism? You omit all the positive aspects and the fact that the coloured community has become middle class."

He went on to say he felt he was more welcome among blacks than he was among "coloureds" and he cited the welcome he had received in places like Lekoa, Moria, Port Elizabeth and Lebowa.

Mr Botha was reacting to a debate during which members of both the Labour Party and the Democratic Workers' Party in the House had criticised apartheid legis lation like the Group Areas Act, the Separate Amenities Act and the Population Registration Act.

## Inclusion of ANC

Members called, too, for meaningful negotiation and the inclusion of the African National Congress in this process.

The Rev Allan Hendrickse, chairman of the Ministers' Council, cited the example of the Coates case in Uitenhage where a white man was allowed to live with a black woman while she appeared to be with him in the capacity of servant but as soon as he married her, Group Areas legislation demanded that he leave his own property.

Mr Hendrickse questioned the Christian morality of this.

"Must he get divorced in order to live in his own house?" He appealed to Mr Botha to intervene "with compassion" in this and similar cases.

When Mr Dennis de la Cruz of the former official Opposition spoke there was a good amount of heckling from the Labour Party.

Mr Botha took this up too, asking members if the way they received Mr de la Cruz and his democratic right to speak was their version of the "freedoms" they were calling for.

Mr Botha silenced all heckling during his own speech, saying "listen to me" and threatening to walk out if he was "not wanted".

Enumerating gains made by the "coloured" community in South Africa in education, the literacy rate, the reduction of the infant mortality rate, welfare and pensions, Mr Botha said the Group Areas Act about which members were complaining, had protected the "coloured" community more than it had any other population group in South Africa.

He challenged members to agree to him "throwing open" the "beautiful city" of Atlantis and Mitchell's Plain.

"Tell me. Tell me," he thundered.

"Open the whole Cape," countered Mr Peter Hendrickse, LP member for Addo.

"But the whites want their own areas," replied Mr Botha. — Sapa.

## President challenges Labour to no-confidence vote

304A Star 20/8/87

# Early elections threatened

**By David Braun, Political Correspondent**

**A constitutional crisis is looming after yesterday's serious fall-out between the Labour Party and the State President.**

Both sides are now threatening to force the other into an early general election.

The row flared when President Botha took exception to what he called the negative and insulting tone of the debate on the vote of the State President in the House of Representatives.

Mr Botha challenged the House to move a motion of no confidence in the Cabinet which would, if successful, in terms of the constitution, result in the dissolution of the House of Representatives and a general election for coloureds.

"But I know you will not," he added mockingly.

After the debate last night the Labour Party threatened to block Mr Botha's plan to postpone the white general election scheduled for 1989 unless some clarity on the Government's reform measures was given.

In terms of the Constitution the President's Council is not able to arbitrate on amendments to the Constitution providing for the life of Parliament or that of a House.

If Mr Botha is to avoid calling another white election he must have the support of the absolute majority in each House for his proposed amendment to extend the life of the House of Assembly to 1992.

Constitutional experts said today it appeared the only way Mr Botha could force the Labour Party into an early election would be to dissolve the whole Parliament, which he can do at any time. But that would result in elections for all three Houses.

The Labour Party was to discuss yesterday's events and its future strategies at its weekly caucus meeting in Cape Town today.

However, party sources indicated the party would almost certainly not take up President Botha's challenge to move a motion of no confidence in the Cabinet.

Labour leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said today he was not unduly concerned about yesterday's events which reflected more on the State President than on the House of Representatives.

The incident, in fact, proved the Labour Party was not as co-opted into the system as critics like to make it out to be, Mr Hendrickse said.

● The Budget Vote of the State President is to be debated in the House of Delegates this afternoon.

● See Page 15.

# CP congress urges strict segregation

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

THE Conservative Party's Transvaal congress yesterday called for the reintroduction of infux control, job reservation, and segregated sport and hotels.

The congress, held in Pretoria, also wanted black trade unions to be banned, and strict enforcement of the Group Areas Act.

In other resolutions adopted, calls were made for the transfer of "socialistic welfare state" benefits from SA's blacks to underprivileged or working-class whites.

One resolution dealt with the need for whites to have more children to prevent the possibility of whites becoming "an extinct species".

Turning its main focus from CP policy to strategies the party should use to take over government, the congress undertook to establish CP control of school committees and to investigate the establishment of a commercially run daily newspaper.

And, despite a congress resolution calling for the scrapping of regional services councils, CP members were urged to dominate RSCs countrywide in a bid to "destroy" them and, by acting in the interests of whites, prevent integration at local-government level.

The congress reafirmed the party's policy of partition and agreed on the need for the establishment of black, coloured and Indian security forces to serve their own areas so that white security forces could be withdrawn.

CAPE Times 20/8/82 3064

# LP leader: 'Tell us where SA is going'

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. — President P W Botha should take the Labour Party into his confidence and tell them where South Africa was going, the chairman of the Ministers' Council, Mr Allan Hendrickse, said yesterday.

He said the reality was that Parliament did not know where it was going and what reform was being planned.

Parliament was at one time the sole prerogative of whites but now there was a mobility among the races in Parliament which could not have come about without the Labour Party's participation in the tricamaral Parliament.

There were certain perceptions, however, "to which people are entitled, a general feeling outside this House that no progress has been made".

He said he had no doubt most South Africans appreciated what risks the president had taken in investing in the future of South Africa, such as the losses to his party in the Conservative Party breakaway.

"These are the realities that have to be taken into account, the reality that at this juncture we as a Parliament do not know where we are going."

The Labour Party had spelt out its policy and had taken a decision in the House to request the president to appoint an independent committee of political experts to advise Parliament on how the aspirations of all South Africans could be met and their interests protected.

The House took a decision but received no response.

"It creates a problem of communication between the president and this particular House," Mr Hendrickse said.

"There must be consultation. We cannot negotiate or make decisions in a vacuum, all of us here must be involved."

The Labour Party had no problem, when asked, to extend the life of the House of Assembly as it was a necessary step in the reform process.

"But the majority of this House must be taken into the president's confidence on what that reform is going bo be."

As a pragmatist he accepted that Dr Andries Treurnicht and the Conservative Party could come to power and in the light of such a possibility he could not stand for the country to be destroyed by the Treurnichts, Hartzenbergs and Terre'Blanches.

"Our future demands compromise, give and take, but never give on one side only, or take from one side only." — Sapa

young member and I must warn you that ... whole Cape Peninsula to all races". ... tude?" — Sapa

CAPE TIMES 20/8/87

# 'Trust' among cabinet ministers

**HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. — All his cabinet ministers had to act in such a way that the white, coloured, Indian and black population groups held them in respect, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said yesterday.**

**There had to be trust among ministers, he said.**

**He was responding during debate on his budget vote to criticism by Labour Party members of his "harsh" public reprimand of their leader and cabinet minister, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, after he swam at a whites-only beach, in contravention of the Separate Amenities Act, at Port Elizabeth earlier this year.**

**Mr Botha said his reprimand had not been against the fact that Mr Hendrickse "went for a swim", but had resulted from the LP making it public.**

**"I let weeks go by ... I did not act hastily and when I raised the matter I did it in the right place, at a cabinet meeting.**

**"The next thing I heard was that the (LP) caucus had discussed it and then there was a leak from the caucus.**

**"I did not leak it out to the public ... you find the man that leaked it from the caucus," he told Members.**

**"There must be trust among ministers and all ministers in the cabinet must act in a way that the whites, coloureds, Indians and blacks must have respect for them.**

**"You can make the choice ... either you can turn this House into a place looking for conflict with the State President and the government or you can have debates without insulting the State President and without telling me to take my things and leave." — Sapa**

CAPE TIMES 20/8/87

# Hendrickse on mixed couples

**Political Staff**

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. — South Africa claimed to be a Christian country, yet prevented couples married across the colour line from living together, Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said yesterday.

And as a Christian country, he added, it ignored the dictum "Those whom God hath joined together let no man put asunder".

Speaking during the debate on the State President's vote, Mr Hendrickse pleaded with President P W Botha to reconsider the decision to evict Mr Richard Coates and his "coloured" wife from their home in Uitenhage.

Mr Hendrickse said the government had stated from time to time that the Group Areas Act was "always applied with compassion and that each case is dealt with on merit".

"I am very sorry to say that the way in which the case in Uitenhage, where the Coates family is involved, has been dealt with has not reflected any act of compassion or even a stroke of humanity."

# OUR SERVICE

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| 30 | SA359 | 74L Jhb ... ..... ..... | 2005 |
| 30 | SA627 | 737 Dbn, EL. ..... .. | 2010 |
| 35 | SA631 | 73S Dbn, PE ..... | 2120 |
| 30 | SA362 | 73S Bfn ..... | 2200 |
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| 05 | * SA20674L Rio ..... .... | 0930 |

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**Departures**

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| 30 | NJ101 Ag, Sk, Klze, AB..... | 0745 |

**Arrivals**

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| 20 | NJ102 Alex Bay..... ..... | 1730 |

**AIR CAPE**

**Departures**

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| 05 | KP836 Oudts, Geo ..... .. | 0740 |

**Arrivals**

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| 45 | KP837 Geo, Oudts ... ... ... .. | 1820 |

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* Operates fortnightly: 2, 16, 30 July; 13, 27 Aug; 10, 24 Sept, 8 Oct

# LOG

ern Harrier, Southern Invader, Southern Saint, Southern Victor.

**6 Quay:** Monie Marine.

**2 Jetty:** Africana, Custos.

**1 Jetty:** RSA (Training Ship).

**1 South Arm:** Aloe.

**2 South Arm:** Storesse.

**3 South Arm:** Baratz, Intersea 21, Intersea 22, Palinurus.

**4 South Arm:** Captain Inman, Oryx.

**Robinson Dry Dock:** Cosetta, Hoyo Maru No 8.

**Synchrolift:** Aubacora, Hekla, Kuswag V, Mare Serintatis.

**Duncan Dock:** G Berth, Silverfjord.

**Repair Quay:** Nauticus, North Sea, Praia do Restelo, Schepelsturm, Zodiaco.

**Landing Wall:** Calypso, Murtosa, Scandinavian Express.

**Tanker Cross Berth:** Causeway Adventurer.

**Eastern Mole:** Peban, Snimos King.

**Ben Schoeman Dock:**

**500:** Louis G Murray.

**700:** John Ross.

**702:** Southern Avenger, Southern Cross, Yamsuf.

**At Anchor:** Aries, Centaurus.

**Today:** Breede from Walvis Bay (Grindrods).

**Tomorrow:** Eduardo Vieira from High Seas (Freightmarine), Hellespont Defiant from Brazil (Freightmarine), SA Langeberg from Coast (Freightmarine), Santa from Antwerp (Freightmarine), Tilly from Pointe Noire (Grindrods).

**Aug 22:** Berg from Coast (Grindrods), Shoun Victoria from Brazil (Freightmarine).

**Aug 23:** Ango from Europe (Freight-

had only 11 high-card points. Maybe you should take your life in your hands and lead the jack of spades at the second trick. When I take the king, I can lead a diamond through dummy for you."

And East's face turned a deep shade of red.

**DAILY QUESTION**

You hold: ♠ A J 10 ♡ 9 2 ◇ K 10 6 2 ♣ A 9 5 2. Dealer, at your right, opens one heart. You double, the next player passes, and partner jumps to two spades. Opener passes. What do you say?

**ANSWER:** Pass. Partner's jump promises about 8 to 10 points and invites game. With more than 10 points, partner would bid game on his own or bid two of the opener's suit to show his strength and to indicate that he needs help in selecting the right game contract. You decline partner's invitation because you have minimum values for your takeout double and only three spades (when partner usually relies on you to have four).

South dealer

Neither side vulnerable

World News (GMT): 00h00, 02h00, 03h00, 05h00, 07h00, 08h00, 09h00, 11h00, 13h00, 16h00, 17h00, 20h00, 22h00, 23h00. News Summary: 01h00, 10h00, 21h00. Newsdesk: 04h00, 06h00, 18h00. Africa News (GMT): 03h30-03h35, 03h35-04h00, 05h09-05h15, 05h15-05h40, 06h30-06h35, 06h35-07h00, 07h30-07h35, 07h35-08h00, 15h15-15h30, 16h15-16h30, 16h30-16h45, 17h09-17h25, 17h25-17h30, 17h30-17h45.

00h09 News About Britain, 00h15 Radio Newsreel, 01h30 Hinge & Bracket, 01h30 Waveguide, 01h40 Book Choice, 01h45 Monitor, 02h09 British Press Review, 02h15 Network (UK), 02h30 Assignment, 03h09 News about Britain, 03h15 The World Today, 03h30 African News, 04h30 Classical Record Review, 04h45 Financial Review, 04h55 Financial News, 04h55 Reflections, 05h09 African News, 05h30 Peebles' Choice, 05h45 The World Today, 0 ·30 Nature Notebook, 07h09 Twenty-Four Hours· N ·ws Summary, 07h30 The Classic Albums, 07h45 Network Africa, 08h09 Reflections, 08h15 Country Style, 08h30 John Peel, 09h09 British Press Review, 09h15 The World Today, 09h30 Financial News, 09h39 Look Ahead, 09h45 Monitor, 10h30 Hinge and Bracket, 11h09 News about Britain, 11h15 New Ideas, 11h25 A Letter from England, 11h30 Assignment, 12h15 Top Twenty, 12h45 Sports Round-up, 13h09 Twenty-Four Hours: News Summary, 13h30 Network (UK), 13h45 Short Takes· Flanders and Swann, 14h00 Outlook, 14h45 Juke Box Dury, Jazz from Europe, 15h15 The Pleasure's Yours, 16h09 Commentary, 16h15 Assignment, 16h45 The World Today, 17h09 Focus on Africa, 17h15 Focus on Africa (cont), 17h45 Sports Round-up, 18h30 Discovery, 19h00 Outlook, 19h39 Stock Market Report, 19h45 That's Trad, 20h09 Twenty-Four Hours· News Summary, 20h30 Business Matters, 21h05 In The Meantime, 21h15 A Jolly Good Show, 22h09 The World Today, 22h25 A Letter from England, 22h30 Financial News, 22h40 Reflections, 22h45 Sports Round-up, 23h09 Commentary, 23h15 Merchant Navy Programme, 23h30 Nature Book, 23h40 The Farming World.

☐ In the morning and late at night lower frequencies give the best results, and higher frequencies in the middle of the day.




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# NP wins PFP seat in Joburg council election

CNA Times 20/8/87 (3044)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — National Party candidate Mr Hein Kruger won the municipal Ward 25 three-way by-election last night with a 64-vote majority.

Mr Kruger polled 489 votes as opposed to PFP candidate Mr Gary Cooney's 425 votes and independent Ms Desiree Simpson's 63 votes.

A 19% poll was recorded and there were five spoilt papers.

The result means the NP/Independent Ratepayers' Association will retain control of the city council.

Mr Cooney said the result proved voters were "hell-bent on stampeding back into the laager".

# 3 PFP youth leaders quit

**Own Correspondent**

CAPE TOWN — The first resignations from the PFP in support of maverick MP Jan van Eck, and in "protest at the party's conservative drift", have come.

Three members of the regional executive of the PFP Youth at Stellenbosch University — chairman Tertius Wehmeyer, secretary Riaan Combrink and treasurer Elmarie Maree — announced their resignations at a meeting at the university where Van Eck was speaking.

The two remaining executive members were considering their positions, Wehmeyer said.

Van Eck, meanwhile, launched a stinging attack on his former party — especially its caucus, which was about "20% to the right of its membership".

His disenchantment began with the PFP's disastrous election campaign, in which the party attempted to woo conservative white voters with an alliance with the NRP, he said.

At the same time, it paid "lip service" to its earlier stated commitment to forging alliances with democratic, extra-parliamentary movements. "You can't do both. And so they failed miserably."

21-27/8/87
304A
W/Mail

# Worrall plans his very own party

**Weekly Mail Reporter**

A NEW political party, formed by Dr Denis Worrall and his fellow Independents, will be launched during the first quarter of next year.

The party plans to contest the national local elections in October 1988. Constituency organisations are being established throughout the country and a steering committee has been set up with former Nasionale Pers managing director, advocate Dawid P de Villiers as chairman.

The new party is provisionally being called the Independent Movement. It will avoid alliances so that there will be no merger with the Progressive Federal Party.

However, PFP members — as well as members of other parties — will be welcome to join.

Dr Denis Worrall, former South African ambassador to London, and other Independents are behind the new party. Worrall told the *Weekly Mail* he and his colleagues would be making "a very determined try" to become the next official opposition.

"The government is very vulnerable. It's lost its traditional base, it doesn't have a sense of vision and it has lost its mission. It is performing very poorly, and economically this country is in deep trouble," he said.

"One election expert who projected figures on the votes he got in our three constituencies in Helderberg, Stellenbosch and Randburg, said that, had we had enough candidates, we could have won at least 50 constituencies.

"We plan to be ready to contest the national local elections in October of next year. We are banking on a lot of *verligte* Nats being pulled over. A distinguishing feature of the election was that we managed to pull over a lot of Afrikaans-speaking people. In fact, we had support from all quarters — members of the NP, PFP and the NRP and even old UP types, who had remained aloof of politics.



**Denis Worrall**

"In my Helderberg campaign, people drawn from all political parties were excited at the freshness of our vision. We're continuing to see evidence of that."

Worrall said it would be "a matter for others to decide" who would be the leader of the new party. On the subject of the new party's election platform, Worrall said a more comprehensive stand on most political issues, apart from racial matters, needed to be developed. He referred to economic policies, social issues and foreign relations. Apartheid had to go, he said.

"Personally, I think to get a process of negotiation going, you have to lift the State of Emergency, unban the political prisoners and it is also essential to release Mandela but he should not be released into a vacuum, rather into a process which should absorb him; timing is all-important.

"Obviously there are political difficulties in his committment to armed struggle and this remains a major problem. Buthelezi says he won't come to the negotiating table without Mandela but, from a white public point of view, the mass has been demonised.

"The Pretoria bombing was most unfortunate from the white opinion point of view in this chicken-and-egg situation. It's important to create at least some of the conditions for the process of negotiation to start. We say that the sooner the process starts, the better. We are saying we don't want to wait 15 to 20 years. We want to establish the necessary trust on both sides and get the process of negotiation started with much less violence, more smoothly and in a much shorter space of time. We say the longer we wait to negotiate, the more difficult it will become."

On the question of the attitude of the independents to the progressives, Worrall said: "We have made up our mind we are going to avoid alliances. Our objective is to get our movement going. Certainly we welcome individual PFP s just as we welcome individual Nationalists. But we are not thinking of any kind of merger."

Asked why he did not join the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa delegation at Dakar, Worrall said: "In the first place, we were not invited and in any event, there are differences between us. I'm not suggesting that Van Zyl's (Slabbert) approach is irrelevant. In fact, I completely accept his sincerity. but I believe he is seriously mistaken in writing off parliament — because to say parliament is irrelevant is to say white politics is irrelevant.

"We say that we recognise that whites still have tremendous power and we need to persuade whites to the validity of our approach to the whole question of negotiation. We're into white power politics here. We say negotiations must be all-inclusive with all options put on the table including the most controversial. The Afrikaners' fears are very real and very understandable. I mean, put the *boerestaat* idea on the negotiating table as well as one man one vote.

"And we say the sooner the negotiating process starts, the better."

SP's BUDGET VOTE

# P W's total onslaught

21/8/87

**State President** P W Botha is preparing an unprecedented onslaught on a wide range of leftwing opponents. The scene was set this week during the debate on his Budget vote in the House of Assembly.

While it is not clear whether he will opt for one or several parliamentary select committees to "investigate" the activities to which he referred, it is clear that few, if any, of those who have incurred his wrath in recent months will escape. Effectively, there will be investigations into:

☐ The activities — including contacts with the ANC — and funding of extra-parliamentary groups and individuals;

☐ The activities of foreign diplomats based in SA — particularly contacts with extra-parliamentary groups; and

☐ The "alternative" media.

The big talking point in the corridors of parliament is why Botha went off in such a frenzy, while at the same time in a more humane mood hinting at the possible release of Govan Mbeki, a move seen by many as the prelude to letting Nelson Mandela out (See **Box**).

It is the "tragedy of the election results," one politician describes Botha's hardline attitude. Gone are the days when government was faced by a leftwing, moderate official opposition.



**Botha . . .**
**paving the way for Mandela**

Some observers reckon that about 60% of debating time allocated to Nat members is spent countering rightwing arguments hurled across the floor by Conservative Party members. Government strategy now, it seems, is to anticipate favourite rightwing themes — subversion, meddlesome foreign powers, the press — and so pre-empt them.

Already Botha has gained points from the ultra-right Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, which congratulated him for his stand on the Dakar delegates. Eugene Terreblanche, who not long ago was denied a meeting by Botha, cabled that he looks forward to immediate changes in legislation to end "collaboration with the enemy."

The latest government move is linked to Pretoria's long-awaited reaction to the "Dakar safari," which was spelt out in detail by Botha and was as scathing as had been expected. His comments may be the parameters within which extra-parliamentary groups will be investigated.

In essence, Botha's reaction boils down to the consideration of measures to clamp down on South Africans who have contact with the ANC and restrict the flow of foreign funds to certain extra-parliamentary organisations. These may include:

☐ Stricter control over the issuing and renewal of passports for "South Africans who collaborate with SA's 'enemies' ";

☐ Changes to laws to restrict the flow of funds from abroad "to be used for undermining the State and promoting extra-parliamentary politics"; and

☐ Possible measures to curb foreign funding of extra-parliamentary groups.

In a direct attack on the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa),

P.T.O

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which organised the Dakar trip, and its co-executive directors, Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Alex Boraine, the State President said information at government's disposal contradicts the claims of Slabbert and Boraine that there is nothing sinister or illegal about the funds received by Idasa.

He challenged them to reveal the "actual origins" of Idasa's funds and the "manner in which funds are channelled to it." He rejected Slabbert's claim that the Dakar trip was a "patriotic" act.

He said the ANC merely exploits contacts with South Africans for its own ends and does not deviate from its revolutionary aims. Anyone who speaks to the ANC "behind government's back or supports this organisation consciously or unconsciously in any way is strengthening their evil intentions."

Botha said the actions of "clumsy politicians and other rash victims," in trying to woo the ANC, only delays the day when the ANC, "as an accountable and responsible party," will join other groups in SA at the negotiating table.

He said the fact that government allowed the Dakarites to "burn their fingers" should not be interpreted as a willingness to tolerate similar activities in future.

Referring to the activities of some foreign diplomats, Botha said government views "in a very serious light" the "interference of foreign governments and embassy personnel in the furtherance of extra-parliamentary politics." He said government is aware of the activities of "these people" and of their support for such organisations as Idasa.

"In this process they are making use of South Africans to do their 'dirty work' for them, while undermining the sovereignty of SA — something I also seriously warned against in my speech on April 17 1986. No self-respecting government will allow its hospitality to be abused in this way."

Later, in response to demands by the Progressive Federal Party's Ray Swart that he detail his allegations concerning diplomats, Botha said: "We will deal with the matter when the select committee is appointed. We will take it up with the governments concerned. I did not refer to all embassies. The embassies involved know to what extent their members have been participating in this type of action."

In Cape Town this week, the diplomatic corps is still trying to assess Botha's comments, but sources in the bigger embassies are adamant that their activities are above board and that if Botha has any complaints he is welcome to make them known.

Moves to clamp down on the media, in particular the "alternative" media, have been expected for some time, so Botha's attack came as no surprise. He said government will investigate the activities of the alternative media and stop its "propaganda."

He said instead of assisting government to achieve the change in SA to which it is committed, some sections of the newspaper industry seem to be out to "urge the spirit of revolution along."

**The *FM* brings its readers the most news, comment and interpretation possible under the new regulations restricting publication of certain matters.**

**It does not believe that the restrictions are necessary or in the public interest, but will obey the law.**

He said most of the "so-called alternative media" support "leftist radical groups and views" and practise "subtle propaganda to further a revolutionary climate under the pretext of journalism. The entire matter concerning the alternative media and alternative news agencies will have to be investigated and dealt with."

Botha gave no detail of such action, but there is speculation that foreign funding for "independent" newspapers will be probed.

His latest comments on the media come in the wake of growing tension between government and members of the Newspaper Press Union (NPU) and Media Council.

This week Botha referred to meetings last year with the NPU at which unsuccessful efforts were made to gain its "voluntary" co-operation in the fight against the "revolutionary onslaught."

Botha said that through their actions a large part of the press had "brought SA into disrepute." These activities do not necessarily involve "outright lies," but more often "blatant distortion and stage setting" which "finds expression in misrepresentation and the creation of negative perceptions." ■

## ONE BEFORE THE OTHER

**Government's** softening of its line on the release of political prisoners by dropping its insistence on renunciation of violence as a prerequisite is a result of growing concern in Cabinet at the implications of Nelson Mandela dying in jail.

This would destroy any chances of the proposed National Council (NC), which can be regarded as P W Botha's brainchild, functioning as hoped. Black insistence that the "real leaders" be released from prison has made Constitutional Development and Planning Minister and chief negotiator Chris Heunis's position uncomfortable.

The *FM* learns through parliamentary sources that Heunis and his deputy Stoffel van der Merwe are the driving force behind Botha's new line.

The "new deal," spelt out by P W Botha during the parliamentary debate on his Budget vote, follows, he said, a reassessment in the light of past experiences.

Botha said while renouncing violence, like any other single "positive factor," could contribute towards a "good prognosis" for the release of a prisoner, it is not "decisive in its own right."

"What still has to be taken into account is, among other things, the intentions of the punisher, the interests of the community and the State, the nature of the crime and its motive, the duration of the sentence, previous criminal record, the prisoner's reaction to the sentence imposed and the general composition of the personality and approach of the person himself."

It seems that former ANC national chairman, Govan Mbeki, now 76 and rumoured to be in poor health, will be the first to be freed in terms of the "new deal." This could pave the way for Mandela.

Government sources, however, point out that a released person could be handed over to his family. For both Mandela and Mbeki, that could mean being sent off to Transkei. What the government of Transkei does with them would be of no concern to SA.

On the other hand, government is probably aware that, unilaterally sending them to the homeland would be perceived as almost as bad as leaving them to languish in jail. This would diminish the gesture.

Botha said: "I have already requested that the minister of justice give attention to (Mbeki's) case. In regard to every other case, periodic consideration will be given, in accordance with all other relevant factors, to whether it should be dealt with or not."

First indications of government's latest concern at the possibility of Mandela dying in jail came in a recent leading article in *Die Volksblad*, Nationalist mouthpiece in the OFS, which said the implications of releasing Mandela had to be weighed against what may happen if he dies in jail.

Though Mbeki is, in the words of one ANC watcher, "the most hardline of the lot," he is very old and doesn't have the same national stature as Mandela. It is also possible that government simply doesn't want him to die in prison, thereby unleashing who knows what backlash in the townships.

However, people who've returned from Robben Island in recent years have reported that Mbeki is as tough (ideologically, perhaps less so in health), as ever.

DAKAR SAFARI

# Dominee to act

**While** State President P W Botha remains adament that Theuns Eloff — the controversial minister at the Pretoria Gereformeerde Kerk in Brooklyn — lied on his departure form (See ***Leader***) to Dakar, Eloff tells the *FM* he is considering "further steps." But he declines to elaborate.

Indications are, however, that Eloff has won the public battle: support for him is growing and pro-government newspapers now try to downplay the issue. Dr Van Zyl Slabbert has declared unconditional support for Eloff, saying he has been "grossly exploited." And PFP's Tiaan van der Merwe says Botha owes Eloff an apology for casting aspersions on his honesty.

Meanwhile, Eloff reaffirms his intention to get a sworn affidavit that his departure form was not changed from "business" to "holiday UK" in his presence or with his permission — and will get a witness to do the same, to clear his name.

Back home, however, he faces growing dissatisfaction from his congregation. He is condemned — and faces possible suspension — for going to Dakar in the first place. Members of the congregation feel he betrayed them by not telling them about the Dakar trip. As one says: "Had he been supporting an honest cause, he would have nothing to be shy about."

Andries du Plooy, a theological professor at the University of Potchefstroom, says church ministers should primarily occupy themselves with church matters and avoid embarrassing the church by venturing into the "dangerous waters of politics." Has he forgotten Dr D F Malan's background as a dominee?

Eloff's fate now lies in the hands of his church council and, maybe, the councils of neighbouring churches. Since ministers have to be "called" to another congregation — chances of that now seem slim — he will probably have to accept his council's final decision.

Botha said during the debate on his Budget vote that Eloff was present when his departure form was changed and that he signed the form after it was altered. He said reports in *Rapport* and the *Sunday Times* have so confused the issue that now no one knows what is going on. Sources say he is especially fuming that *Rapport* gave so much prominence to Eloff's side.

Botha also said that whether Eloff stated that he was going on business or holiday is irrelevant: the fact is that he provided incorrect information. ■

# PW's tiff with Hendrickse could lead to a Labour split

THE government's constitutional reforms are in jeopardy after this week's bitter clash between President PW Botha and leading members of the Labour Party.

The position of Labour leader Allan Hendrickse in the cabinet has become virtually untenable since he has publicly clashed with Botha on an increasing number of issues, including the Dakar talks with the ANC. So far, neither Hendrickse nor Botha has made a decisive move — and their differences so far have been verbal — but in parliamentary circles it is believed it is only a matter of time before action is taken.

One possible scenario is that the Labour Party will split, with a majority of coloured MPs regrouping under someone like David Curry, the minister of local government, housing and agriculture, or Chris April, the minister of health services and welfare. It is believed Hendrickse has the firm support of about 10 members of his caucus — leaving about 60 House of Representative MPs who could form the nucleus of a new ruling group in the coloured house.

There is certainly much speculation in political circles about the future of Hendrickse as chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives.

But Botha's angry attack on Labour Party MPs may well have been sparked off by April, who is regarded as one of the more conservative Labour Party MPs and who has known Botha for some time from their days in George, the president's former constituency.

There could be no peace while the majority of South Africans were second class citizens, April said before Botha launched his attack.

**WEEKLY MAIL REPORTER, Cape Town**

Reform had begun with a flourish and in 1978 "everyone was filled with hope". But reform had "since slowed down tremendously".

April said he had visited 225 towns and urban areas in South Africa over the past year and the people there "can't tighten their belts because they don't have belts. They are concerned with survival. It does not matter whether it is a capitalist or communist government.

"If someone comes along and says a communist government will be better, they will go for it.

"Their situation is so precarious, yet I face so many problems when I try to get funds," he said.

It was not the message Botha wanted to hear, particularly from someone he regarded as a friend.

Botha slammed what he called the lack of any positive note in the House of Representatives and warned the MPs they would "lose one of their best friends" if they dared repeat such a performance.

"If you want to drive me away from the attitude I have adopted over the last few years, you can't do any better than you did this afternoon," Botha thundered.

Nobody had got more protection from the Group Areas Act than the coloured people, and it was "scandalous" that the Afrikaner should be attacked by people who should be thanking them and the government for their community's progress over the years.

Judging by the reception he had received in the House, "I feel more welcome among the black communities than I do among the coloureds," Botha said

However, as with many of his other statements during the five-day debate on his vote in all three houses of parliament, the president restricted himself to threats of tough action.

It seems unlikely, at this stage, that the Labour Party leadership would accept his challenge to move a vote of no confidence in the government and thereby force a coloured election.

It does seem likely that the House of Representatives will refuse to support the amendment of the constitution to permit the delay of a white election until 1992 — and that clause of the constitution cannot be amended unless it is supported by a two-thirds majority of all three houses and it cannot be referred to the President's Council if there is a dispute.

It is possible that the Labour leadership will back down and adopt a more "positive" approach, but after this week's heated clashes, this seems unlikely. So it is not yet clear exactly where the conflict is heading.

But what is clear is that the government's carefully constructed tricameral parliamentary system is in trouble. The talk about "consensus" government is patently nonsense in current circumstances.

The government will still probably try to make the system work, but the chances of any success are remote.

And that will compound the political problems for the increasingly isolated Botha. Indeed, the Conservative Party and opponents of apartheid must have been delighted by this week's events.

Cape Times 7/8/87

# Botha reiterates faith in National Council

304A

By ORMANDE POLLOK
Political Staff

HOUSE OF DELEGATES. — South Africans would be able to iron out their problems through eyeball to eyeball discussions in the proposed National Council, President P W Botha said here yesterday.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the government is pinning its hopes on the council to break the political logjam and bring blacks into the decision-making process.

President Botha said he hoped legislation to set up the council would be passed this session but gave no indication of which black leaders are likely to participate, despite appeals by the Chairman of the Ministers' Council, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, for more details.

Mr Botha also reaffirmed that the Group Areas Act, to which several speakers strongly objected, was "not a holy cow", repeated his undertaking that members of the ANC outside of the country could return under amnesty if they renounced violence, and said the government could not react at this stage to the KwaNatal Indaba because the KwaZulu government had not yet taken a position.

He also appeared to be telegraphing that the government was preparing to take a softer line on the Group Areas Act without entirely scrapping the concept of separate residential areas.

The GAA and the Separate Amenities Act were before the President's Council for review and he did not think that anyone would die because of them before the PC reports were available.

### 'My own people'

"I said at a Cape congress of my party that the Separate Amenities Act never worked but do not confuse this with the principle of which I have just spoken," he said.

Earlier he said the GAA could be looked at but there were times when people wanted to be with their own folk and their own way of life. This applied to all groups, not only whites.

"I don't hate Indians. I am not a racist at heart. But, there are times I want to be among my own people," said Mr Botha.

The present GAA was a consolidation of legislation which dated back to before Union.

"Let us wait a few weeks for the reports, and then we can discuss it and put our points of view," said Mr Botha.

"If we are moderate and calm and reasonable we will not find many points on which we cannot agree."

He said the Indian community would not benefit from a one-man one-vote system in a unitary state in South Africa.

"In that sense they are in the same position as the Afrikaner," said Mr Botha.

People spoke about a multiracial society but it was a myth because whatever laws were passed, South Africa would always be a multi-cultural society.

"When the National Council is constituted we must invite people to sit on it and make it possible for leaders to participate in proper discussions. But, it won't take one or two days, or one or two weeks."

In the meantime the country had to continue.

"We will be able to iron out our problems in the National Council and look each other straight in the eye," he said.

"South Africans will find they have much in common."

# Rajbansi's 'right to differ'

HOUSE OF DELEGATES. — The State President, Mr P W Botha, yesterday paid tribute to the high level of debate and the responsible manner in which members of the House had participated in budget debate on his portfolio.

Replying to the debate he said:"Honourable Members have impressed me . . . when I go away it will be with great respect."

Mr Botha's remarks were in contrast to his speech yesterday in the House of Representatives, where he severely castigated members of the Labour Party for their "negative" attitude and their criticism of the Afrikaner, the National Party and the government.

Mr Botha also paid tribute to the Chairman of the Ministers' Council, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, for his "responsible" participation in the new dispensation.

"He is quite right when he says we are not a coalition government . . . we sit together in the Cabinet and are quite candid in our discussions.

"Because we have decided to take part in the new dispensation to serve the interests of our various communities it does not mean he (Mr Rajbansi) must always agree with me . . . he has the right to differ with me and often does so.

"But he always acts most responsibly as a member of the Cabinet, and I thank him," Mr Botha said.

"We can achieve quite a lot if we are positive, but if we are negative and want to undermine each other, we can only destroy South Africa." — Sapa

# LP firm on plan to block govt

**Political Staff**

LABOUR PARTY leader the Reverend Allan Hendrickse is determined to use his constitutional power to block the postponement of a white general election to 1992 to force the government to spell out just what reform it plans.

Unruffled by the fiery display of the State President, Mr P W Botha — when he berated the LP in the debate on his vote on Wednesday in the House of Representatives — Mr Hendrickse said in reply to a question he does not plan to take up the challenge thrown down by Mr Botha to pass a motion of no-confidence in the Cabinet, and so precipitate a general election.

The Labour Party leader is adamant however, that his ability to thwart Mr Botha's desire to postpone the 1989 white general election must be regarded as a bargaining chip.

In terms of the Constitution, any amendment to the Constitution which would be required to postpone the election has to be passed by all three Houses and if there is disagreement the matter is not referred to the National Party controlled President's Council for arbitration.

Essentially, Mr Hendrickse indicated what he wanted was for the government to spell out its reform program particularly with regard to the Group Areas Act in return for Labour Party support for a postponement of the white election.

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# PFP Youth leaders resign in support of Van Eck

By ANDREW DONALDSON

THREE youth leaders have resigned from the PFP in support of MP Mr Jan van Eck's resignation and in "protest at the party's conservative drift".

But another prominent member who quit, withdrew her resignation yesterday.

The three members who resigned were on the regional executive of the Progressive Federal Party Youth at Stellenbosch University — chairman Mr Tertius Wehmeyer, secretary Mr Riaan Combrink and treasurer Ms Elmarie Maree. They announced their decision at a meeting at the university, where Mr Van Eck was speaking.

In a second development, the Western Cape Co-ordinator of the PFP's Unrest Monitoring and Action Committee, Mrs Val Rose-Christie, confirmed that she had resigned. But later Mr Ken Andrew, MP Gardens, told the Cape Times she had re-considered and was now staying with the party.

Mrs Rose-Christie declined to comment.

Mr Van Eck, meanwhile, launched a stinging attack on his former party — especially its caucus, which was about "20% to the right of its membership".

His disenchantment began with the PFP's disastrous election campaign, in which they had attempted to woo the conservative white voter, he said.

At the same time it paid "lip service" to its stated commitment to forging alliances with democratic, extra-parliamentary movements. "You can't do both. So they failed miserably."

● At the time of the election, two senior members of the party at Stellenbosch resigned. They were Mr Jannie Gagiano and Professor Willem van Vuuren, who it was believed, were dissatisfied with what they regarded as the PFP's conservatism.

● Miss Michele Guttler, chairman of the Capa Western branch of the Young Progressives of the PFP, said the three Stellenbosch members had taken their action in consultation with the Cape Western branch.

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Cape Times 21/8/87

# Amnesty for ANC?

3061/1

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

ANC expatriates would be granted amnesty on their return to South Africa if they renounced violence, President P W Botha said yesterday.

Replying to the debate on his vote in the House of Delegates, Mr Botha said ANC members come come back to South Africa if they said, "We relinquish violence."

But he immediately warned: "But then they must not try any funny tricks when they are here."

Mr Botha was responding to queries from Mr Pat Poovalingham (PRP Reservoir Hills), who had earlier appealed for dialogue with the ANC and groups like the PAC and UDF.

● Botha reiterates faith in national council — Page 4

PFP DISSENT (394A) GM

# Where's the leak 2/18/87

**Problems** in the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) are far from over in spite of the weekend resignation of Claremont MP Jan van Eck, who will stay in parliament as an independent.

He quit in the wake of a major row over the caucus's attitude towards the participation of two PFP MPs and a member of the President's Council in the "Dakar safari."

Van Eck believes the caucus was too soft in the face of government criticism. He was dissatisfied by the caucus insistence that the three — Peter Gastrow, Pieter Schoeman and Pierre Cronje — were made to apologise for not informing the caucus beforehand. He also believes the party has been so shocked by its election setback that it is deviating from its stated course.

But former colleagues have shown no mercy and attacked his motives.

Veteran MP Helen Suzman says there has been no deviation from the PFP's stated principles and policies. She suggests Van Eck's action may be linked to the effective postponement of the 1989 general election, which assures him of a safe seat until 1992.

Van Eck's resignation comes in the wake of a party witch hunt to find the source(s) of caucus leaks to the press during the row over the Dakar initiative. However, there is no suggestion of a link to the hunt.

This weekend, the PFP's Federal Council meets. Continuing problems in the caucus are expected to be high on the agenda. Dissatisfaction still simmers, with tension between the Harry Schwarz-orientated "conservative" faction and more "liberal" MPs.■

# Weekly Mail film festival censored

By CHARLOTTE BAUER

THE entire video programme of the Weekly Mail Festival of South African Cinema was yesterday thrown off Stellenbosch University campus.

In addition, brochures which were being distributed on campus to advertise the festival, presented by Idasa, were confiscated by university authorities.

The film component of the festival remains unaffected and will continue its run at Kine 1 in Stellenbosch.

The sudden decision, taken by the university rector, Professor Mike de Vries, has been greeted by festival organisers, Idasa and the university's film society as a "political move" reeking of "blatant censorship".

But a spokesman for the rector's office, Douglas Davis, claimed the decision to stop the video festival was based on a "technicality".

"The publicity material being circulated on the festival mentioned only Idasa — nowhere was it mentioned that the festival fell under the auspices of the Film Society, an acknowledged student organisation," he said.

Dr Edwin Hees, chairman of the Film Society, said that the venue for the festival had been organised and paid for by the society and that it should "presumably have the right to arrange any programme it wishes".

"It seems clear that the university authorities have taken a political decision."

# Cold facts on t

W/End Argus 22/8/87 3044

## NOT JUST SOUL-SEARCHING — BUT A W

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

ON the surface, the Progressive Federal Party's soul-searching at its federal executive meeting today might look like a normal review of strategy which all political parties indulge in from time to time.

It isn't.

The facts on the table suggest a deeper probe, one reaching into the innermost regions of its collective mind.

Its tensions and dilemmas require early diagnosis and treatment if it is not to lose more ground in a potentially stormy political era.

Its leadership has to look at the worst fears as well as the wildest hopes of its ordinary supporters. It cannot ignore the trepidation of those who see it as a virtual write-off — or the Utopian hopes of others that a few changes in strategy or policy could have it bounce back.

Neither can the leadership fail to take a hard and critical look at itself, to see where things went wrong and where to find the remedy.

Alarm bells have been ringing in the PFP ever since its ousting as official opposition in an election which also saw a drop in its percentage poll.

Matters needing serious pondering include:

■ The rise of the right wing, notably the success of the Conservative Party in pushing up its number of votes to nearly double that of the PFP;

■ Tensions in the PFP on such matters as dialogue with the ANC, the Dakar episode and the subsequent apology of PFP MPs who were involved;

■ The resignation, and reasons for doing so, of Mr Jan van Eck;

■ The effect of the flood of Government and SABC propaganda against the PFP.

Against such a background — sombre indeed for the PFP — its role in Parliament and future strategies are being considered today.

Since the previous post-election meeting of the executive, opinions have been canvassed on a broad scale and a number of strategy options have been submitted to members. At today's meeting the responses from various party quarters will be analysed, and party leader Mr Colin Eglin will set out his views.

ACCORDING to one school of thought, the PFP's "alternative government" strategy was the cause of its election failure, the suggestion being that it should now plan its future strategy on a more modest basis.

Others say this strategy was not the problem. On the contrary, as a bold approach to inspire confidence, such a strategy seemed to work for the Conservative Party at a time when it was in a weaker position than the PFP in Parliament.

However, PFP analysts say the theory that the CP is in the process of really becoming an alternative government at the next election can be discounted.

Criticism is also being levelled at the PFP/NRP/Independents alliance strategy which, it is claimed, was a "total flop" as it only served to move the party's political direction closer to that of the Government by watering down its earlier tough stance on such issues as the Government's handling of the state of emer measures.

Another viewpoint is that the security matters is bad and has siderably by impressions in the is playing along with revolutic impressions have been reinforce and SABC propaganda — in spite assurances that it denounced committed to non-violence.

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# Should a defecting MP resi

NEWS | TOPIC

by BRIAN BAMFORD, SC

MR Jan van Eck's resignation this week from the PFP raises the old and largely unresolved question as to whether an MP who leaves his party should also vacate his seat.

Is there, first, any legal compulsion? Here the answer is clearly No. I remember well in the 1960s when the United Party required aspirant candidates, including myself, to sign an undertaking that if they left the party after having become public representatives, they would resign their seats. At one stage the UP referred to this written undertaking to counsel for a consolidated legal opinion. The reply was emphatic: the undertaking was unenforceable in law.

The reason given was that such a condition in a contract is void as being *contra bonos mores* — i e against the public interest — simply because to uphold it would be to penalise a person who acted according to the dictates of his conscience. A dramatic example occurred in September 1939 when Parliament debated South Africa's entry into the war against Hitler. Clearly, there was a genuine difference of opinion within the governing United Party and there was an inevitable parting of the ways. But nobody at any stage suggested that the members of one or the other side should resign their seats.

The second question is whether there is any moral obligation. After all, it can be argued, a person is elected on a party ticket; he has committed hundreds of voluntary workers to his campaign; the party he represents has (usually) made a substantial, if not total, contribution to his election costs; his voters (by definition the majority of his constituents) have indicated the policies of their choice; so that at the least they should be given the opportunity of testing his actions in a by-election.

On the other hand, there is the strong argument that a public representative must feel free to apply his mind to affairs of state which are constantly in flux. How can he do this if there is a Sword of Damocles constantly about his head?

IN the end, no answer to this moral dilemma can satisfy everybody. One senses that most people will have an instinctive reaction one way or the other which they would find difficulty in rationalising.

There is a third question: Has any parliamentary tradition built up over the years?

Let us look first at the seven major breakaways which have occurred in Parliament since World War 2. In 1954, six members under Bailey Bekker left the UP and formed the National Conservative Party; in 1959 12 members under Jan Steytler left the UP and formed the Progressive Party; in 1969, four members under Albert Hertzog left the NP



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Another viewpoint is that the party's image on security matters is bad and has been harmed considerably by impressions in the public mind that it is playing along with revolutionary groups. Such impressions have been reinforced by Government and SABC propaganda — in spite of repeated PFP assurances that it denounced violence and was committed to non-violence.

It is argued that the PFP is committed to recognising Parliament as the only agency for constitutional change. Parliament, therefore, remains relevant and the PFP should aim to strengthen its role in it.

To do this, it must get the support of white voters, and the dilemma is that it cannot get such support if it does not strengthen its image on security matters in the eyes of the white electorate and if it enters into any alliances with extra-parliamentary movements over which it has no control.

AFTER President Botha's threat of action against extra-parliamentary organisations, which he branded as "enemies", a crucial decision facing the PFP is on its future attitude to organisations such as Idasa, the UDF and the ANC.

Must it abandon ideas of seeking dialogue with such organisations or building bridges between extra-parliamentary political activities and Parliament? If so, does it mean the PFP will find itself isolated inside a Parliament which is to divorce itself from political realities outside its walls?

Such questions are being asked by people in the PFP, especially among its younger members. Some fear the PFP is on the same slippery downhill road as the old United Party in its last days.

There has been some disagreement in the PFP on the Dakar talks — not the principle of talking with the ANC but the way it was done.

Those who went were made to apologise for not properly consulting party leader Mr Colin Eglin before the time. Some party members are unhappy that the apologies created the impression that the party has misgivings about including movements such as the ANC in the negotiation process.

This squabble has highlighted differences in emphasis between two factions. One, with Mr Harry Schwarz as the main figure, appears to put more stress on law and order and security matters than the rest. The party factions have also through the years agreed to disagree on matters such as conscription for military service.

The leadership has been resigned to the existence of differing opinions within the party as a liberal, umbrella body. The strength of the party, on the other hand, has been in its democratic and open debates about its divisions on certain issues.

Ironically, the PFP has been given credit — even by Nationalist opponents — for producing the ideas and political beliefs on which much of the Government's reform programme has been based. Over the years the PFP has hammered home policies once despised but now accepted by white Nationalist voters.

Among people of all shades of political opinion the belief seems to remain that it could be disastrous for South Africa if the PFP's voice in Parliament were to fade away or be further diminished.

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Brian Bamford

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What is significant is that not one of these 56 members resigned his or her seat. The following have also over the years broken away individually without resigning their seats — Japie Basson (1959 NP to National Party; 1980 PFP to Independent), Howard Odell (1964 UP to NP), Harry Lewis (1969 UP to NP), Marais Steyn (1973 UP to NP), Louis Nel (1979 NP to Independent), Gerrie de Jong (1979 NRP to Independent) and Wynand Malan (1987 NP to Independent).

On the other hand, the following did resign from Parliament after leaving their parties — Bernard Friedman (1955), Hamo Russell (1963), John Wiley (1980) and John Malcomess (1980).

It is therefore impossible to say that any firm pattern has emerged. It is however strongly traditional, first, that the party who loses a member immediately and vociferously calls for his resignation — and sometimes these calls come from members who themselves in the past refused to resign in similar circumstances; and second, that the defector distances himself from his former colleagues as if they are political lepers, forgetting that he lived with them quite comfortably thank you, for any number of years.

But that is politics as we play it. Strange, unedifying, very human — and not to be discarded unless we find a better system.

# Service for Hess: Vlok to get details

30 KA SEER

CAPE TIMES 22/8/87

By CHRIS STEYN

DETAILS of a wreath-laying ceremony in Pretoria this week to commemorate the death of Rudolf Hess are to be handed to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

Uniformed members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging were present at the ceremony.

The ceremony was held at a memorial for German soldiers who died in World War I and has been condemned in the strongest terms by Jewish organizations.

The Citizen newspaper yesterday quoted a spokesman for the nazi sympathizers, who declined to be identified, as claiming that the ceremony had been arranged by some members of Pretoria's German community to honour Hess "who became a martyr for the German nation".

About 100 people carrying nazi flags and wearing swastika armbands and lapel badges attended the ceremony at which nazi salutes were given and the traditional song "Der Gute Kamerad" was sung. The "mourners" were joined by AWB members wearing the organization's "triple seven" insignia.

Children wearing the uniforms of the Voortrekker movement were also reported at the ceremony.

## Voortrekker probe

Details of the ceremony are to be handed to Mr Vlok, according to a spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, Brigadier Leon Mellet.

Meanwhile, the Voortrekkers — a long-established mainstream Afrikaans youth movement — have launched an investigation into the presence of some of their members at the ceremony, and prominent South African Jews have criticized the ceremony and its implications.

The president of the Jewish Board of Deputies, Professor Michael Katz, said the service had showed "appalling insensitivity".

"Hess was one of the leaders of the nazi movement, whose actions of inhumanity resulted in the death and suffering of millions of men, women and children, Jews and non-Jews."

A member of the President's Council, Mr Issy Pinshaw, described participation in the ceremony as a provocative act which deserved to be condemned in the strongest possible terms by all decent South Africans.

"As a Jew, I am sickened and feel greatly offended by this pro-nazi display and condemn it outright," he said.

Mr Pinshaw said AWB participation at the memorial service should leave South Africans in no doubt as to where their sympathies lay.

"Anti-semitic statements which have been made by the AWB are even more reprehensible when viewed in the light of this obvious pro-nazi stance," he said.

About 20 million Russian citizens and six million Jews had been slaughtered in the war against Germany, he said.

● Sapa reports that the leader of the AWB, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, said Jewish groups should not bring overseas grudges into South African politics.

Mr Terre'Blanche said he, as leader of the AWB, had sent a group of AWB members to the service because he could not attend personally.

"I did this to honour a German who tried to bring peace to his country, was caught because of it, and made to spend the rest of his life in a prison."

He said the AWB honoured a man who identified Marxism and communism and fought it.

"Our Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, honoured the communist Samora Machel after his death. If people now say the AWB is a nazi organization, does that mean Pik Botha is communist?" Mr Terre'Blanche asked.

The AWB leader warned Zionist organizations who objected to this week's service not to be intolerant of any other nation.

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# PFP youth look left to new leaders

by ROBERT HOUWING, Weekend Argus Reporter

ALTHOUGH saddened by Mr Jan van Eck's resignation, the Progressive Federal Party Youth will look to remaining MPs on the left of the party spectrum like Tian van der Merwe, Pierre Cronje and Peter Gastrow for guidance and inspiration.

It was men like these who symbolised the thinking of the youth wing, and there was no question of the Young Progressives jettisoning their role in the troubled, ex-official Opposition party.

These facts emerged during an interview this week with Michele Güttler, the newly-elected chairwoman of the Cape Western branch.

Güttler, 23, who is reading for a master's degree in religious studies at UCT and is a part-time English teacher at a private college, was elected to the post at the recent national congress of the Young Progressives in Grahamstown.

She is also deputy to the organisation's national chairwoman, Rhodes journalism student Toni Petra.

Both have stepped into office at a critical time, with internal polarisation at all levels an increasing threat and morale not fully restored yet following the PFP's election debacle.

"We had incredible sessions of heart-searching in the post-election period," says Güttler.

"But the Youth are back on track, having decided that the PFP *can* still be a vehicle for change. The party principles, put into action, can be effective.

"Alliance politics is clearly not where it's at, and our continued loyalty to the party can give it direction through, for instance, further involvement with extra-parliamentary organisations — not in terms of affiliation, but negotiation.

"Our frustration over the election has been replaced by an aggressive new vision. South Africa is in crisis and we can't sit around and be depressed. In a way, I suppose the election was a watershed, shaking the party up."

## Working ties

Güttler says the Young Progressives will vigorously pursue their involvement in the party's unrest monitoring and action committee (Umac), and have already forged working ties with organisations like the End Conscription Campaign, Pupils Awareness and Action Group, Nusas and the Black Sash.

It is this sort of link which is said to embarrass older party stalwarts at parliamentary level, although the Young Progressives' "reaching-out" gestures generally command the approval of the younger MPs.

On Mr van Eck's resignation earlier this week, Güttler says she reacted with some surprise, considering that a crucial PFP federal executive meeting is taking place this weekend at which the Young Progressives leader, Toni Petra, is present.

"I was surprised that he quit before the meeting, which could shed some light on where we are heading. Be that as it may, I was saddened by Jan's resignation. I always respected and admired him.

■ SEE PAGE 14

# Relevance of Labour Party is at stake



**Political Survey**
**By GERALD SHAW**

PRESIDENT Botha appeared to be devouring his own political children in the House of Representatives this week, angering his listeners and leaving observers startled and nonplussed.

In an astonishing outburst, Mr Botha said he was not going to stand there to hear the Afrikaner insulted.

He seems to have been stung by the hostile tone of the speeches from the Labour Party benches. He turned on his critics in an unprecedented tirade of reproach and finger-wagging admonition. He was affronted beyond measure, it seems.

But what else could Mr Botha have expected? Particularly in the light of his government's retention of the Group Areas Act? If he had been in the House of Representatives just a few weeks ago he might have been better prepared.

The Representatives were debating the Group Areas Act. Not in 20 years have I heard speeches in any chamber of Parliament so charged with hurt and resentment.

One young member recalled the day in a small town in the Eastern Cape when his grandfather's rose garden was bulldozed into oblivion.

Member after member, young and old alike, stood up and told of similar experiences — the destruction of cherished family homes, the trauma of forced removals from areas henceforth to be "white."

Mr Botha wonders that they hold District Six against him. Yet the destruction of District Six took place only a decade or two ago. It is asking a great deal of human nature to absorb a traumatic experience of this kind so quickly — to forgive and forget and come up smiling. It takes time to heal such wounds. Consider the Afrikaner's own historical experience.



WHAT makes the whole scenario so intensely hurtful is the racial contempt implict in group area social engineering, whatever fine purpose the bureaucrats and politicians might believe they are serving.

It is plain that Mr Botha remains convinced that the removal of District Six was a worthy slum clearance scheme and a good thing for all concerned. He was deeply involved as the responsible minister and it seems he still cannot understand what all the fuss was about.

Mr Botha is convinced that the principle of the Group Areas Act is good and sound — and that the National Party did right to introduce this legislation and carry it into effect. He cannot accept that the NP or the Afrikaner have done wrong to anyone.

There is strong pressure for the Act to be scrapped, however, and Mr Botha is in a corner, politically, and has been playing for time. The report of the President's Council on group areas was neatly finessed off the table with an eye on the May election. But the report will have to be tabled eventually and the House of Representatives has high hopes that it will lead to the scrapping of the Act.

It is likely it will be disappointed, although further amendments to this much-amended statute are certainly on the cards. Mr Botha will not budge on the principle.

The crisis in relations between the State President and the House of Representatives has placed the latter chamber in the spotlight. To the extent that there is a new interest in the Representatives, both the United Democratic Front and the Progressive Federal Party might find themselves re-examining their strategy.

IS there a useful role in contesting the 1989 elections for the so-called coloured and Indian houses? And before then, what about the municipal elections? They are due to be held in October next year in all local communities including the black townships — to form the bottom tier for the new RSC system of local government.

Here, again there is a strong objection in principle to participation in structures which are racially-based. Probably most reflective people in all communities agree that no constitution is viable which retains apartheid in the shape of "own affairs" and perpetuates racially-divided structures The additional and overwhelming objection to the tricameral Parliament, of course, is that it excludes blacks entirely.

Although thoroughly bad in principle and practice, the Botha constitution has triggered a new set of political dynamics. Would it not be feasible to use this constitution in perfectly legal fashion to encompass its own destruction? Is it not worth a try? In this manner, perhaps, can the way be prepared for negotiation of a non-racial constitution which will restore peace to the land.

The more ideologically intractable members of the UDF would no doubt find this course of action unpalatable. Yet they should not dismiss it out of hand.

WHAT future is there for the UDF otherwise? To the extent that it succeeds in consciousness-raising amd mobilization of the masses against the system it is going to be hog-tied by bannings and detentions. It may even be banned.

The effect of this could be to drive some of the younger and more militant of the UDF youth underground and into the ANC's "armed struggle" — which exodus might already have begun, creating a new generation of potential martyrs to the cause.

Already, successive generations of high school pupils on the Cape Flats have been radicalized — being teargassed out of their classrooms and sjambokked in the corridors and playgrounds. Others have seen schoolfellows shotgunned to death at their side. But where does all that lead?

If the Labour Party shows that its limited leverage can be creatively used to force the government's hand, then what is to stop the UDF and others playing the same game — rather more effectively?

The UDF's great fear, understandably, is of winding up co-opted, hogtied and comfortable in the system. This is not beyond the bounds of possibility, as the Labour Party's performance in the next few weeks may demonstrate.

Yet the tricameral system *could* be used to bring effective pressure on the government. And it might be possible to achieve much more. What is not yet clear is whether the Labour Party has the mettle to do so.

The perks of office are sweet. The prospect of their loss tends to discourage actions which may displease the great dispenser of good things, who is Mr Botha himself as the maker and unmaker of ministries.

Hence the cynicism in some quarters about the Labour Party's prospects of turning the crisis to advantage.

The cynics may well be proved right once again. The outcome of Mr Hendrickse's previous brushes with Mr Botha hardly inspires confidence in his resolution Yet, who knows, there could be surprises in store — and a new political relevance for the House of Representatives.

# Bring back the past!

**THIS week the Conservative Party — newly elevated to the white Official Opposition — signalled its intentions to turn the clock back to the days of granite Verwoerd.**

**The reinstatement of the pass laws and job reservation, a rigid separation of races in South Africa and the abolition of black trade unions are on the agenda.**

**So, too, is the scrapping of existing political structures for coloureds, Indians and blacks outside the homelands.**

**By LESTER VENTER**
**Political Correspondent**

All these policy planks were enthusiastically endorsed by the Conservative Party's Transvaal congress amid debates redolent of an earlier and more dogmatic era in our political history.

Speaker after speaker at the fifth Transvaal congress of the party castigated fellow-Afrikaners in the Government for betraying the fundamental ideals of the National Party of Malan and Verwoerd.

Today's National Party was blamed for what most called "chaos" in the life of the nation, from the "mixed government" to political and racial violence, crime, the economy and foreign relations.

Deputy party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg aroused cheers when he addressed the congress's central issue — the "ploughing under of the whites".

"This awakens the tiger in us," he shouted.

Whether the CP is merely a paper tiger, or a growing, flesh-and-blood predator on the body of white votes is one of the key political questions of the day. The Government's perception of the question determines much of its action in the field of reform

Many political scientists say support for the CP has peaked.

Others, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer principal among them, argue that conservativism has declined. With the Government having moved substantially to the left, the majority of people who voted for the Vorster government 10 years ago should have voted for the CP earlier this year.

## Separate

Clearly, this was not the case. White voters are moving left with the Government, leaving a static residue of the politically immobile, according to Professor Schlemmer.

This was, naturally enough, not the view of the CP itself in the Pretoria City Hall this week

Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht gave his reason for President P W Botha's plans to cancel the 1989 general election for whites: "He knows whites' concern for increasing capitulation by the NP is growing."

Dr Treurnicht told the delegates that the CP offered the only alternative to black domination through its policy of partition, whereby South Africa would be divided into separate states for each race. Blacks, for example, would have no rights at all in the white state.

He dismissed accusations of racism. "When we demand a place in the sun for whites we are called racists. We are getting properly sick of the label of racism."

Later, when he told the audience that a black president was the inevitable consequence of government moves to involve blacks in government, there were cries of "Never, never".

Addressing the bedrock of CP support, Dr Treurnicht said white workers used to look to the NP to care for their interests. The CP had now taken on this role.

Of English-speaking CP supporters he said: "They realise that the Afrikaner is their ally in the struggle of the white man."

## Uncomfortable

Touching briefly on foreign relations, Dr Treurnicht appealed to the nuggety readiness of the descendants of the Trekkers to face the future alone. He said a CP government would have told the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group last year: "Stay at home. We have had enough of these sorts of safaris."

With the African National Congress, he said, the only prospect was capitulation No compromise was possible

"We won't even negotiate a peaceful — not even a peaceful — takeover by the ANC in our land," he said.

Dr Treurnicht answered from the congress platform some of the arguments thrown against the CP in Parliament by Mr Botha.

Both the argument and the reply involve detailed recounts of who said what and when as the Nats try to pin — and the CP tries to wriggle from — the uncomfortable fact that the party's members spent several years as part of the governments of Vorster and Botha before breaking away.

# Dr No and Co vow to stay apart



ANDRIES TREURNICHT
Capitulation by NP

# PFP is down and is going under — Mike

By NIC VAN OUDTSHOORN
Sydney

DON'T blame me — it's the PFP which has lost its attraction for South Africa's voters!

That's the unrepentant message from former Johannesburg city councillor Mike Sutherland, whose sudden move to Australia saw his seat — and with it control of South Africa's largest city — fall to the National Party this week.

"Even if I had gone back and stood again for the seat I am sure I would have lost it, because the people of South Africa have moved to the right and the PFP has lost much of its support," Mr Sutherland told me in Sydney yesterday.

He said that the PFP had been losing voter support since the referendum, and particularly this year when it was so badly hit in the general election.

"Personalities have always been less important in South Africa than parties,



MIKE SUTHERLAND
"Move to the right"

so people must look at the general swing against the PFP and blame that for the loss of the seat, not a person like me.

"Just because I moved to Australia people are blaming me. What would have happened if I had decided to move to Cape Town, for instance?

"If the party's fortunes were what they should be, then someone like me leaving should not make much difference at all."

Mr Sutherland is adamant that his performance as a city councillor had nothing to do with the PFP losing the seat.

"I reckon I was a good and efficient councillor who always did the best for my ward in areas that were under the control of the city council," he said.

"But, of course, I had no control over policy issues like the Group Areas Act. The biggest problem in my ward was the fact that there was a complete breakdown of living standards.

"There are vagrants all over the place, people are letting their buildings run down, prostitution is rife and no firm steps are being taken against it.

"People are upset about these things. These are the reasons why Alf Widman lost his seat in Hillbrow, and I can't see how I would have fared any differently to an excellent and experienced PFP member of Parliament like Widman."

# Party is on the comeback trail says Colin

Political Correspondent

THE Progressive Federal Party resolved last night to continue its fight for white support — and to upgrade bridge-building with the black community.

The party's federal executive decided to send its national director, Mr Neil Ross, on a nation-wide tour.

He must recommend in four weeks ways to upgrade monitoring activities and to extend contacts with people who "do not have access either to Parliament or to the electoral process".

The party will also focus on the plight of people suffering the effects of the Group Areas Act, work for its repeal, and monitor threats to universities.

Party leader Mr Colin Eglin made a mission statement which was adopted by the meeting.

In it he said: "The PFP has two immediate and interlocking tactical objectives.

"The one is to persuade white South Africans to get rid of apartheid.

"The other is to persuade all South Africans to start negotiations on a new constitution that will bring peace and stability and secure the fundamental rights of all South Africans.

"The PFP refuses to believe that the only options facing South Africans are to join the forces of repression or the forces of revolution."

Mr Eglin called these the 'laager' option and the 'showdown' option.

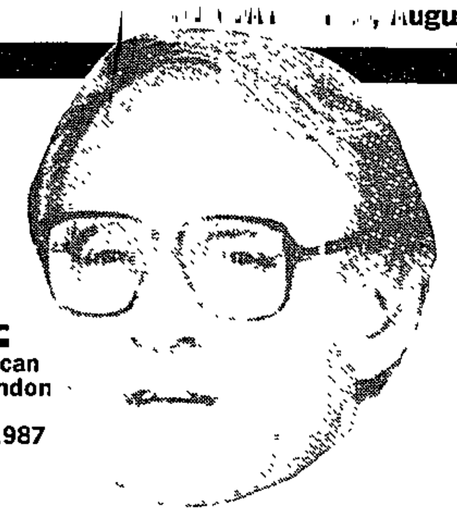
"The PFP has a duty to show to this divided nation that there is another way."

This third option was negotiation, Mr Eglin said.

In a separate statement the party said recently-resigned MP Mr Jan van Eck "appears to believe there is no viable middle position in South African affairs".

This conflicted with the party's view and "it is right that he should have left us," it said.

# Many 'Israels', no solutions



By DENIS WORRALL

**Former South African Ambassador in London and Independent candidate in the 1987 general election**

HERMANN GILIOMEE'S view that the underlying conflict in South Africa is not a racial one or a class or (presumably) even a simple moral one but a communal one between black African and Afrikaner nationalism is, of course, not original.

In fact, 20 years ago Professor Ned Munger wrote a book contrasting Afrikaner and African nationalism, and this has been a theme in much writing about South Africa.

In fact, Adam and Moodley, in their excellent analysis, South Africa Without Apartheid (1986), regard the mutual respect between Afrikaner and black African nationalism as one of the hopeful aspects of the situation: the issue is not the conquest or withdrawal of one of the parties (as is the case in colonial situations) but the terms and conditions of their co-existence.

Giliomee's article is therefore less important for its originality than for its timing.

[redacted]

The failure of the P W Botha Government to project any vision or sense of direction, the resulting growth of rightwing sentiment, the increase in violence and growing doubts among both blacks and whites about the likelihood of peaceful answers justify a frank discussion of this issue and the nature of conflict generally.

The modern political history of South Africa is the story of the rise to power of Afrikaner nationalism. The Afrikaner has slowly but surely imposed his values and way of looking at the world on South African society. He has moulded the symbols of state according to his history and deeply influenced the institutions of government.

In race relations, apartheid, as conceived by the likes of Paul Sauer and Sabra academics, was intended as a fair strategy to ensure general racial harmony and Afrikaner survival. It was the Afrikaner nationalist response to decolonisation and independence.

On the analogy of Israel, which (it is said) gave a sense of security to Jews in the diaspora, everybody in South Africa was to have his Israel.

And, indeed, between history and government policy, every black "nation" has got an Israel of kinds, but the whites (and the Afrikaners in particular), the coloureds and the Indians now find themselves completely outnumbered, competing in the black diaspora and without territories of their own.

The strategy failed at tremendous cost in terms of human suffering, civil liberties, time and money. The black tide to the cities was not turned around.

Professor Sakkie Fourie's prophecy about "economic integration" became a reality.

The most poignant expression of the failure of the strategy is what the Oranjewerkers are striving for — an Afrikaans Israel.

But much more important than the reaction of the Oranje-werkers is how Afrikaner leaders presently in government will respond when the political realities of our situation make themselves felt.

The Afrikaners' achievements are considerable and it is possibly understandable that the identification between Afrikaner (and white) interests and the State is taken for granted.

But what happens when this is challenged? Do Afrikaner politicians have the philosophical basis to identify with a broad South Africanism? Or will they turn to their roots and mobilise Afrikaner sentiment?

[redacted]

And if this is what they do, on what terms will they mobilise Afrikaners? Will it be on a basis of language and culture and history — the traditional source of nationalism and something which is universally understood and accepted?

Or will it be on a basis of colour and race — something which in the last quarter of the 20th century is universally rejected?

What the rest of us think may be relevant, but this is central and will be decisive in determining how our political future is shaped.

Identifying the underlying nature of our conflict is one thing; gaining *political acceptance* is another thing altogether.

It is part of Hermann Giliomee's argument that, having recognised the nature of the conflict, it must be accommodated in the political solution.

This is a view which is rejected by many black leaders and most black organisations. And it is an argument that is not going to be settled by articles in newspapers.

Most political leaders in South Africa, including the leaders of the National Party, have come to accept that a new system of government for South Africa cannot be left to one party or even one section of the population. It will be the result of the interaction of the numerous major points of view represented in our society.

I believe a first step in getting this process going is to spell out in an independent and neutral way all the major constitutional choices before us.

In this way the level of the debate will be raised, and in this way people will get a sense of security which they do not presently have.

White South Africans, for example, will see that fundamental political change does not mean going from the present system to one person, one vote in a unitary state.

However, the lesson of all the National Party's failed attempts at getting negotiations going is that the neutral starting point for this process must be created outside existing institutions of government.

This is a process into which the natural aspirations of all communities — and especially those presently defined by law — would be released.

Is there a so-called "coloured" identity or not. And, if so, what are its values? How correct is it to say that there are individual black identities? And how strong are they?

[redacted]

An Afrikaner nationalism defined in terms of language and culture (much as N P van Wyk Louw defined it in Nasionale Liberalisme) would have a moral foundation and would be in a position to demand that its right to self-determination should be recognised.

It certainly would have the right to be recognised in any serious negotiation process regarding the political future of this country.

Indeed, such a process is arguably vital to the expression of such an Afrikaner nationalism — given the fact that it is being drowned out by an ideological mix of white racism and white nationalism — neither of which has a sustaining moral base and both of which are recipes for disaster.

Aside from the conflict of nationalism aspect, there are other almost as pressing reasons for adopting this approach to our diversity.

The Government knows that its concept of "own" affairs, group areas and racially-segregated schools are all increasingly being challenged.

[redacted]

If we are to end apartheid, the Population Registration Act and group membership by law have to go and be replaced by voluntary association. This applies within white South Africa and works very well.

The prospect of releasing natural community aspirations in this kind of process is an exciting one because it is premised on a vision of a South Africa which works for all its people; a vision of a South Africa which is democratic and in which human dignity for all South Africans is recognised; and a vision of a South Africa which is fully accepted by the international community.

# One man, one vote: ... ..

**ELIE KEDOURIE, Professor of Politics at the London School of Economics, editor of the quarterly journal Middle Eastern Studies and Fellow of the British Academy, weighs the hallowed principle of "one man, one vote" in the balance and finds it wanting ...**

THE IDEA of 'one-man-one-vote' is now taken for granted everywhere, and has attained the status of a universal truth.

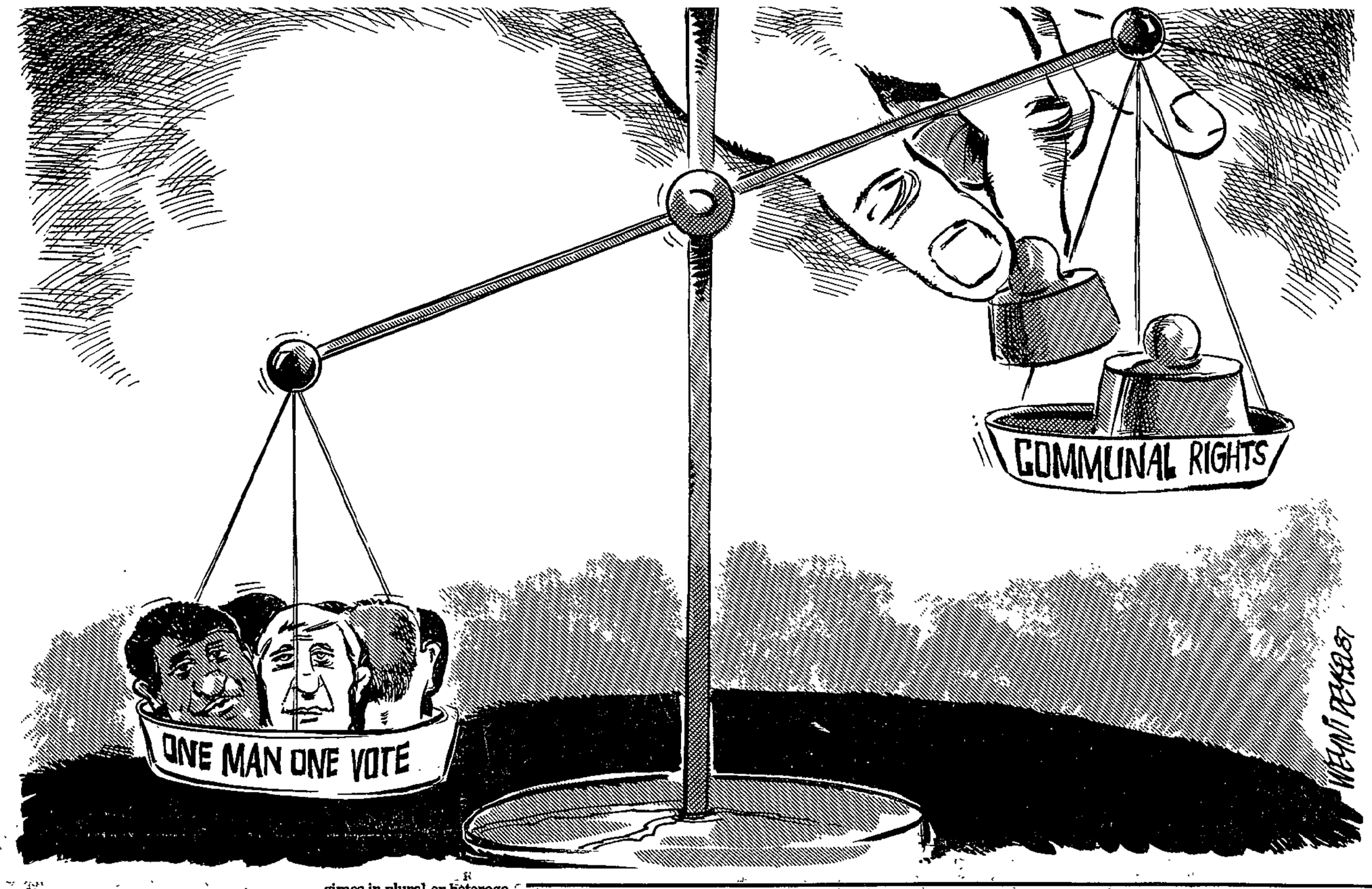
Self-evident and beyond question, it is believed to need neither explanation nor justification. States, new and old alike, whatever the reality of their regimes, profess devotion to it and include it in their electoral laws.

A moment's reflection, however, will lead us to realise that this appearance of being an obvious truth is an illusion.

'One-man-one-vote' as a political ideal is a fairly recent invention, and its spread worldwide is still more recent. What seems to be an obvious proposition requiring no laborious validation, is in reality based on a long and complex chain of arguments about human nature and political institutions — arguments which, the more they are examined in the cold light of day, the more they begin to seem doubtful, not to say dubious.

To say 'one-man-one-vote' is immediately to assume the existence of voting. Voting is for the purpose of electing someone to represent the elector in a representative assembly.

The idea of representation, without which 'one-man-one-vote' is unintelligible, can be described as a mediaeval Western invention which led, without anyone planning it, to the characteristic Western political device, that of parliamentary government.




gimes in plural or heterogeneous societies.

To go back to 'one-man-

idea of representation arose out of the requirements both of church and of secular government.

Municipal corporations or chapters of cathedrals found it necessary to designate people as their representatives and empower them to negotiate and act on their behalf.

Rulers establishing their authority and, seeking taxes and subsidies from their subjects, found it convenient to summon assemblies representing the various classes and interests in their domain.

The question arose as to the circumstances in which the decisions of these representative assemblies could be considered binding — both on those who took them and on those whom they represented.

To start with, jurists argued that what touches all must be approved by all. But this rule (which survives today in the veto power possessed by the five permanent members of the UN Security Council) was in due course seen to be manifestly unwieldy and unworkable.

Another rule came to replace it, namely that a majority decision binds the whole. The rule was justified by the argument that what the larger part of a group agrees upon must embody the consensual wisdom of the whole group.

Representation and majority henceforth became inextricably connected.

These two ideas, which are inseparable from parliamentary government everywhere, do not entail or require the principle of 'one-man-one-vote'.

On the contrary, representation at its beginnings and until modern times was understood to be the representation of groups: corporations, estates, 'nations' in the mediaeval acceptation of this term.

And it can be argued that this manner of representation is, so to speak, more representative of society and of the variety of interests which co-exist in any society, than representation on the basis of 'one-man-one-vote'.

As regards the principle of majority decision, this is workable only on condition that majorities and minorities are variable, not permanent; that a majority in favour of one decision is differently composed from the majority in favour of another decision; or that the majority which issues from one parliamentary election can become a minority at some other election.

If majority and minority are perpetual, then government ceases to have a mediatory or remedial function, and becomes an instrument of perpetual oppression of the minority by the majority.

This, in fact, is what has happened when a parliamentary government on the basis of 'one-man-one-vote' has been instituted in what are known as plural societies.

The worst effects of the tyranny of the majority are seen when parliamentary government on the unalloyed Westminster model is introduced into countries divided by religion or language or race.

Such, for example, was the case of Iraq and Syria in the Middle East, where an extremely heterogeneous society came to be endowed with constitutions which made no provision for diversity, and where the result was tyranny of one group over the other groups in the society.

Constitution-makers were not all of them always oblivious of the risks inherent in Westminster-style parliamentary government. They did try to provide safeguards and checks and balances, so as to avoid perpetual rule by, say, an ethnic majority over a different ethnic minority.

This, for instance, was the case in Cyprus where the 1960 constitution was designed to calm the mutual fears of the Turkish Cypriots (constituting about 20 percent of the population), who were afraid of being swamped by the Greek majority and the Greeks who were afraid of intervention by Turkey in support of the Turks.

The constitution (the longest such document) was composed of nearly 400 clauses, designed to obviate the danger of a majority tyrannising perpetually over a minority.

Elaborate and ingenious devices, from entrenched clauses to concurrent majorities, were included. But these devices proved unworkable. By 1963 the constitution had broken down, and there was a *de facto* separation between the two communities, confirmed and made perhaps irrevocable by the Turkish invasion of 1974.

A much older attempt to obviate majority tyranny is that of federalism, in which powers are divided and dispersed between a central government and the constitutive states.

The oldest and most successful federation is, of course, that of the United States. But the savage war between the states which raged in 1861-65 is a grim warning of what, even under propitious circumstances, can befall a constitutional representative government.

Subsequent examples of the application, in one guise or another, of the federal principle gives us no warrant to believe that here is a foolproof method of avoiding group conflict within a state.

Pakistani and Nigerian constitutional history, and particularly the Nigerian civil war which erupted over the Biafran issue, are clear — and appealing — enough warnings of the vicissitudes from which may suffer parliamentary and would-be parliamentary regimes.

Even if a state does not suffer from ethnic or religious divisions, 'one-man-one-vote' can issue in unrestrained tyranny. This is the case in the communist world, where 'one-man-one-vote' is asserted to be the visible expression of popular sovereignty.

It is also the case in the Third World states which have attained independence during this century, and mostly after the Second World War. The reasons for this are not particularly mysterious.

As has been said, the theory on which 'one-man-one-vote' rests is defective and unsatisfactory, both in its picture of individual conduct and of social ties and groupings.

If in countries like Britain or France, 'one-man-one-vote' has not issued in tyranny or anarchy, this is because social groupings and interests are of such variety and power that it is very difficult, if not impossible, either for a government or any one single group to ride roughshod over society at large.

In fact, behind the language of 'one-man-one-vote' there lies the abiding reality of organised groups and their interests and rivalry in which some rough-and-ready, constantly shifting balance of power is effected — the sovereign preservative against oppression.

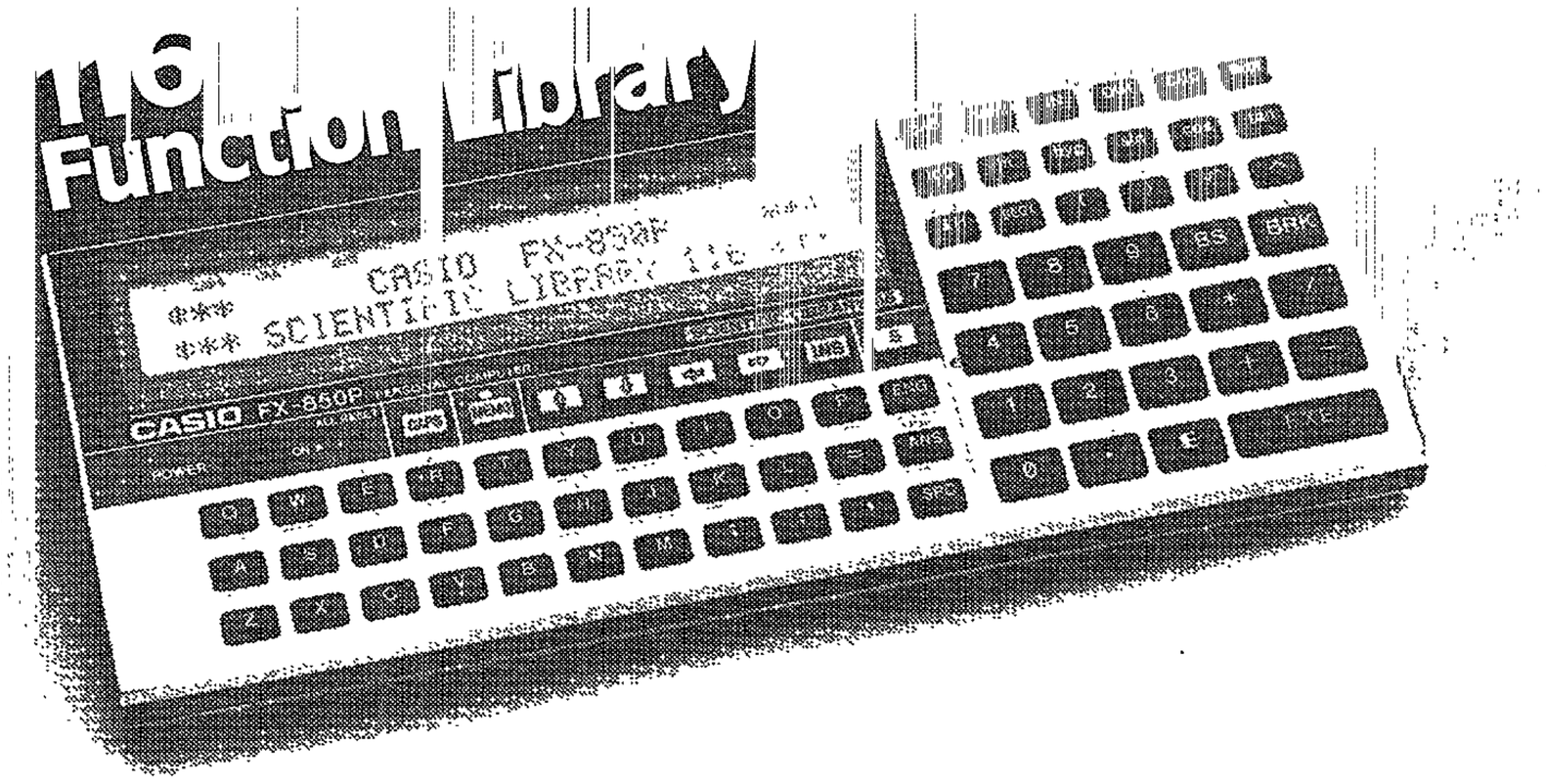
Where society is such that social groups are inarticulated or feeble, then 'one-man-one-vote' simply becomes a screen behind which so-called single party or nomenclatura can systematically and without check extend its control over a scattered and isolated collection of men, each one of whom comes, at stated times, to lay down the offering of his vote at the feet of those who claim to speak for him.

Do these words not describe the political condition of the communist world, and of so much of Asia and Africa?

● *Extract from the July Quarterly of South African International, journal of the South Africa Foundation.*

# AND ILLUSION

> **Perpetual majority an instrument of the perpetual oppression of minority**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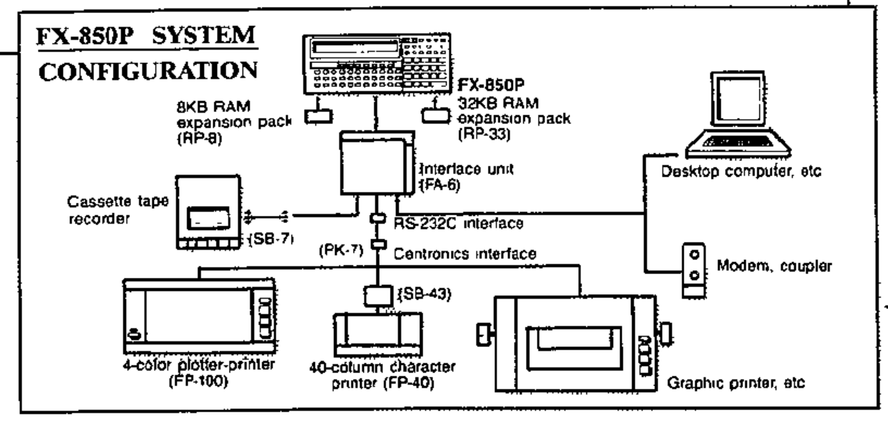


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# Tension as PW drums up support

By NORMAN WEST

A PERIOD of intense horse trading between the Government and the majority parties in the coloured and Indian Houses of Parliament are on the cards.

President Botha is out to win support for his plans to postpone the white elections by another three years — something which, in terms of the constitution, would require a clear majority in each of the three Houses.

The Rev Alan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, has been joined by Mr Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the National People's Party, in threatening that they were prepared to use their support as a bargaining chip.

## Specific

Mr Hendrickse has made it known that he requires the Government to be more specific in its future reform plans before Labour Party support for a postponed white election is granted.

Meanwhile, there is strong speculation that the coloured and Indian Houses of Parliament might also exact, as part of their price for support, an agreement that their elections are also postponed after 1989, when their original five-year term expires.

Mr Rajabansi said yesterday: "It was one of the advantages of participation in the tricameral system that the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates could use their power to disapprove legislative measures to gain an advantage."

The new tension between the Government and its junior partners comes after a fierce clash in the House of Representatives — the third time in recent months that relations between the President and his nominal partners have plunged to a low ebb.

# Idasa men say all must participate

PARTICIPATION of all was crucial to working out a solution for a future SA, a three-man Idasa delegation told a meeting in Soweto on Saturday.

Former PFP leader Van Zyl Slabbert, former SA Council of Churches secretary-general Beyers Naude and business consultant Christo Nel were giving a report-back on the Dakar talks at Soweto's Funda Centre.

Slabbert said the SA delegation had not gone to negotiate with the ANC but to work out strategies for change.

"The Dakar visit showed that there was a way to a non-racial democracy. It had a demystifying effect on both

THEO RAWANA

the Afrikaner delegation and the ANC.

"The meetings showed that initiatives like Dakar were necessary for SA. Both sides agreed that SA was too rich to be plunged into uncontrolled violence. The ANC stated how they finally resorted to armed struggle."

Naude said the Dakar meetings brought together people with a commitment to SA, grappling with issues that needed debate and solution. "These issues cannot be resolved within the framework government has set up. But then in the long run, government will be forced to follow.

"The solution needs the support of the key parties in SA — the black majority, the majority of the Afrikaners and the liberation movements," he said.

Nel said both sides agreed that SA needed an economic system that was not tied down by ideology. "We must ask the Afrikaner if he wants to stay a perpetual minority or embrace all South Africans," he said.

The meeting was convened by black business promotion company Get Ahead.

# Slabbert moots more ANC talks

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said at the weekend he would hold Dakar-type talks with the banned ANC again if possible as such initiatives were "extremely useful".

Dr Slabbert, who led last month's 50-strong Afrikaner delegation to Dakar, said the talks "demystified" many of the views people held about the ANC and provided many in his delegation with their first opportunity "to get behind what the SABC and government-supporting Press says about the organisation".

He was speaking at a report-back meeting in Soweto organised by the Get Ahead organisation, established to promote black business in South Africa.

Dr Slabbert said the pro-government media had "pumped up" the talks as an exercise in negotiation. This was untrue. His delegation had no power to negotiate anything.

On the ANC's armed struggle, Dr Slabbert said the option lay with the Government to change the circumstances which led the ANC to adopt violence as a strategy.

If one believed the government-supporting Press and the militant Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, it would seem as if he personally had arranged last month's Johannesburg car bomb.

"If anything, the bomb highlighted the necessity to avoid violence. The Dakar talks show that there is a way out. Whites in South Africa must accept that the only way to end violence is to work for a non-racial democracy," Dr Slabbert said.

He saw the role of his organisation, the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), as persuading whites that a non-racial democracy was in the interests of all.

Dr Beyers Naude, former head of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) told the meeting the Dakar talks were "an unforgettable experience".

He was struck by the fact that two groups of people from entirely different backgrounds could come together to face the crucial issues facing South Africa.

"It was an experience which deeply affected the lives, outlook and commitment to South Africa of all those involved," Dr Naude said.

He said that regardless of what the Government did, it would resolve nothing as long as it tried to find the answers to South Africa's problems within the framework it had established.

## UNIQUE

The Government, Dr Naude said, would eventually, "step by step", be forced to realise that the sort of solution debated by those at Dakar was the only answer.

"Whether the State President admits this or not, the day will come when this Government will have to sit down — inside or outside South Africa — with the ANC and other liberation movements," Dr Naude said.

Dr Christo Nel, who prepared a paper for the Dakar talks on possible economic systems open to a post-apartheid South Africa, told the meeting South Africa should not borrow from anyone else but should find its own, unique system.

"There is no ideology in the world which can solve the sort of problems facing South Africa," he said.

He added both delegations at Dakar believed it was essential to "set the creative spirit of our people free".

# Prisoner exchange deal in jeopardy

**By David Braun,**
**Political Correspondent**

**Cape Town**

**Negotiations for a three-way swop of security prisoners between South Africa, Ciskei and Angola may have been jeopardised by a premature announcement from the Ciskei.**

The Ciskei Government announcement that Frenchman Pierre-Andre Albertini was to be released in an exchange deal that involved South Africa's Captain Wynand du Toit and Hollander Mr Klaas de Jonge, may have upset the delicate bargaining, which was understood to be at an advanced stage.

It was not clear today whether the swop would go ahead within the next few days, as has been speculated, or whether the deal was off.

A spokesman for the Ciskei government said at the weekend the swop was off because of the lack of co-ordination and the difficult nature of negotiations involving the release of the three prisoners.

South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha today confirmed in a statement that exploratory exchanges on this matter could be expected to have been taking place for some time among the various interested parties.

Mr Botha said the Ciskei Government had confirmed that its statement on the matter was based on a misunderstanding.

## Implications

The release of Captain du Toit, Mr de Jonge and Albertini from their respective countries of incarceration would have several political spin-offs.

Captain Wynand du Toit, of Langebaan, was taken prisoner in Angola after being wounded while on a secret military mission in that country.

President Botha once linked his release to that of Nelson Mandela, saying that if two Soviet dissidents and Captain du Toit could be freed on humanitarian grounds he could consider the release of the ANC leader on similar grounds.

Since then the two Russians named by Mr Botha have been released.

Mr Klaas de Jonge has been taking refuge in the Netherlands Embassy in Pretoria since July 1985 when he eluded South African Police while pretending to show them where ANC weapons were hidden.

Albertini has been jailed in Ciskei for refusing to give evidence in a security trial after allegedly agreeing to turn State witness in return for immunity from prosecution on charges of arms smuggling.

President Mitterrand of France has refused to accept the credentials of South Africa's new ambassador to Paris while Albertini remains in jail.

# Nazi row: Action against girls

**Own Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG. — Voortrekker leader Professor Carel Boshoff has confirmed that action will be taken against the small girls photographed in the youth movement's uniform at the wreath-laying ceremony for nazi Rudolf Hess in Pretoria last week.

Despite an Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging threat that the Voortrekker movement would be in "deep trouble" if it acted against them, Professor Boshoff said the incident was under investigation and action would be taken against the girls for attending the memorial service in uniform. But he said the nature of the action would be determined by Voortrekker Transvaal regional manager Mr W F Kruger, who could not be contacted yesterday.

Details of the ceremony are to be handed to the Law and Order Minister, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

Council of Natal Jewry president Mr Peter Jacobson yesterday joined the mounting number of Jews who had come out in condemnation of the mourning by people in South Africa of the death of a man "closely connected with those nazi butchers". He said: "The nazis were monsters who committed acts of genocide on the Jewish people."

He specifically criticized the placing of a wreath with a nazi banner on the Durban Cenotaph — dedicated to soldiers who died fighting against Germany in World Wars I and II — on Saturday, marking the death of Hitler's deputy.

The banner was emblazoned with gold leters bearing Hess's name and the words: "Blessed be the peacemakers".

A Durban councillor, Mrs Ros Sarkin, yesterday called for strong action to be taken against neo-nazis by the government at the highest level.

It appears the banners and wreath are now missing after being torn from the gate on Saturday morning by an angry young Jewish woman.

Mrs Sarkin said: "If the government truly claims to be against racial incitement, then the matter should be handed over to the attorney-general to take action against all those organizing and taking part in these extreme and godless demonstrations.

"The nazis were the most dangerous and most lunatic social organization in history. For anyone in South Africa to hark back to this era with even a suggestion of support for their ideals is sick and disgusting.

"The matter is, I believe, even more sensitive in this country with our many racial discriminations."

She said she would urge the council to take the matter up with the government.

Meanwhile, Durban City Police deputy chief constable Mr Alf Taylor rejected criticism in a Sunday newspaper that traffic wardens had been "pro-nazi" because they had failed to remove the wreath.

"Would a young traffic warden know what it represented? There was a military parade through town on Saturday morning," he said. "I think my traffic wardens would probably have associated it with something like that."

● Hess terrorism feared — Page 2

# Idasa: all must participate

JOHANNESBURG — Participation of all was crucial to working out a solution for a future South Africa, a three-man Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA (Idasa) delegation told a meeting in Soweto on Saturday.

Former PFP leader, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, former secretary general of the South African Council of Churches, Dr Beyers Naude, and a business consultant, Mr Christo Nel, were giving a report-back on the Dakar talks at Soweto's Funda Centre.

The meeting was convened by black business promotion company Get Ahead, which is headed by a civic leader, Dr Nthato Motlana.

Dr Slabbert said the South African delegation had not gone to negotiate with the ANC but to work out strategies for change.

"The Dakar visit showed that there was a way to a non-racial democracy. It had a demystifying effect on both the Afrikaner delegation and the ANC.

"The meetings showed that initiatives like Dakar were necessary for South Africa. Both sides agreed that South Africa was too rich to be plunged into uncontrolled violence. The ANC stated how they finally resorted to armed struggle."

Dr Naude said the Dakar meetings brought together people with a commitment to South Africa, grappling with issues that needed debate and solution. — DDC

# A classy kind of politics for the rich

24/8/87

304A

B/Day

**KEN OWEN**

THE Conservative Party detests the RSC system of local government and plans to wreck it by winning as many local elections as possible next year; the Young Progs detest the RSC system, so they want to boycott the elections.

The difference in attitude sums up what is happening in the politics of white South Africa today, and black people — not to speak of all the foreign observers who try so earnestly to explain us to mankind — had better make a note of the contrast.

It is the difference that separates professionals from amateurs; it is also a class difference that separates the hard men with broken fingernails from the poor little rich kids; it is the difference between politics as a path to power, and politics as a test of social acceptability.

One of the most interesting market surveys carried out in this country divides white South Africans into four groups, four classes, which correspond roughly with the political divisions that are emerging.

At the one extreme stand the the aging class of Afrikaners whose habits and outlook, even if they live in the cities, remain essentially rural. Under-educated and underprivileged, they are conservative, church-going frugal people to whom life in the past decade has not been kind. They switch off the lights when they leave a room, attend church faithfully and respect authority.

Inflation has eroded their modest circumstances, and vast social changes have unnerved them. Their shift from the National Party to the Conservative Party, especially important in small towns and poor suburbs, has been a reassertion of conservatism, a flight to the past.

Class II is much less stable. Also mainly Afrikaner, it is composed of blue-collar communities that have only recently broken out of poverty, and therefore remain deeply insecure, and violent. Its members are, understandably, given to ostentatious consumption — cars with wide takkies, oranges on the aerials, fur on the instrument panel. They are deeply in debt for lounge suites, television sets, videos.

They are also in an ugly mood. The breaking of the colour bar has brought new competitors into a shrinking job market, and inflation has made it less easy to assert personal status by ostentation. The loss of status has made them angry, and anger expresses itself in violence: racial murders, family slaughters, street brawls and a lust to settle the future by war.

It is, as David Reisman's studies of the American right have shown, a very dangerous mixture. The emergence of neo-Nazi symbols, the surge of overt racism and anti-semitism, the Nazi salutes and the banners warning "kaffirs" to keep out, are warning signs. Politically, the danger has already expressed itself in the National Party's loss of blue-collar seats to the CP.

Class III are the Nats, Afrikaans and English, who — despite differences of style and taste — are growing closer: the Afrikaner lawyer with a *broodboom* in the garden and two cars in the garage; the English corporate businessman who is crazy about rugby and braais. They are the salt of the suburbs.

Many, not all, have university degrees, often from Unisa, and they work very hard indeed to create the gracious middle-class lifestyle which they think will provide a proper environment for the children.

Those children, most of them English, tend to make up Class IV, and they are a disappointment to their buttoned-down parents. Highly educated and accustomed to money, they are contemptuous of material wealth. They are computer-age creatures, racially and sexually tolerant; they abhor violence and therefore hate the army that calls them up. At worst, they turn in middle age into frumpies — Formerly Radical Upwardly Mobile Professionals.

If they are English they are drifting out of the PFP into trendier, more radical postures. They get very frightened when anybody waves a Kalashnikov and says "Boo!," and they think other people must get frightened, too; therefore they think we'd better talk things over before somebody does something stupid.

If they are Afrikaans, as a small number of them now are, they still prefer Wynand Malan to Helen Suzman, and they think it a great pity that Van Zyl Slabbert got mixed up with the Progs. But they, too, want to negotiate with the ANC before it comes to the rough stuff.

Like all social science, the survey is far from perfect (and my own rather free rendition of its findings makes it less so), but the four categories are well enough delineated to be recognisable. South Africa has been ruled since 1948 by, successively, Classes I, II and III.

Class IV, the child of prosperity, has played a different role. It has been the interlocutor between black and white, the mediator. It has sought, without power, to end white rule, and has tried, also without power, to liberate blacks. It doesn't really like power, you see.

Black people, misled by Class IV's show of style, have mistaken affluence for strength, and confidence for competence. They have sought to understand their rulers by consulting the one group that has no experience of power, no skill in politics and no understanding of the nationalist passions and fears that govern the hearts of Afrikaners.

The results have been bizarre. Black politicians have tried to understand Pretoria by examining Johannesburg, to overcome the bureaucracy by pushing the corporations, to influence the poor by frightening the rich. They have tried to exert pressure on the powerful by manipulating the powerless.

Soon or later, surely, black leaders, contemplating the failure of their strategies of the past few years, must recognise the futility of trying to settle a difficult future with people who don't have power, and don't want power — not even the modest power to clean the municipal drains.

# Searle urges business to meet challenge

GRAHAMSTOWN — A non-racial South Africa was inevitable and desirable, regardless of the white election results and the government's stated strategy of racial group differentiation, according to the managing director of Volkswagen South Africa, Mr Peter Searle.

Addressing Rhodes University students as part of Aiesec's commerce week, Mr Searle spoke on The Role of Business in Shaping a Future South Africa.

He said business was ideally positioned to participate in processes which were aimed at rallying "the majority of South Africans around common interests and principles that could ensure an equal, just and non-racial society".

Any business leader who believed it was possible to continue within the framework of "own and general affairs, group areas, co-option politics, patronage and consultation rather than negotiation, has lost touch with reality".

He said business could choose between survival in an apartheid society or relevance in a post-apartheid society.

"The first option offers short-term gains and medium-term disaster. The latter requires short-term courage and offers great opportunity and prosperity.

"Relevance in a post-apartheid society will, however, be determined by the stance and actions taken in the current apartheid society."

Direct confrontation with the government would be met by forceful retaliation.

Mr Searle said the success of business contributions towards the attainment of a just and non-racial society was dependent upon enough business leaders rising to the challenge.

He said the "vast majority of whites have no understanding of the true human, non-racist, religious and democratic nature of their fellow South Africans".

Business was the only vehicle through which whites could be re-educated. — DDC

# Hess: Voortrekkers to take action

**Dispatch Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG — The leader of the Voortrekker movement, Professor Carel Boshoff, has confirmed action will be taken against the small girls photographed in the youth movement's uniform at a wreath-laying ceremony in honour of Rudolf Hess in Pretoria last week.

Despite an Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging (AWB) threat that the Voortrekker movement would be in "deep trouble" if it acted against them, Professor Boshoff said the incident was being investigated and action would be taken against the girls for attending the memorial service for the nazi leader in uniform.

He said the nature of the action would be determined by the Voortrekker's Transvaal regional manager, Mr W. P. Kruger, who could not be contacted yesterday.

About 100 people, carrying nazi flags and wearing swastika armbands and lapel badges, attended the ceremony.

Details of the ceremony are to be handed to the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, a spokesman for the ministry said.

The person who reportedly organised the ceremony, a retired German-born scientist, Dr W. R. Helm of Pretoria, has refused to talk to the press.

Meanwhile, the Council of Natal Jewry's president, Mr Peter Jacobson, has joined the mounting number of Jews who have come out in condemnation of the mourning by people in South Africa of the death of a man "closely connected with those nazi butchers".

He specifically criticised the placing of a wreath with a nazi banner on the Durban Cenotaph — dedicated to soldiers who died fighting nazism in World War II — on Saturday, marking the death of Hitler's deputy

The banner was emblazoned with gold letters bearing Hess' name and the words: "Blessed be the peacemakers."

"The nazis were monsters who committed acts of genocide on the Jewish people.

"It is particularly unfortunate that certain people in South Africa seem to be mourning the passing of a man closely associated with those butchers," he said.

The nazi supporters almost certainly broke a city by-law — but they are unlikely to be brought to book.

A Durban councillor, Mrs Ros Sarkin, called for strong action to be taken against neo-nazis by the government at the highest level.

Attaching banners or posters to council buildings requires the approval of the city engineer's department, which Durban's city engineer, Mr Don Macleod, said would not have been given.

However, he said there was little his department could do if the author of offending material could not be identified from the material itself.

It appears the banners and wreath are now missing after being torn from the gate on Saturday morning by an angry young Jewish woman.

Mrs Sarkin said: "If the government truly claims to be against racial incitement, then the matter should be handed over to the Attorney-General to take action against all those organising and taking part in these extreme and godless demonstrations."

**See also page 13**

CAPE TIMES 24/8/82

# PFP 'to firm middle ground'

306A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE PFP resolved at the weekend to strengthen the "middle ground" of the "rapidly polarizing" South African political scene.

In the process, the party would gear itself to regaining lost ground among the white electorate and to extending its outreach and monitoring activities among the voteless majority of South Africans.

These commitments emerged from a special meeting of the extended federal executive of the PFP at which the future direction of the party and tensions within the PFP were thrashed out.

A mission statement by PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin, that was adopted unanimously by the party's executive, notes that the "PFP refuses to believe that the only options facing South Africans are to join the forces of repression or the forces of revolution.

"These options — the 'laager' option and the 'showdown' option — may reflect the despair of many South Africans. But they do not reflect the hopes, the aspirations or the desires of the vast majority of our people ...

"The PFP has a duty to show this divided nation that there is another way. It has to persuade the people of this country that the third option — the negotiation option — is the one that offers real hope for the future".

Mr Eglin said the PFP was positioned "firmly at the centre" of the broad spectrum of SA politics.

"From there it will lead while rejecting the racists, the Marxists and the other extremists at both ends of the political spectrum."

The PFP leader said the party's mission would involve strengthening the middle ground of South African politics "where millions of South Africans share the PFP's basic philosophy and its vision for the future".

Mr Eglin said the party's two immediate and interlocking tactical objectives would be to persuade white South Africans to get rid of apartheid and to persuade all South Africans to start negotiations on a new constitution that would bring peace and stability and secure the fundamental rights of all South Africans.

The party would pursue its parliamentary role "with vigour", recapture the seats it had lost and serve as a "custodian of liberal values".

However, Mr Eglin noted that while Parliament was "an essential element" of the process of fundamental change, it was "not the only site in the wider South African arena where political power and influence are expressed".

## Essential values

One of the resolutions adopted by the federal executive was that the party's monitoring and outreach activities be "extended and made as effective as possible".

The PFP national director of political organization, Mr Neil Ross, will tour the country next month to make recommendations on improving the PFP's bridge-building functions.

The chairman of the PFP's federal executive, Mr Ken Andrew, said the party had decided that the "first task" of the leadership was "to go out among South Africans of all communities to seek, develop and organize support for our essential values.

"In particular, we call on all party formations to close ranks and to intensify their organizational and fundraising activities, including outreach effort in black communities".

Referring to the recent resignation from the party of the MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, he said: "Insofar as Mr Van Eck appears to believe that there is no viable middle position in South African affairs, it is right that he should have left us, for this party does in fact represent such a position."

Sea breeze
Scent of croissants
Strolling the beachfront

# Albertini in plan to exchange prisoners

Dispatch Reporter

**EAST LONDON — Plans for the release from Ciskei of the jailed French national, Pierre Albertini, were halted yesterday because of lack of co-ordination in a possible three-way prisoner exchange.**

Ciskei Government officials and an international television crew joined a Daily Dispatch news team at Middledrift maximum security prison yesterday morning after reports that Albertini would be part of a prisoner swop also involving Captain Wynand du Toit, the South African soldier captured in Angola in 1985, and Klaas de Jonge, the Dutch fugitive from South African security laws who has taken refuge in the old Netherlands Embassy in Pretoria.

However, the exchange did not occur as planned and Albertini remained at Middledrift while negotiations continued.

A Ciskeian official said the release would not take place because of what he described as the difficult nature of the negotiations involving the release of the three prisoners.

Asked to comment on the Ciskei official's statement, the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said that a "spokesman for the Ciskeian government has in the meantime confirmed that the alleged statement was based on a misunderstanding".



KLAAS DE JONGE

Mr Botha added: "As could be expected, exploratory exchanges regarding this matter have for some time taken place among various interested parties but nothing concrete has thus far materialised.

"Speculation on delicate matters of this nature serves no purpose and is in fact counter-productive," he said.

Albertini was jailed by the Ciskei Supreme Court after he refused to give evidence in a terrorism trial earlier this year.

Capt Du Toit was captured by Angolan forces in a South African Defence Force raid into Angola in May 1985.

Mr De Jonge has been in the Dutch embassy in Pretoria since July 1985 after he took refuge there when charged under the Arms and Ammunition Act.

The imprisonment of Albertini has strained relations between the South African and French governments. France does not recognise the sovereignty of Ciskei and all negotiations surrounding Albertini's release have been directed through South Africa.

The former Fort Hare university lecturer was sentenced to four years imprisonment on March 20 after he refused to give evidence in the trial of five people accused of terrorism, possession of arms and harbouring of terrorists

## MONDAY, 24 AUGUST 1987

†Indicates translated version.

*For written reply:*

*General Affairs:*

### Lusaka, Zambia: airport

320. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:

(1) Whether any (a) flights of and/or (b) aircraft owned by the South African Airways make use of the landing facilities at the airport of Lusaka, Zambia; if so, what specified navigational aids (i) existed and (ii) were in a serviceable condition as at the latest specified date for which information is available;

(2) whether the localizer at this airport is functioning; if not, when did it cease to function;

(3) whether all the runway lights are operating; if not, how many lights are estimated to be out of commission;

(4) whether there are approach lights on all of the runways; if not, how many runways have approach lights;

(5) whether all of these approach lights are in working order; if not, in respect of how many runways are all the approach lights not in working order;

(6) whether the instrument landing system is fully operational; if not, when was it last fully operational;

(7) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

(1) (a) and (b) Yes.

(i) Instrument landing system, visual omni-range and non-directional beacon.

(ii) Visual omni-range and non-directional beacon.

As at 11 August 1987.

(2) No, date unknown. SA Airways is aware of the defect and all SAA flights to and from Lusaka are operated during daylight and with the necessary care.

(3) Yes.

(4) Yes.

(5) No. The airport has two runways only and some of the approach lights on both runways are not in total working order. SA Airways is aware of the circumstances and the necessary caution is displayed.

(6) No, date unknown.

(7) No.

### Rayton/Ekandustria: railway line

321. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:

(1) Whether a railway line has been constructed from Rayton to Ekandustria; if so, (a) when and (b) what was the total cost of constructing this line;

(2) whether this line is being used, if so, (a) how many trains have used this railway line since it was constructed and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished; if not, why not?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

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

## TUESDAY, 25 AUGUST 1987

†Indicates translated version.

*For oral reply:*

*General Affairs:*

*State President:*

### ANC/SA businessmen: meeting

*1. Mr T LANGLEY asked the State President:†

(1) Whether he was consulted and/or in-

formed in advance of a possible meeting on or about 13 September 1985 between a certain group of South African businessmen and newspaper editors and the ANC in the Luangwa Game Park in Lusaka; if so, what was his reaction in this connection;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

†The STATE PRESIDENT:

(1) I condemned the mentioned visit in a statement at the time and do not find it necessary to repeat my standpoint in this regard.

(2) Falls away.

†Mr T LANGLEY: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the State President's reply, the question is whether the hon the State President was consulted and/or informed in advance and what was his opinion at that stage.

†The STATE PRESIDENT: The reply is no.

*Ministers:*

*Questions standing over from Tuesday, 18 August 1987:*

**Ashley James Kriel**

*7. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply, was shot and killed by members of the South African Police in July 1987; if so, (a) on what date, (b) where, (c) what were the circumstances surrounding his death and (d) what was his name;

(2) whether a post-mortem has been performed; if not, why not; if so, (a) how many times had this person been shot, (b) in what parts of the body did this person have bullet wounds, (c) what other wounds or injuries did he have and (d) what was the cause of death?

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) (a) to (c) I am not prepared to furnish the information, because the circumstances in respect of the death of the person are the subject of a judicial process, which I do not want to anticipate.

I noticed with shock and dismay, therefore, that certain preliminary findings by a pathologist regarding this matter, have apparently already been disclosed and received wide publicity. Consequently the investigations and findings of a competent court were disgracefully anticipated and prejudiced.

I, in this regard, wish to point out to the hon member that the *sub judice* rule is normally respected by professional persons. I believe that the hon member will agree with me on this point.

The South African Police adheres strictly to the *sub judice* rule and I believe we are justified in expecting any other professional person or those who hold our judicial system in a high esteem, to do the same.

(d) Ashley James Kriel.

(2) Yes.

(a) to (c) I refer the hon member to my reply in paragraph (1) above.

**Ashley James Kriel**

*8 Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether any restrictions were imposed on the funeral in Athlone in July 1987 of a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister's reply; if so, (a) what specified restrictions, (b) why were they imposed and (c) what was the name of this person;

(2) whether these restrictions were enforced?



†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes.

(a) The restrictions were published in *Government Gazette* 10841 dated 16 July 1987.

(b) Because the South African Police had information at their disposal that laws could possibly be violated and the safety of the public and public order could have been endangered.

(c) Ashley James Kriel.

(2) Yes. I, however, wish to emphasise that shortly prior to the funeral, these restrictions were discussed thoroughly with a delegation of church leaders who were to conduct the funeral. An agreement was reached with these church leaders that restrictions would not be rigidly applied, but they would be strictly enforced if any laws were violated and/or the public order and the safety of the public were endangered. In this regard I would like to point out to the hon member that the South African Police acted in accordance with this agreement. However, the same cannot be said of all other parties.

†Mr S S VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, can we assume therefore that when similar restrictions is announced in future, the SA Police and the Department of the hon the Minister will again be available for discussion in connection with the application of such restrictions?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the reply is yes. We shall be available to discuss these matters with those who conduct such services.

**Potchefstroom: refuse dumped**

*12. Mr J H VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Defence:†

(1) (a) Where in Potchefstroom does the South African Defence Force dump its refuse or have its refuse dumped and (b) to whom does the dumping ground belong;

(2) whether ammunition which can still explode is dumped there by the Defence Force; if so, (a) why, (b) (i) what control is exercised over the dumping ground and (ii) by whom and (c) what categories of persons have access to this ground;

(3) whether the Defence Force has investigated an incident at a dumping ground in Potchefstroom on or about 3 August 1987 in which two members of the public were killed; if not, why not; if so, what were (a) the circumstances surrounding the death of these persons and (b) the findings of the investigation;

(4) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

†The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) (a) In a refuse dump in the General De la Rey Training Area.

(b) The State.

(2) No, it is a refuse dump for domestic and garden rubbish.

(a) Falls away

(b) (i) The area is fenced and the prescribed warnings that it is a restricted area, are displayed.

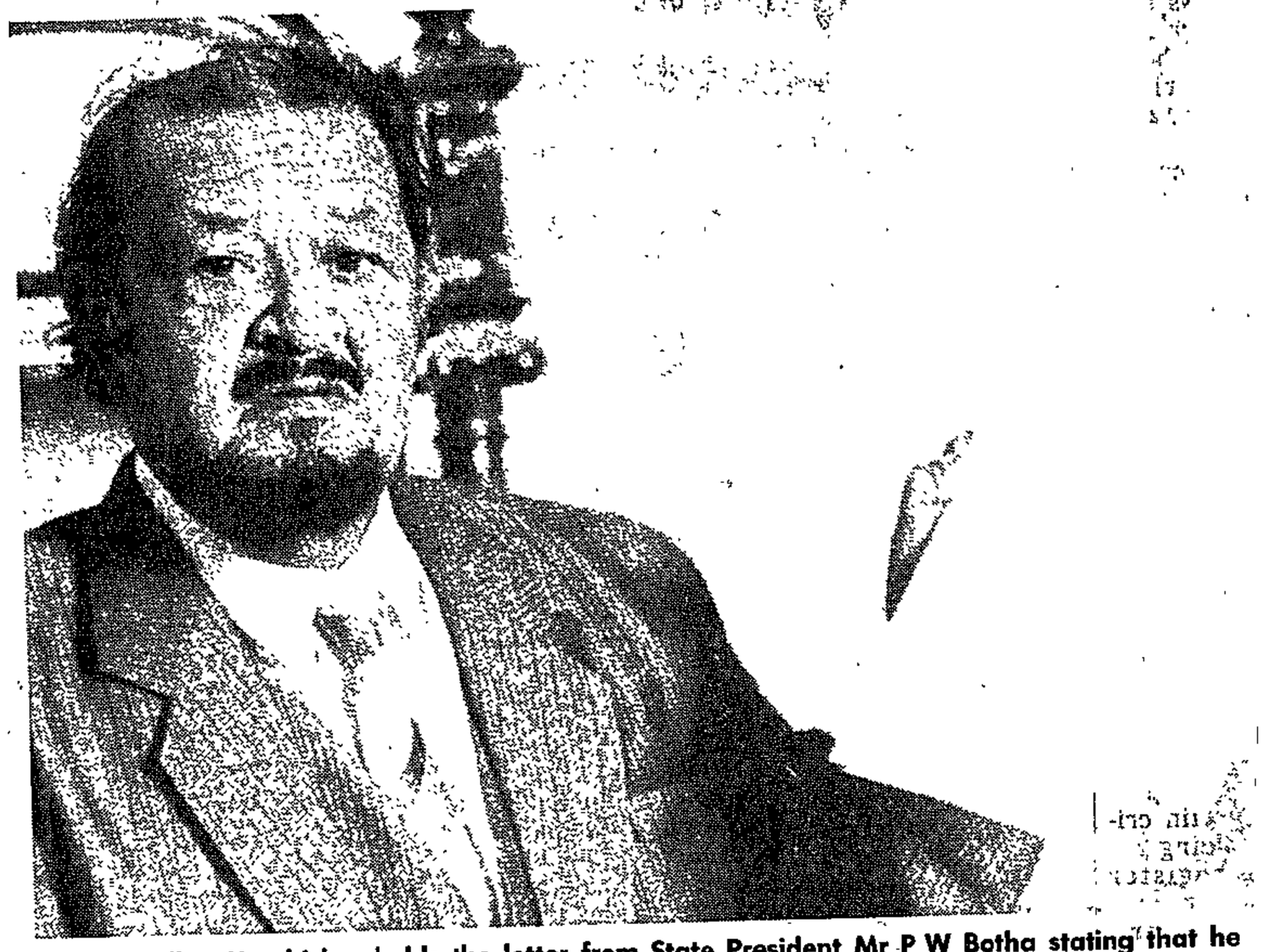
(ii) The refuse dump caretaker. A labourer is on duty full time during the day and the Military Police perform periodic inspections to discourage the presence of unauthorized persons.

(c) Authorized employees of the SA Defence Force.

(3) Yes, (a) and (b) A departmental Board of Inquiry was instituted to determine what the circumstances surrounding the incident were and whether any failure to take proper precautions occurred or remedial actions were required. The findings of the Board of Inquiry are subordinate to the Inquest which still has to take place and consequently it is not poss-

Govt won't have its own way so easily, says Hendrickse

# Labour might block new laws



The Rev Allan Hendrickse holds the letter from State President Mr P W Botha stating that he comply with Cabinet decisions or resign. Mr Hendrickse said he had no choice but to resign.

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

Cape Town

**The Rev Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party will confront the Government over planned key legislation.**

# Labour squaring up to PW

Argus
25/8/87
30KA

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE Government's legislative programme, including President Botha's plan to amend the constitution to delay the white elections, could run into heavy weather following the resignation from the Cabinet of Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

It is clear the Labour Party has rallied behind Mr Hendrickse and it is unlikely the Deputy-Minister of Population Development, Mr L T Landers, or any other member would accept a Cabinet appointment in his place.

## Uneasiness

The Labour Party is committed to adopting a more aggressive stance. Other measures which could face close scrutiny include the proposed national council, which President Botha proposes to use for negotiation with blacks, and measures aimed at breaking the rent boycott in black areas.

There has been uneasiness in the party for some time because of a belief that it was seen as a junior partner of the National Party which helped to implement the apartheid policy and aspects of security measures abhorred by its followers.

Proposed Government measures which the Labour Party could delay or obstruct are wide-ranging. President Botha's plan to change the constitution to allow elections for the three chambers of Parliament to be held at different times — a device to delay white elections due in 1989 — is particularly vulnerable to Labour Party obstruction, since amendments to the constitution, unlike ordinary legislation, require the approval of all three Houses.

## Status

Mr Hendrickse resigned from the Cabinet yesterday amid bitter recriminations about President Botha's insensitivity to the feelings and perceptions of others.

His status and his salary and allowances as a Minister will not be affected by his resignation from the Cabinet. He remains chairman of the Ministers' Council of the House of Representatives.

The President is not obliged to appoint another member of the House of Representatives to his Cabinet.

It is, in any case, unlikely that another Labour Party member would accept such a post from Mr Botha, a position made clear yesterday when Mr Hendrickse said his party caucus had unanimously backed his decision to resign.

The position of Mr Landers, Labour's only other member in the central government structure, is not likely to be affected.

He is not a member of the Cabinet

Mr Hendrickse said today that in his view Mr Landers was appointed as a deputy-minister by virtue of being a member of Parliament and not because he was specifically a member of the House of Representatives

## More critical

Mr Hendrickse said the reaction to his move from party structures in all parts of the country had been overwhelmingly positive. He and other Labour MPs had received messages from supporters almost throughout the night.

Now that he had been "unshackled" from his commitment to central Cabinet decisions, legislation could be more closely scrutinised in the standing parliamentary committees.

He said there would be no rejection of legislation for the sake of rejection but he indicated that the Labour Party's stand would become more critical.

At a Press conference following his speech in the House of Representatives, Mr Hendrickse said the price for continued membership of the Cabinet had become too high if it meant the Labour Party had to surrender its principles.

## Talks with NP

He said he did not have a problem with the move to prolong the term of office of the House of Assembly and to have separate elections for the other two Houses, but the Labour Party wanted greater clarity on the National Party intended future reforms before it agreed to these moves.

Some Labour MPs felt strongly today that there would have to be talks on these issue with Nationalist MPs.

● Mr Hendrickse is to meet ultra-conservative American senator Jessie Helms for a "private, low-profile meeting" in Cape Town today, according to a spokesman for Mr Hendrickse's office. Senator Helms is here on a trip organised by the South African Agricultural



Picture: JIM McLAGAN, The Argus

**THE MORNING AFTER:** Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse whose shock resignation from the Cabinet has threatened to plunge the Government into a constitutional and credibility crisis settles down to a hearty breakfast at his Rondebosch home today. With him is his wife, Mrs Terry Hendrickse.

● The PW-Hendrickse letters — page 8.

# PFP want debate on Hess nazi row

Cape Times 25/8/87 (30CA)

By BARRY STREEK

THE ROW over the nazi memorial service in Pretoria last week escalated yesterday with announcements that the police were investigating the matter and that the Progressive Federal Party had called for a special debate.

The leader of the Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (BBB), Prof J C Schabort, also joined the fray by launching an attack against SA Jews, and saying his organization was modelled on nazism.

Defending the BBB's participation in the Hess service where he laid a wreath, Prof Schabort said the policies of many organizations in SA which defended white nationalism — including "bits and pieces" of NP policy — coincided with nazism.

Ideologically, the BBB only differs from Hitler in terms of the temporary and "compromising" alliances he made with Russia and the Arabs, he said.

"So many Jews, through their publications and in their philosophy, attack apartheid. This upsets the Afrikaner, who feels more threatened than anyone."

Jewish Nationalist MP Mr Sam Bloomberg slated the "lunatic right" for importing a foreign ideology into South Africa but said the banning of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) would only make martyrs of "shabby individuals".

He said he was astonished at the silence of the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Andries Treurnicht, who had certain AWB members in his party in Parliament.

The actions of Mr Terre'Blanche and "those of his ilk serve not only to bedevil race relations, but also to embarrass South Africa in the conduct of its foreign policy".

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said in a statement that he had taken notice of the so-called nazi memorial ceremony after the death of Rudolf Hess and the public outcry.

This followed soon after a similar outcry in which Mrs Winnie Mandela allegedly told a Wits University audience that the "struggle" should be taken into the white residential areas of Pretoria.

"I have therefore instructed the Commissioner of Police to thoroughly investigate any possible breach of the Internal Security Act in both instances."

The PFP's chief whip, Mr John Malcomess, yesterday asked permission from the Speaker for the party leader, Mr Colin Eglin, to discuss a motion, under the half-hour amendment rule, about the gathering.

Mr Jack Abramoff, IFF chairman and a member of the board of directors of the US Holocaust Memorial Council appointed by USA President Ronald Reagan, strongly condemned the wreath-laying ceremony in Pretoria.

## SA a 'haven for nazi sympathizers'

**Own Correspondent**

**LONDON. — South Africa ranks as one of the havens for former nazis and neo-nazis, world authorities on the subject said last night.**

**Among the many German and Austrian immigrants welcomed to South Africa during the years of the immigration boom, were many who kept their nazi sympathies under wraps.**

**British neo-nazis, as well as some from other lands, are known to have settled in South Africa.**

**A member of Searchlight, an organization in the UK which keeps track of nazis and nazi sympathizers worldwide, said their records showed many people with nazi links in SA.**

**He added: "They might have kept their views secret for years, but with the rise of right-wing elements such as the AWB, they are likely to manifest their true allegiance more and more."**

HENDRICKSE

# Hendrickse describes clash over Dakar

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

THE clash between Labour Party leader and Cabinet Minister Mr Allan Hendrickse and President Botha came to a head yesterday afternoon after an exchange of letters.

Mr Hendrickse received a letter from Mr Botha just after 2pm yesterday, soon before the start of the debate on the budget vote of the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr J C Heunis.

Soon afterwards Mr Hendrickse had his reply announcing his resignation delivered to Mr Botha at Tuynhuys.

In the afternoon the House of Representatives took the unusual step of adjourning for an emergency caucus meeting of the Labour Party where Mr Hendrickse's decision to resign from the Cabinet was unanimously endorsed.

There were loud "hear, hears" from his followers when he announced his decision in the House soon after 5pm.

## Perceptions

In his speech in the House, Mr Hendrickse said he had told Mr Botha that he (Mr Botha) was not prepared to acknowledge the perceptions and feelings of others that did not agree with his own.

Referring to the clashes between Mr Botha and coloured MPs in the House last week he said Mr Botha had come to the House to fight, not to listen.

Previously, Mr Botha had clashed with him on the support he had exprsssed for talks such as the Dakar meeting with the ANC.

Mr Botha had accused him of repudiating the President and had said he would in turn repudiate Mr Hendrickse. There had therefore been a build-up, "and it is obvious that we are not understanding each other."

In his clash with Mr Botha about the Dakar talks he had reiterated that he had no doubts about people of different political persuasions talking to each other.

"We have to sit around a table to work out common solutions to South Africa's problems," Mr Hendrickse said.

# PW, Hendrickse letters

Political Correspondent

MR Hendrickse has released the text of the letters between himself and the President.

In his letter to Mr Hendrickse, Mr Botha said:

"I refer to a Cabinet decision of August 12 in terms of which the constitution would be amended to make provision for a separate maximum term of office for each House of Parliament.

"The decision in question was unanimously taken by the Cabinet and reads as follows:

"The Cabinet approves the amendment of the constitution for provision to be made for a separate maximum term of five years for each House;

"Provision for the limitation of the term of office of the State President to five years or as at present until a joint dissolution of all three Houses, whatever is the shortest.

"According to a report in Die Burger of August 24 you said the following at Keimoes. I quote:

'The State President's problem is that he wants to share but that he also does not want to surrender power. He wants to give but he wants to retain the right to decide. This is a pity because our future lies together.

"Mr Botha has made an announcement in the Assembly that he wants to amend the constitution so that the term of the Assembly can be extended.

"It is the Labour Party which will decide if that Act will be accepted. It will not become law until the National Party has come to talk to us and has said how they interpret that mandate."

Mr Botha wrote that if Mr Hendrickse had been correctly reported, he had acted in conflict with a Cabinet decision he himself had supported. Under these circumstances his membership of the Cabinet was unacceptable.

In his reply to Mr Botha, Mr Hendrickse wrote:

"For your information I include extracts from my speech on August 19 in which I clearly indicated that I have no problem with the postponement of elections for the House of Assembly. This is not in conflict with the decision of the Cabinet to which I agreed but, surely, I have a democratic right to decide on the implications thereof.

"It is obvious that you are not prepared or willing to acknowledge the feelings and perceptions of others if that perception is not in line with that of yourself and your party.

"I therefore now hereby tender my resignation from the Cabinet."

(304A) B Day 25/8/87

# The PFP has the way to end violence, says Eglin



**The PFP, badly hit by election setbacks and resignations, still believes it has a vital role to play in SA. In this "mission statement" endorsed by the party's federal executive, leader COLIN EGLIN (left) redefines its aims**

AT THE core of the PFP's existence is the simple yet basic philosophy that it is not the group or the section or the class or the system but the individual human being that is the touchstone of value in society.

Believing this, the PFP is totally and irrevocably committed to working for a non-racial democracy in SA, where government and society respect the fundamental human rights and the dignity of the individual citizen.

The philosophy on which the PFP is founded positions the PFP in the broad spectrum of South African politics. It determines the political process to which it is committed. It provides the basis of its principles and its policies for decent government in SA.

## Rejected

The PFP is positioned firmly at the centre. From there it will lead while rejecting the racists, the Marxists and the other extremists at both ends of the political spectrum. The PFP not only rejects violence as a political instrument but is committed to the process of negotiation on a new constitution that will bring peace and stability to our country.

Its policies in the social, political and the economic fields are enshrined in such concepts as the rule of law, civil liberty, the independence of the judiciary and parliamentary democracy and individual freedom in personal and economic life.

The PFP has a vision of a peaceful, free and prosperous SA, with government based on consent, and with a nation rich in cultural diversity yet united in spirit through a constitution that guarantees equal rights and freedoms and real protection from domination for all South Africans.

The mission of the PFP is to make this vision a reality. This will involve:

☐ Promoting its basic philosophy by fighting racism; presenting democratic alternatives; upholding fundamental human rights; and acknowledging the dignity of the individual;

☐ Strengthening the middle ground in SA politics, where millions of South Africans share the PFP's basic philosophy and its vision for the future;

☐ Engaging those on both sides of our rapidly-polarising political society who do not share the PFP's philosophy or vision, in order to promote that philosophy and vision and to persuade people that negotiation is the alternative to violence.

While the longer-term objective of the PFP is to be an important part of a new, non-racial government, the serious situation in which the country finds itself requires of the PFP short-term objectives as well.

The PFP has two immediate and interlocking tactical objectives.

One is to persuade white South Africans to get rid of apartheid. The other is to persuade all South Africans to start negotiations on a new constitution that will bring peace and stability and secure the fundamental rights of all South Africans.

The PFP will pursue its Parliamentary rule with vigour, both in defence of basic human rights and in the promotion of its philosophy and vision for the future.

## Recapture

In this Parliamentary field the PFP will:

☐ Strengthen its present support base;

☐ Regain the ground and recapture the seats it has lost;

☐ Co-operate with others who share its basic philosophy;

☐ Demonstrate that it is a vigorous opposition, a determined custodian of liberal values and a leader in the field of change;

☐ Keep in close touch with ordinary South Africans at grassroots level to ensure that their problems and aspirations are both understood and addressed in the highest legislature in the land;

☐ Point out to South Africans that the PFP has a policy which provides a realistic basis for peace and stability;

☐ Prepare voters for the funda- [illegible]

Thus, for the PFP to be able to use its base in Parliament effectively in the interest of the country as a whole, it has to be relevant to the wider South African community.

To ensure that the PFP's philosophy and vision, and its commitment to the process of negotiation are shared by a growing number of those South Africans who are excluded from the parliamentary system, the PFP will:

☐ Be involved, wherever it can, with communities and in particular expand and improve its negotiating, mediating, monitoring and awareness activities;

☐ Build bridges of mutual trust across the racial divide;

☐ Identify with the plight of those South Africans who are denied fundamental rights;

☐ Co-operate with individuals and organisations that share our philosophy, our vision and our commitment to non-violent change;

☐ Engage and interact with others in order to reduce the level of violence and raise the prospect of negotiation.

The PFP refuses to believe that the only options facing South Africans are to join the forces of repression or the forces of revolution.

## Aspirations

These options — the "laager" option and the "showcourt" option

place if there is to be peace in our country.

Parliament provides the PFP with a valuable base from which to achieve its mission and objectives. Parliament is an essential element in the process of fundamental changes in SA.

Yet Parliament is not the only site in the wider South African arena where political power and influence are expressed.

Added to this, the majority of the citizens of our country do not have access either to Parliament or to the electoral process which is an integral part of it.

may reflect the despair of many South Africans. But they do not reflect the hopes, the aspirations or the desires of the vast majority of our people.

Millions of ordinary South Africans of all races, languages and creeds desperately want an end to violence. They are prepared to share. They want to live in peace.

The PFP has a duty to show to this divided nation that there is another way. It has to persuade the people of this country that the third option — the "negotiation" option — is the one that offers real hope for the future.

# Right-winger in attack on SA Jews

25/8/87 Sday 304A

BLANKE Bevrydingsbeweging (BBB) leader Prof J C Schabort yesterday launched an attack against SA Jews and said his organisation was modelled on Nazism.

He said the BBB was based on "refined Nazism" in which there was "no room for compromise".

Defending the BBB's participation in last week's service in Pretoria for Nazi deputy leader Rudolf Hess, Schabort said

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

the policies of many organisations in SA which defended white nationalism — including "bits and pieces" of NP policy — coincided with Nazism.

There would be "a dangerous situation for SA if Jews are allowed to bring to a head the victimisation of Nazis".

Schabort went on to link SA Jews to the SA Communist Party, the Rivonia treason trial and to what he described as their role "against South Africans" in the Second Anglo-Boer War.

"So many Jews, through their publications and in their philosophy, attack apartheid. Jews have no sympathy for whites from whom they have distanced themselves to be on the side of those who murder whites."

● See Page 3

# PRICE MOVES AT A GLANCE

ment.

# Who will fill Hendrickse's chair in the cabinet?

Political Staff

**THE resignation of the Rev Allan Hendrickse from the cabinet does not mean that he ceases to be chairman of the Ministers' Council of the House of Representatives.**

**But it does create a problem with regard to who will represent the 85-man House on the cabinet.**

**Section 20 of the Constitution prescribes that among other people, the cabinet "shall consist" of any member of a Ministers' Council designated by the State President as a member of the cabinet.**

**It would appear then that the State President, Mr P W Botha, will have to appoint a member of the council to the cabinet — should he wish to destroy the Labour Party this might be one way of creating the initial split.**

**As far as the chairman of the Ministers' Council is concerned, the State President "shall designate" a member of the council who in his opinion has the support of the majority of the House as the chairman.**

**Here Mr Botha would appear to have no option but to accept the present Labour Party leader unless once again there is a major breakaway.**

**Mr Botha is also unable to call an election for the House at this stage.**

**He may call an election for Parliament — all three Houses — at any time or for one House if:**

- **A House passes a motion of no-confidence in the cabinet — Mr Hendrickse said he would not do this when challenged by the State President on Wednesday.**
- **A House rejects any bill which appropriates revenue or moneys for the ordinary annual requirements or services of the departments of state controlled by members of the cabinet.**
- **Mr Botha is requested to call an election by the Ministers' Council.**

The MINISTER IN THE STATE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE ENTRUSTED WITH ADMINISTRATION AND BROADCASTING SERVICES:

(a) and (b) The Department itself does not do surveys of this kind. The SABC does, however, keep a record of television licencees. As private households are individually licensed, and not television sets as such, it is not known how many television sets there are in Black urban areas.

The Corporation constantly revises its records by means of returns that are provided by television dealers, and by inspections done by an inspectorate of the Post Office. As a result of conditions of unrest in Black areas, it is possible for the Post Office to carry out only limited inspections in those areas. Consequently, it is impossible to determine with any degree of certainty how many licensed households there are in those areas.

A house to house inspection that was carried out during 1986, as far as circumstances allowed, indicated that there were about 10% pirate viewers in the whole of the Republic during that year. This represented a loss of approximately R11-12 million rand.

According to information that the Corporation has obtained from various overseas broadcasting authorities, the figures for pirate viewing in these countries are as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| England | 8% |
| Ireland | 18% |
| Israel | 25% |
| Italy | 17% |
| Austria | 13% |

This problem is thus not confined to South Africa.

The Board of the SABC recently appointed a special subcommittee to investigate the collecting of licence fees in general and pirate viewing in particular.

**Voters' roll**

300. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

(1) Whether it is possible for a voter to be listed on more than one voters' roll; if so, why;

(2) whether any voters were so listed on voters' rolls drawn up for the purposes of the general election held on 6 May 1987; if so, (a) how many and (b) what steps have been or are to be taken to prevent this happening in the future?

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

(1) and (2) Yes In terms of section 6 of the Electoral Act, 1979 (Act 45 of 1979), voters' lists are being compiled from the Population Register since 3 June 1985.

In order to switch from the old to the new system, the voters' lists in force immediately prior to 3 June 1985 were compared with the eligible voters in the Population Register. The old lists contained approximately 80 700 voters whom could not be accounted for in the Population Register.

To prevent these persons from being disfranchised, transitory arrangements were made in section 4 of the Electoral Act, 1979, as amended by section 11 of Act 103 of 1984, in terms of which a person shall not be debarred from being registered as a voter or to vote in the division in which his ordinary place of residence is situated, provided that he satisfies the electoral officer in the area in which that division is situated—

(i) that he has applied for an identity document in accordance with the Population Registration Act, 1950 (Act 30 of 1950); *or*

(ii) that he was registered as a voter at that place of residence according to a voters' list which was in force immediately before the commencement of this paragraph.

In terms of section 4 (3A) of the Electoral Act the aforementioned measures shall lapse immediately after a general election for the Houses of Parliament has been held in pursuance of the first dissolution of Parliament under section 47 (1) of the Constitution.

The hon member is referred to the House of Assembly Debates on 18 June 1984

HoA Hansard 25/8/87 304A



(Hansard Column 9 298) where this matter was explained fully by my predecessor.

Due to the transitory measures concerned, the approximately 80 700 voters have been transferred from the old system to the new voters' lists, despite the fact that some of them have been included in the lists via the population register.

This was due mainly because the old entry could not be positively linked with any corresponding new entry as:—

* names were spelt differently;
* marriages of women took place since their registration as voters under the old system;
* first names differed, or were incomplete;
* dates of birth differed.

Various methods were employed to eliminate possible duplicate entries in the new voters' lists, for example:—

* possible corresponding entries were linked and original documentation consulted to compare signatures and other data;
* letters were mailed to all voters whose names still appear in the old voters' lists, requesting them to apply for identity documents;
* officers of the Department visited the addresses appearing in the old voters' lists in an attempt to trace voters.

Through all its efforts the Department succeeded in educing the number of voters carried forward from the old voters' lists, from approximately 80 700 to approximately 59 700. The Department is satisfied that the latter figure mainly comprises of—

(a) persons who have still not applied for identity documents;

(b) persons who are deceased, but whose particulars registration of deaths can not be positively linked with entries on the old voters' list;

(c) women who married since their registration as voters under the old system;

(d) persons who have left the country permanently; and

(e) persons whose dates of birth on the old voters' list do not correspond with the dates of birth as it was included in the Population Register.

Duplicate entries may still appear in the voters' lists in respect of voters falling in category (c) and (e) above.

HoA

**Voters' roll**

301. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

(1) Whether it is possible for a voter's name to appear more than once on one particular voters' roll; if so, why;

(2) whether any voter's name so appeared on a voters' roll drawn up for the purposes of the general election held on 6 May 1987; if so, (a) how many and (b) what steps have been or are to be taken to prevent this happening in the future?

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

The hon member is referred to the reply to question 300 which is also applicable to this question.

**Males/females: citizenship**

317. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

(1) How many (a) males and (b) females have been granted automatic South African citizenship in term of section 11A of the South African Citizenship Act, No 44 of 1949, since the enactment of this section;

(2) whether any persons who qualified for South African citizenship in terms of this legislation have made declarations stating that they do not wish to become citizens; if so, how many (a) males and (b) females have made these declarations since the enactment of this section; Hansard

(3) whether any action has been taken in respect of the permanent residence status of persons who have made

25/8/87

can Police have a statutory obligation to preserve the security of the State and to this end, like its counterparts the world over, indulge in monitoring the actions of revolutionary activists whether on or off campus.

Taking into account several instances that have occurred in the past that necessitated the arrest, trial and conviction of individuals, connected with the University of Cape Town either as students or as lecturers and who has acted as ANC or SACP agents, the police would be failing in its duty if it should exclude the said university from such action.

This was further necessary because the South African Police, as well as parents and the moderate majority of South Africans are concerned about the situation at the particular university.

I have asked the Commissioner of Police to investigate fully why Mr Pretorius has exposed his involvement with the South African Police.

Furthermore, I am quite prepared to discuss the matter with the vice chancellor of the University of Cape Town, dr Stuart Saunders. I also have a few other matters which I would like to raise with him.

2-8-87.

ADRIAAN VLOK.

MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER.

Mr S S VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, rising from the hon the Minister's reply, I would just like to ask him whether it is the policy of his department to recruit people for these purposes while they are still at school and whether it did indeed happen in other cases.

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I do not think we could send people to the university to spy who are for instance 60 years old. I will therefore not add to the reply I had given previously.

Mr K M ANDREW: Mr Speaker, arising from the hon the Minister's reply, may I ask him whether any steps are being taken in the light of the photographic evidence of the participation of this policeman in certain activities?

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, for the benefit of the hon member I have explained it in full in my reply and in the Press release about the activities of the Police. I will not add to my reply.

Mr K M ANDREW: Mr Speaker, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, in view of the photographic evidence may I ask him whether he expects anybody to believe his answer? [Interjections.]

**Disability rebate**

*12. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of Finance:

(1) Whether he has given any consideration to increasing the maximum disability rebate of R3 000 from the income of severely handicapped persons for tax purposes; if so, with what result; if not, why not;

(2) whether he will consider increasing this rebate in the light of the direct and indirect additional expenses of severely handicapped persons; if not, why not; if so, (a) by what amount and (b) when;

(3) whether he has received any representations for this rebate to be increased, if so, (a) when, (b) from whom and (c) what was his response thereto;

(4) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF FINANCE (Mr K D S Durr):

(1) No. No representations have been received in this regard.

(2) I wish to point out that the relief in question is given in the form of a deduction from income and is not a rebate, i e a reduction in tax. An increase in the amount of the deduction, or relief in some other form will be considered, together with other personal reliefs, in the light of recommendations contained in the Margo Report.

(3) No.

(4) No.

Hansard 25/8/87



**ANC/SA businessmen: discussions**

*13. Mr T LANGLEY asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:†

(1) Whether his Department was in contact with a group of South African businessmen and newspaper editors who held discussions with the ANC in the Luangwa Game Park in Lusaka on or about 13 September 1985; if so,

(2) whether his Department was in contact with the said group (a) before and (b) after these discussions; if so, (a) with what purpose, in each case;

(3) whether he gave (a) instructions and/or (b) permission that this group be so contacted;

(4) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

†The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(1) No, the Department of Foreign Affairs was not in contact with the group. The then Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr D J L Nel, was informed of the visit by one of the persons involved in the arrangements of the group which would visit Lusaka. Mr Nel informs me that he discouraged them most strongly from talking to the ANC and said that nothing could be achieved by talking to the ANC. Mr Nel also supplied facts to the person concerned about the ANC's violent aims and furnished them with particulars to indicate that the ANC was dominated by the South African Communist Party. This was done to underline that nothing could be achieved from talking with that organisation. Mr Nel's views were repeated in an interview with the BBC which fact was reported in SA.

(2) and (3) Falls away.

(4) No.

**Lusaka: airport**

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

HoA

Hansard 25/8/87

(1) Whether the South African Transport Services have received any complaints and/or representations about the landing facilities at the airport in Lusaka, particulars of which have been furnished to the Transport Services for the purposes of the Minister's reply; if so, what is the purport of these complaints and/or representations;

(2) whether the Transport Services have taken or are contemplating any action in this connection; if not, why not; if so, (a) what action and (b) when;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

(1) No.

(2) Falls away.

(3) No.

†Mr T LANGLEY: Mr Speaker, arising from the hon the Minister's reply, we are dealing here with transport facilities which could have very serious complications for the South African public flying to Lusaka, and I therefore want to ask the hon the Minister whether he knows absolutely nothing about it, and whether he intends doing something about the matter.

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I have answered the hon member's question exactly. If he requires further information, he must put a new question.

Mr D J N MALCOMESS: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply and in view of the fact that earlier this week or last week in reply to a question of mine he stated that the ILS and a number of runway approach lights at Lusaka Airport were out of action, I want to ask whether he is prepared to reconsider the fact that SAA's planes are apparently still landing in Lusaka.

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, we will at all times ensure the complete safety of our aircraft.

Mr K M ANDREW: What about the passengers?

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Grht Times 25/8/87 30 K 4

# Hendrickse spells out reasons for quitting

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. — "You are not willing to acknowledge the perceptions and feelings of others that do not agree with yours," the Rev Allan Hendrickse wrote yesterday to the State President, Mr P W Botha.

"I hereby tender my resignation from the cabinet," the Labour Party leader told Mr Botha.

The LP leader announced his resignation from the cabinet in a speech in the House in which he set out his party's position following the attack on the LP last week by Mr Botha.

Mr Hendrickse said he went on record in the House last week as saying that if the NP did not "talk to us" on where it was going, it could forget LP support for its proposed change to the constitution allowing it to postpone the general elections.

"The State President sent me a letter asking if I was correctly reported in the newspapers and saying this was in conflict with the cabinet decision and it brought into question my membership of the cabinet."

Mr Hendrickse said he had had differences with the State President and had seen that Mr Botha's attack was "coming" last week.

After Mr Hendrickse had issued a statement on the state of emergency Mr Botha had contacted him and asked "why I was making things difficult for him".

After statements by Mr Hendrickse on the Dakar talks had been published — that Mr Hendrickse favoured people sitting down to talk to each other across the political spectrum — Mr Botha had called him.

"He said, why are you repudiating me? I had to remind him I am leader of the Labour Party first.

"I'm not a member of the National Party, and therefore I have the right to say what I do say on behalf of my party.

"I said to him, I reiterated, that I had no doubt about people of different political persuasions talking to each other.

"We have to sit down around a table to work out common solutions for South Africa's problems. — Sapa

SUPREME COURT ROLL

# LP MPs hit back at State President

Cape Times 29/8/87 3044

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. — Last week's attack by the State President, Mr P W Botha, on the Labour Party had "taken us to the townships where the heart of our people beats", the Leader of the House, Mr Miley Richards, said here yesterday.

The State President's speech had given the House of Representatives the credibility it deserved, Mr Richards said.

If he was denied the right to express the views of his people then "I have no further role to play in this chamber", he said.

"The State President says I must say thank you," he said.

"Thank you for what?"

The Group Areas Act and apartheid?

His forebears had owned smallholdings in what was now Acacia Park, a development reserved for white parliamentarians.

"Must I say thank you for that?" he asked.

His parents had owned shops in Sophiatown, which had been razed to make way for a white suburb.

The coloured people of Western township had been left for 26 years in the same shacks when the black people of Sophiatown were moved.

"What wasn't good enough for the black people was good enough for us," he said.

"Must I fall on my knees and say thank you for that?"

The State Presdient had implied that LP MPs should "speak softly" or there might be a CP government in power next time.

"I don't want to threaten you," said Mr Richards. "But we may not be here next time around."

□ The Afrikaner was the real victim of apartheid, said Mr John Douw (LP Nominated).

Speaking in debate he said apartheid had dehumanized the Afrikaner to an extent.

The liberation struggle that was being waged now should not be seen as the struggle of black people only.

**Mr John Douw: The question was whether the State President represented all South Africans or only Afrikaners.**

The white man would never be really free till the black man was free.

A policy of reconcilation and not of playing the master were the prerequisites for a new political structure in this country.

The actual question in South Africa now was whether the State President, Mr P W Botha, was a head of state or a party leader, and whether he represented all South Africans or if he meant it when he referred to Afrikaners as "my people".

In further reference to the State President's speech last week, Mr Peter Hendrickse (LP Addo) said he would not allow himself to be intimidated by anyone and accused Mr Botha of a racist over-reaction to a remark that if he could not carry out his reform plan, then he should pack his bags.

Calls for his resignation had been made by other parties, but he had not reacted to them as he had in the House of Representatives.

Could the National Party not understand the anguish coloured people felt over the Group Areas Act?

District Six's areas were regarded by ministers as slums, but "to us, they were home, they were part of us".

□ Mr Tommy Abrahams (LP Wentworth) said Mr Botha was party to a move to destroy the Labour Party and the political future of its leader.

However, the Rev Allan Hendrickse had responded in a dignified manner.

"What right has anyone to berate us in this House?" Mr Abrahams asked.

The party was not saying it was anti-NP, it was saying that it was opposed to the system of apartheid.

Mr Abrahams also said he wanted to correct a misrepresentation that the House had made rude remarks during the State President's debate last week

"The naked truth of apartheid was told in this House in normal King's English.

"We can't be held responsible for the reaction to it."

□ Mr Botha's comment that coloured people should thank Afrikaners for their advancement was paternalism at its worst, said Mr Desmond Lockey (LP Nominated).

□ Mr Denis de la Cruz (DWP Ottery) said it had to be conceded that South Africa had progressed constitutionally.

Mr Heunis should be supported in his efforts to draw up a new blueprint for the country, he said to constant heckling from LP Members.' — Sapa

# Hendrickse quits cabinet

Cape Times 25/8/87

304A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

**THE government's tricameral parliamentary system was plunged into a constitutional and credibility crisis by the shock resignation yesterday of Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse from the cabinet.**

Mr Hendrickse announced his resignation at the end of a hard-hitting speech during which he lashed out at the government's racial policies and President Botha's inability or unwillingness to "acknowledge the feelings and perceptions of others".

The move followed a surprise adjournment of the debate in the House of Representatives for an emergency Labour Party caucus meeting at which the party unanimously endorsed his decision to resign.

## Firm undertaking

President Botha later announced he had accepted the LP leader's resignation "with immediate effect" but noted that this did not affect his position as chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives.

At a press conference later, Mr Hendrickse said he did not believe that a single member of his party would be prepared to fill his vacant seat in the cabinet and indicated that his plan to block Mr Botha's proposed postponement of the 1989 white election still applied.

Mr Hendrickse has promised to scuttle Mr Botha's plan to delay the election unless the President gives a firm undertaking to scrap both the Group Areas and Separate Amenities Acts.

Indications last night were that Mr Botha would have to engineer a split in the Labour Party, possibly by appointing a new member of the Ministers' Council to the cabinet, to push through the constitutional amendment needed to avoid a 1989 election.



**RESIGNED** ... Mr Allan Hendrickse announcing his resignation.

From page 1

In a reference to the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, Mr Hendrickse said at a press conference last night that he could understand why "some people" in government did not want an election in 1989, "particulary those that got (a majority) of 39 votes".

He said his resignation had produced "an unshackling" from the Nationalist government and was necessary because the "price" of his continued membership of the cabinet produced a situation in which the non-racial principles of the LP were becoming unacceptably compromised.

Being a member of the cabinet had created a "conflict situation" because he was expected to "make the apartheid system work" by going along with cabinet decisions on own affairs and the homelands.

Mr Hendrickse said his resignation was likely to "increase our support among the community" and that he had "no fears" of an election in 1989.

The LP leader stressed that the government rather than he would be the loser as a result of his resignation from the cabinet and said his party would in future adopt a "more aggressive" line in the tricameral Parliament.

● LP MPs hit back at State President — Page 4

To page 2

Earlier, in an emotional speech during the vote of the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Hendrickse noted that the State President had last week come to the House of Representatives "to fight with us — he did not listen".

The LP leader said that after carefully reading all the speeches of LP MPs in last week's debate it was clear that not one MP had attacked the State President or attempted to "insult or denigrate" the Afrikaner.

Indeed, Mr Botha owed the House an apology for his attack on LP members whose message he had shown himself incapable of understanding.

"The fact that some people have died (as a result of government policies) is of no consequence to some people," Mr Hendrickse noted.

Telling the House that "today I must talk from the heart", Mr Hendrickse stated that some of the assertions made by Mr Botha to the House last week were "a lie or an untruth".

Mr Hendrickse disclosed that Mr Botha had privately "repudiated" him for expressing regret at the renewal of the state of emergency and for supporting the Dakar ANC dialogue mission.

Yesterday Mr Botha had sent him a letter criticizing his opposition to the postponement of the 1989 constitution.

P.T.O

The LP leader wrote back yesterday afternoon saying "it is obvious that you are not prepared or willing to acknowledge the feelings and perceptions of others, if that perception is not in line with that of yourself and you party.

"I therefore now hereby tender my resignation from the cabinet."

During yesterday's debate, Labour Party MPs slated Mr Botha's performance in the House of Representatives as betraying "paternalism of the worst form", deviating from the truth, for being "racist" and for trying to destroy the LP and the political future of Mr Hendrickse.

# SABC chief may be replaced

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

INDICATIONS were increasing today that the Director-General of the SABC, Mr Riaan Eksteen, is being replaced — but there has not yet been official confirmation.

Rumours about this were rife in political and media circles.

Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, the Minister in the State President's Office responsible for broadcasting services, declined to comment on reports that Mr Eksteen had been dismissed.

When the report was put to him today he said he had no comment as all matters to do with the employment of staff and service conditions fell exclusively under the corporation.

## LED TO DECISION

In SABC circles the impression was that some action had been taken against Mr Eksteen, but he was not available for comment.

Initially sources close to the President's office dismissed suggestions that the way in which the resignation of Mr Allan Hendrickse from the Cabinet was covered by SABC-TV on Monday night finally led to the decision to replace Mr Eksteen.



Mr Riaan Eksteen

From other sources, however, it emerged that on Monday night the SABC received a complaint from President Botha's Office while the 8pm television news bulletin was still in progress.

Mr Hendrickse was being interviewed and, in all, about 11 minutes were given to the report. (Earlier this year the SABC gave about 23 minutes of television time to President Botha's repudiation of Mr Hendrickse following the Port Elizabeth swimming incident.)

President Botha's objection to the bulletin was apparently about the emphasis placed on the resignation.

The SABC report stated that he had accepted Mr Hendrickse's resignation while President Botha maintained that it should have reported that Mr Hendrickse had been left no choice and that he had been forced to resign.

The SABC was also told to repeat the exchange of letters between the two in the same bulletin. This was done about 8.30pm and on breakfast TV.

The step against Mr Eksteen was apparently the culmination of Government complaints about the SABC's political coverage, especially during the May general election campaign.

In some Nationalist circles the feeling was that too much time was given to opponents of the National Party and that they were being given too easy a run.

The management committee of the SABC was meeting in Cape Town today.

The chairman of its board, Mr Brand Fourie, and other top management figures are in Cape Town for the discussion of the SABC budget vote in Parliament.

An announcement is expected later today.

The crisis facing the Government after Rev Allan Hendrickse's resignation from the Cabinet raises complex questions for President Botha. PROFESSOR GERHARD ERASMUS of the Department of Public Law, Stellenbosch University, analyses the constitutional consequences.

# 1989 election issue: PW needs Hendrickse

WHAT are the consequences of the resignation from the Cabinet by the Rev Allan Hendrickse? It seems safe to assume that the honeymoon between the Government and the Labour Party is over, that is, if Mr Hendrickse makes true his promise to adopt a more aggressive approach.

One of the steps envisaged by Mr Hendrickse is to scuttle the State President's plan to postpone the general elections to 1992. Is he in a position to do so?

The answer depends on the powers of the House of Representatives and the process in terms of which the Constitution itself can be amended. Since the adoption of the 1983 Constitution and the inclusion of coloureds and Indians in Parliament, the adoption of laws is of course based on a division of legislative matters into general and own affairs.

## Empowered

Bills on "own affairs" are disposed of by the House of the population group in question. Such bills must be accompanied by a certificate issued by the State President in order to ensure that one population group does not interfere in the affairs of another.

Ordinary general affairs legislation might be adopted in spite of the fact that one or even two of the Houses oppose it. This can be achieved because the State President is empowered to refer such a Bill or the different versions thereof to the President's Council for its decision. (He may, however, also decided to withdraw it).

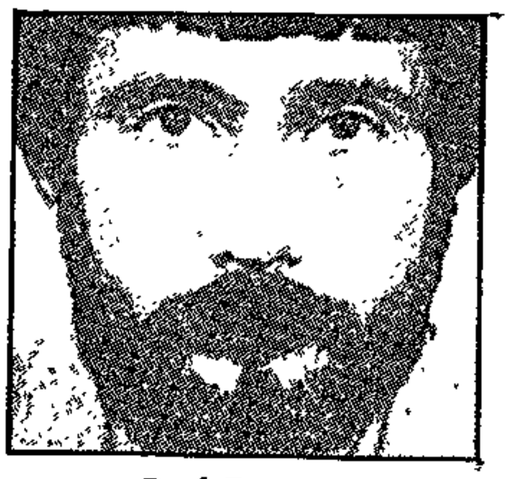
The President's Council may then decide which version is to be presented to the State President and its choice "should be deemed to have been passed by Parliament." It should be added that the composition of the President's Council is such that together the State President and the National Party, which is the majority party in the House of Assembly, appoints and elects 35 out of the 60 President's Council members.

Decisions by this body are taken by an ordinary majority of the members present. It is therefore clear that opposition by the House of Representatives or Delegates cannot prevent adoption of ordinary general affairs bills. There is even provision that if one or two Houses should boycott Parliament, that Parliament shall then consist of the remaining house or houses.

The issue of the postponement of the general election does however raise another important constitutional point. The South African Constitution is not like, for example, its American counterpart which is really the supreme law of the land.

It is, but for two basic qualifications, very much like an ordinary Act of Parliament that can be changed like any other statute. It is stated in one of its clauses that "Parliament may by law repeal or amend any provision of this Act".

The only qualifications concern the protected status of the two official languages and the requirements set by Section 99 (3) of the Constitution. Afrikaans and English are entrenched as the official languages and this can only be altered through a Bill that "has been agreed to in every House by not less than two thirds of the total number of its members." Section 99 (3) lists a number of provisions of the Constitution that are also to some degree entrenched.



Prof Erasmus

They can only be repealed or amended through a Bill that "has been agreed to in every House by a majority of the total number of its members." The duration of Parliament, which is five years, is included in this list. (The other such provisions deal with the election of the State President, the definition of own and general affairs, the composition of the executive branch of government, the legislative process, the constitution of the various houses of Parliament, franchise requirements, joint committees, and certain aspects of the President's Council.)

The period of five years will have expired in 1989 and unless all these Houses agree to a constitutional change and therefore to a prolongation of the life of Parliament, the general elections cannot be postponed to 1992. Since Mr Hendrickse's Labour Party enjoys a clear majority in the House of Representatives, no such amendment of the Constitution is possible without his party's support.

The fact that a white election has taken place this year cannot satisfy the constitutional requirement if only the other two population groups go to the polls in 1989. Parliament consists of all three Houses. The constitution states quite explicitly that "Parliament shall continue for five years." The State President is, however, empowered to dissolve Parliament at any earlier date.

## Requirements

It could also be added that a Supreme Court is competent to decide questions related to the procedural requirements (not merits) that apply to the adoption of laws. An Act that has therefore been adopted in a manner contrary to the precedural requirements of the Constitution, may be declared void by the Supreme Court.

This episode has also shed light on the constitutional implications for those Cabinet ministers who are not members of the party in control of the Cabinet.

In the past and under the Westminster system Cabinet members all belonged to the same party and stood under party and caucus discipline. Under such a system the principal of collective ministerial responsibility made good sense. This has changed fundamentally now and has resulted in an unenviable position for people such as Mr Hendrickse.

The Star

304A

# Tricameral system in the balance

PRESIDENT BOTHA may live to rue the confrontation he has provoked with the Rev Allan Hendrickse, the Labour Party and the House of Representatives. More than he seems to have realised, Mr Botha's government and the tricameral system itself are dependent on the patience and goodwill of the junior Houses despite their allotted subservient role. Their only ultimate weapon in asserting their will is to remove the system's credibility by making it visibly unable to function without Government steamrollering; or in the final resort to quit the system for the extra-parliamentary wilderness.

It was the insensitive tirade Mr Botha launched last week against coloured MPs' criticisms that has brought this ultimate weapon into play, with potentially dangerous consequences for parliamentary rule and for race relations.

No group has suffered more from group areas removals than have the coloured people. Justified sharp words from them on the subject were only to be expected. The anger and contempt with which Mr Botha dismissed their strictures is the real cause of Mr Hendrickse's walkout. The next stage of the battle — already signalled by the Labour leader — is for the coloured House to challenge every piece of legislation which perpetuates apartheid structures.

Coloured representatives in the controversial three-chamber parliament did not take their seats to entrench apartheid. To gain credibility, they knew they had to show progress in breaking it down. If the Government does not show sufficient reformist will to win the co-operation of other groups, the route of peaceful change through the orderly channels of Parliament will be bypassed, resulting in damaging upheavals.

President Botha has himself to blame for his predicament. If there is still any going back at this late stage, he owes it to the country to demonstrate that he respects the differing opinions of his co-opted partners. For if he cannot retain the trust of "tame" coloured leaders, what hope is there of gaining it with credible blacks?

# Nazi row: PW promises swift action

Cape Times 26/8/87 304

## Business Report

PHILIPPI seems likely to become the fastest-developing commercial and industrial area in the Western Cape, as leading companies try to increase their penetration of the growing black consumer market.

Yesterday's announcement by developer Airport Industrial Corporation that work will soon start on its Crossways shopping centre near Khayelitsha brought an eager response from would-be tenants.

A spokesman for the developers said: "Our telephone hardly stopped ringing."

Now Johannesburg-based Shield Trading Company says it will open a cash and carry store, with a trading area of 10 000² m, off Lansdowne Road near Khayelitsha.

— PAGE 5

MONETARY policy will remain expansionary until the upswing is stronger and demand for credit increases, the governor of the SA Reserve Bank, Dr Gerhard de Kock, said yesterday.

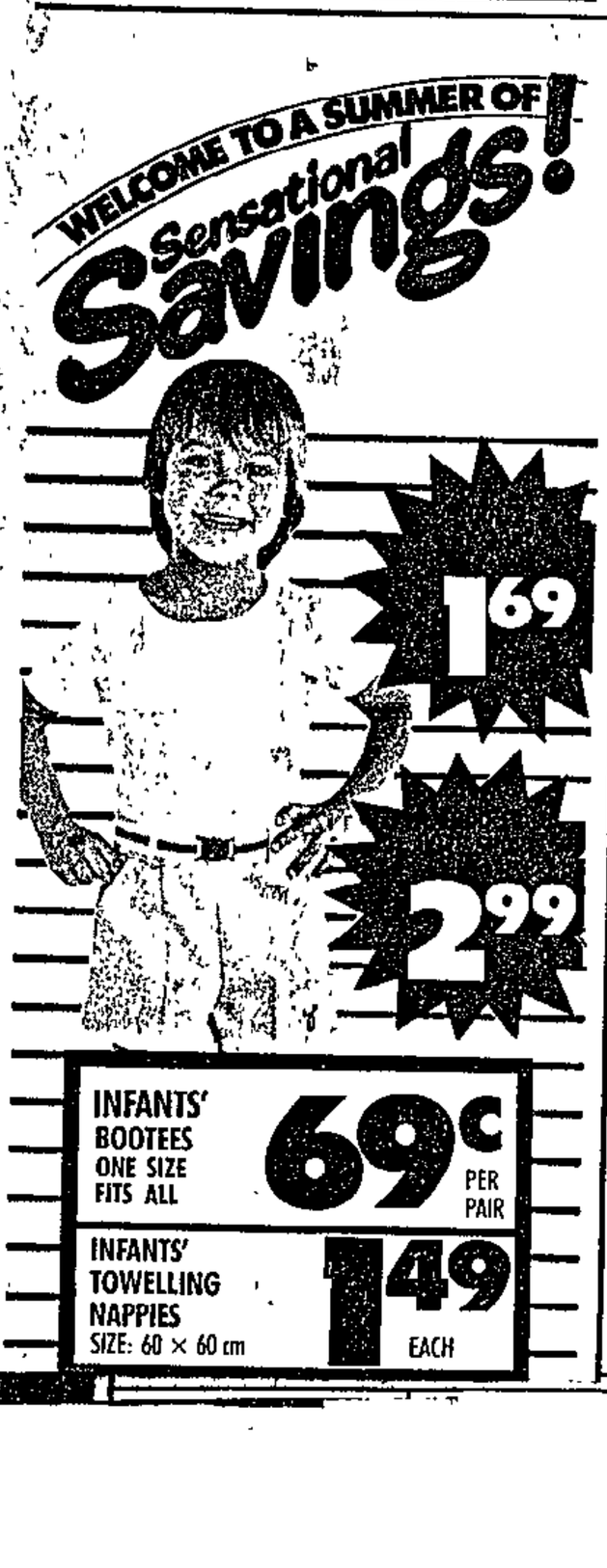
He said that, given the scope for increased economic growth provided by the favourable balance of payments and domestic financial developments, the performance of the economy had been disappointing.

"Money is chasing paper in the financial markets instead of bricks, mortar and steel," he said.

— PAGE 5

## Soccer tycoon's girlfriend jailed for stealing millions

— PAGE 3




By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

**PRESIDENT P W BOTHA yesterday gave an unequivocal "no" to nazism in South Africa and promised swift and strict action against anti-Jewish campaigns.**

In a special statement to Parliament, Mr Botha said: "As long as this government is in power, there will be no hesitation to act against any elements which threaten or defame any of our communities or minority groups."

He said that if existing laws were not adequate, new measures would be introduced.

The State President said the government was not opposed to a parliamentary debate about "racism and religious persecution" in South Africa but the Speaker yesterday turned down a PFP request for a half-hour debate on the holding of a gathering to pay tribute to former nazi leader Rudolf Hess.

PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin said afterwards that his party denounced pro-nazism in all forms.

"The pro-Hess gathering, at which the swastika was displayed, was not only an affront to humanity and the millions of Jews who were killed in the '30s and '40s, but also an affront to the tens of thousands of South Africans who sacrificed their lives to help mankind get rid of the scourge of nazism," he said.

However, the leader of the Conservative Party and Leader of the Opposition, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said there were "such a small number" of people involved in the pro-Hess gathering that "I don't think it was worthwhile making a fuss about it".

He added: "I don't consider it a national crisis — it could have been ignored.

"I am just wondering whether Mr Botha was not over-reacting against something caused by a couple of dozen of people .. The Conservative Party, in any case, was not involved," Dr Treurnicht said.

In his statement to the House, Mr Botha said "Any organization in this country which wants to start an anti-Jewish campaign will be acting in conflict with the law and convictions of this country, and I, and the government, will not hesitate to oppose such actions.

To cries of "hoor, hoor", Mr Botha said he rejected national socialism and its "dictatorial system" in the strongest possible terms.

"The South African government will not hesitate to act against any individual or organization which threatens or besmirches any community or minority group in this country ..."

To this end, existing measures would be applied strictly, Mr Botha said. If that did not prove sufficient, additional measures would be submitted to Parliament for approval.

Quoting from a statement he made in 1982, Mr Botha said: "There is no room in South Africa for communists and there is no room for neo-nazis either."

Mr Botha said he believed that all three chambers of Parliament would agree with him that "the greatest danger for an orderly, stable South Africa lies in whipping up racial and religious feelings against each other".

## Nazi salute man: 'I don't care'

**JOHANNESBURG. — The scientist who gave the nazi salute at a Hess memorial ceremony in Pretoria at the weekend, yesterday dismissed Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok's investigation under the Internal Security Act into the ceremony, which he organized.**

**Breaking his silence on the controversial ceremony which honoured nazi Rudolf Hess last week, Dr W R Helm said Mr Vlok should do what he saw fit in terms of his position.**

**"I couldn't be bothered with it," he said.**

# Child

Court Reporter

A PLUMSTEAD man of "supe
intelligence" but whose emot
al behaviour in regard to sex
"that of a 13-year-old" was yes
day fined R1 000 (or one yea
Wynberg Regional Court for
decently assaulting his da
ter's nine-year-old friend.

Mark Viviers, 34, plea
guilty to indecently assaul
the girl between October
year and March this year.

At an earlier hearing he s
he was not aware that pettin
girl under the age of 16 was
offence.

"She asked me to do it the f
time. She did not get any love
home," he said.

Yesterday a psychiatrist,
Carl Burger, said he had cons
ed with Viviers and that he
normal with a "good backgrou
and superior intelligence".

Viviers had attended go
schools and had a good job w
the Divisional Council as a co

court



# SABC head sacked — rumour

**Political Staff**

THERE is speculation that Mr Riaan Eksteen, head of the SABC, has been fired because the Rev Allan Hendrickse was given television time to explain his resignation from the cabinet.

Mr Eksteen is in Cape Town today for the SABC's budget debate in Parliament.

Mr Pieter Cronje, a senior member of Mr Eksteen's staff, declined to comment when approached about the possibility that Mr Eksteen had been dismissed.

Mr Cronje said Mr Eksteen and his officials would be in Cape Town for the duration of the budget debates on the SABC. This would seem to indicate that the speculation about Mr Eksteen's dismissal is incorrect, or that he has been given a period of grace.

## Degree of dissatisfaction

Mr Eksteen was appointed to head the SABC when the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, was in charge of the service.

Responsibility for the broadcasting services has been shifted to Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, which seemed to indicate a degree of dissatisfaction with what the SABC was broadcasting and the way in which it was being controlled.

If speculation about Mr Eksteen's dismissal is correct it would appear to indicate that Mr Schlebusch or the State President, Mr P W Botha, has been incensed by the coverage the SABC allowed Mr Hendrickse to justify his resignation.

It is understood there was exception to the SABC's presentation that the State President had "accepted" Mr Hendrickse's resignation rather than it being presented as a forced resignation.

Mr Eksteen could not be traced late last night.

● TV licence fees to go up again? — Page 3

SMH 26/8/87

# NP hijacks PFP motion on blasts

**By Shirley Woodgate,**
**Municipal Reporter**

A Progressive Federal Party moton to condemn the recent spate of bomb basts in the city was last night hijacked by tle National Party to introduce the Dakar talk issue into debate in the Johannesburg City Council.

Four hours after the start of thedebate, the disgusted PFP leader, Mr Sam Mosscondemned the "assassination process" by theNP and its "recklessness" in attempting to scre debating points rather than accepting the sinerity of the motion proposed by Professor HaroldRudolph.

Introducing his motion — condeming the acts of terrorism, expressing sympathy ith the victims and appealing to all South Afrians to unite to create peace — Professor Rudolh said most South Africans rejected violence on oth sides of the political spectrum: "the lunaticon the Left and the AWB Nazis on the Right, botfascists".

The NP introduced an amendmencondemning the action of participants in the Dakar talks.

Mr Pieter Schoeman (PFP), who was part of the Dakar delegation, labelled NP condemnation of the talks as the highest form of hypocrisy, bearing in mind the Nat talks in Geneva while members of Swapo were giving the black power salutes, and the accord with former President Samora Machel, "a well known Marxist".

The NP implied that the delegates were traitors, yet all South Africans spoke to members of the ANC daily when they addressed black employees. "I challenge the NP to deny that movements like Cosatu and the UDF are not wings of the ANC," he said.

Referring to political violence "from above and below", Mr Schoeman said that when the vast majority of people had no access to the ballot box, they embraced political violence.

Violence was dehumanising society he said, reminding the council that even his NP friends argued there would be no solution in this country without the ANC.

Feelings mounted as former PFP councillor, Mr Geoff Stark, argued that the former mayor's call for unity came from a party which had issued a pamphlet containing lies during the recent by-election.

He was accused by Mr Cecil Bass (PFP) of descending to "gutter politics" by digressing to accuse a PFP member of making anti-Semitic remarks.

Mr Eddy Magid (IRA) said people who went to Dakar would go down in history as having harmed the cause of peace-loving South Africans.

The motion, as amended, was passed when NP members and supporters of Mr Oberholzer's IRA voted in favour of it.

● See Page 7.

# Murdered Idasa man 'was not ANC member'

**The Star's Africa News Service**

LUSAKA — Mr Eric Mntonga, the murdered co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), was not a member of the African National Congress (ANC), the banned organisation said yesterday.

In a statement, the ANC said Mr Mntonga "only became known to the ANC after his death and so did his association with Idasa".

Mr Mntonga was found stabbed soon after the controversial Dakar delegation.

The allegation that Mr Mntonga was an ANC cadre leader and helped organise the Dakar talks was broadcast by radio Nigeria.

FOR SUBSCRIPTION INQUIRIES — TELEPHC

# Repression will spur resistance warns professor

GRAHAMSTOWN — Revolution in South Africa was a process, not an event, the professor of political studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, Professor Alf Stadler, said here last night.

He predicted a change of regime in ten to 15 year's time.

There would be no fundamental change but more a fundamental transformation, possibly to some form of a more socialist regime, Professor Stadler said.

He is the author of a newly published work, The Political Economy of South Africa.

Professor Stadler said state reform might be seen as responses to a revolt, an intervening to modify fundamental changes.

The contemporary crisis was caused by the changing relations between capital and labour. There were symptoms of serious corrosion of unstable homelands, including the "showpiece" national states which had leadership crises.

The wave of strikes all had their roots in the pace and form of revolutionary struggles.

"1987 will cast a long shadow, with repression used to break rebellion and the state's counter-revolution," Professor Stadler said.

Repression had the effect of broadening and stiffening resistance, he warned.

It was also extraordinary what resilience some organisations had shown in withstanding the repressive powers of the state.

The recession had contributed to a massive increase in unemployment. There was also a decline in employment opportunities.

Professor Stadler said the belated decolonisation of the Portuguese territories, particularly Angola, had caused South Africa to expand its operations.

South African blacks had then seen that political change could be brought about through the use of force.

The use of the military externally had resulted in the extension of its use internally.

"On both sides there is now a willingness to take more risks, particularly among young African intellectuals," he said.

The struggle had also enabled the African National Congress to shorten its lines of communication.

On the home front there was the chronic problem of financing local government services.

Professor Stadler said that during the 1970s the sales of traditional beer had fallen off. This caused a crisis of falling revenue, escalating demands and high inflation.

The concept of regional government was seen as providing new sources of revenue.

Elected bodies had now become appointed bodies. It was an obvious move: to remove key decision-making from the arena of direct attack by party-political groups.

On military options, Professor Stadler said those who believe there was military rule were probably right but military intervention would not radically transform the real crisis.

"Military intervention makes it more difficult to generate reform," he said.

The military base for the struggle for power was considerably advanced. The far right were already making advances to the military.

"If the military respond to these advances as they did in 1914 they will have no compunction in shooting their cousins," he said.

# SABC top staff to be axed in clean-out

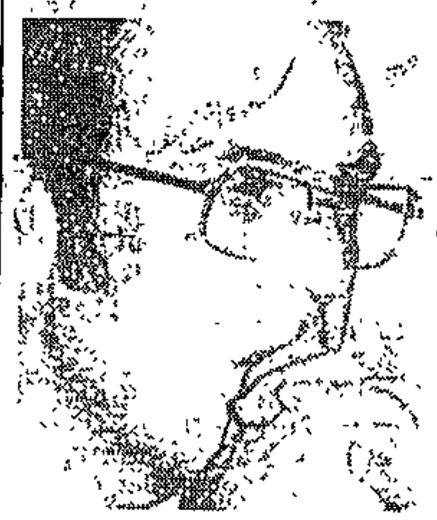
# Hendrickse resignation threatens turmoil

Dispatch Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG — The National Party hierarchy was thrown into turmoil yesterday after it was reported that the resignation of the Rev Allan Hendrickse was threatening to precipitate a major clean-out of top staff at the SABC.**

Political sources close to the Nationalist caucus, said President Botha planned to sack Mr Riaan Eksteen as director general and replace him with the secretary general in the office of the State President and former deputy head of the prisons department, Mr Jannie Roux.

Mr Eksteen's sacking was expected to be followed by the departure of other senior staff.



MR EKSTEEN

However, the Nationalist newspaper Beeld stated categorically this morning that Mr Eksteen would stay on as director-general.

The newspaper reported "on good authority" that Mr Eksteen had definitely not been fired and that the SABC board did not intend to fire him.

It suggested that the board would discuss "matters concerning management" on which Mr Eksteen could put forward some proposals at a meeting next week.

Last night Mr Eksteen said he was "not going to react to any questions".

Asked whether there was truth to speculation that he was being fired, an agitated Mr Eksteen replied: "Why don't you call Dr Brand Fourie, the chairman of the board. He'll give you satisfaction."

Earlier yesterday the SABC itself was awash with rumours but staff claimed they were forbidden to report the events on any of its news bulletins.

A senior official close to the events said: "There's blood on the floor everywhere — not only at the SABC, but even inside the caucus."

The sources said Mr Botha personally intended to fire Mr Eksteen because he was dissatisfied with the SABC's reporting on Mr Hendrickse's resignation on Monday night.

According to some reports it had been expected that Mr Eksteen would either resign or that another reason for his dismissal would be found. One of the suggestions was the SABC's losses of more than R50 million over the past two years.

In Parliament yesterday, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, minister in charge of broadcasting, said in reply to a question about speculation on Mr Eksteen's dismissal that his answer was "very short and very definite."

"The SABC board has the exclusive right to employ people and to dismiss them and to accept their resignation." It was up to the board to take any action, if necessary, if and when it saw fit.

Mr Botha was said to have been incensed by the "excessive" exposure given to Mr Hendrickse's view of his resignation during the 8pm news broadcast.

The resignation of the Labour Party leader is said to have created severe problems for the National Party which had hoped to change the constitution to delay the next white election until 1992.

The PFP's spokesman on media affairs, Mr Dave Dalling, said: "If the rumours and reports are true that the State President has intervened in the hiring and firing of top SABC personnel then the pretext that the SABC is independent of the government and the NP has at last been set aside."

# Dakar meeting showed the way for future conferences

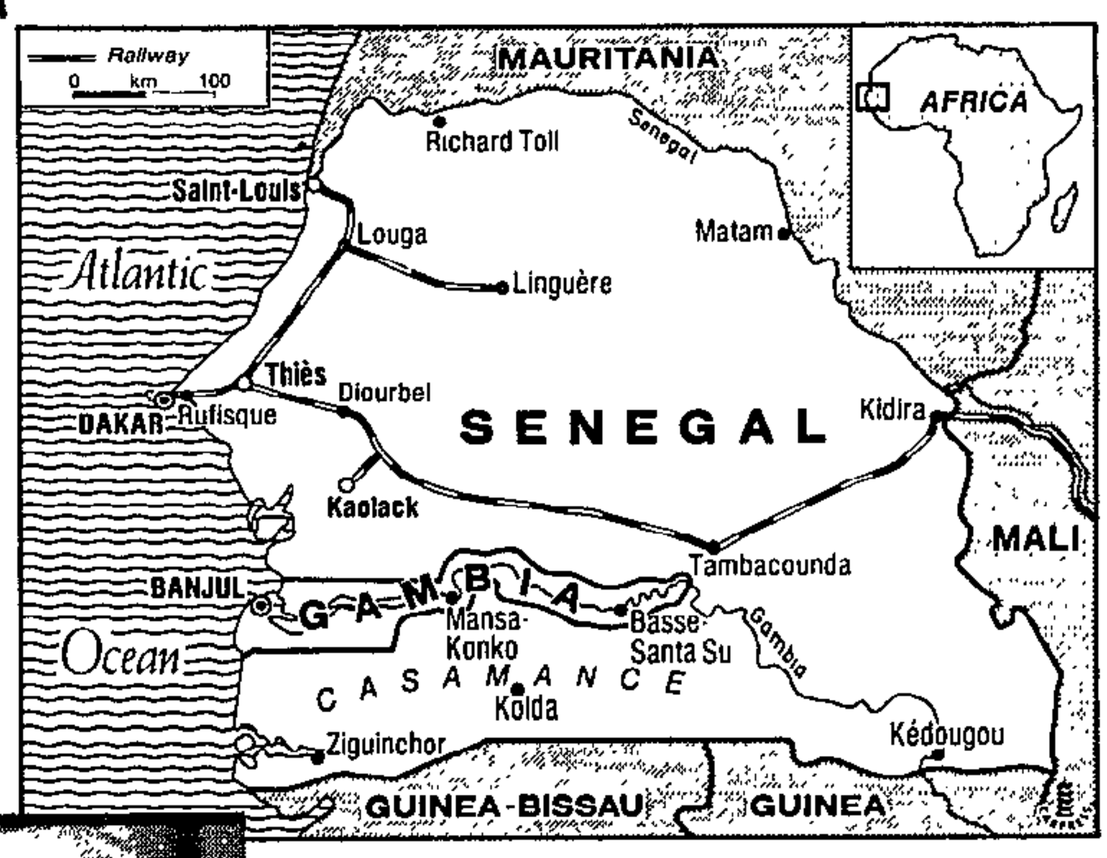


**London Dateline**
By STANLEY UYS

THE entire contents of a recent issue of Third World Quarterly, a London-based publication, are devoted to South Africa — all 380 pages. There are 14 articles, most written by academics, and reviews of 43 books and assorted publications on South Africa.

The fact that a substantial journal such as Third World Quarterly can set aside a whole issue for a discussion of South African affairs shows how intensely interested the Third World is in South Africa. There is even a translation of "Nkosi Sikelel' i-Afrika" for those who want to join in the singing.

The interest is not confined to the third world though.






**Dakar, Senegal ... a rare meeting-point for Afrikaner and African nationalism. State President Botha's refusal to talk to anybody who holds opposing views should not inhibit others. The meeting of the two groups is essential to a peaceful resolution of conflict.**

Writing and talking about South Africa is an international growth industry. South Africa has seldom been out of the news over the past 39 years of National Party rule but I wonder whether there has ever been such an outpouring of words as there is now.

New books on South African subjects appear in bookshops all the time and I have several recent ones on my shelves that escaped review in the Third World Quarterly. Increasingly over the past few years academics have been weighing in with major contributions, almost as if they are making up for lost time.

Some of these contributions have been very impressive indeed; others not so.

Recently the emphasis has been shifting from discussion of present-day South Africa to discussion of what a future South Africa could look like — a 2001 Space Odyssey. Those who have been reading this literature can now say they have seen the future and it works — or looks as if it could work.

Conferences on South Africa are also very much in fashion. Conferences, seminars, group discussions — walk into almost any European capital or major North American city and you will find one in progress.

South Africans would be surprised to discover how much information flows across these conference tables — information to which they might not have access themselves, particularly on Southern Africa.

London continues to sustain its reputation as a sorting house for information on Africa. Not only does the news flow through here in an uninterrupted stream but also the newsmakers come and go in endless procession.

Some discussions, of course, are uninformed and superficial but one can always learn something. Most of it, too, is remarkably objective.

The image many South Africans have of international conferences as places where South Africa is dismembered limb by limb is simply not true.

Naturally, there are other conferences whose purpose is not to impart information but to rally the liberation troops. These are instantly recognizable by the flow of adjectives. It is never "the South African Government" but always "the racist regime"; never "Renamo rebels", but always "Botha's bandits".

These speeches are meant to promote solidarity in the ranks, a perfectly legitimate aim, but sometimes I find them very tiresome. They become a substitute for the cerebral process.

Many of the conferences and seminars are still all-white affairs. White foreigners and white South Africans sit around and chew the fat. Sometimes it just happens this way, because the whites unthinkingly don't see any need for a black perspective. At other times it is not easy to find black participants.

This is beginning to change now because the ANC is emerging from purdah to take part in an increasing number of conferences. It still sometimes plays hard-to-get and it has its list of people with whom it will not be seen in public, such as Inkatha (although Inkatha's new London representative Ben Skosana appeared on a radio programme the other day with a member of the ANC's executive committee).

Sometimes, too, the ANC feels — no doubt with justification — that some of the conferences are a waste of time.

However, the other omission from international conferences on South Africa which has not been corrected is the absence of Pretoria's spokesmen and/or Afrikaner nationalists. It's a bit like Hamlet without the Prince.

This is why, I believe, the Dakar conference was such a success. The structure was right: African nationalists on one side and Afrikaners on the other. Admittedly there were not many rawboned Afrikaner nationalists in the South African team but they were Afrikaners, the closest any major conference has come to bringing the two real adversaries, African and Afrikaner nationalists, together, eyeball to eyeball.

The Dakar conference seems to be inspiring all sorts of follow-up conferences — a huge one in New York at the end of September, Herr Genscher's rumoured one for the spring of 1988 in West Germany, and so forth.

Dakar certainly has caught the international imagination and now everybody's doing it, except of course Mr P W Botha, who apparently tangos with no one these days.

None of these conferences, however, will achieve the chemistry of the Dakar conference if they don't bring Africans and Afrikaners together. This is what the power play in South Africa is all about. This is why Slabbert got Dakar right.

Of course it is not easy to bring Africans and Afrikaners together. Pretoria keeps its distance: as the Afrikaners say "hy vat aan dit met lang tande". Also, having identified the ANC as the principal enemy (the Great Satan as the Iranians would say), it can't readily sit around a conference table with it, even with a neutral chairman such as the president of a US foundation or a West European foreign minister, presiding over the exchange of views.

But I also encounter a reluctance among some conference and seminar organizers to engage the Afrikaners. It is almost as if they feel the presence of apartheid supporters will taint their conference; that they will be seen as admitting apartheid has a right to be heard; that it enjoys at least a conference legitimacy.

This holier-than-thou attitude can be tiresome, too. The idea that the South African conflict can be resolved without engaging Afrikaner nationalists is fanciful. No conference can be meaningful until it has African nationalists on one side and Afrikaner nationalists on the other, speaking their minds.

Perhaps the time has come, then, for international conferences on apartheid to raise themselves to a new level. They must persuade African nationalists to talk to other Africans and both must be persuaded to talk to Afrikaner nationalists.

No one is suggesting this will be easy. Each side has its own purist position, its list of who it is prepared to talk to and under what conditions.

One is talking here about international conferences, not about African nationalists serving on President Botha's National Council. The internal situation is another tactical game altogether. That will come later, but conferences held outside South Africa can serve the very useful purpose of bringing together groups and individuals who cannot meet each other with any comfort inside South Africa.

This is what the Dakar conference did and this is the model which should be followed. Foreign conference-goers cannot go on talking to each other forever.

# Botharian style a national liability

ARGUS 7/8/87

3044

IT would surprise me if there were not, by now, the beginnings of purposeful discussion in at least parts of the National Party on how to replace President Botha as the party leader. The trouble, of course, is that no matter how fulsomely he demonstrates his ineptness and his weakness for impetuous outbursts, he is probably going to stay in office until he, rather than anyone else, decides he should go.

Such is his grip on power, and such is the power that his followers have heaped upon him, that it is said he can reduce grown men in uniform to trembling and can cause careers to terminate at the flick of an imperial pinkie. And from the events of the past week, it would seem, his has been a busy pinkie indeed.

## Leadership problem

The unavoidable drawback to concentrating power in the hands of one man — and the new constitution gives Mr Botha more power than any individual South African has ever wielded since Shaka — is that the political style of that man becomes a critical factor in the fortunes of the country.

Thus Mr Botha's continued leadership is a problem not just for the NP. All of us will be expected to mark time while *El Grande* hectors and bullies his opponents and generally makes it obvious that as long as he is running the show, we are most unlikely to have fruitful negotiations about the future, or a national consensus, or a constitution worth the paper it is written on.



No doubt there will be a lot of deceptive huffing and puffing about "talks", and many red carpets and 21-gun salutes and committees and councils. But we have had all this for almost a decade under Mr Botha's aegis and we are in deeper and more perilous waters than ever in our history.

Harsh words? Perhaps. But how can there be serious negotiations with an administration presided over by someone who insists on having his own way all the time? How could reasonable people, whether they be devotees of the proposed one-man, one-vote constitution in Namibia or the indaba solution in Natal, reach a consensus with the "I want" imperiousness Mr Botha displays at all times?

## Changes rules

What chance can there be of reaching a national consensus when even consensus between Mr Botha and his partners in the House of Representatives fizzles into acrimonious division over the most trivial issues?

And of what worth would any constitution be in a country where increasingly the governing authority changes the rules of the



ISSUES
By Hugh Roberton

game at will (as with the state of emergency), usurps the role of Parliament (through, among other things, the system of quasi-military administration inherent in Joint Management Centres), and rules by emergency powers which, as Mr Botha has made clear, will be with us for a considerable time to come?

The tragedy is that as we mark time while Mr Botha indulges his fancy for playing Caesar, the country is gripped by what his own colleagues describe as a "climate of revolution".

And revolution feeds upon the abuse of democracy, the lack of national cohesion, the inability to accommodate disparate views and opinions. It would be absurd to think of a revolutionary climate in a country where the views of everyone were freely expressed (whether through the "alternative" Press or not), where negotiation was a viable proposition, where the need for compromise was acknowledged and truly representative leaders faced one another as equals.

Mr Botha's style of government clearly has become a national liability. But, alas, the lemmings adore him. He has just won a resounding election victory, so that whoever might follow him would be hard pressed not to emulate the Botharian style.

## Little prospect

The man who seems to be the heir apparent is F W de Klerk (in whom I have long sensed a hint of incipient grandeur), who has his power base within the same territorial boundaries as the loony right. So there would seem to be little prospect of FW being much of an improvement on PW — even if he wanted to be.

Yet can the NP afford to continue with PW at the helm? Can it afford the protracted failure? Can it view the increasing authoritarian bent with indifference when this style of government makes the search for any sort of democratic solution irrelevant?

I would hazard a guess that there are those in the NP (or discreetly on its periphery, perhaps because they are in uniform) who recognise that they cannot continue as they are and that a first step in trying to end the precarious stalemate is either to get rid of the central culprit or, failing that, to seek an accommodation with those who have already seen the light.

In doing so, they will be in no doubt that they are taking on not a party leader, but an emperor — and a short-tempered emperor to boot.

304A



# Jewish graffiti at 'nazi' home

**Own Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG. — A group called the Jewish Defence Organization (JDO) has defaced the front wall of the Randburg family who this week displayed the nazi swastika flag at half-mast in their garden.

Mr Helmut Kirchner, who commemorated the death of Rudolf Hess, said yesterday that his family had been plagued with threatening telephone calls.

The Star of David and "JDO" had been spray-painted on Mr Kirchner's wall.

A spokesman for the Jewish Board of Deputies expressing strong disapproval of the incident.

Meanwhile, Boerestaat Kommittee leader Mr Robert van Tonder, who attended the Hess service last week, said Afrikaner "boere" were considering a charge against the Jewish community for "inciting unrest".

# Now SABC head to stay

Cape Times 27/8/87

Political Staff

THERE was a new development in the Eksteen/SABC drama last night with confirmation from senior sources in the broadcasting service that Director-General Mr Riaan "Kudu" Eksteen would be staying on.

Earlier there was strong speculation that he was to be sacked because of SATV's news coverage of Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse's explanation of why he had resigned from the cabinet.

It was generally accepted yesterday that Mr Eksteen was "on the way out".

However, late last night sources close to Mr Eksteen said he was in no danger of losing his job and that previous speculation that he was, was incorrect.

This clashed with earlier information which said that some senior members of the SABC were planning to resign in protest, and in sympathy with Mr Eksteen, if he was dismissed.

Nationalist newspapers were claiming last night that they had it on good authority that Mr Eksteen was not about to be fired.

But questions were being asked about who informed the Nationalist press that Mr Eksteen's position was secure when there had been no meeting of the Board.

During the day there had been little question in political and broadcasting circles that Mr Eksteen was about to be dismissed and that a reason, other than TV coverage of the Hendrickse resignation from the cabinet, would be found. His dismissal was described as a "mere formality".

Political sources close to the NP caucus described President P W Botha as on the rampage and threatening to instal Dr Jannie Roux, former prisons deputy chief, as new SABC head.

Dr Roux has been a close confidant of Mr Botha since he became Head of the Office of Prime Minister in 1982.

To page 2

Cape Times 27/8/87

From page 1

He had started as a prison warder but at age 33 became South Africa's youngest general. Along the way he picked up no fewer than six university degrees, including two master's and a PhD cum laude in psychology.

The SABC was awash with rumours but staff claimed they were forbidden to report events on its news bulletins.

A senior official said: "There's blood on the floor everywhere — not only at the SABC, but even inside the caucus."

Sources said Mr Botha personally fired Mr Eksteen because he was dissatisfied with the SABC's reporting on Mr Hendrickse's resignation.

Mr Botha is said to have been incensed by the "excessive" exposure given to Mr Hendrickse's view of his resignation.

His intervention in the SABC news broadcast has made waves within the National Party caucus.

304A

# 'Independent' trend gains in momentum

Star 28/8/87

By Shirley Woodgate, Municipal Reporter

Candidates standing as independents are heading for a clash with the heavyweights in the 1988 Witwatersrand municipal elections.

Certain councillors have already opted to go independent, but waiting in the wings are apolitical individuals keen to get back to grassroots in city and town councils.

Three former Progressive Federal Party councillors have hived off: Mr Geoff Stark in Johannesburg, in Randburg Mr Dick Muller, in Sandton Mr Bill Hefer.

Now former PFP Hillbrow councillor Mr Simon Chilchik intends going it alone with the war cry: "Pavements not politics in council chambers".

Now comes the announcement by Mrs Flo Bird, secretary of the Parktown Association, that the Northern Areas Group (NAG) — umbrella body for some 21 of the nearly 70 ratepayer associations in Johannesburg — plans to put up four or five candidates next year.

Success by all or some of these candidates could have a marked impact on the council.

They would probably stand under the banner of NAG so they could make a serious contribution to the entire council, not merely serve individually, she said.

Support is also growing despite the Conservative Party's stated intention of going all out to capture council seats to wreck the Regional Services Councils.

Politicians were falsely taking credit for the hard-won succesess of residents and local ratepayer bodies, Mr Chilchik said.

"I suggest the NP is in for a surprise in the next elections. Even ratepayers in Nat-held wards in the city are tired of the way Johannesburg is being run and 1988 will see, not one, but many independent candidates."

Mr Conrad Berge, secretary of Jomag (Johannesburg Metropolitan Action Group) agreed there was grave discontent among northern suburbs ratepayers, who felt their councillors were politicians first.

## PFP suspends Simpson pending probe

**The Progressive Federal Party has suspended the membership of Mr John Simpson until allegations that he made anti-Semitic remarks on election day in the Ward 25 Johannesburg municipal by-election have been settled.**

**The Southern Transvaal executive of the PFP met last night to discuss the row that has blown up.**

**A statement issued by the executive reads: "The PFP views allegations of anti-Semitic remarks by one of its members outside a polling booth last week in a most serious light.**

**"Mr Simpson has been invited to submit his statement in the form of an affidavit and other persons who wish to do so may also submit affidavits to the regional chairman, Mr Brian Goodall."**

PRESS REACTION

# PFP dubs media curbs 'intimidating and coercive'

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

The Progressive Federal Party has condemned the Government's drastic new anti-Press measures as "intimidating and coercive".

The Conservative Party accepted the moves in principle but feared the measures might be used against right-wing publications.

Mr Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, refused to comment.

Asked if he had agreed to the measures in the Cabinet, Mr Rajbansi said he could not say what was discussed in the Cabinet.

Mr Dave Dalling, MP, the PFP's media spokesman, said the regulations were "in line with past government action to intimidate and coerce the Press to apply self-censorship.

"We must remember these measures could readily be applied to the establishment Press.

"The lights of press freedom are steadily going out. Once they are extinguished it could take decades for them to be rekindled."

Mr Dalling said that, on the face of it, the objectives set out by the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, were "not all that exceptionable.

"No one wants the public to be allowed to promote uprising or revolution.

"What is bad is that it is the evaluation of a politically appointed Minister which will be decisive.

"Once again executive action is being planned to close newspapers without those newspapers having the right to redress from the courts."

Mr Koos van der Merwe, MP, the CP's spokesman on home affairs, said the party favoured the principle of this sort of action against revolutionaries.

But the party would study the measures before reacting fully.

Mr Stoffel Botha told Parliament yesterday that the "revolution-supportive" newspapers against which the measures were aimed were found on the far Left and the far Right.

Reacting to this Mr Koos van der Merwe asked where the CP fitted in.

Mr Botha said he would reply to that later but had not done so by the end of the day's session.

Dr J N Reddy, Leader of the Opposition in the House of Delegates, said he could not comment on the regulations until he had studied them.

Mr Allan Hendrickse, Labour Party leader and chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, was not available for comment.

28/8/87 304 R KM

NRP

# One better than none

The New Republican Party Federal Council has decided at a meeting in Durban that the party will continue to function, endorsing the outcome of an extraordinary meeting of the council called days after its parliamentary representation was slashed from five to one in the May 6 election.

Sole survivor Ralph Hardingham (Mooi River) told the *FM* this week that the council took the view that a single MP was better than none; and aspects of NRP policy remain "valid and relevant." A degree of NRP policy has been adopted by government but the most urgent outstanding requirement is the accommodation of those blacks with no allegiance to any self-governing or national state in the parliamentary system.

"Until this problem is addressed — and this is one of the principal reasons we chose to continue operating — no final solution will be found to the problems facing SA," he says. ■

CABINET CRISIS

# Will P W back down?

**There** is growing concern in parliamentary circles over P W Botha's ability to lead SA towards negotiated solutions, following this week's Cabinet crisis.

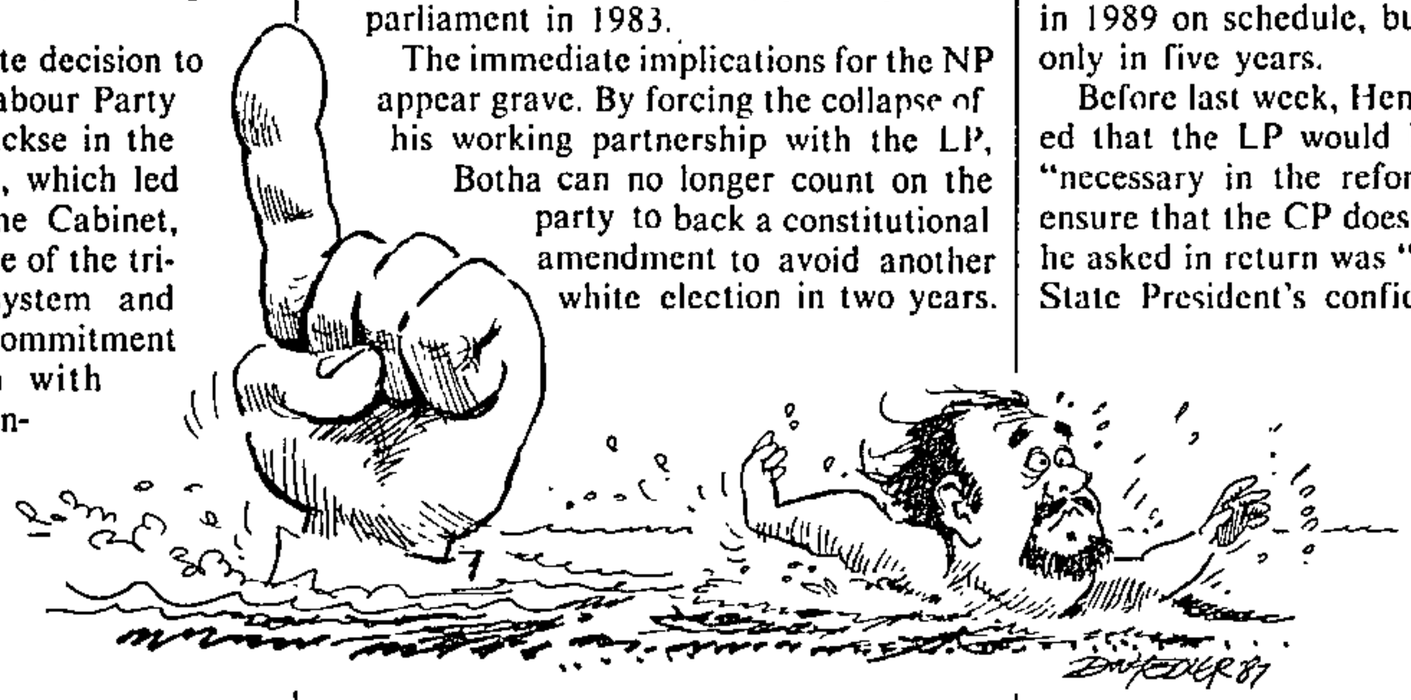
His apparently deliberate decision to force a showdown with Labour Party (LP) leader Allan Hendrickse in the House of Representatives, which led to Hendrickse quitting the Cabinet, has shattered a cornerstone of the tri-cameral parliamentary system and brought into question his commitment to genuine negotiation with leaders who oppose Nationalist policies.

If Botha is unable to handle the give-and-take of negotiation with a man as moderate as Hendrickse, what chance is there of his coming to terms with more radical opponents such as the strong-willed KwaZulu leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi?

Contrary to the spirit of the tri-cameral system, which was meant to lead parliament away from the "confrontational" approach of a Westminster-style democracy, Botha has pushed the LP firmly into "confrontational opposition."

But freed from the shackles of its role as "junior partner" to the Nat-dominated government, the LP is actually in a stronger position to bargain for "real" reform than at any time since it opted to participate in parliament in 1983.

The immediate implications for the NP appear grave. By forcing the collapse of his working partnership with the LP, Botha can no longer count on the party to back a constitutional amendment to avoid another white election in two years.



The amendment, which will allow the three houses of parliament to serve their five-year terms separately, must be approved by a majority of total membership of all three. Unlike other Bills, no provision is made for the Nat-controlled President's Council to break a deadlock on constitutional amendments of this nature.

Without the amendment all three houses will have to face the voters again in 1989. Botha wants to avert another white poll (and a not inconceivable Conservative victory) by splitting the terms of each house, so that the coloured and Indian houses will be re-elected in 1989 on schedule, but whites vote again only in five years.

Before last week, Hendrickse had indicated that the LP would back the change as "necessary in the reform process" and to ensure that the CP does not take power. All he asked in return was "to be taken into the State President's confidence on what that reform (process) is going to be."

But it seems Botha wasn't listening. He went to the House of Representatives set for a fight regardless of the consequences.

It was an amazing display quite out of keeping with the "behind-closed-doors consensus" of the tri-cameral system insisted on up to now by the Nats. It indicated total misunderstanding by Botha of both the LP's role in parliament and the growing problems it is facing in the coloured community. It was also insensitive in the extreme to the misery caused to millions of coloureds over nearly 40 years by Nat apartheid policies.

But if Botha expected the LP caucus to be intimidated he misjudged badly and succeeded only in dumping both his party and the tri-cameral system into a crisis.

Hendrickse correctly says that while first interpretations of Botha's tongue-lashing were that it was an embarrassment to the LP, on reflection clearly Botha will suffer more long-term embarrassment.

Hendrickse told a weekend party congress in the north-western Cape that the LP can also play rough, and will now use the constitutional amendment Bill as a lever to winkle out further commitments to reform.

"It (the Bill) will not become law before the NP comes to talk to us and tells us how they interpret their election mandate — not only in the interests of the whites or the NP, but for the whole of SA. If the NP doesn't do this, they can forget about us supporting the amendment," he said.

**Quit the Cabinet**

Botha took exception to this and effectively told Hendrickse to repudiate it or quit the Cabinet. The LP leader chose to go.

Parliamentary observers point out that Hendrickse is now in a position of significant power. If he chooses to use it, Botha could face a humiliating backdown.

Botha cannot force the LP out of parliament other than by dissolving all three houses. Nor can he force Hendrickse or any other member of the coloured Ministers' Council to quit.

Long-term (as in Namibia, when the transitional government refused to toe his line), he can cut the coloured budget next year. But that won't solve his immediate problem.

The LP for its part is still considering strategy. It seems likely to opt for demanding Group Areas concessions.

The re-drafted President's Council report on this Act is due for publication next month. There are suggestions that it will recommend easing some residential apartheid measures. If Botha wants his constitutional amendment approved by parliament this year, he may have to come to a quick decision on just how far he is prepared to go when it comes to scrapping the Group Areas Act. ■

# Unitary system will always lead to domination by one race group



By Dr Andries Treurnicht
Leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly

THE one question to which neither the NP nor the PFP gives attention, let alone a clear and reassuring answer, is how domination by one race group over another is to be avoided in a unitary multiracial system.

We are aware of all the clichés and vague ideals such as non-racialism, protection of minority rights, consensus, negotiation, checks and balances, civilized norms, reconciliation, devolution of power, outdated apartheid, facing realities, joint decision-making at all levels, no discrimination, equal treatment and opportunities and so forth.

**The plain truth is that there is no such thing as a non-racial society in South Africa.**

Race consciousness and identity are worldwide very much a reality and will stay a reality. Moral denials of race, or ethnicity or cultural identity will not change this.

It is completely natural and justifiable for a people or a culture to uphold and protect its reason for being and its distinct character, by excluding that which is foreign.

Another truth is self-evident. In politics the name of the game is power.

Who makes the final decision and who is able to enforce it? That is the most important question for any community, ethnic group or people.

That is why all political parties oppose domination of one group by another.

The State President said in Parliament that if power is of the essence in politics, he won't have anything to do with it. We should dismiss that statement without comment!

Imagine a political party spending at least R5 million in its election campaign to avoid exercising power!

If one accepts a unitary state, common citizenship, general suffrage, joint decision-making and equal treatment and opportunities for twenty million blacks and five million whites, there is absolutely no escape from black majority rule.

Mr Heunis disagrees, saying his party does not operate with numbers. We say: Tell that to the voters of Helderberg!

If five million whites elect 166 representatives to Parliament; 2,9 million coloureds elect 80 and one million Indians elect 40, and if such proportions are just, how will anything less than 600 blacks be an acceptable number of representatives for a joint decision-making body? The same applies to the numbers in the college electing the Speaker or the State President.

A further attempt by power-sharers to escape domination is to rely on consensus.

This is contrary to present practice. Majority vote decides who the Speaker or the State President with his extensive powers will be! When the three Houses disagree on legislation, the State President can refer that legislation to the President's Council for arbitration.

The decision there is by majority vote, not by consensus. Numbers decide. Numbers dominate. That is the reality of power sharing politics — the power of numbers.

We have been given the assurance that there won't be a fourth black chamber in Parliament.

Yet the blacks are guaranteed representation at legislative and executive level. They will be in a position to "approve" legislation, says Dr Stoffel van der Merwe.

That is a form of veto. And a veto can be a type of dictatorship.

**Can anybody blame us when we express very serious reservations about Chief Minister Buthelezi's threat that the blacks will "sentence the whites to life-long imprisonment in an open democracy?"**

That is naked black domination.

If that is moderate, what is radical? It is totally unacceptable to us. It is the antithesis of freedom and self-determination and genuine democracy.

There is another matter to consider. Mr P W Botha promised the blacks joint decision-making "up to the highest level".

That may mean their inclusion as members of the cabinet and of Parliament. But there is only one State President "at the highest level".

He alone decides whether a matter is a "general" or an "own" affair.

In terms of self-determination this is crucial. The history of Lebanon shows what a cock-pit of contention the office of the president can be in a deeply divided society.

Power is the name of the game. And the CP says: separation of power structures for disparate peoples is the only acceptable alternative to a disastrous power struggle in a unitary system.

# PFP can't be all things to all men — Van Eck

Cape Times 28/8/87 3044

By BARRY STREEK, Political Staff

CLAREMONT MP Jan van Eck, who shocked the PFP by resigning from the party without even consulting his party leader, says he is not a socialist and he is opposed to violence.

He also emphatically denies he is a spokesman for the UDF or other extra-parliamentary groups.

He believes whites should ally themselves to "the broad democratic movement" and that the PFP, particularly after its mission statement over the weekend, is alienating itself from this movement.

He also argues that the UDF "personifies the desires of millions of South Africans. You have to decide. If you alienate yourself from the UDF, you alienate yourself from millions of South Africans."

Van Eck's position — given in a wide-ranging interview in his parliamentary office this week — is, essentially, a pragmatic one.

He is not going to quit the all-white House of Assembly, nor is he going to quit the all-white City Council of Cape Town, although he admits that his participation in these bodies is not acceptable to most extra-parliamentary bodies.

He says: "Some people have presumed that the fact that I am sympathetic to many of the things the UDF is doing and to other extra-parliamentary organizations, that I am now the UDF's voice in Parliament or the voice of extra-parliamentary organizations in Parliament.

"It would be totally presumptuous of me to say, in any way, that I speak on their behalf. I don't intend to do so. I don't want to do that.

"They can speak on their own and they definitely won't speak through Parliament.

"I think it is more important that you actually ally yourself with the broad democratic movement. So you are not a visitor but actually a participant.



**Rebel MP Jan van Eck ... "you cannot stay neutral in conflict ... you have to choose sides".**

Van Eck said he did not support any specific organization. "I think I share the basic objectives of all the anti-apartheid organizations and that is to get rid of the government.

"Basically I support the PFP principles which I think are also supported by many extra-parliamentary organizations. But if you see yourself playing a role in a broad alliance of parliamentary and extra-parliamentary organizations, and if your party, the PFP, is making enemies or is adopting a confrontational attitude towards, for example, the UDF, then, if you want to achieve an alliance, you can't stay in the PFP."

What made the difference between the PFP at the May 6 election and the PFP in August?

There were many issues, such as the PFP's unwillingness to take an uncompromising stand on one-person-one-vote, although universal suffrage was its policy.

"There has been a direct attempt, during and after the election, to try water down policy. On security, it was a carefully-planned policy not to touch on sensitive issues. People were told not to talk about the ANC.

"If you go for an NRP alliance, which is the white voter on the right, you can't at the same time have an alliance with the UDF or the extra-parliamentary organizations. You are choosing. The alliance with the NRP was one of the turning points for me."

"I was hoping that at least when the election was over, having seen how it failed, they wouldn't continue with the same sort of thing of being all things to all men."

Society was polarizing, he said. In one camp ordinary people were identifying with the state, but trying to make it more liberal and help it to govern better. In the other camp, the oppressed one, there was a military component, the ANC, but the overwhelming majority did not support violence although they had emotionally identified with the struggle.

"In the South African situation, you have to align yourself with one of those broad movements. The churches are being divided because of it ... you have to choose sides ... the universities have the same problem. If they contain both, they split. There is no middle ground left which is not emotionally one of those two camps," Van Eck says.

As he sees it, he has made that choice. He believes he has chosen sides emotionally. His former colleagues in the PFP disagree vehemently. They believe there is still a vital role for a party promoting democratic and liberal values in South Africa.

Van Eck is now alone in the white Parliament. It remains to be seen whether anyone else shares his analysis and strategies.

# You have to choose a side — Van Eck

28/8/87
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☐ VAN ECK . . . chosen sides emotionally

**BARRY STREEK in Cape Town**

Claremont who shocked the PFP by resigning from the party without even consulting his party leader, says he is not a socialist and that he is opposed to violence — and he emphatically denies he is a spokesman for the UDF and other extra-parliamentary groups.

He believes whites should ally themselves to "the broad democratic movement" and that the PFP, particularly after its mission statement over the weekend, is alienating itself from this movement.

He also argues that UDF "personifies the desires of millions of South Africans. You have to decide. If you alienate yourself from the UDF, you alienate yourself from millions of South Africans."

Van Eck's position — given in a wide-ranging interview in his Parliamentary office this week — is, essentially, a pragmatic one.

He is not going to quit the all-white House of Assembly, nor is he going to quit the all-white City Council of Cape Town, although he admits his participation in these bodies is not acceptable to most extra-parliamentary bodies.

He believes he has a role in the white community, which he would like to be part of the broad democratic movement, but he argues you cannot be in the middle in SA and you have to make a choice to side with the "emotional thrust" of repression or the emotional thrust of the oppressed — "the overwhelming majority of South Africans".

He says: "Some people have presumed that the fact that I am sympathetic to many of the things the UDF is doing and to other extra-parliamentary organisations means that I am now the UDF's voice in Parliament, or the voice of extra-parliamentary organisations in Parliament.

"It would be totally presumptuous of me to say, in any way, that I speak on their behalf. I don't intend to do so. I don't want to do that.

"They can speak on their own behalf and they definitely won't speak through Parliament."

The issue was more than mere credibility in the black community. It was not sufficient merely to do "an ambulance service — you go and do the right things, and people are very happy that you are doing it, but then you go back to where you come from.

"I think it is more important that you actually ally yourself with the broad democratic movement. So you are not a visitor to that, but you are actually a participant.

"I believe that even by functioning within certain system structures, such as a white parliament or even a white city council, people can be part of that broad movement, which includes ordinary whites living in Claremont."

Van Eck said he did not support any specific organisation.

"I think I share the basic objectives of all the anti-apartheid organisations, and that is to get rid of government.

"Basically, I support the PFP principles, which I think are also supported by many other extra-parliamentary organisations."

He shared a lot of the sentiments of these organisations. The PFP and the UDF shared common objectives — to get rid of government — and probably even basic values, but in implementing them there was a big difference.

"If you see yourself playing a role in a broad alliance of parliamentary and extra-parliamentary organisations, if your party, the PFP, is making enemies or it is adopting a confrontational attitude towards, for example, the UDF, then if you want to achieve an alliance you can't stay in the PFP."

What made the difference between the PFP at the May 6 election and the PFP in August?

"It has been an increasing thing. One has seen this alienation develop over a very long period.

"It climaxed during the election. One started seeing Wits-bashing and Tutu-bashing started from PFP people, which positioned the PFP further away from those organisations than one would have liked in order to gain white votes.

"I was hoping that at least when the election was over, having seen how it failed, they wouldn't continue with the same sort of thing — of being all things to all men."

His interpretation was that the strategy that had been adopted now would strengthen and highlight the alienation between the PFP and those organisations even more. This had firmed up after the election.

"The whole idea of staying neutral in the conflict, of establishing the sort of academic ivory tower, where you knock everyone who is using dirty methods, was being entrenched as a middle of the road, fence-sitting party.

"You lose the respect of the voter and, on the other hand, you lose credibility in the black community."

There were many issues, such as the PFP's unwillingness to take an uncompromising stand on one-person-one-vote, although universal suffrage was its policy.

"There has been a direct attempt, during and after the election, to try and water down policy. On security, it was a carefully-planned policy not to touch on sensitive issues. People were told not to talk about the ANC.

"We had to get the support of NRP ladies. That was the policy to try and get conservative voters.

"If you go for an NRP alliance, which is the white voter on the right, you can't at the same time have an alliance with the UDF or the extra-parliamentary organisations. You are choosing.

"The alliance with the NRP was one of the turning points for me.

"Every time I went to townships or met any person in the extra-parliamentary organisations, they would say: 'Are you guys mad? You want to talk to us and to them. You can't do that'."

Society was polarising. In one camp ordinary people were basically identifying with the State, but trying to make it more liberal and help it to govern better.

In the other camp — the oppressed — there was a military component, the ANC, but the overwhelming majority did not support violence although they had emotionally identified with the struggle of the oppressed.

"In the South African situation, you have to align yourself with one of those broad movements. The churches are being divided because of it. You have to choose sides. The universities have the same problem. If they contain both, they split.

"And the PFP has been attacked by the pulling power of both, and it is going to tear every organisation which is unwilling to choose sides, emotionally at least, and they are going to be destroyed if the polarisation continues.

"It does not mean you have joined the lunatic right or the lunatic left. There is no middle ground left which is not emotionally one of those two camps," Van Eck says.

As he sees it, he has made that choice. He believes he has chosen sides emotionally.

His former colleagues in the PFP disagree vehemently with his assessment. They believe there is still a vital role for a party promoting democratic and liberal values in SA.

Van Eck is now alone in the white Parliament. It remains to be seen whether anyone else shares his analysis and strategies.

# SABC backs Eksteen in row

**Political Staff**

THE SABC Board appears to have backed its director-general, Mr Riaan Eksteen, against the State President, Mr P W Botha.

Board chairman Mr Brand Fourie said last night that Mr Eksteen would continue his "normal duties".

He said neither a resignation nor the termination of Mr Eksteen's services were on the agenda for Wednesday's board meeting.

Yesterday Mr Eksteen told his staff over the internal TV-screen: "As you can see, I'm still here ..."

He said reports indicated "overwhelming" support for him by his staff.

"We have had difficult times, which we have survived. More difficult times are coming, which we will also survive."

The SABC was "being watched with eagle eyes", he said.

Yesterday's statements end three days of intense speculation after reports that Mr Botha wanted Mr Eksteen's head because of TV coverage of Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse's resignation from the cabinet.

Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, minister responsible for broadcasting services, is thought to have been the catalyst for the board statement, having said in the House of Delegates on Wednesday that the board had the sole right to hire or dismiss anyone.

● The SABC yesterday suddenly replaced the acclaimed Athol Fugard play "A Lesson from Aloes" with a variety programme. SABC spokesmen declined to comment.

Fugard said he was "disgusted" at the SABC decision.

## Naas is 'a living statue'

**Own Correspondent**

**JOHANNESBURG. — Naas Botha is a living statue — and there is no need for the other statue which a group of Pretoria businessmen intend raising in his honour.**

**That's the word from Pretoria's mayor, Dr Chris Swart.**

**"Although I'm an avid Naas fan, I think it may be a bit premature erecting a statue in his honour," Dr Swart said. "Isn't it a bit inappropriate erecting a statue while the man is still playing? Wouldn't that be displaying a slightly excessive degree of veneration?"**

# VW call for business action

By PETER AUF DER HEYDE, Grahamstown

VOLKSWAGEN managing director Peter Searle this week called on business leaders to take unambiguous action aimed at the achievement of a non-racial society.

Speaking to Rhodes University students at a commerce week organised by the International Association of Commerce Students, Searle said business was faced with a choice.

"The choice is one of survival in an apartheid society or relevance in a post-apartheid society. Relevance in a post-apartheid society will be determined by the stance and actions taken now."

He said direct confrontation with the government was often regarded as essential to achieve this, but warned against such a course.

"Actions of civil disobedience, withholding of taxes and the boycotting of government and state departments are held up as possible methods of coercion.

"This totally underestimates the retaliatory capacity and power of the government. Apart from the sheer force that they could apply, there are currently enough people who would be willing to capitalise on the demise of those who dare to enter into open warfare with the government.

"Success in this context would, in any event, depend upon a level of co-operation and consolidation that is still impossible to achieve."

He told his audience that business leaders could not ignore political and socio-political factors.

"Black South Africans have been historically locked into a trap of unequal participation in both wealth generation and access to wealth. Discrimination in areas of education, health, property, business and power, seriously retard blacks capacity and opportunity to compete with their white counterparts.

"It is dishonest and unjust to talk of unequal opportunity, or opportunity based upon merit, in such an environment."

Business leaders would have to engage in reverse discrimination to achieve equal opportunity, he said.

"It necessitates the disproportionate appropriation of funds, time and resources to first ensure equality before equal opportunity. This may be called equalising opportunity, affirmative action, reverse discrimination, or whatever else. Without it there is no equal opportunity."

He called on business leaders to accept the inevitability and desirability of a non-racial South Africa regardless of white election results. —

Albany News Agency

W Meintjies 304A 28/8-3/9/87

# For once, the wily PW found himself outmanoeuvered

28/8 - 3/9/87 W/Mail

304A

Weekly Mail Reporter,
Cape Town

THE leader of the Labour Party, Allan Hendrickse, clearly outmanoeuvred President PW Botha by announcing his resignation from the cabinet this week.

It is unusual for Botha, a tough and often shrewd politician, to be outflanked — and his anger at SATV's portrayal of Hendrickse's views has lead to the extraordinary dispute over the future of the SABC's Director-General Riaan Eksteen.

Hendrickse, by suddenly adjourning the House of Representatives on Monday afternoon, holding a Labour Party caucus which gave him unanimous support, attacking Botha for not understanding either his views or those of the Labour Party, and then dramatically resigning, took the initiative.

Instead of it appearing as though Hendrickse had been dismissed for acting in conflict with a cabinet decision, the media, including the ever-loyal SABC, reported that the Labour Party leader had resigned.

"It is obvious that you are not prepared or willing to acknowledge the feelings and perceptions of others if that perception is not in line with yourself and of your party," Hendrickse wrote in his letter of resignation to Botha.

In effect, it made the issue look as though the Labour Party took action because it felt Botha refused to acknowledge that it and the National Party were different political parties — and that he, as a white political leader, could not, or would not, understand the aspirations of coloured people.

Botha, on the other hand, wanted the issue to be one of cabinet discipline and collective responsibility.

But Hendrickse had read the situation: when Botha came to the House of Representatives last week, he said, "there was an expectation that something was going to happen. Rumours were spread amongst members of the National Party.

"I believe mention was made within their caucus — I may be right, I may be wrong — that the state president's coming to the House of Representatives almost created 'a State of Emergency'."

He also said there was "a conflict of perceptions" and Botha "only looked at the situation from his own perspective".

The government has tried — particularly in three prolonged broadcasts on TV on Monday night — to "correct" the Hendrickse version of events, but to little avail. Even the official mouthpiece of the National Party, *Die Burger*, headlined the story *"Hendrickse Bedank"* (Hendrickse resigns).

The Labour Party is determined to remain in parliament and, Hendrickse said, "is committed to the principle of participation and no demand by the state president that we should get out is going to be met by us ... For the first time people of colour are sitting at the highest echelon of government.

"It is an undeniable fact that for the first time in the history of South Africa a person of colour sat on the cabinet."

So it is not going to resign or enable Botha to call a new election for the House of Representatives by passing a motion of no-confidence in the government or refusing to pass the budget.

As far as the Labour Party is concerned, the only difference will be that its leader will no longer be in the cabinet, where the chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, Amichand Rajbansi, now is the only black member.

Hendrickse's resignation will obviously boost his party's chances in two by-elections in Gelvandale, Port Elizabeth, and Northern Transvaal on Tuesday, September 8. The independent candidates, backed by the new Democratic Party, have been giving the Labour Party a tough fight.

It is not clear at this stage who will win the by-elections but it is not impossible that the Labour Party could lose both seats. If it did, that could increase tensions in the party.

After September 8, the government may be forced to make some deal with the Labour Party in order to ensure the support of the House of Representatives for a constitutional amendment allowing the postponement of white elections until 1992. The amendment cannot be passed without the support of all three houses, and it cannot be referred to the President's Council if there is a conflict.

The other possibility is that the Labour Party will split, but however much the government would like more conservative MPs to break away from Hendrickse, it is going to have difficulty finding a potential leader.

Botha's attack last week on Chris April, the minister of health services and welfare, was hardly designed to win friends and the other potential leader of a split, David Curry, the minister of local government, housing and agriculture, is not interested.

Curry said this week he was not prepared to commit political suicide by replacing Hendrickse

The government's options therefore appear limited. If the Labour Party does not resign or force an election, and it remains united, the government will have to do a deal, however embarassing that may be to Botha.

In the meantime, the increasingly bullish Conservative Party is watching developments with delight. The way things are now, the government may be reluctantly forced to hold a white election in 1989 or it will have to back down to the Labour Party. Either way, the CP believes it can only benefit.

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had intended to do so, they would have had to subpoena witnesses, and particularly Mkatshwa as chief witness. But this was never done."

Natal University law professor, Tony Mathews agreed that it was very strange that Mkatshwa was not subpoenaed.

He said that in view of the very serious allegations of torture by Mkatshwa it was "very difficult to understand why the charges did not include assault and were confined to *crimen injuria*".

Mkatshwa has launched a damages claim of R50 000 against the state for assaults which he alleges he received during his detention.

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KWAZULU-NATAL

# All Natal's a stage

**A third cryptic** figure, the "JEA," has emerged on Natal's crowded political stage.

Most of the action remains offstage, however, and the powerplay in the province is unscripted. Natalians are thus having trouble distinguishing one player from the next.

Unique to Natal, the JEA or Joint Executive Authority has the advantage of substance. It is a statutory body (*Current Affairs* August 14) established by the Joint Executive Authority for KwaZulu and Natal Act, No 80 of 1986, promulgated in the (white) parliament on September 3 1986.

By contrast, so far both the Indaba, and, uniquely in the case of Durban, the RSC, enjoy theoretical status only.

Countrywide, RSCs, or regional services councils, have statutory foundation. Several have been established. Ironically, though Durban pioneered third-tier regionalisation of services — as the province did with the JEA — the proposed RSC there is checkmated by KwaZulu's opposition (*FM* July 3). To the chagrin of its backers, the Indaba is similarly stalemated.

Last September the JEA's non-statutory precursor, the Strategic Policy Group (SPG), began negotiating rules of procedure. These were gazetted on August 7. The JEA will hold its first meeting in October. Its seat, and a small secretariat, will be in the Natal Provincial Administration (NPA) regional office in Mayville, Durban.

As with the SPG, established in October 1984, the JEA will have equal representation from KwaZulu and Natal. NPA's nominated five-man executive will represent it.

They are: Val Volker, former MP (NP, Klipriver) and now MEC responsible for roads and hospitals; Peter Miller, former MPC (NRP, South Coast) and now MEC for local government; and newcomers Abdul Joosub, former MP (NPP, Brickfield),



**Dhlomo ... no more prescriptions**

Shunmoogan Naidoo, a retired headmaster nominated to represent the NPP, and Clyde Pearce, former President's Councillor for the Labour Party.

KwaZulu has yet to appoint representatives, who will be five Cabinet ministers.

A feature of Exco's representation is that since the dissolution of provincial councils in July 1986, members are no longer elected but nominated by the State President.

The new dispensation has widened Excos' executive authority, but placed legislative control in the hands of provincial standing committees of parliament. This link with the tricameral system concerns KwaZulu. It was a mistake to abolish provincial councils, says Minister of Education Oscar Dhlomo.

What is the mission of the JEA? Miller says it is to "promote regional co-operation and the co-ordination of functions currently carried out by either the NPA or KwaZulu government, or both."

Functions would include health services, roads, physical planning, conservation, and shark protection. Notably absent are such matters as education and, of course, drafting a joint capital budget for a united Natal.

The JEA is thus essentially an executive debating chamber. Either of its racially-divided constituent bodies, the NPA or KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, may limit what may be discussed and veto any joint recommendations that require changes to legislation. It is not empowered to make laws. And, most importantly, it has no fiscal authority. Decisions with budgetary implications will still have to be approved independently in Ulundi and Maritzburg.

KwaZulu's criticism of the JEA is that it has no legislative power, is racially based, unrepresentative of the whole population of the province — since KwaZulu does not represent blacks in "white" areas who are also not represented by Exco — and will be responsible to two autonomous authorities.

As a quid pro quo for participating, KwaZulu expects progress towards implementing the Indaba, which, says Dhlomo, is a "natural evolution." Failing this, its representatives will withdraw from an "irrelevant" JEA.

KwaZulu's objection to the RSC runs far deeper. Most importantly, says Dhlomo, KwaZulu was not consulted. "The politics of prescription are past. On a point of principle we cannot allow it."

In addition RSCs represent an extension of the tricameral parliamentary system, perpetuate ethnicity in local authorities, and entrench economic apartheid, adds Dhlomo. While KwaZulu is willing to negotiate the "whole concept of third-tier government," RSCs as constituted will not be on the agenda, emphasises Dhlomo.

The deadlock has left the proposed RSC for greater Durban in political limbo. Miller disconsolately admits that the rest of the area may have to "go it alone."

This could be calamitous, widening the gulf between Third and First World economies in what Gerry Adlard, MD of Urban Foundation housing company Innova, calls Durban's "Greater Functional Region" (GFR).

The GFR's shackland is larger than the city itself, sprawling in a 50 km radius around Durban's formal limits and housing 1,5m people, mostly in KwaZulu territory. Servicing an estimated 15 000 sites would cost upwards of R450m, points out Adlard. ■

# Call on AWB

(304A) Cape Times 29/8/87

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The leader of the official opposition, Dr Andries Treurnicht, had to state clearly whether he rejected the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging or admit that he could not do without them, the chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House, Mr F W de Klerk, said yesterday. Speaking during the third reading debate of the own affairs budget, he said the AWB could no longer be ignored. It was busy misleading many Afrikaners and stirring up their feelings to a dangerous level. The CP would do Afrikaanerdom "a favour" by rejecting the AWB.

# Different cultures, yes. But racial domination NO, NO, NO

**DEFINING the nature of the conflict in South Africa as essentially a struggle between opposing nationalisms raises some troublesome questions.**

Firstly, it tends to ideologise the problem by obscuring the more brutal Machiavellian aspects of National Party rule as a source of conflict.

It lends itself to interpretations that present the repressive self-preservation of a minority regime as something quite natural and innocent, even admirable, as a noble culturally-inspired struggle against threatening rival nationalisms.

As such, Nationalist domination can be presented as an expression of "the Afrikaners' determination to safeguard the future of their own cultural heritage", to quote Deputy Minister Stoffel van der Merwe.

However, against this idealistic interpretation, it can more historically be argued that the Botha government does not seek or employ power as a means to secure perfectly acceptable cultural ends, but rather uses nationalism and culture as a means to serve its less innocent power interests.

While the NP clearly appreciates the strategic value of Afrikaner nationalism as a mobilising force, the Government's decision-making hardly seems to be motivated by Afrikaner nationalist sentiments.

Its past and recent record speaks rather of a propensity to view Afrikaner culture in terms of selfish party political interests, i.e. to subordinate what is culturally valuable to Afrikaners to what is politically useful to Nationalists.




Hermann Giliomee's analysis of the conflict

**The debate on the phenomenon of national groups and the problems of communal conflict in South Africa continues.**

**This week, Willem van Vuuren, Head of the Department of Political Studies at the University of Western Cape, warns that the Government's concern is not so much for the preservation of a national identity but for the manipulation of the ideology for its own narrow political ends.**



By WILLEM VAN VUUREN

Nationalists, who have always noisily expressed their patriotic concern about the future of the Afrikaans language, have also been quite prepared to accept the *cultural* alienation of millions of Afrikaans-born "nie-Blankes" for *political* reasons.

Secondly, the nationalisms thesis not only elevates the conflict to a normal and acceptable cultural struggle, but gives rise to concern about the *future* of Afrikaner culture that obfuscates the more immediate *present* conditions threatening that future.

It induces a self-centred, inward-looking attitude among Afrikaners which is expressed by an insistence on guarantees for *their* group rights, safeguards for *their* cultural heritage and *their* right to self-determination.

The implicit assumption underlying such collective ego-centrism is that the future possibility of a black majority government constitutes the biggest threat to Afrikaner culture. Should they not rather be concerned about the threat posed by the present white minority government?

That is, about a regime whose desperate attempts at self-preservation are systematically undermining the few remaining conditions for a better future for all of us.

If Afrikaners are determined "to create a future dispensation that will be experienced as a just system by all who live in it", as Dr van der Merwe believes, it must now be practically demonstrated.

It is the *actual* holders of power that must be pressurised into working constructively towards a culturally tolerant and democratic dispensation, not the *possible* ones.

Thirdly, besides fostering the dangerous illusion that the threat to cultural self-determination and democratic group rights lies *beyond* Nationalist domination, the theoretical description of the conflict as a clash of nationalisms leads to prescriptive formulas which have already failed in practice.

Surely, we do not need the further constitutional entrenchment of group divisions, in the form of Bantustans, tricameral parliaments, or whatever.

One can accept the reality of group divisions without officially promoting it. The conflict in South Africa is not generated by the existence of different cultures or interest groups as *such*, but rather by the oppression and frustration they suffer under a profoundly undemocratic political system.

Instead of dreaming about the "just" accommodation of conflicting nationalisms, we should rather begin to practise the genuine de-racialisation and democratisation of our politics.

It is helpful of Dr van der Merwe to point out that "if we simply exchange one form of domination for another form of domination we will have gained very little, if anything". At least that confirms the existing situation as one of domination.

However, the problem is that his party's policy to gradually cast the net of co-optation a bit wider, does not offer a democratic alternative to the oppressive status quo. On the contrary, instead of broadening democracy it serves to broaden the ethnic base of Nationalist domination.

Instead of any real movement towards democratic government, the general drift is towards totalitarian control, with increasing emphasis of the negative and destructive aspects of crisis-management. the entrenchment of emergency rule, more threats, more bannings and more restrictions on non-violent opposition.

If we consider the Government's paranoid attitude towards the "outside world", "hostile" international media, "revolution-exporting" neighbours, and examine its Total Onslaught propaganda in defence of domestic oppression, then analogies drawn from ethnic conflicts in Northern Ireland, Cyprus, etc seem less relevant than a critical understanding of the Machiavellian power conflicts that led to disaster in Stalinist Russia and the Third Reich.

During the most destructive stages of these histories, the conflict manifested itself in systemic domination rather than some form of cultural self-assertion.

The structural-institutional changes that accompanied the growth of unchecked governmental powers soon reduced lofty ideals and nationalist aspirations to mere appendages of selfish strategic interests. Power elites, rather than nationalist vanguards, wreaked havoc in the societies they pretended to protect from "the enemies of the people/Volk".

To my mind, Professor Hermann Giliomee correctly identifies our problem in Sunter's terms as a choice between authoritarian co-optation and endemic violence, and genuine negotiation, stability and economic growth.

However, I cannot see an escape from existing authoritarianism through a bi- or multi-communal accommodation of nationalist aspirations.

Instead of the *nationalistic* self-determination of statutorily defined groups, we rather need the *democratic* self-determination of free associates to undercut the destructive authoritarian trend and increasingly negative stance of a government that has clearly run out of any viable alternatives.

# Battle ignition!

By NORMAN WEST: Political Reporter

**A BRUISING battle between the South African President and the coloured and Indian Houses is looming in the wake of this week's shock clash between President Botha and the Rev Allan Hendrickse.**

Labour Party spokesmen this week warned of a tougher approach to Government measures which they found unacceptable.

The first major wrangle — already under way — is over a constitutional amendment which will postpone the white elections beyond 1989 but more disputes are in the offing.

Immediatly at issue is the Group Areas Act, the Regional Services Bill and an amendment to the Local Government Act.

The man at the centre of the storm, Mr Hendrickse, has meanwhile declared himself "unshackled" since leaving President Botha's Cabinet and claims that he was going to resign anyway — last Wednesday.

The Labour Party leader told the Sunday Times yesterday that he had found his position in the National Party Cabinet increasingly untenable and had already made up his mind to resign at the Cabinet meeting on August 26 — 10 years to the day since he was detained for three months by Security Police for political activities.

## Angered

It is, meanwhile, understood that it was this claim by Mr Hendrickse on SATV on the day of his resignation/sacking which particularly incensed President Botha.

Mr Hendrickse claimed he had chosen August 26 "for its symbolic value and for maximum impact because it would have been the right psychological moment for my exit from the Cabinet".

Meanwhile, the only Cabinet Minister of colour left in the Botha Cabinet, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, said yesterday that "at this stage I have no principled reason to follow Allan out of the Cabinet".

But at the same time he warned his majority National People's Party would in future block all legislation with any kind of racial connotation the Government might plan to channel through Standing Committees of Parliament where consensus must be reached on Bills.

## Coloured leader 'freed' for PW fray

Sources say if the Government does not accept the President's Council report on the Group Areas Act to be tabled at the end of next month in which, it is believed, it recommends far-reaching changes away from rigid race policies, heavy weather is predicted for the tricameral system.

Mr Hendrickse told the Sunday Times yesterday: "I now feel totally free to act in concert with the principles of the Labour Party which remains irrevocably committed to non-racialism."

# The Hei





**Personal view: NORMAN WEST**

**Political assessment: BRIAN POTTINGER**

# It is surely a simple matter of racism

THIS week's rumpus involving President Botha and the Rev Allan Hendrickse inevitably recalls a scene from the film Roots, based on Alex Hayley's famous saga of a black American's attempt to trace his ancestry.

A slave, descendant of a proud warrior from Gambia in Africa, is beaten by his white master because he would not accept that his name be changed from Kunte Kinte, his ancestral name, to Toby, his slave tag.

There was something of the same quality of the debate that has occurred over the last two weeks between our white President and his coloured, junior, colleagues.

The details of the exchange are well known· it is perhaps time to consider the broader implications.

In his letter of resignation to Mr Botha, Mr Hendrickse wrote:

"It is obvious that you are not prepared or willing to acknowledge the feelings and perceptions of others if that perception is not in line with that of yourself and your party".

"I, therefore, hereby tender my resignation from the Cabinet".

Mr Hendrickse said afterwards he felt relieved and "unshackled", a figurative political Toby reverting to a Kunte Kinte.

It is this aspect of "perceptions", then, that is crucial. President Botha genuinely feels aggrieved that coloured South Africans have not shown sufficient "gratitude" for what has been done for them.

## Painful

Therein lies the rub: what is being done *for* people rather than *with* them? Coloured South Africans — and even the term is painful — do not claim nor expect any more than is granted other South Africans. Only the same opportunities, the same treatment.

Little can President Botha hope to understand the feelings and perceptions of a person who lives in a country where skin colour determines his life from the cradle to the grave. Never can one know the hurt of being shut out from amenities, dignity and opportunities in the county of one's birth.

Can a person really be so arrogant as to proclaim God's creations, like beaches and land, for whites only?

It is clear Mr Hendrickse's perceptions on issues of race discrimination against some of God's children, but not others, clash with those of Mr Botha.

Mr Botha cannot understand why the "kleurlinge" are so ungrateful for the privilege of owning their properties in their own group areas across the railway line or, better still, in unseen "lokasies".

Mr Hendrickse cannot understand why Mr Botha wants him to say "dankie baas" after having experienced himself the trauma of having his family uprooted from where they lived in Uitenhage and cast across the railway line.

Mr Eddie Samuels, a member of the Cape Provincial Executive and a member of the Labour Party, cannot understand why he is qualified enough to help run the affairs of the province but, because of his colour, not qualified to occupy the house of his choice in white Constantia in Cape Town.

A friend, Manoo Desai of Cape Town, a Hindu Indian, would like Mr Botha to explain to his twin daughters, Leila and Praveena, why he had to divorce their mother, Minnie, so that she could legally buy their home in Woodstock, Cape Town, in her "coloured" maiden



name.

They had fallen foul of Section 12 of the Group Areas Act, which says when an Indian marries a coloured woman, she takes on the domicility of the husband — Mr Desai is Indian and he cannot buy property in a coloured area.

## Difficulty

Mr Hendrickse, an ordained Minister of the United congregational Church, has difficulty preaching that those whom God has put together, let no man put asunder when, as a member of the Botha Cabinet, his pleas that Mr Richard Coates and coloured wife Joan of Uitenhage be granted a permit to live in Mr Coates's property in a white area fell on deaf ears.

To President Botha, then, "own" affairs is the means of protecting the rights of individual groups and, whether he concedes it nor not, this translates most immediately to white privilege.

The coloured perception of "own" affairs is quite different. It is not a question of protecting "own" but of denying "others": a simple matter of racism.

Mr Botha, unlike Mr Hendrickse, has never experienced the humiliation of race discrimination. He has, instead, applied it in terms of the policy of the National Party.

The Labour leader's perception of his constituents being denied the use of the civic hall in Oudtshoorn, refused entry to a resort outside Pretoria, prosecuted for swimming at certain beaches, forced to attend "coloured" schools, is that it is intrinsically evil and unchristian.

Mr Botha's view is that the building up of "own" communities is good for the coloured people — no matter the cost or the pain.

It is indeed a question of perceptions.

# drickse Affair

304A S.Times 30/8/87

## I may disagree with you, Botha now seems to be saying, but I will defend to the death my right to stop YOU from disagreeing with ME...

**THE sacking of the Rev Allan Hendrickse has led to a wave of anticipatory relish among critics of the tricameral Parliament, the Labour Party and President Botha.**

How long, the question is asked, can the tricameral Parliament last?

Such speculation may be a little premature.

The dramatic rupture this week between the normally acquiescent Mr Hendrickse and usually bellicose President Botha was not only to be expected; it should be welcomed as one of the more-positive developments in our otherwise moribund politics.

Mr Hendrickse's unceremonious firing, for that is really what it was, brings to an end a ludicrous three-year period during which the leaders of the coloured and Indian Houses found themselves neither opposition fish nor government fowl.

In consequence they spent most of their time siding with the National Party and the balance ...ating their followers. The role ... effective opposition went by de... to the Progressive Federal ...arty, who had all the right prin...ples but none of the power — ...ited as it is — enjoyed by the ...jority parties in the other two ...ambers of Parliament.

What brought about this week's ...ama?

At the one level, of course, is the ...rsonality of President Botha: a ...bidding and increasingly unap...achable patriarch who under...nds the stick, but is uneasy with ... carrot.

Three years ago, in happier ...nes, President Botha assured ...estioners at a Press conference ... announce the appointment of ...e coloured and Indian Ministers ...at the new Ministers would be ...titled to disagree publicly with ...cisions taken by the Cabinet — ... long as they informed him first.

...here has not been much public disagreement since — and for a simple reason. On those rare ...casions when either the Labour ... National People's parties have ...sen to take a publicly diver... stand from the President, it ... led to much snorting and bel...ing from the bulls in the Gov...ment kraal.

A stalled reform programme, ...reign and domestic pressure, ...d the, well, *ambivalence* of the ...oureds and Indians about what the devil they were supposed to be doing in Parliament anyway, has all served to shorten President Botha's legendary short fuse.

I may disagree with you, he now seems to be saying, but I will defend to the death my right to stop you disagreeing with me. It is this style, perhaps more than any other, which stands as the most unpredictable ingredient in recipes for a future political settlement.

But presidential petulance is only half the story.

The fact is that Mr Hendrickse should never have been in the central Cabinet in the first place: as was remarked by some observers when he was appointed.

The central Cabinet, which was fashioned by President Botha after the 1984 elections, was a *structural* coalition, but had none of the basic qualities of a true *political coalition*.

Coalition governments are traditionally formed around a core of common ground, although disagreement, sometimes fierce, can rage on peripherals which could collapse the coalition.

President Botha's coalition, meanwhile, was unique in that it comprised parties agreed on peripherals (the scrapping of pinprick apartheid), but fiercely divided on fundamentals (free political association, irrespective of race).

The inclusion of Mr Hendrickse in the Cabinet caused much pain and heartache for two main reasons.

● In the first place, it bound Mr Hendrickse to the conventions and niceties of the Cabinet collegiate. Publicly, then, the Labour Party leader found it almost impossible to criticise Cabinet Ministers who most certainly warranted it.

The most perfect example of that was the Langa shootings, a disgraceful episode in the history of the South African Police for which Minister Louis le Grange's head should most assuredly have rolled.

Mr Hendrickse, unable to attack a colleague, left it to a party spokesman, Mr Peter Mopp, to make a statement demanding Mr le Grange's sacking. In the resultant furore, Mr le Grange demanded that President Botha take Mr Hendrickse to task — which he did.

The next day the Labour Party implied Mr Mopp's statement was "inoperative", because he was not the correct spokesman for the issue and one of his colleagues, Mr Don Mateman, was despatched to placate the Minister of Law and Order.

Small wonder, then, that Mr Mopp, an East London attorney, was a leading light in the rebellion earlier this year which saw eight Labour Party members defect because of Mr Hendrickse's "co-option" by the Cabinet.

● The second reason is the obverse of the coin.

Because Mr Hendrickse was unable to take independent stands against Cabinet colleagues, his status within his own caucus was diminished. He could promise President Botha the support of his caucus, but was imperfectly equipped to deliver it.

When President Botha wanted support for a measure which would allow his Minister of Law and Order to declare "mini-states of emergency" the Cabinet approved it, but Mr Hendrickse's caucus threw it out.

The latest brouhaha is over an incident of the same nature: Mr Hendrickse said "yes" in Cabinet to postponing the white election, and his men in the caucus said "Yes — but ..."

This inability of Mr Hendrickse to deliver his caucus to Cabinet, one suspects, is the real reason why President Botha finally decided to ditch the Labour Party. At best they were unreliable allies and at worst a positive embarrassment to the NP in the eyes of the right wing.

The implausibility of the union became increasingly apparent in recent months ending in Mr Hendrickse's observation at Keimoes that the President had acted like a "rat in a corner" — a statement that would have shattered far more stable coalitions in other countries.

Whether Mr Hendrickse would again have done the cap-in-hand number if given the chance, is open to debate — the point is that his courage was finally screwed to the sticking point by President Botha. So he went.

And where does that leave us now?

In a better position than before. If the principle underlying the tricameral Parliament is that political conflict be regulated on the basis of group representation, then the Labour Party, unshackled from Cabinet constraints, is in an even stronger position to challenge the Government.

President Botha will now have to bargain more openly with the Labour Party for approval of measures if he is not to resort increasingly to a rubber-stamping President's Council.

All of this is good and a refreshing change from the murky and subterranean wheeler-dealing which has characterised past Labour Party activity, and seen it silent on major issues and carping on minor ones.

The question now is whether the Labour Party, shaking itself free from the alternating embrace and assault of the National Party, has sufficient skill and commitment to use its as yet undiscovered power base within the constitution.

# Participation politicians are latest Nat scapegoats

**By ISMAIL OMAR**
*Member of the President's Council*

**PARTICIPATION politics has been severely criticised in the past for conduct which, in some instances, bordered on co-optation.**

**But extra-parliamentary politics has also, in the last three years, unleashed forces of anger that easily became uncontrollable and degenerated into violence.**

**It is true that the white built-in majority in the constitution empowers government to steamroll legislation regardless of opposition from the Houses of Representatives and Delegates.**

**The use of draconian powers has been characteristic of the South African Government from the days of John Vorster as Minister of Justice, if not before. It is, therefore, misleading to argue that the police state stigma is a new factor.**

**Participation politicians are merely the new scapegoats.**

**The evils manifest in the system are the products of a long history of repression and not instant products as the result of participation.**

**It is, therefore, highly irresponsible to equate us in a guilt-by-association complex, just as it would be grossly irresponsible to equate the atrocious necklacing of human beings, condoned by an affiliate of the UDF, as being the political philosophy of the leadership of the UDF.**

**The argument that Parliament is totally irrelevant since political power has shifted to executive and "extra parliamentary" State structures, even if true, would hold only if such shift was irreversible.**

**The fact of the matter is that it is still possible to reverse the process through Parliament should the narrow white electoral process so determine.**

**Granted, there are many areas where government remains unreasonably intransigent, particularly in the area of its obsession with race as a criterion and its glaring inability to provide an opportunity for negotiations with the full spectrum of political leadership and organisations in South Africa.**

**The Government's sincerity or bona fides should not of necessity be a precondition to negotiations.**

## Confrontation

**If the results of such negotiations fail to materialise in meaningful progress, then by its own actions government would invite confrontation at a constitutional level.**

**Withdrawal from all ministries, from parliamentary activity or a host of strategies in-between, would be the logical consequence of participation politics (passive participation).**

**The non-violent ethic demands the avoidance of destruction of life, limb and property. Conflict, of necessity, has to be regulated. The suggestion that the "only way" of ensuring change is by intensifying the struggle outside Parliament by strengthening such organisations as the UDF and COSATU merely serves to highlight some components of the complex South African scene, but avoids methodology.**

**I have never been given a satisfactory response to the question that if the so-called 15 percent minority participation bloc is the obstacle, why did the extra-parliamentary organisations (with their 85 percent support base) avoid taking control of the two Houses and simply closing shop.**

**Even their neutral approach to white elections differs from their boycott approach to elections in the politics of colour.**

**A nonracial approach ought to be consistent in both theory and practice.**

**To call upon Indian and coloured (and recent PFP) MPs to walk out simply because the tricameral system has been a failure is to credit us with what many of us proclaimed as an objective.**

**We never intended to use the present structure for more than a holding operation, in a progess-cum-consolidation scenario.**

**For if the 'tricam' were to succeed as the end product of constitutional development in South Africa, we would have failed.**

30/8/87 (304A) S/Times

B04A 30/8/87

# 'No room for neo-nazism'

**Special Correspondent**

THE State President, PW Botha, said in Parliament this week he was of the opinion that all three chambers of Parliament would agree with him that the biggest threat to an orderly and stable South Africa lay in the incitement of racial and religeous feelings.

He added that the government would act without hesitation against any organisation or society intent on propagating anti-Jewish campaigns and also against organisations and individuals intent on threatening or defaming any community or minority group.

Existing legislation which could be brought against people and organisations guilty of this would be strictly applied. Should these measures not suffice, stronger measures would be submitted to Parliament, he said.

Botha's statement was the result of strong reaction from the South African Jewish community to a ceremony in Pretoria last week in honour of Rudolph Hess, the Nazi war criminal who died in West Berlin's Spandau prison.

Well-known radical rightwing movements like the Afrikaner-Weerstandsbeweging and obscure groups like the Boere-Bevrydingsbeweging and individual white national socialists paid homage to Hess.

Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok had already announced that the police were investigating possible transgressions of the Internal Security Act, among others, with regrad to the Hess commemoration ceremony.

In reaction to a proposal by Colin Eglin that a special debate be held in Parliament on the matter, Botha said in a statement thay the government was not opposed to a special debate on racism and religeous oppression in South Africa.

He quoted from a statement he made on the matter in April 1982.

He said then there was no place in South Africa for communists and neo-Nazis.

Botha said he was stating the view of the government on the matter to prevent any doubt on the gorvenment's standpoint.

The government would not forsake the long-existing right of everybody in South Africa to believe in his own God and to worship Him freely and in his own manner.

"The South African government is irrevocably committed to religeous freedom and the protection of communities and minorities. We believe irrevocably in the dignity of mankind as a creation of God.

"We acknowledge the variety of God's creation and believe we can live together within this variety and that we can tolerate each other in a manner which will be to the glory of God," he said.

He continued: "We respect individuality and we accept participation on matters of common interest. But we reject racial superiority and religeous enforcement.

"While this government remains in power, there shall be no hesitation to act against elements which threaten or defame any of our communities or minority groups.

"Against this background I wish to say to the Jewish community in South Africa: 'We appreciate your contribution to the economic, cultural and technological achievements of our fatherland'," he concluded.



President PW Botha

# As if by magic, the tables have been turned . . .

FOCUS

By DAVID BREIER

WHITE MPs treated members of the House of Representatives with new deference this week. Suddenly, by a strange quirk of tricameral logic, the tables have been turned.

As if by magic, the deliberations of the Labour Party caucus which has the majority in the House of Representatives, have a relevance for white MPs who previously couldn't have cared a hoot.

The ruling National Party is now at their mercy, for the Nats would lose out if forced to go to the polls in 1989. Above all, the coloured MPs have it in their power to humiliate President PW Botha — if they stand firm and don't buckle or split.

They could end Mr Botha's career more rapidly than he could have dreamed a week or two ago when his power was unquestioned in Parliament.

## Mistake

Cracks appeared in the presidency as he blundered from one mistake to another this week. His apparent attempt to fire Riaan Eksteen from the SABC over television coverage of the episode backfired badly.

The Labour Party has the power to force him to fight an election in 1989 in circumstances the opposition parties can exploit.

"Don't you realise this could mean 200 000 more votes for the Conservative Party?" a Labour Party MP was asked this week. "Do you see me crying?" he replied.

If anyone was shedding tears, it was the Nats at seeing their recent election gains squandered by Mr Botha's fits of temper.

A loophole has been opened which has given the junior partners in the "outhouse of Parliament" total power over their white masters.

Both the coloured and Indian houses have the constitutional power to veto Mr Botha's attempt to amend the Constitution to delay white elections from 1989 to 1992.

Although the Delegates and Representatives have the means to wreck Mr Botha, only the Representatives have the motivation. The more pliable Indian house is playing things Mr Botha's way these days; but the coloured MPs are bitter and have become increasingly angry this year.

Incredibly, Mr Botha, the political wizard, put a deadly weapon in the hands of the Representatives, then proceeded to give them every reason to use it — against him.

Earlier this month he announced he would change the Constitution to delay the white elections. Everyone seemed to see the trap — except Mr Botha himself.

He fell headlong into it when he walked into the House of Representatives on August 19 to deliver a finger-wagging diatribe against "ungrateful" coloureds who failed to say thank you to the Government for imposing the Group Areas Act

The next day, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, Labour Party leader and the only coloured Cabinet Minister, hinted that the Labour Party might veto Mr Botha's election plan. He repeated the hint several times and the papers were full of it.

## Gun

Still Mr Botha chose not to see how far he had fallen into the trap of his own making.

On Monday he delivered an ultimatum to his coloured Minister.

Mr Botha had apparently forgotten he had placed a loaded gun in Mr Hendrickse's hand. He even seemed surprised when Mr Hendrickse pulled the trigger.

For Mr Hendrickse gains everything by resigning from the Cabinet while staying in Parliament. And Mr Botha loses.

Mr Hendrickse gains power over Mr Botha, who is no longer his Cabinet chief. Either Mr Botha introduces dramatic reforms to the Group Areas Act and other apartheid laws, or he is forced back to the polls in humiliating circumstances which will be exploited by the left and the right.

But political pundits who have a deep respect for Mr Botha's acumen believe he could still pull off a coup.

He could try to split the Labour Party by offering a Cabinet job to one of Mr Hendrickse's men. He could also try to buy off the Labour Party by offering to delay coloured and Indian elections until 1992. This would ensure all MPs qualified for pensions. Or he might shorten the pensionable service from the present seven and half years to five. Or he might hope that a little reform here and a promise there would suffice to persuade the coloured MPs to be good boys.

But suggestions made long these lines to Labour Party MPs this week provoked the Independence movement. Even the Progs are happy, despite their recent election disaster.

The CP is happy because an election in 1989 is just what it wants. It will tell white voters "we told you so" and demand a mandate to crush those "coloured upstarts." The Independents will be able to face a weakened NP which will be able to have the support even of moderates like Mr Hendrickse. And the Progs believe that a couple of years of relative peace and closer contacts with other races could undo the damage caused in the recent elections by the security question.



GAINS POWER: Mr Hendrickse.

ANC 31/7/87

# Difference of opinion in PFP on ANC talks

Boyd

**Political Correspondent**

DIFFERENCES of opinion on the Dakar conference and contact with the African National Congress have emerged in the Progressive Federal Party, and one of the Dakar delegates has questioned whether similar talks should be held in future.

Meanwhile, the Johannesburg City Council has decided to boycott all conferences at which any Dakar delegate is a speaker.

The PFP leader, Mr Colin Eglin has said he is satisfied that two PFP MPs who took part in the Dakar talks, Mr Peter Gastrow and Mr Pierre Cronje, made a positive contribution.

**MISGIVINGS**

But Mr Harry Schwarz, a senior PFP MP and its former spokesman on defence matters, today expressed misgivings.

He said he detected a "new phenomenon" in the ANC's attacks on South Africa.

In addition to the so-called armed struggle and attemps to isolate South Africa economically and culturally, there was now a move which could be described as "operation white support".

The argument was that the ANC was not so bad, that it stood for a democratic non-racial government, that it believed in a Bill of Rights, that it did not suddenly want to nationalise everything and that its members were not "terrorists" but "freedom fighters".

Mr Schwarz said there was a simple test to be applied.

"How does one reconcile the endeavour to create this image with yesterday's bomb?

"How does one reconcile it with the ANC's call to extend the war to the residential areas?

**SIMPLE REMEDY**

"There is a simple remedy for the ANC to show that they are good fellows, and that is for them to stop killing people.

"If they do this, then there can be negotiations with them and they can operate constitutionally as a political organisation."

As far as the Dakar meeting was concerned he personally had no prior knowledge of it, nor was the party caucus informed.

"My information is that the leader was only informed on the last day of the session of Parliament before the recess and that this was done not for approval but for information.

"The PFP members went entirely on their own, in their

*(Turn to Page 3, Col 1)*

# Differences over Dakar talks

ANC 31/7/87 (Boyd)

*(Cont. from Page 1)*

personal capacities and not on behalf of the party," Mr Schwarz said.

University of Cape Town political scientist Professor Herman Giliomee, a member of the Dakar mission, said yesterday's bomb blast raised serious questions about whether there should be further talks similar to those held in Dakar.

He added that there seemed to be a misunderstanding about what the Dakar talks were about.

"Most of us went there to seek a way out from the polarisation and an ultimate two-trench war which no side can win.

"Several delegates strongly urged the ANC to switch to a non-violent political strategy instead of escalating the armed struggle.

"The bomb raises serious questions as to whether any political compromise is possible at all and whether there should be future talks like the ones in Dakar."

In Johannesburg, Mr Danie van Zyl, vice-chairman of the management committee, said the Johannesburg City Council has decided to boycott all conferences at which any Dakar delegate is a speaker, and that this decision will be binding on all councillors and council employees.

Mr van Zyl, leader of the National Party in the council, said the decision means that council representatives will not attend either the Assocom congress in Durban or the Soepa town-planning congress.

The decision was taken by the management committee in terms of its delegated powers but has not been debated by the whole council.

It would nevertheless be binding.

"The talks are the greatest act of political treachery committed against South Africa by so-called Afrikaners", Mr van Zyl said.

# Anxious Idasa calls off meeting

THE Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa has postponed its first report-back meeting on the Dakar talks.

The first one had been scheduled for August 4 in East London, where co-director Eric Mntonga was murdered under suspicious circumstances last weekend. The other co-director, Rev Steve Fourie, received a death threat yesterday from a man calling himself Denzil. He said he had killed Mntonga.

Idasa has had a spate of death threats in the wake of the killing. — Hlnews

304A

W/Mail 31/7-6/8/87

# Former PFP MP boycotts call-up over border snub

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

A FORMER PFP MP will boycott his "Dad's Army" call-up next month as a personal protest against the refusal of the Minister of Defence to invite PFP MPs who went to Dakar on a tour of the "operational area" at the weekend.

The former MP for Maritzburg South and member of the PFP's defence group in Parliament, Mr Graham MacIntosh, said last night he had sent a telegram to his Commanding Officer informing him that he would no longer be reporting for his September 14 call-up because of the way in which General Magnus Malan was playing party politics over the Defence Force.

General Malan refused to invite Mr Peter Gastrow, the PFP's chief spokesman on defence and the party's national chairman, and Mr Pierre Cronjé, a member of the PFP's defence group, on the trip. Both MPs visited West Africa for talks with the ANC recently.

The PFP boycotted the border trip as a result. Thirteen Conservative party members also boycotted the trip for unrelated reasons.

An angry Mr MacIntosh said last night: "Mr Gastrow is a legally elected member of my party, a colleague and a friend, and I don't see why he should be treated in this way."

The CP boycotted the trip to the operational area at the weekend after a row in the House of Assembly involving an alleged "breach of security" by a Nationalist MP.

Mr Chris Eismer (NP Rissik) sparked the controversy when he remarked that Mr Koos van der Merwe (CP Overvaal) had been excited during an earlier speech because "this evening he is going on a lawful visit to the border".

CP members argued that this implied that one of their members had paid an "unlawful" visit to the border and pulled out of the weekend trip in protest.

# 'Useful idiot' artists, clerics — Malan

PRETORIA. — Clerics, artists and writers were among South Africans who intentionally joined attempts to discredit the country, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said.

In remarks prepared for an address at the opening of the Pretoria Show, he said the South African Communist Party/African National Congress alliance, with backing from many in the West, were campaigning to present South Africa as evil.

"They discredit the sincere effort of South Africa to bring about a better living standard for all its people, because it would destroy their goal if this living standard were improved."

Unfortunately, there were South Africans, including clerics, artists, and writers, who intentionally support this attempt, he said.

Why did these South Africans behave in this way?

"I can think of no other reason than that they have become the 'useful idiots' that the communist Lenin spoke of."

These were people who deliberately allowed themselves to be used as the agents of Marxist revolutionaries.

Their contributions and statements helped create a climate where South Africa was seen as the "bad guy" only, General Malan said.

By presenting themselves as the "good guys", the country's enemies planned strategies to undermine the SA community and not the government directly.

They undermined the community by creating economic hardship for the very people they say they intend helping.

"Anyone who is prepared to face realities must give credit to the efforts of South Africa to improve the so-called inequalities that exist in this country." — Sapa

# NGK minister in Dakar row is reinstated

JOHANNESBURG. — The Rev Theuns Eloff, the 32-year-old Ned Geref Kerk minister who was suspended by his church for his part in the Dakar negotiations, has been fully reinstated.

It was confirmed yesterday that the council was satisfied and that Mr Eloff had been reinstated in his congregation, the focal point of the NGK's activities among students at Pretoria University.

President Botha had earlier criticised him in Parliament, claiming that an entry on Mr Eloff's departure form at Jan Smuts Airport before he left for Dakar had been changed.

Mr Botha said he had seen the document, in which the purpose of Mr Eloff's visit overseas had been changed from "business" to "holiday".

After Mr Eloff challenged the charge it was established that it had been altered by an immigration official at Jan Smuts.

Mr Eloff is on a sabbatical while preparing his doctoral thesis. — Sapa.

# Progs to check constitution for 'white domination'

(304A)

**Political Staff**

The Progressive Federal Party has appointed a constitutional committee to review the thorny issue of the minority veto in its constitution for South Africa.

This follows the majority vote to scrap the veto, which was taken at the PFP federal congress last year.

Several members of the PFP — including many of the PFP Youth — argued that the minority veto was essentially a way of maintaining white domination. That vote was taken with a simple majority rather than the required two-thirds majority and was not binding.

## Problem of domination

But PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin agreed at the time to appoint a committee to investigate the veto. After announcing the committee, he said Professor Nic Olivier, the party's constitutional spokesman, would head it.

The PFP's present constitutional policy states that "the problem of domination is the major political problem in South Africa".

Among the mechanisms in PFP policy to prevent domination are a Bill of Rights guarded by a strong independent judiciary, a federal structure and proportional representation.

But these are considered insufficient and the policy includes a minority veto or "concurrent majority" to prevent simple majorities or majority coalitions, at either federal or federal unit level, from asserting their domination over minorities.

The minority veto recognises that without any formal entrenchment of ethnicity, "South Africa is a culturally diverse society and that to ignore the political significance of such diversity is to promote conflict rather than contain it".

Other members of the constitutional committee are Mr Ray Swart, Berea MP and Natal leader; Mr Roger Hulley, Constantia MP and Cape leader; Mr Douglas Gibson, Transvaal leader; Mrs Judy Stockhill, Free State and Northern Cape leader; Ms Toni Petra, youth leader; Dr Zac de Beer, Professor David Welsh, and Mr Errol Moorcroft. PFP researcher Mr James Selfe will be secretary.

# Left or right what's the difference?

**Problems which frequently stem from political categorisation are discussed by Harry Schwarz (left), Progressive Federal Party MP for Yeoville, who points out that he himself has been a victim of this widespread practice.**



One of the fashionable terms of political categorisation is to say of opponents that they are right or left-wing. This pastime is the indulgence not only of politicians but is followed by those who write in or are seen or heard in the media.

Questioned as to their definition of right or left there appears confusion, mumbling, inconsistency and evasion.

People are called left or right depending upon the position and motive of the abuser.

Having undergone the experience of being labelled both left and right on the same day by different sections of the media and by colleagues and opponents, one finds it fascinating to seek to analyse the reasoning and motives behind such descriptions.

To stand up for the right of free speech was once regarded as left-wing in South Africa. Today this liberal sentiment is described by some as right-wing. Only those who express the "right" views are entitled to the privilege of free speech.

How can free speech be allowed to those who are part of a system which is unacceptable and restricts the freedom of speech of others, even if within the system they seek to ensure such freedom for all?

How can there be freedom of speech for some until it is available to all? These are the arguments which if you dare to seek debate on, let alone disagree with, result in the label of right-wing being attached.

Old fashioned liberal ideals to the effect that you defend the right of those you disagree with to express those very views are now no longer the views of the left. In any event, under fear of being labelled ultra right-wing, may one ask where is the greatest freedom of speech: in the so-called right-wing western countries such as the US and Britain or in the left-wing socialist countries such as Russia and Hungary?

Turning to peaceful change as opposed to violence and revolution: in the UK the demonstrations for peace are left-wing; in South Africa, however, to seek to avoid violence causes one to be described as right-wing.

If one asks for the cessation of violence before negotiation one is right-wing. To some, if you want to negotiate at all, one is left-wing.

Law and order is described as a hallmark of a right-winger. No doubt in the socialist state behind the Iron Curtain there is order and law of a different nature to that in the West!

If access to the courts is wanted it is left-wing; if there are more police wanted in your constituency to protect citizens against crime, that is right-wing tendency to others.

What is an individual in South Africa who wants apartheid removed, abhors discrimination, rejects violence and wants change by peaceful means, who believes it can be achieved not by destroying what is good in society but reforming what is bad?

What is an individual who believes that periods of change create instability and that during such periods the effort must be made to safeguard lives and so wishes there to be law and order; law to protect and order through law?

## Voluntary association

And what of the person who wants a western-style democratic social and economic system after apartheid, who believes that you cannot ignore realities of the existence of different groups in South Africa but regards voluntary association and not compulsary categorisation as the answer?

And one who regards the federal constitutions of the US, West Germany and Switzerland as democratic just as much as the systems in Britain, Frnce and Italy, who believes in a mixed economy as offering a better economic solution remedying an historical distorted situation in South Africa?

Is such a person a right-winger as seen from the centre? He would be if perceived from the radical left. Or is he a left-winger again viewed from the radical right?

But is it unfair to suggest that there are some who for their own political objectives seek to wrongly categorise others. Or is it because they do not know their right from their left?

(BOTA) STAR 1/9/87 .

**Bruce Cameron of The Star's political staff in Cape Town talks to Mr Les Manley about his New York job.**

# UN membership 'still benefits SA'

The advantages of South Africa being represented at the United Nations still outweigh the disadvantages, according South Africa's permanent representative at the UN, Mr Les Manley.

In an interview during a brief visit to South Africa, Mr Manley, who took up the post at the beginning of the year, said however that he did not discount that a time could come when the reverse would be true.

The main advantage was that South Africa was able to present the 159 member countries with the facts of the situation in South Africa. "Whether they take note of the facts or whether they manipulate the truth for their own political purposes is entirely another matter."

Mr Manley says there was evidence of a definite demand for information about South Africa. Although South Africa had been illegally suspended from the General Assembly since 1974, it still had access to the UN secretariat and the Security Council.

South Africa also had access to the flow of information and could contribute to the flow of information.

Mr Manley said he was one of the permanent representatives most often received by the Secretary-General, Dr Javier Peres de Cuellar. Much of the information he had given at these meetings had been passed on to other countries, including African nations.

The Security Council, where he has appeared twice, was an international forum where South Africa's case could be put "exactly as we want and without reservation".

South Africa's position in the Security Council had altered significantly and the country no longer relied entirely on one or two vetoes to avoid harsh measures.

On the last occasion South Africa had come within one vote of not needing a veto with six of the 15 members not supporting resolutions, with three vetoes.

"This is the most favourable situation in 10 years," Mr Manley said.



Mr Manley . . . no illusions.

This year the South African issue had certainly tapered off in the Security Council and in the priorities of the major powers.

"South Africa has given way to the Gulf crisis and associated problems as well as to the situation in Afghanistan, where the Soviet Union faces the same problems as faced the United States in Vietnam."

In UN committees prominence was being given to the economic crisis in Africa, world health problems including the fear of the spread of Aids, women's rights, the abuse of drugs, international terrorism and international trade.

Mr Manley sees his main function as making behind-the-scenes contact with his opposite numbers from Africa.

"People would be surprised by the number of ambassadors and other officials at lower levels we speak to regularly."

In terms of Government policy, Mr Manley says he avoids contact with the ANC.

The ANC and Swapo (both of which are accredited to the United Nations) he feels have lost ground because of their avowed policy of violence.

The two organisations were also suffering from a lack of credibility.

Mr Manley added, however, that he was under little illusion that South Africa would continue to be an international whipping boy.

# 'More whites feel apartheid should end'

**Pretoria Correspondent**

An increasing number of white people had realised apartheid would have to end, the general-secretary of the United Democratic Front, Mr Popo Molefe, told the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Molefe (35) is standing trial with 18 other high-ranking members of the UDF, Azapo and local civic organisations.

The men have pleaded not guilty to the main charge of high treason and alternative charges ranging from terrorism and subversion, to murder.

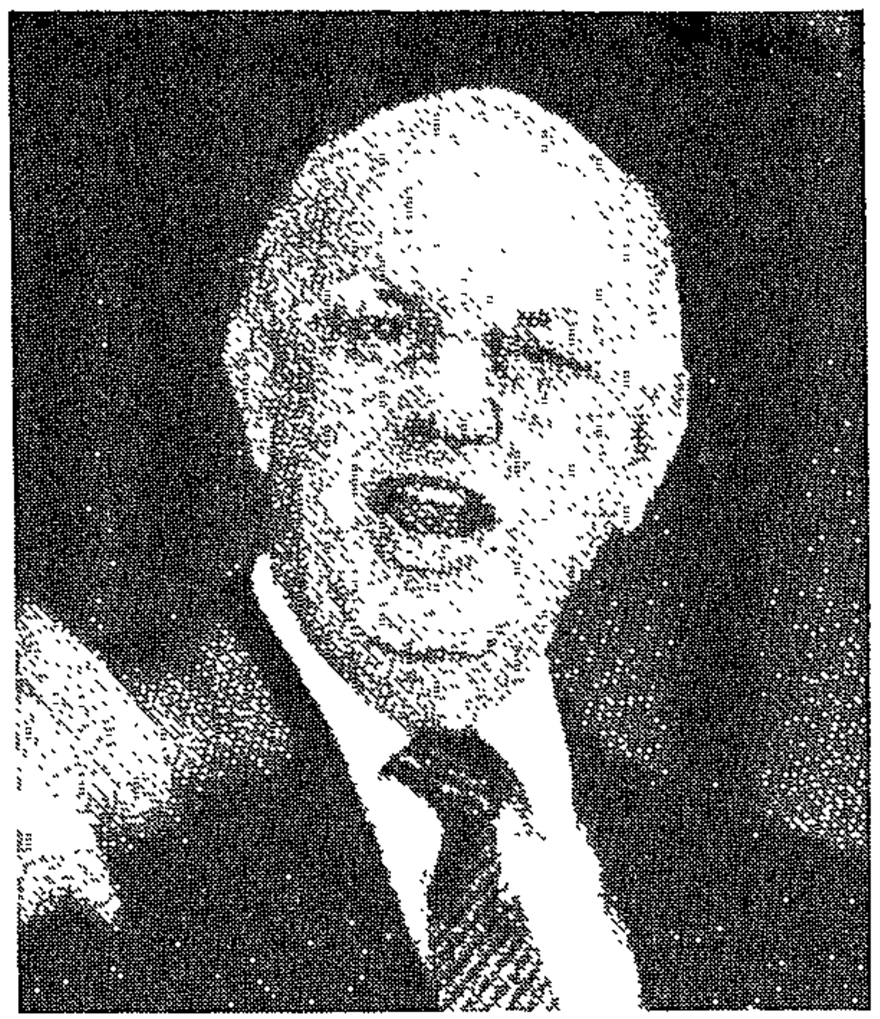
The State is attempting to prove the UDF conspired with the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party to overthrow the Government.

Mr Molefe was replying to a question by the State prosecutor, Mr P B Jacobs (SC), who said the UDF had sown doubts in the minds of the white people in this country as to whether the Government could cope with the problems facing the country.

He said it was not the UDF's policy to make the country ungovernable nor had it adopted a policy of violence. The UDF had always opposed apartheid.

(Proceeding)

# Power magnifies a strong man's gift for enmity



**PRESIDENT BOTHA ... has the power.**

Some people make good friends, others good enemies. President Botha is among the latter: a fighter, a political breker. He has a gift for making enemies as other men have the gift for friendship.

When he was young, he rode a horse through a farm tenant's house; today, he crashes through public life in much the same fashion.

His determination to have his way is a bureaucratic legend. When he appointed Ray Killen ambassador in London, in-group jokers said the Foreign Affairs professionals were hugely relieved — they had feared he might, like Caligula, send his horse.

The list of his enemies is a who's who of South African politics: John Vorster died an embittered foe; Louwrens Muller still nurses a fierce, angry resentment. Connie Mulder is dedicated to his defeat; Jimmy Kruger, born a Welsh James Thomas Jones and adopted into an Afrikaner family, died an enemy.

Helen Suzman has not spoken to him, so far as anybody can recall, since the assassination of Hendrik Verwoerd.

There is no mystery about the State President's enmities. His treatment of Allan Hendrickse on television early in the year showed us how he deals with those who cross him. He stomps on them — figuratively, of course — and pounds them to dust. He dealt with Hendrickse with 26 implacable minutes of sneers and smirks that made television-watching an ordeal.

His personality is formidable. He is big and, except for an occasional tremor in his left hand, he looks fit and strong.

He has the power, as John Vorster at one time had, to intimidate younger members of the Opposition parties simply by staring at them across the floor of the Assembly. I have seen quite experienced parliamentarians begin to shake in direct confrontation with him, their voices cracking with nervous tension.

Lately, though, the tempo has stepped up. He has seemed in recent months to be driving harder than before. Ever since the speech last year in which he flung at the world Paul Kruger's famous words — "You want my country" — he has behaved as though he were surrounded by wolves. To meddling foreigners he offers a total defiance

At home, the meanest, weakest opponent calls forth an implacably hostile response: the faltering alternative Press that describes a different reality, the university that teaches what he does not know, the dominee who goes to Dakar, the "ungrateful" House of Representatives, the mildly dissident Labour Party leader.

A senior public servant mused last week, at the height of the uproar over Hendrickse and the SABC's coverage of his resignation: "Something strange seems to happen to men when they approach the end of their time — it is as though they feel time is running out. The same thing happened in a different way to Vorster."

Vorster lost control;

**KEN OWEN: Johannesburg**

President Botha gives the impression of struggling, against the clock, to keep it. Perhaps it is fanciful to imagine him as fighting the feeling that his own grip is weakening while enemies gather around, but that is how it comes across.

There are elements of tragedy, both national and personal, in the twilight of President Botha's political life. He has more power than any of his predecessors, including Paul Kruger and Milner, Smuts or Lord Somerset. The army is his sword and his shield, and it gives him more brute force to command than anybody in Africa — or, for that matter, all the rest of Africa put together.

Yet he is less in control than his predecessors. Power is shifting away from the Afrikaners, from the whites as a whole, to a host of diverse challengers. If Allan Hendrickse can block his plan to delay the next white election, then Cyril Ramaphosa can shut down half the mining industry, and in the black townships a growing host is steadily breaking free of his officials and his police, and even his beloved army. Archbishop Tutu and Alan Boesak today command foreign attention as, once long ago, Smuts did.

President Botha can bully the business community but he cannot force them to invest or to build; he can tax their wealth, but not force them to create it; and he cannot stop many of them from shifting their effort to Australia or Britain.

He cannot even, as the Governor of the Reserve Bank told us a week ago, plug the holes through which billions of capital is leaking out of the country.

President Botha can, if he wishes, gag newspapers, forbid publication, frighten broadcasters and withhold information; but he cannot make himself or his policies credible to the majority of the people.

He breaks more easily than he builds. He smashed the Westminster system, and put in its place an imperial presidency, a pedestal for a ruler whose very dignity and reputation are now protected by law, even though he is the main figure in the political process. He bestrides the country like a Colossus; he warns, and threatens, and tries to subdue a nation as he tried to subdue the House of Representatives; and his enemies multiply.

His position commands sympathy. To possess so much power is a terrible thing; it tests the character of the man, and Afrikaner history offers no real guide to the dangers. The villains of that history are outsiders like Somerset or Shepstone and Milner, not insiders overwhelmed by the illicit temptations of power. English literature is filled with figures like the aged Lear, gnashing his teeth and flailing about him as his mastery of his own power fades.

Afrikaans has no such models; power has always seemed to Afrikaners a servant, not a cruel master.

Even Smuts, though a much-hated man, was a mere political opponent, bound by a constitution that has since been smashed; President Botha must struggle alone, with no help from a tricameral system that, far from restraining his power, magnifies it monstrously.

He is trapped in a net of temptations devised by courtiers to test the vanity of mortals, which puts under his sway both the executive and the legislature; it gives him a vast bureaucracy to do his will, and the police and the army to destroy opposition; it equips him with powers of secrecy and pomp, to give him mystique and separate him from lesser mortals. It is designed to make him lonely in his old age.

Indeed, the constitution has made President Botha the most powerful, isolated old man in our history, while an unkind fate has unleashed against him waves of violence and disorder and rebellion to challenge his old man's passion for control. The combination is a forge for tragedy.

(304A Star 3/9/87

# Dakar: a message of hope from Afrikaners

## Idasa leader explains the symbolism of 'ANC talks'

By Jo-Anne Collinge

History would remember the Dakar talks for their symbolic value, for their message to the world that "Afrikaners will trek into the unknown again — despite fear", predicts Professor Abraham Viljoen, Northern Transvaal director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa.

The interchange at Dakar "was talks — it was not negotiation. But it highlighted the possibility of negotiation," Professor Viljoen, a participant in the Dakar conference, told a meeting of the Five Freedoms Forum at Wits University last night.

He explained where he thought the symbolism of Dakar lay:

● It lay partly in the effort to recognise exiles as compatriots. Professor Viljoen said if the Government was going to take measures to prevent Afrikaners meeting their exiled compatriots "then I hope they're going to do the next logical thing, which is to unban the African National Congress and release the leaders who have been in jail so long".

● It was a signal that a group of Afrikaners was seeking to establish fellowship across the barriers that apartheid had erected. It was living proof that "human minds can meet".

● It stood for a reappraisal both of apartheid and of the ANC. Even though the participants from inside South Africa themselves rejected apartheid, it had come as a shock to find out how radically the ANC delegates rejected apartheid.

● It sensitised the Afrikaner participants to the degree to which propaganda had eroded their awareness of what apartheid does to people.

Likewise, with the ANC there was the substitution of a reality for the propagandistic portrayal inside South Africa which pictured the organisation as a band of "bloodthirsty terrorists".

Instead, the Dakar participants had found an organisation which came forward unequivocally and said they believed the future of the country should be negotiated, said Professor Viljoen.

He had left Dakar with a "very vivid impression" of the democratic nature of the ANC.

Dakar had enabled Afrikaners "to find to their joy that this way they would claim their rightful place in Africa," Professor Viljoen said.

"The moment we choose for freedom, we are in Africa, we are with Africa and we are welcome in Africa."

● The Dakar experience signalled the recognition by Afrikaners that it was necessary to accept the true leaders of the people "be they banned, exiled or jailed".

Dr Viljoen explained: "Co-option, which is so common in South Africa today, is a short-sighted policy."

● The talks reflected a wish to find a way to breaking the spiral of violence. Although they were not in themselves designed to address the question of ending violence or achieving a truce, they had shown that "by talking to the ANC there is a way other than violence".

It was superficial to expect the ANC to renounce violence before true negotiations began, argued Professor Viljoen.

● Finally, Dakar had shown "that some Afrikaners are in search of freedom again, true to their long heritage and to the genes in their blood".

He said the spirit of rebellion survived and "we refuse to remain the fools of the world, to allow the destruction of this country, to allow it to become a wasteland".

Idasa executive director Dr Alex Boraine focused on the motivation for the Dakar talks. He spoke of a threefold perception: That South Africa "was rushing towards a very dreadful destiny"; that the Government had neither the intention, the ability nor the will to address this crisis; and that measures had to be taken to address the political reality of massive support for the ANC, on the one hand, while power remained locked in the hands of Afrikaner nationalists.

The Dakar initiative had been an attempt to arrest this drive to violence and destruction.



Professor Abraham Viljoen ... a trek into the unknown.

Small businesses 'are vulnerable'

# Govt 'should help against strike action'

3048

3/9/87

**GOVERNMENT should appoint an industrial relations task force to help small businesses vulnerable to union actions, the former MD of a strike-hit hotel said yesterday.**

Bill Forssman said industrial and legal actions by the Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Union (Harwu) led to the loss of 137 jobs when the Kyalami Ranch Hotel — a family-run business for 25 years — closed this week.

Urging stricter regulations on establishment procedures for unions, he questioned Harwu's sponsorship and motives.

He accused the union of having "an overall political objective".

Harwu organiser Alan Horwitz said the union was unhappy about

NORMAN SHEPHERD

amounts paid for board and lodging by employees. He said the union was applying for an Industrial Council ruling on R220 000 allegedly owed for "excessive deductions" since 1963.

The union was also claiming a further R125 000 for three months' pay in respect of a work stoppage. An attempt would also be made to negotiate retrenchment packages, he said.

Horwitz said Cosatu affiliates had helped with legal costs.

The hotel was sold for R4m — breakeven or possibly a loss, said Forssman — to the Leadership, Education and Advancement Foundation (Leaf), which aims to convert it to a private college by the beginning of next year.

# Survey shows massive 'no' to tricameral govt

By Michael Chester SMR 3/9/87

If the Indian and coloured communities had freedom of choice in deciding the political future of South Africa, then the overwhelming majority would prefer a national convention of all race groups to plan a new course rather than the tricameral system of government.

This preference comes out loud and clear from an Omnichek poll, with 60 percent of Indians and 58 percent of coloured respondents voting in favour of a national convention instead of pressing on with the tricameral system.

But about 10 percent of the overall total were entrenched in the view that neither the tricameral system nor a national convention met their political aspirations.

The main protagonists for a national convention are male — 57 percent of Indians and 58 percent of coloureds.

When asked their views on their future as a minority group in a government based on majority rule, 71 percent of the Indian community said they would be "fearful" — 65 percent of the men and 78 percent of the women.

Only 10 percent of the Indians expressed optimism under a majority rule dispensation — 14 percent of the men and a only 6 percent of the women.

Among the coloured community, 32 percent of the men and 37 percent of the women were "fearful" of majority rule. An overall 24 percent saw an optimistic future in such a plan.

## Big demand for education, peace — poll

**An end to socio-political unrest and better educational facilities are the main objectives that the Indian and coloured communities want their leaders to pursue, according to an Omnichek poll conducted by Research Surveys.**

**The two issues out-rank even political freedom, better housing, better job opportunities and freedom of movement as aims that their parliamentarians should set as targets.**

**The Indian community was specific in listing "peace for all people" as a top priority. Second came better educational facilities, followed by improved employment opportunities. Better housing was ranked fourth, political freedom fifth and freedom of movement came at the tail-end.**

**The coloured community topped its own list of priorities with better educational facilities. Tying for next place were the objectives of political freedom and more employment.**

**384 - FISH PROCESSING INDUSTRY, CERTAIN AREAS.**

Superceding w.d. no: 305

AREA A:(White Fish Processing Section): Clanwilliam, Hermanus, Hopefield,Malmesbury, Mossel Bay, Namaqualand, Piketberg, Vanrhynsdorp, Vredenberg & Vredendal.

AREA B: (White Fish Processing Section): Bellville, Goodwood, Simon's Town, The Cape & Wynberg;

AREA X: (Rest of Industry): All areas in A and B.

To page 3

But Mr Van Eck had

Parliament.

Mr Schwarz said he had no problems with Mr Van Eck's decision to resign from the PFP and not to resign from Parliament.

"You cannot, on the one hand, be part of the UDF, Cosatu, ECC and anti-Tutu bashers and, on the other hand, expect the people in the townships — people who overwhelmingly support those very same organizations and leaders — to take you seriously and to continue to accept you," Mr Van Eck said.

He said the point of conflict in the PFP was the Dakar safari and was based on the fact that Mr Van Eck was not invited to participate in it.

Mr Jourdaan also predicted that the PFP would split further because people like Mr Pierre Cronje (PFP Greytown) supported Mr Van Eck while others rejected his position.

In his speech, Mr Van Eck said the PFP's conservative direction in the election, its alliance with the NRP and the antagonistic attitude of many of its leadership towards extra-parliamentary organizations had made it increasingly difficult to do monitoring work as a member of the PFP.

"You cannot, on the one hand, be part of the UDF, Cosatu, ECC and anti-Tutu bashers and, on the other hand, expect the people in the townships — people who overwhelmingly support those very same organizations and leaders — to take you seriously and to continue to accept you," Mr Van Eck said.

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But Mr Van Eck had

From page 1

said the turning point in his decision was the PFP's decision to seek an alliance with the NRP and this had been announced on January 9, before Mr Van Eck had accepted nomination as a PFP candidate.

Mr Van Eck had not cited that reason then to his constituency committee and to the PFP's candidates' committee.

"There he sits in Parliament after accepting the nomination of the PFP. He took that nomination on the basis that he could not stay in the PFP," Mr Schwarz said.

He also said Mr Van Eck had emotionally chosen sides with those who supported violence as part of the struggle.

"He must take the consequences and he has no right to stay in Parliament as part of the struggle," Mr Schwarz said.

# Rebel MP in row with PFP

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — A row erupted in Parliament yesterday over the rebel MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, who was accused by a former colleague of emotionally supporting violence and by a Nationalist MP of making the most left-wing speech in the history of Parliament.

The row developed after Mr Van Eck accused his former colleagues in the Progressive Federal Party of moving in a conservative direction.

Mr Harry Schwarz (PFP Yeoville) said afterwards that he would disregard his prepared speech on the police and the police reserves to reply to Mr Van Eck.

"We do not need him as an ally in the PFP," Mr Schwarz said in a fiery speech in which he said Mr Van Eck had chosen sides with people who, emotionally, supported violence.

Mr Adriaan Jourdaan (NP False Bay) said Mr Van Eck had made the most left-wing speech in Parliament and accused him of giving up his citizenship to avoid military service.

He said the point of conflict in the PFP was the Dakar safari and was based on the fact that Mr Van Eck was not invited to participate in it.

Mr Jourdaan also predicted that the PFP would split further because people like Mr Pierre Cronje (PFP Greytown) supported Mr Van Eck while others rejected his position.

In his speech, Mr Van Eck said the PFP's conservative direction in the election, its alliance with the NRP and the antagonistic attitude of many of its leadership towards extra-parliamentary organizations had made it increasingly difficult to do moni-

## Most parties unlikely to sign report

# Group Areas row could isolate Govt

**By David Braun, Political Correspondent**

**The Group Areas Act is becoming the focal point of a major political showdown which could upset relations in the tricameral Parliament and leave the Government isolated.**

Indications today were that the President's Council report on its investigation into the Group Areas Act and the Separate Amenities Act, which is to be finalised today, will not be signed by a number of parliamentary parties.

The report is to be handed to President Botha who will decide when to make it public.

Mr Botha returned the council's initial report for reconsideration after, it was widely believed, he rejected some of its recommendations as not being thought through.

The President has ruled out the possibility of repealing segregated residential areas for different population groups while he is in power although he has indicated he would consider favourably any "improvements" to the Group Areas Act.

He has also indicated that the Separate Amenities Act has not been a successful piece of legislation.

The council's revised report is said to fall far short of expectations that the Group Areas Act would be either repealed or liberalised.

It has been widely speculated that the report recommends that the principle of racial segregation be retained but that areas in which residential integration has already taken place should, at local option, be declared to be "open areas".

This is unlikely to satisfy the political parties in the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates which are unanimous that the Group Areas Act must go.

### Committed

In the House of Assembly, the Progressive Federal Party has committed itself to the scrapping of the Act while the Conservative Party will oppose any changes which allow for any degree of integration.

PFP sources confirmed the party would not sign the report.

Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse said today his party would not be signing the report unless it recommended the repeal of the Group Areas Act and the Separate Amenities Act.

In the House of Delegates, it seemed unlikely today that majority support would be found for the Solidarity proposal that the chamber boycott Parliament for a month if relief from the Group Areas Act was not forthcoming.

But there is unanimity that the Act must go.

The Progressive Reform Party has proposed that if there are no changes to the Act within three months all its members and those of Solidarity should resign from Parliament.

● See Page 11.

# Stay-and-help plan for whites

BY JOHN PERLMAN

IF white South Africans opposed to apartheid are to "stay and contribute", they need to share ideas on how best they can do this.

That, say the Five Freedoms Forum, is the thinking behind a three-day "consultative conference" it is holding later this month. Five Freedoms, a coalition of anti-government organisations formed last year, has been running a "stay and contribute" campaign.

Five Freedoms representative Dr David Webster said the conference, to be held at Wits University from September 25-27, would mix speeches by Idasa director Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, Mamelodi dominee Nico Smit, mineworkers' leader Cyril Ramaphosa and others, with smaller discussions and workshops.

"We are asking people to join the conference as delegates, not necessarily to represent particular organisations, but to take part in a structured process," Webster said.

The conference was not looking for "prescriptions", he said, but for an exchange of ideas and information: "People from different parts of the country have different experiences of apartheid."

Webster said the smaller discussions would focus first on "the human cost of apartheid — culture, sport, academics and the economy have all been affected, but it could be different" — and would then look for creative ways people could use professional and other skills to actively work towards apartheid's end.

"A lot of disillusionment and lack of direction emerged in the white community after the general election."

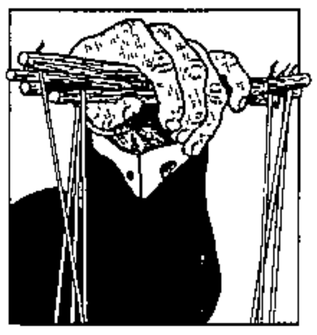
He said the conference hoped to "identify and reach a broad grouping of people we believe to exist, and offer them things they can participate in to express their opposition to apartheid."

Organisations like the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the United Democratic Front were willing to work with "identifiably progressive whites", he said.

Financial Mail

P W BOTHA

# The costs of rage



**The course** of President P W Botha's wrath has not been at all predictable — in fact it has been alarmingly public and eccentric. Whatever its dubious political purpose may be — to rally the faint-hearted or chastise the deviant — it carries a heavy economic cost.

Even before Botha began the latest unfortunate display of public tantrums, he went down in history as the most economically costly head of government that this country has ever had. He raised undue expectations, especially in the media, of constitutional reform; and then by reneging on them on the Rubicon date of August 15 1985, he sparked the process that prolonged the deep recession, sent the value of the currency plunging, inflation soaring to historic peaks, and brought on serious capital and trade boycotts.

With difficulty the economy has adjusted to these shocks. The reserves have now recovered; the balance of payments is in substantial surplus; and significant progress has been made on foreign dept repayments. In short, the stage has been set once more for renewed growth. Yet it remains elusive.

The economic requirements needed to ginger up business activity and regenerate investment are all in place. But business cannot be persuaded to shake off its sloth. Confidence has evaporated and will not be stirred by conventional economic stimulants — as Reserve Bank Governor Gerhard de Kock emphasised in his annual address last week.

Partly this can be explained by the inertia that has struck constitutional reformers. But the problem really lies much deeper. Its public face is given expression in Botha's behaviour. So much time and effort is being devoted by the head of state to peripheral — even trivial — political hype that economic reform, to which government has publicly committed itself, remains inert in the minds of intimidated Cabinet ministers and civil servants.

The result is a pervasive uncertainty — and not just on constitutional affairs. There is even severe doubt among businessmen on the sincerity of government's intention to deregulate, privatise and tackle the pervasive problem of inflation. Simply put, serious economic matters have been forced into the background while the State President carries on like a bull in a china shop.



**Botha**



**Hendrickse**



**Eksteen**

Take, for example, the Margo report on tax. It was in government's possession for months before it was released. In all that time the Ministry of Finance could not even decide what its reaction to the report should or would be. In the end, it ducked the issue, didn't bring out a White Paper outlining its views, but placed an illogical and futile embargo on the report's release.

Had there been a White Paper accompanying the release, an embargo might have been justified. But there was nothing in the Margo report that could have been used to commercial advantage by anyone with inside knowledge.

This incident is symptomatic of confusion in the highest ranks of government, flowing from an irascible and irrational head of state who believes himself to be under threat from the Right. He is a general who is not steady under fire. Matters of great importance — among them economic policy — have been pushed aside while Botha rages at anyone who dares to cross him.

The list of unfortunates is long. Foreign Minister Pik Botha is one. Barclays' Chris Ball was another. And now we have the Labour Party's Allan Hendrickse ignominiously chucked out of the Botha Cabinet and publicly humiliated for a second time — the first over a swim in a "white" ocean. Even acolyte Riaan Eksteen of the SABC has indulged in public flagellation at his leader's behest.

Quite clearly anyone who dares to stand up to P W Botha runs the risk of being cut down and humiliated on *Network* without any attempt at balance or objectivity. If his job is within the gift of government, it may well be on the line.

We have no doubt that no matter how painful his hair shirt, Eksteen will leave the SABC after what is considered a decent period. His chance to stand up and fight or resign with dignity has passed. Hendrickse is another matter. He may now have enhanced prestige among his constituents, but he may also increasingly have to operate outside the system. How long will it be before he too is extra-parliamentary? Until then Hendrickse is probably the only real parliamentary opposition to Botha, for he is still capable of inflicting some embarrassment.

He probably won't have this advantage for long, for increasingly Botha is becoming impervious to what reasonable voices remain around him. Hendrickse will have to retaliate quickly if he is to find any worthwhile mark.

Another symptom of illogical policy-making by frightened ministers is the new media curbs, which simply take existing impositions outside the due processes of law. They will further limit the flow of information that investors need to make rational investment decisions.

They will not enhance the climate of business confidence needed to get investment rising and the economy growing again. How many times has government said that there can be no political reform without economic growth? Well, until Botha can contain himself, or decides to quit, there is not

SABC CLASH

# His master's voice

**When** P W Botha, furious at the favourable treatment Allan Hendrickse received on SATV, demanded that the interview be scrapped for the next screening of the news **(see *Leaders*)**, it was not the first time he had directly intervened in broadcast matters. A few months ago Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Danie Steyn felt Botha's sting after a TV performance.

Steyn had been on TV news and *Netwerk* to announce the Mosgas project. Soon afterwards, while he and Deputy Ministers Theo Alant and George Bartlett were entertaining



**Eksteen . . . not the first time**

guests at the Cape Town yacht club, he received a call from Tuynhuys. Botha wanted more political mileage and was dissatisfied with Steyn's handling of questions.

Together with SABC political reporters Freek Robinson (who also handled the Hendrickse interview) and André le Roux and Director General Louw Alberts, the minister was taken in a SABC kombi to the TV studios. Steyn left the studio after midnight.

The same thing happened during the Hendrickse affair. Tuynhuys spokesman Jack Viviers called the SABC studio to complain while SABC boss Riaan Eksteen received a head-scrubbing call at a reception in Cape Town for SABC's top personnel. It is rumoured that Botha himself called Eksteen.

Senior Cabinet member F W de Klerk was an onlooker during the drama that followed. He was in the SABC studio in the Marks Building next to parliament, waiting to be interviewed by *Netwerk* on the Nat policy of own schools for whites. He is said to have been upset with Tuynhuys's intervention.

The next day it was up to a new member of the SABC board, Cape Town businessman Henkie Schwartz, to try to save Eksteen's neck. According to sources it was Schwartz, a member of the Cape National Party executive, not SABC chairman Brand Fourie, who played a major part in the rescue operation.

Nor is this the first time a top official of the SABC has had to endure the ire of government pressure. Former chairman Wynand Mouton, rector of the University of the Free State, was often at loggerheads with Pik Botha, while he was still running the propaganda machine.

The president's determination to have a pro-Nat board was underlined when he replaced Stellenbosch professor Sampie Terreblanche as vice-chairman with Professor Christo Viljoen. Terreblanche, who had resigned from the NP, had become too politicised, said Alwyn Schlebusch, who took over SABC affairs from Pik Botha.

Viljoen is a keen supporter of P W Botha and his policies. At the same time Tuynhuys's former economic adviser Joe Taylor and Schwartz, a prominent voice in Nat circles, were put on the board.

Both Eksteen and Fourie are former officials of the Department of Foreign Affairs.

The only person who may possibly stand up to P W's tantrums is Schlebusch.

Out of retirement at Botha's request, the former Free State leader of the NP will be remembered as the power behind Botha's defeat of Connie Mulder in the prime minister's stakes; and also being an ex vice-president, he won't be bullied around.

SABC staffers are quick to defend Eksteen. They appreciate his style and readiness to accept blame on their behalf.

An example is the furore about the cancelled screening of Athol Fugard's *A Lesson from Aloes*, four days after the Hendrickse incident. According to sources in Auckland Park the decision was taken by TV1 chief Hein Kern, not Eksteen.

However, Eksteen, after returning from his unhappy trip to Cape Town, issued a statement that it was solely his decision.

Those close to Eksteen say he will fight back and not be intimidated. That is exactly what Pik Botha's confidant said after his drubbing from P W for daring to say a black could become president.

Pik's career since that humiliating day in parliament may serve as a lesson to Eksteen. There are times when confrontation or resignation is the honourable road.

# Chief Broeder to join Worrall?

CP Correspondent

THERE is growing speculation that Professor Pieter de Lange, chairman of the Broederbond, could throw in his weight behind the Independent Movement of Dr Denis Worrall and Wynand Malan, says an article in the latest issue of the news analysis magazine, *Inside South Africa*.

This was disclosed in an interview with Malan, who won his Randburg seat for the Independents in the General Election in May.

Asked whether De Lange and others in the Broederbond might join the Independents when they launch their political party early next year, Malan replied: "It may be possible in the longer term".

Any move by De Lange towards the Independents could have a ripple effect, possibly extending to the cabinet and certainly into the House of Assembly, the magazine reported.

In the long run any major breakaway from the National Party would depend on the timing and the issue, the report said.

The issue is likely to be something like the Group Areas Act or the handling of security policy.

"The Group Areas Act was a very thorny issue and many Nationalists are finding it increasingly difficult to live with," said Malan.

"Two extra-parliamentary initiatives involving Nationalists and former Nationalists are on the move at the moment," the magazine added.

The first is the Independent Movement and the second is that announced last November by De Lange, who recently retired as Rector of the Rand Afrikaans University.

"It is being kept very much under wraps, but Broederbond documents leaked in February noted that the exclusion of blacks from the highest political levels was a threat to white survival.

"Several interviews between De Lange and various cabinet ministers were acrimonious and, at one stage, De Lange threatened to leave the room. A very senior minister was obliged to call his colleagues to order.

"This is not the first time that the Broederbond has been involved in constitution-making, and more than ten years ago, it initiated policy changes in the present tricameral parliament," the article added.

4/7/87 304A SIT

# PW firmly in saddle as 'crown princes' are found wanting



By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent



**AS THE corridors of power in Cape Town echo with criticism of President Botha's style and the twin question of how long he will — or should — stay in office, Mr Botha himself is ensconced as firmly as ever in his Tuynhuys office.**

**And, in a new half-twist to the succession argument, even critics within his own National Party caucus have concluded that Tuynhuys is where he should stay.**

**The reason is that, while there is consensus that Mr Botha's imperious and often bellicose manner of government frequently does more harm than good, his potential successors have been re-weighed — and the likely candidates have been found wanting.**

**There is also a school of thought that the Government cannot afford, now or in the foreseeable future, a divisive leadership struggle which would entrench camps battling for dominance and would sap political energies inward.**

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So the National Party has resigned itself to the lesser evil.

The latest round of speculation round Mr Botha, which has spread from Parliament to influential dinner tables throughout the country, was fanned by the President's actions of the last three weeks.

It began with his humiliating dressing-down of members of the House of Representatives, putting coloured MPs into political short pants to kow-tow before their master. This culminated in a smarting Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, resigning from the Cabinet.

Within a day Mr Botha's ire turned on SABC chief Mr Riaan Eksteen — reportedly on the state television service's handling of the Hendrickse affair. His bid to fire Mr Eksteen failed.

The questions that lingered as fallout from the two events, and restarted the succession debate, were:

● Case 1 — Mr Hendrickse: Did Mr Botha's known dislike for Mr Hendrickse, and his determination to show who is boss, propel him into actions he will have to pay a heavy political price for? (He has undercut the status of participants in the tricameral Parliament and, in the process, fired a resolve among those members to thwart his plans to put off a white election in 1992.)

● Case 2 — Mr Eksteen: Has Mr Botha's perception of his power become so boundless that he didn't pause to take into account that the law does not afford him the powers to dismiss the head of broadcasting?

Parliamentarians across the board are concerned about the implications of the two questions.

Conservative Party MPs believe there is a move afoot to pressure Mr Botha into withdrawing from office.

But an investigation showed this is an overstatement.

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One source close to Mr Botha said: "There are problems with style." It appears to go no further than that.

The possibility that Mr Botha may simply throw in the towel and retire is not even considered.

At 71, with more than half a century in active politics behind him and apparent good health to see him through, Mr Botha has no meaningful threats to his power — even if he does rule by the simple expedients of remoteness and threatened displeasure.

Even the very subject of his eventual going inflames his volatile anger. Mr Botha began his verbal whippings in the House of Representatives against the suggestion of Mr Miley Richards, leader of the House, that the time had come for Mr Botha to go.

And at a public meeting in the Stellenbosch town hall during the campaign for the May 6 election, Mr Botha crushed a questioner in a similar vein with admonitions on "manners" and "how to behave in public".

The country's President will be re-elected in 1989, as his term of office is not linked to elections of individual houses of Parliament.

Whether Mr Botha will step down then depends greatly on what happens between now and then. It is generally accepted that he wants to retire as the man who successfully initiated the reform of apartheid and got the process under way.

If it is, he may decide to take his laurels and leave — but many NP caucus members say the two short years that would leave for the new incumbent to gear for a general election in 1992 would not be fair.

Whichever way it happens, this is how the contenders emerged from the weigh-in this week:

Mr F W DE KLERK, 51, Minister of National Education and Transvaal NP leader, tops the ratings — but is seen, for the moment, to lack Mr Botha's ideological power, which would severely hamper him in a reform process where the man, rather than the plan, is the focal point.

His tendency to reason his way through dilemmas translates, in Nationalists' eyes, to an inability to inspire. In this respect Mr de Klerk was damaged by the serious inroads the CP made in his province in the last election.

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Mr CHRIS HEUNIS, 60, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning and Cape leader, does not have a sufficient level of public confidence. He is additionally compromised by his near defeat in his own constituency.

Mr BAREND du PLESSIS, 47, Minister of Finance, has promise, but is seen as too young — both in years and political experience.

Dr GERRIT VILJOEN, 60, Minister of Education and Development Aid, has acquired an air of remove through his loftily intellectual nature. He is a strong No 2 man, but does not project an engaging public personality.

General MAGNUS MALAN, 57, Minister of Defence, is well thought of but is adjudged as not having sufficient political weight.

● See page 24

1987

# Indian House joins coloured revolt

By NORMAN WEST

MEMBERS of the House of Delegates are preparing to join forces with their colleages in the House of Representatives to thwart Government's plans to hold elections for the white House of Assembly in 1992 instead of 1989.

And — in a bid to put further pressure on the Government — there is a growing move towards a symbolic one-month stayaway from Parliament by members of both Houses.

This week the national chairman of the Opposition Solidarity party in the House of Delegates, Mr Ismail Omar, sent letters to the leaders of both majority and opposition parties in both the House of Delegates and the House of Representatives suggesting a strategy that could embarrass the tricameral Parliament.

The letters — in support of the resignation of Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse from the Cabinet last week and his threat to block plans to have elections for whites postponed to 1992 — proposed that both the House of Delegates and the House of Representatives withdraw from parliament for the whole of next February.

## Evictions

Such action, the Solidarity hierarchy proposed, should come into effect unless the Government agreed to:

• A moratorium on all evictions, direct or indirect, pending a negotiated resolution to the issue of the Group Areas Act.

• An assurance that no person would be evicted until a constitution representative of all South Africans is implemented, and when the issue of land usage is decided upon by all South Africans.

The matter was raised in the House of Delegates on Thursday.

The only remaining member of colour in the Cabinet and leader of the majority National People's Party in that House, Mr Amichand Rajabansi, appeared incensed by the fact that Mr Omar had made the contents of the letter public before he could react to it.

## 'Reasonable'

Mr Rajbansi, nevertheless, supported the idea of a temporary stayaway from Parliament.

Dr Reddy went further and said he would quit Parliament altogether if no "reasonable answer" from the Government was forthcoming on the Group Areas Act.

In a rare show of solidarity between ruling and opposition forces in the House of Delegates, Mr Rajbansi said he supported the call of the leader of the official Opposition, Dr Reddy.

Dr Reddy had said that unless the demands of the House were met the boycott of Parliament should be considered.

# Dramatic swap set for tomorrow — in Maputo!

304A

6/7/87

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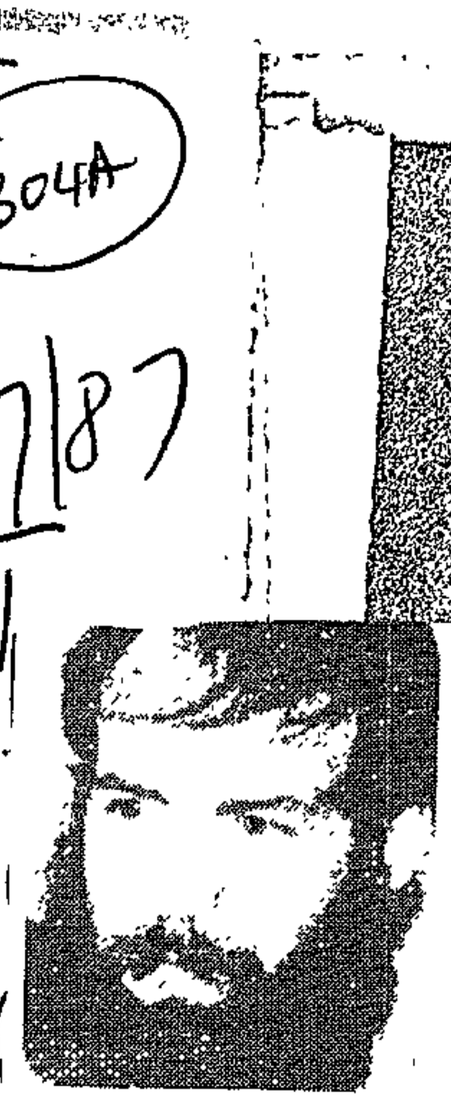
**Sunday Times Reporter**

**THE big prisoner swap is on. State President P W Botha last night confirmed that SA prisoner-of-war Major Wynand du Toit is to be freed in a multinational exchange deal.**

**The trade involves France, the Netherlands, Angola, the Ciskei and SA, and would take place tomorrow in Maputo, said Mr Botha.**

**The main exchange involves the repatriation of Dutch fugitive Klaas de Jonge who took refuge in the old Netherlands Embassy in Pretoria in 1985, and Pierre-André Albertini, a French national imprisoned in the Ciskei after refusing to**

**☐ To Page 2**



WYNAND DU TOIT
Freedom at last

# Maputo reunion for SA prisoner

6/9/8

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**☐ From Page 1**

testify at a terrorism trial.

Major du Toit's wife, Louwna, and son, Klippie, 4, left their home in Langebaan yesterday and flew to Maputo to welcome him. He was captured in Cabinda, Angola, in 1985.

Reacting to the news, Mrs du Toit's mother, Mrs Milly Rochet, said: "It's been a difficult time for us. Louwna is very happy that all the uncertainty and tension of two years have ended."

Also to be released are 133 Angolan soldiers and the bodies of three SA soldiers and one Angolan who died in the operational area.

Mr Botha said several governments had been involved in the complex negotiations for the exchange.

"I wish to express my appreciation to all who contributed to bringing about the release of such a large number of people," he said.

Earlier yesterday, Angolan President Mr José Eduardo dos Santos, also announced the exchange at a Press conference in Luanda.

His announcement was followed by a statement from the office of the French Premier, Mr Jacques Chirac, specifically thanking the SA Government, the Ciskei authorities and Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano for the understanding and co-operation they had shown.

The State President then responded from his Cape Town residence. He said he and Mrs Botha would personally welcome Major du Toit.

The State President said SA had given assurances that an additional seven Angolan citizens would be released within 10 days after the exchange.

"South Africa has also undertaken to acquire and forward particulars of other Angolan and Cuban citizens, should it be established that they are indeed prisoners and are prepared to return to Angola of their own free will.

## Difficult

"This exchange was preceded by lengthy and difficult negotiations," he said, thanking SA Cabinet ministers and officials involved — Mr Pik Botha, General Magnus Malan and Mr Adriaan Vlok.

He also singled out President Lennox Sebe of the Ciskei, Unita President Dr Jonas Savimbi and the Prime Minister and Foreign Affairs Minister of the Netherlands for their co-operation.

Cape Times 7/9/87

★ Ca

# Parliament stay-away could suit P W Botha

**Political Staff**

THE House of Delegates is planning to throw its weight behind Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse in a bid to bring an end to the Group Areas Act.

Mr Hendrickse, who resigned from the cabinet two weeks ago, has stated that the Labour Party will not support a move by State President Mr P W Botha to postpone the white election from 1989 to 1992 unless he gets a commitment that the Group Areas Act will be scrapped.

And, he told an audience in Port Elizabeth last week, that is "the bottom line".

The tactic being suggested by Mr Ishmail Omar, chairman of the opposition Solidarity Party, and supported by the chairman of the ruling National People's Party, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, could however play right into Mr Botha's hands.

Mr Omar, a member of the President's Council, has proposed that MPs in both the houses of Representatives and Delegates withdraw from Parliament during February next year.

This would prove disruptive as the Part Appropriation (mini budget) is usually presented, debated and passed at this point in the session, thus givng the government the finance it requires to tide it over till the main budget is finally passed towards the end of June.

The constitution, however, provides a very easy solution for Mr Botha if he is faced with such a tactic.

Section 37 (2) provides that if all the members of one or more houses take such action the State President can by a proclamation in the Government Gazette call on the members of a house to be present in the chamber to perform their functions on any given day.

Should they fail to do this, Parliament will thereafter consist of only that house or those houses which are functioning.

If only the House of Assembly was in session therefore, legislation and the mini budget could be passed and would have the force of law even if the credibility of the tricameral Parliament was badly damaged.

More important, Mr Botha would be able to pass the amendment to the constitution needed to postpone the white election to 1992 and at the same time, in terms of Section 39 (3), to dissolve the other houses and send them to the polls.

(3049 7/9/87

THE dramatic chain of events which culminated in today's mass exchange of prisoners in southern Africa started with a secret mission by the South African military 27 months ago.

On May 21, 1985, a group of South African reconnaisance troops accompanied by a contingent of Unita insurgents were ambushed by Angolan forces in Cabinda.

In the ensuing battle two South Africans were killed — Corporal Louis van Breda (25) and Corporal Rowland Liebenberg (25), both of 4 Recce regiment.

A third, Captain Wynand du Toit (then 27), was wounded and captured.

Other South Africans involved managed to escape the way they had come into Angola, by submarine off the Atlantic coast.

According to South African sources, the mission was aimed at a secret base of the ANC towards the south of Cabinda. The Unita contingent accompanying the South Africans was probably attempting to sabotage American oil installations in the enclave.

According to Angola and the US, South Africa was involved in an exercise to destroy the American property. The Cabinda oilfields provide the bulk of the revenues used to pay for the massive Cuban presence in Angola.

The South African and Unita forces were apparently detected when an East German hunting in a remote part of the Cabinda bush came across clear signs of their passage through long grass.

The raiders were heavily outnumbered by hundres of Angolan troops who encircled and ambushed them.

During his imprisonment in Luanda, Captain du Toit was visited by his wife, Louwna (25), officials of the Red Cross Internal Committee and American politician, Jesse Jackson.

Paraded before the media, Captain du Toit told reporters he had been fighting for a just cause and he was a supporter of the South African Government.

"My cause is not apartheid," he said. "My cause is the existence of the capitalist system in South Africa."

## Promoted

Mrs du Toit was able to visit her husband twice after negotiations between the International Red Cross Committee and the Angolan and South African authorities.

In February this year, Captain du Toit was promoted to the rank of major.

Barely a month after his ill-fated reconnaisance mission, in June 1985, the second link in the chain of events leading to today's prisoner exchange was forged.



KLAAS de Jonge.



WYNAND du Toit.

# Behind mass prisoner exchange

FOCUS

SOWETAN Correspondent

Dutch anthropoligist, Mr Klaas de Jonge made a successful dash for freedom into the foyer of the Netherlands Embassy in Pretoria while accompanying South African Police ostensibly to point out an arms cache.

Mr de Jonge and his wife, Helena Pastoors, were accused of being involved in the Pretoria bomb blast on May 20, 1983, in which 19 people were killed and more than 200 injured.

Pastoors was subsequently found guilty of treason and jailed for 10 years

According to South African security sources Mr de Jonge entered South Africa in December 1981 and operated on four Dutch passports. He has been linked to a number of car bomb blasts and, when he settled in Zimbabwe after South Africa refused to grant him a residence permit, he was estimated to have crossed the border 24 times on various "ANC missions"

At Pastoors' trial, the court found Mr de Jonge had been responsible for smuggling weapons into South Africa

Evidence further revealed one of the arms caches pointed out to police at Springs by Mr de Jonge before his flight into the Dutch Embassy was empty. It had already been opened by the police who found a bomb which could be detonated by a radio signal.

## Arrested

A similar bomb was found at Halfway House after police trailed Mr de Jonge and Pastoors

Mr de Jonge also pointed out to police arms caches at Amanzimtoti, Mamelodi, Bapsfontein, East London and Muldersdrift — according to security sources.

On June 23, 1985, police arrested Mr de Jonge as he was planning to cross the border back into Zimbabwe

While pointing out various places to the police, he made his dash for the Dutch Embassy Police dragged him off the premises, precipitating a diplomatic crisis between South Africa and the Netherlands

South Africa handed him back to the embassy on July 9, 1985, where Mr de Jonge remained until this week

The Dutch Government, under enormous political pressure at home, refused to hand over Mr de Jonge to South Africa to stand trial on charges of treason.

A third link in the prisoner exchange chain was forged in October last year when French national Mr Pierre Albertini was arrested in the Ciskei and charged with several counts of furthering the aims of the ANC

He made two statements, one to a magistrate at Zwelitsha in which he admitted his part in gun running and carrying messages for the ANC

Charges were withdrawn when he agreed to turn State witness in the trial of fellow Fort Hare University lecturer the Rev Makhenkesi Stofile and four others

Albertini reneged on the deal at the trial and he was jailed for four years for refusing to give evidence after turning State witness.

In his 'October 30 statement, Albertini described how he smuggled arms and ammunition from Botswana to Ciskei He had used ANC money to buy a vehicle specifically for gun running.

A false compartment in the boot of the car was used to smuggle rifles, pistols and limpet mines Ammunition was hidden in door panels

Albertini's imprisonment strained Franco/South African relations

## Refused

Ciskei offered to release Albertini if France made representations directly to its government. France refused to do this because it did not recognise Ciskei as an independent country.

Albertini's case subsequently became a major issue in French politics, with President Francois Mitterrand refusing to accept the credentials of South Africa's new ambassador to Paris, Mr Hennie Geldenhuis, while the Frenchman was in jail in Ciskei

## Contacts

The Albertini case turned out to be the key to resolving the issues of Du Toit and De Jonge

The Prime Minister of France, Mr Jacques Chirac, a political opponent of President Mitterrand was approached by South Africa to set up an alternative negotiating channel which linked the release of Albertini to Du Toit. Mr Chirac sent a negotiator to Maputo, which has solid contacts with both Paris and Luanda The special envoy also visited Angola, South Africa and Ciskei

To lend maximum weight to the deal, South Africa offered to release Mr de Jonge and to approach Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi to secure the release of a number of captured Angolan Government troops.




Political comment in this issue by A Klaaste and J Thloloe Sub-editing, headlines and posters by S Matlhaku All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg

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Port Edward to the Tugela: fine and warm becom-

7/9/87 B/day

# Waiting for the revolution that never turns up

**KEN OWEN**

AN APOCRYPHAL story doing the rounds in Johannesburg quotes Communist Party leader Joe Slovo as saying the revolution will come in five years, but adding ruefully: "That's what I said in 1948."

The story neatly makes the paradoxical point that Marxist analysis of the South African situation, used to sustain a prediction of revolution, has dominated political thinking for half a century despite being spectacularly wrong. The danger is not revolution, but counter-revolution.

The National Party's abandonment of law has under President Botha turned into a rout. It began when John Vorster, former member of the fascist OB, insisted that his police could meet the threat of revolution (then confidently predicted by the left for 1964, and by me-too liberals like Colin Legum for 1966) only if they could imprison people without trial.

His 90-day detention turned into 180-day detention, and eventually into indefinite detention which has now displaced Chevrolet, if not sunny skies, as a feature of the South African way of life. Internationally, we now compare with pre-revolutionary France and post-revolutionary Russia, and the thinking of Eastern Europe — Czsarist and Leninist — is displacing Mill and Jefferson from our politics.

So far, the Czar is winning hands down. Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha has created a directorate of thought control, more elegant than the robust censorship of unpopular speakers which is practiced on the campuses, but also more threatening.

Hannah Arendt, the most profound student of totalitarian behaviour, has observed that the momentum of totalitarianism carries along with it only the hot-blooded mob and the elite; to carry the bourgeoisie requires propaganda. That is why both totalitarian schools insist so vehemently on correct speech, not free speech.

So long as the issue is one of brute force, of course, it is the National Party that holds all the cards. Indeed, a better analogy than Eastern Europe might be Franco's Spain, where revolution simply invoked counter-revolution and where liberation by the gentler methods of reform had to wait another four decades.

In South Africa, the left, unable to do the National Party much damage (except by driving its members into the Conservative Party, which hardly improves the situation) has concentrated its main fire on the liberal alternative. Its first enemy is not apartheid — though that is the pretext — but free enterprise capitalism, including the liberal-spirited corporations and what it calls the "commercial" Press.

The conflict is not new. It dates back, to my personal knowledge, to the disputes between liberals and Marxists in the Fifties and Sixties, though it has seldom been brought into the open for fear of dividing the opposition to apartheid.

Something of the atmosphere of those early days was captured in an article by Colin Lang, a former Liberal Party candidate, which was published in this space last week. Lang, one of the people swept into jail in the wave of post-Sharpeville arrests, discovered during his detention that the Congress movement had been hijacked by what he calls a "violent junta under Marxist inspiration". That junta is still in command.

In the early Seventies Marxist began to emerge from the shadows — just about the time, ironically, when the rapid economic development sparked by the Second World War was generating the great social changes that were to destroy the Verwoerdian theory of apartheid, even in the minds of Verwoerd's followers. The more capitalist growth succeeded in generating liberating changes, the more fiercely it was attacked from the left. The changes wrought by capitalism were "proven" by an outpouring of Marxist theory to be impossible.

It is a great irony, one deserving of a Ph.D. for any enterprising liberal student who can thread his way past the faculty, that the Seventies brought about simultaneously a quantum jump in the fortunes of black people, a breathtaking advance in reformist thinking within the Broederbond and the National Party and the virtual elimination from English intellectual life of liberal thinking — to the extent that an American observer, Craig Charney, could write last year that liberalism on the campuses was "as dead as a dodo".

The Seventies and early Eighties brought ample evidence to support the thesis of Michael O'Dowd, an executive of Anglo American, that economic growth was the best engine of progressive change; but those decades also produced a systematic theoretical attack on O'Dowd's thesis from the left.

The results are well known. Incremental change has been discredited, partial gains are mocked, liberal values are brushed aside by students who say "We don't care about principles or fair play, we want freedom".

Opposition to apartheid has concentrated increasingly on eliminating the middle ground, on anathematising dissidents as "collaborators" and on confrontational tactics: political and economic boycotts, the campaign to make the country "ungovernable," the glamourisation of the ANC's violent leadership and of "the comrades," rationalisation of necklacing and such random brutality as making aged shoppers drink detergent.

We are now infinitely worse off. The methods of the left have crippled business confidence, spurred disinvestment and the flight of capital and broken the capitalist engine of change. Not only has political advance been halted, pending the revolution that never comes, but violent opposition has evoked more violent counter-revolutionary response.

The cause of liberation has been set back by a generation. The Marxist theoreticians are taking cover (it's becoming hard to find a Leninist who will admit to being a Marxist), and soon it will be left to the liberals to begin, once again, the wearisome and painstaking business of widening, bit by bit, the area of liberty in which democratic opposition to totalitarianism may operate.

We shall be lucky if we achieve democracy faster than Spain.

to/s ran to Kirstenbosch ...

Argus 7/9/87

# Afrikaans chaplain resigns over Dakar

**The Argus Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG. — Gereformeerde Kerk cleric the Rev Theuns Eloff resigned at the weekend as chairman of the Reformational Movement of South Africa (Remsa).

His resignation from Remsa and from the Reformed Study Group of Africa (Resa) were two of the conditions set by his church council for his continued ministry as the student chaplain for the University of Pretoria for the Brooklyn Congregation.

His position as cleric has been in the balance since his participation in his personal capacity as a delegate to the Dakar talks with the African National Congress.

After complaints lodged by congregation members, he was initially suspended and then put on extended study leave while a commission investigated the situation.

The church council cleared and reinstated Mr Eloff on August 30, but set as conditions for this his resignation from Remsa and Resa as well as the fact that he had to distance himself from the Institute for Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) and the National Initiative for Reconciliation.

The linking of Remsa to the Dakar visit is unclear and the vice-chairman, Dr NS Janse van Rensburg, declined to comment on the matter before last Saturday's executive meeting at which Mr Eloff resigned. A statement is expected this week.

Mr Eloff has complied with the demands since he said his work as a minister "Was of more importance" to him.

# Idasa man quits over Slabbert's new role

CAPE TIMES 8/9/87 30 Col

**Own Correspondent**

PORT ELIZABETH. — A decision made last week by Dr Van Zyl Slabbert to step down as an executive director of Idasa — while remaining head of policy — is one of several factors which prompted an Idasa Eastern Cape regional co-ordinator, Mr Kevin Wakeford, to tender his resignation.

Mr Wakeford confirmed yesterday that following a national staff meeting of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa last Tuesday, he had sent off a letter of resignation.

He said his problems with Idasa included:

- Failure of the Idasa national staff seminar to "address contentious issues within Idasa".
- A belief that Idasa's funds were not being effectively used.
- Lack of unanimity on Idasa's goals and their implementation.
- This was linked, he said, to the "formal withdrawal of Dr Van Zyl Slabbert as an executive director of Idasa". He said this had always been the de facto situation, but had become de jure at the meeting.

He believed that if Dr Slabbert headed formulation of Idasa policy, he should also be in control of its execution.

Meanwhile, the Progressive Federal Party's general-election candidate in Waterkloof, Professor Abraham Viljoen, has been appointed the Northern Transvaal director of Idasa.

This was revealed in the first issue of Idasa's bulletin, Democracy in Action.

Idasa has also announced that Mr Thaabit Albertus is to be its regional director in the Western Cape, Mr "Pro" Jack its regional co-ordinator in the Western Cape, Mr James Polley its media and publications consultant and Mr George Peffer its Southern Transvaal director.

# Idasa's 'storm in a teacup'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Mr Kevin Wakeford, former Idasa Eastern Cape regional co-ordinator, whose resignation has been linked to Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said yesterday he had implicit faith in Idasa and his action was not aimed at discrediting Dr Slabbert.

He insisted, however, that Dr Slabbert's decision to step down as co-executive director would be detrimental to the institute.

Dr Slabbert, who yesterday confirmed his new position as director of policy and research, described Mr Wakeford's resignation as "a mere storm in a tea cup".

"My stepping down as executive director does not affect my involvement with Idasa and its activities, and in fact it creates an opportunity to become more involved," he said.

Idasa's national office was well aware of "certain growing pains in the Eastern Cape region".

NEGOTIATIONS between the Government and KwaZulu over the Natal/KwaZulu Indaba have made a start after months of delay and conflicting responses.

The breakthrough was announced by Dr Oscar Dhlomo, general secretary of Inkatha, at a dinner here for political journalists.

But Dr Dhlomo said KwaZulu and Inkatha were not prepared to be the sole negotiators. The Government had to negotiate with the Indaba itself.

He was not prepared to hold a whole new Indaba but would negotiate specific points.

And he warned that if progress was not made towards a single legislature for KwaZulu and Natal the KwaZulu Government would pull out of the newly established Joint Executive Authority.

Dr Dhlomo said the Government had been informed recently that both the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and Inkatha had accepted the Indaba proposals in principle and wanted a Government response.

"A response has been received. It is brief."

Dr Dhlomo said he was not aware of the details as it had been received in his absence.

Government sources, however, indicated yesterday that the response was more an acknowledgement and an opening for proper negotiations to get under way.

In negotiations with the Government Dr Dhlomo said the Indaba would be seeking as a first prize a Government-sponsored referendum.

He felt this should be organised prior to proper negotiations as it would provide a sound base for the negotiations.

If a referendum was not held the Indaba would organise a major opinion survey.

Dr Dhlomo also revealed a number of other political developments in Natal/KwaZulu. These were:

- Inkatha was still speaking to the African National Congress (ANC) despite major differences between the two.

He had personally discussed the proposals with the ANC, which had not been properly briefed.

However recent statements by the ANC and SA Communist Party that a black majority government was the aim of the organisations with guarantees for minorities did not differ much from the proposals.

He also claimed that Inkatha, which had sprung from the ANC, would revert to being the ANC in a post-apartheid society and would challenge the national leadership.

However he said a major difference between the Indaba and the Freedom Charter supported by the ANC was economics with one supporting free enterprise and the other socialism.

- Inkatha was prepared to negotiate on regional issues such as the Indaba but until its demands were met for the release of political prisoners, the unbanning of organisations and the lifting of the state of emergency it would not join the National Council.

Inkatha had been involved in negotiations on President Botha's recent announcement that the release of political prisoners was no longer tied solely to the renouncement of violence.

This was a step but he awaited developments.

- Inkatha was speaking to the United Democratic Front about violence in Natal townships and was hopeful that the position could be resolved.

He had spoken to UDF president Archie Gumede but the position was being complicated by the structure of the UDF which was an "amorphous and incoherent organisation".

- A power-sharing government between the Afrikaner and the Zulu had been suggested by Afrikaners but this was not acceptable to Inkatha.



CHIEF Buthelezi . . . Inkatha boss.



PRESIDENT Botha.

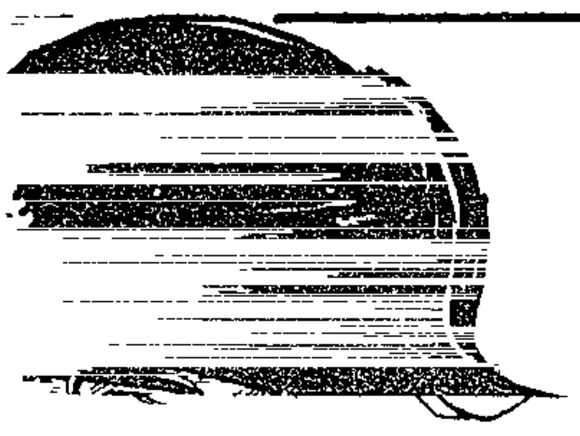
# INDABA: Road open for talks

FOCUS

By BRUCE CAMERON



DR OSCAR Dhlomo . . . announced breakthrough.



## The Media Council

THE South African Me- media directly. Com-

# Idasa worker denies claims

JOHANNESBURG — An Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) worker, Mr Kevin Wakeford, whose resignation has been linked to Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, yesterday said he had implicit faith in Idasa and his action was not aimed at discrediting Dr Slabbert.

He insisted, however, that Dr Slabbert's decision to step down as co executive director would be detrimental to the institute.

Mr Wakeford's resignation was yesterday described as "a mere storm in a tea cup" by Dr Slabbert, who confirmed his new position as director of policy and research.

"My stepping down as executive director does not affect my scope or involvement with Idasa and its activities and in fact it creates an opportunity to become more involved," Dr Slabbert said.

He added that Idasa's national office was well aware of "certain growing pains in the Eastern Cape region" and a full weekend seminar had been scheduled at a staff meeting to be held in November. The seminar would look into the various porblems encountered by Idasa.

"I feel that Mr Wakeford could have waited for this opportunity where he would have been able to put his views forward. It is unfortunate that he linked his resignation with my stepping down as executive director." —DDC

# Worrall meets ANC

**The Star's Africa News Service**

HARARE — Independent politician Dr Denis Worrall has led a group of prominent South Africans on a flying visit to Zimbabwe, during which they had talks with Cabinet Ministers and ANC officials in Harare.

In the party were former Springbok rugby player Mr Tommy Bedford, Mr Pat Goss, editor of *The Natal Witness*, Mr Richard Steyn, Mr Peter Clark and Mr Tony Ardington.

Sources said they met Finance Minister Dr Bernard Chidzero, Education Minister Dr Dzingai Mutumbuka, Home Affairs Minister Mr Enos Nkala, and Minister in Charge of Security Mr Emmerson Mnangagwa.

Controversial Bills to be introduced shortly

# ew Govt legislation ces rough passage

10/9/87 STAR

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By David Braun
Political Correspondent
Cape Town

**The political temperature is expected to rise considerably in the next few weeks as the Government presses ahead with legislation to set up the National Council and to extend the life of the House of Assembly beyond 1989.**

The President's Council is also to table the report on its inquiry into the Group Areas Act next week and this will be debated by the council on Thursday.

The Bills to establish the National Council and prolong the life of the Assembly are expected to be introduced within the next few days.

They are among 12 items the Government wants passed or, at least, well advanced before Parliament rises early in October.

The Labour Party opposes government plans to postpone the next white general election beyond 1989 unless it gets a firm undertaking from the Government that progress will be made with further reforms.

The party insists that the Group Areas Act should be repealed as a priority.

The Labour Party has also said it will be examining critically legislation providing for the National Council, while it is opposed to extending powers to self-governing states (non-independent homelands).

A Bill providing for the extension of such powers is among the 12 items the Government has placed on the priority list.

## The priorities

Apart from the National Council Bill, the Bill amending the Constitution to prolong the life of the House of Assembly and the Bill extending powers to the self-governing states, the following are among the 12 priority draft laws:

● The Labour Relations Amendment Bill, providing for a streamlining of the bargaining process and, controversially, for unions to be compelled to pay damages to employers in certain circumstances.

● A Bill implementing aspects of the Wim de Villiers recommendations for the rationalisation of South African Transport Services.

● The Protection of Businesses Amendment Bill.

● Regional Services Councils Amendment Bill.

● Tertiary Education Bill.

● Education Laws (Education and Training) Amendment Bill.

● A Trade and Industries Bill providing for the maintenance and promotion of competition.

So far, only four of these Bills have reached the standing committee stage.

## New laws to tackle sex crimes

PARLIAMENT — Legislation to crack down on sexual offences was introduced today.

Three draft laws instituted by the Minister of Justice to this effect were the Law of Evidence and the Criminal Procedure Act Amendment Bill, the Immorality Amendment Bill and the Criminal Law and the Criminal Procedure Act Amendment Bill.

Some provisions were:

● That a husband may be prosecuted for the rape of his wife.

● The prohibiting of questions concerning previous sexual experience of rape victims with persons other than the accused.

● The abolition of the presumption that a boy under the age of 14 years is incapable of having sexual intercourse.

● The automatic hearing of evidence in camera of any victim of a sexual offence unless the victim prefers otherwise.

CPB Times 12/9/87 (3044

# Council Bill expected to draw flak

**Political Staff**

BLACK members of the National Council will be representing roughly 1 000 000 people each if the composition of the new body is accepted as proposed in legislation tabled yesterday.

The Bill provides for elections of 15 black members — the six chief ministers of the self-governing territories, such as KwaZulu, and nine elected members representing areas corresponding roughly to the nine development regions.

However, the Bill does not lay down an exact number of council members and leaves the way open for a government majority.

Other members will include the State President, the three chairmen of the Ministers' Councils, "not more than ten" presidential nominees, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning and "such other members of the cabinet . . . as may be appointed by the State President".

Opposition parties have not yet had the opportunity of studying the bill, but it is expected to draw strong criticism.

According to the Bill, the objects of the council will be to:

- "Plan and prepare a constitutional dispensation which provides for participation by all South Africans in the processes of government;
- "Grant to Black South African citizens on an interim basis a voice in the processes of government; and
- "Promote and protect sound relations among, and the human dignity, rights and freedoms of, all South African citizens."

The government has consistently portrayed the proposed council as a forum for negotiating a new constitutional dispensation which will pave the way for black participation right up to the highest levels of government.

The bill says that to achieve its objectives, the council may:

- "Investigate and consider any matter which in its opinion is of national interest, including existing and proposed legislation and steps taken or contemplated by the government of the Republic;
- "Make recommendations to the government on any matter which has been investigated and considered by the council, including a new constitutional dispensation which provides for participation by all South African citizens; and
- "Do anything which it may deem necessary."

All blacks will be able to participate in the elections if they live in South Africa, excluding the non-independent homelands, and if they are not disqualified by regulations to be published by the State President.

Membership of the council is open only to South African citizens living in the Republic and is closed to unrehabilitated insolvents and anyone declared by a competent court to be "of unsound mind".

Membership is also closed if a person "has at any time been convicted of any offence for which he has been sentenced to imprisonment without the option of a fine for a period of not less than 12 months, unless he has received a grant of amnesty or a free pardon or unless the period of such imprisonment expired at least five years before the date on which he became a member".

PRISONER SWAP

# A man of honour

**This week's** prisoner swap in Maputo has probably brought the jailed African National Congress (ANC) leader, Nelson Mandela (69), closer to freedom than ever before. It also gives President P W Botha his best opportunity to prove himself an honourable man in the eyes of a hostile world.

Nearly all the conditions set for Mandela's release have now been met, and the recent softer official line on freedom for "security prisoners" could set the scene for the most dramatic political event in SA in nearly a quarter of a century.



**Pik Botha and Du Toit . . . diplomatic coup**

The release by Angola of Wynand du Toit (29) has for some time been seen as the key to Mandela's future, according to sources close to government. The possible rightwing backlash if Mandela was released before Du Toit frightened many senior Nationalists.

But with (white) public sentiment generally positive in the wake of the prisoner swap, government may decide to act fast and free not only former ANC national chairman, Govan Mbeki (74), whose release seems imminent, but Mandela and some other prominent "security prisoners" as well.

Mbeki was named as a candidate for freedom by Botha in parliament last month, when he announced the new policy on releasing "security prisoners."

In Washington, Ambassador Piet Koornhof is actively promoting Pretoria's new line. Koornhof's latest circular points out that "the impasse over the opening of negotiations on a fully democratic constitution for SA and for the release of Nelson Mandela can be cleared away."

Botha said that in terms of the new policy, the renunciation of violence could contribute towards a "good prognosis" (for release), "but was not decisive in its own right." His new line was seen as a backing down from his earlier insistence that "security prisoners" renounce violence before their release could even be considered.

> I should now like to pose the following very important question:
> If I were to release Mr Nelson Mandela on humanitarian grounds, could Captain Wynand du Toit, Andrei Sakharov and Anatoly Shcharansky not also be released on humanitarian grounds?
> A positive response to this question could certainly form the basis of negotiations between interested Governments.
>
> **PW Botha, January 1986**

It was suggested that government wanted to use Mbeki's release (and the reaction in the black townships) as a factor in deciding whether and when to free Mandela.

An official spokesman this week referred the *FM* to Botha's statement in parliament setting out the new conditions for release. "We have no further comment," he said.

However, Botha could find it difficult to ignore renewed demands for Mandela's release. He has been setting the scene for positive action for two and a half years:

- In January 1985 Botha told parliament he was prepared to release Mandela and other "security prisoners" on condition they renounced violence as a political tool. The offer was accepted by some, but not Mandela; and
- A year later, referring in parliament to demands for Mandela's release, he said: "I am conscious that Mr Mandela has been in prison for a long time and is now in his sixties. I have given this matter much thought. I stated last year that, in principle, I would be prepared to consider his release on humanitarian grounds.

"But I think also of Captain Wynand Pretorius Johannes du Toit at present held in an Angolan prison.

"I think also of persons like (Soviet dissidents) Andrei Sakharov and Anatoly Shcharansky . . . I should like to pose the very important question: If I were to release Mr Mandela on humanitarian grounds, could Captain Wynand du Toit, Andrei Sakharov and Anatoly Shcharansky not also be released on humanitarian grounds?

"A positive response to this question could certainly form the basis of negotiations between interested governments."

Shcharansky was allowed to emigrate to Israel in February last year. Sakharov was freed from exile in Gorky in December and now lives in Moscow. Du Toit's release clearly completes the "basis for negotiations."

A further indication that Botha may be prepared to release Mandela as a gesture of goodwill is his interpretation of the Maputo swap as an example of regional co-operation which can serve as an incentive to all southern African leaders to resolve differences through negotiation.

This theme was repeated by deputy Foreign Minister, Kobus Meiring, who told the House of Assembly that the swap could lead to a new era of negotiation and peace in the region and inspire South Africans to negotiate solutions to their differences.

Standing in for Foreign Minister Pik Botha at the start of the Foreign Affairs Budget vote debate, Meiring said: "The message from Maputo is one of reason and not

## NOT SO SECRET

**The** behind-the-scenes drama of Monday's dramatic prisoner swap included a desperate week-long bid by Foreign Affairs officials to keep news of the deal out of the press after unforeseen hitches forced its postponement.

In the end they failed and *The Citizen* carried the story on Saturday, forcing the announcement by P W Botha that the swap was imminent. Rumours in Cape Town have it that the announcement came earlier than intended.

Throughout last week the deal was probably the worst-kept secret in SA. It was widely known and spoken about in parliamentary, political, diplomatic, journalistic and even some business circles.

The swap was due to take place the weekend before.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs invited a small group of journalists — excluding the *FM* — to Pretoria for secret briefings the day before.

But the deal was delayed. And when it became clear that some publications had been excluded from confidential information, they started gleaning it elsewhere.

The *FM* had a report on the swap ready for last week's edition, but withheld it at the request of Foreign Minister Pik Botha, who was concerned that publicity might jeopardise the negotiations.

PARLIAMENT 304A

# Two versus one

**The** souring of relations between the National Party and its coloured and Indian junior partners has sparked a war of attrition in which both sides are preparing new strategies to win key political battles.

The dispute came to a head in the showdown between P W Botha and the Labour Party (LP) and has now spread to the House of Delegates, where even the only remaining non-Nat in Botha's Cabinet, Amichand Rajbansi, is voicing support for concerted action to force the abolition of apartheid.

FINANCIAL MAIL SEPTEMBER 11 1987

The LP has vowed to reject Botha's constitutional amendment, which will allow the white election due in 1989 to be postponed, unless he agrees to substantially amend the Group Areas Act (GAA). The party appears to have the backing of most Indian MPs and the coloured opposition Democratic Party.

The new aggressive approach is also evident in Standing Committees (SC) where, it is understood, controversial Bills are bogged down by the refusal of coloured and Indian MPs to compromise.

Of 17 Bills currently in SCs, sections of at least three — the "Rent Bill", which seeks to force employers to deduct arrears rent from employees' wages, and two education Bills — are believed to be facing stiff opposition.

Though government could push the bogged-down Bills into law by "asking" the Nat-dominated President's Council (PC) to "choose" a version, such a move could be seen as further evidence of the crumbling of the tricameral system.

In the PC, where the constitutional affairs committee is due to publish its amended report on the GAA later this month (**see page 56**), all non-Nat representatives (except the Conservative Party) are understood to be considering to refuse to sign unless the report recommends the scrapping of the Act. If the threat is carried through, the report will effectively be little more than a Nat re-hash of GAA and not a compromise thrashed out by representatives of various political parties — which is how Botha wants it to be seen.

The Nats, however, are understood to be working on counter-strategies to neutralise coloured and Indian opposition.

One possibility is to find a way to postpone elections for coloureds and Indians as well as whites in exchange for more "compromise" from coloured and Indian MPs, most of whom are not looking forward to the 1989 election.

# NP actions lag behind philosophies — Van Gend

**Political Staff**

Why did NP actions lag so far behind the philosophies which some members were now having the courage to express, asked **Mr Jan van Gend** in the Assembly yesterday.

In the budget vote debate on Constitutional Planning and Development, which has been under way since Tuesday, Mr van Gend (PFP, Groote Schuur) said most National Party speakers took their lead from Minister Chris Heunis.

They offered nothing relevant to the constitutional future of South Africa, but one or two "betrayed some progressive thinking".

**Mr Leon de Beer (NP, Hillbrow)** had said that any future constitution would have to be the product of all the people to be governed — and surely that included the 25 million South African blacks.

**Mr F J van Heerden (NP Bloemfontein North)** had stressed the morality of every man having the vote in the country of his birth, and emphasised the importance of the individual.

Replying to a portion of the debate **Mr Chris Heunis** said that for too long whites had looked upon themselves as Europeans.

It was important to accept that whites were part of Africa and a new constitution to accommodate black political rights had to be developed.

The Westminster system was no longer appropriate. The tricameral system was proof that people of colour could work together and served to allay white fears.

# Govt won't budge on basics of group areas, says Badenhorst

**Political Staff**

PARLIAMENT — **The Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Piet Badenhorst,** said the Government was not prepared to budge on the "basic principles" of the Group Areas Act that "protect the right to own community life in own areas".

Speaking in the House of Assembly yesterday during the debate on his department's vote, Mr Badenhorst said the Act was founded on the principle that everyone had the right to own property.

"And the Act makes provision for even further rights than that by determining areas where this right to property can be exercised."

He rejected the Progressive Federal Party view that the Act discriminated on the basis of race and used Mr Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, to support his argument.

"Mr Rajbansi said during debate on this vote that within the context of present legislation the Group Areas Act does not say land must not be distributed equally and fairly," said Mr Badenhorst.

"Mr Rajbansi said it was not necessary to repeal the Act, but that sufficient land must be made available for affordable housing.

"And that's exactly what we're doing."

Mr Badenhorst said the PFP was obsessed with the Act and believed that its repeal would solve all South Africa's problems.

## FREE MARKET SYSTEM

He cited a United Democratic Front document which said the scrapping of apartheid legislation was "not enough", that capitalism was the "root of all evil" and the UDF would not rest until socialism was the order of the day.

"This Government's policy is aimed at democracy and at the maintenance of the free market system," he said.

Replying to **Mr Jan van Eck (Ind, Claremont)**, who said the Group Areas Act was encouraging "peeping Toms" to peer into houses at night in pursuit of group areas offenders, Mr Badenhorst said he was "fully aware of police investigations".

"Illegal occupation of property is a criminal offence and must be handled by the police," the Deputy Minister concluded.

# Black council eup

## ... but queries remain over representation

PARLIAMENT — A greatly amended National Council Bill providing for the election of nine non-homeland black representatives was tabled yesterday.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said the provision for black elections offered the opportunity to anybody who laid claim to majority support among black communities to prove this.

He announced the tabling of the Bill in the debate on his budget vote.

The Bill was the result of negotiation and was "drastically revised and amended," his statement said.

"It is proposed that black communities outside the self-governing territories will elect nine representatives to the council in areas which more or less correspond with the existing development regions in order to bring about the best possible basis of representation.

### FLEXIBILITY

"The self-governing territories will each be represented by the Chief Minister or a Cabinet member appointed by him."

Mr Heunis said it was further envisaged that organisations could register with the view to putting up candidates and that provision should be made for candidates who wished to participate independently in elections.

The Bill had been attempted to adhere as closely as possible to the requirements and procedures applying to white, coloured and Indian elections.

"On the other hand the greatest possible measure of flexibility has been built in in order to make provisions for distinctive circumstances and situations.

"Therefore in the Bill only essential substantive provisions are laid down in respect of qualifications for members of the council and the qualifications of black voters."

The safety of those involved and the protection of voters and candidates against violence and intimidation would have priority.

As soon as Parliament approved the Bill, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, would set in motion the steps necessary to arrange the election as soon as possible.

"The Bill now reflects in my opinion the unanimity we have reached with black leaders It serves as confirmation of our commitment to negotiation and of level-headed South Africans' ability to co-operate on steps that affect all of us."

Negotiations so far had initiated a discussion which he believed would prove to be decisive for peaceful co-existence.

He wanted to repeat that the council placed no impediment in the way of any one interested in the democratic process and constitutional power-sharing.

There was only one point on the otherwise open agenda: a new constitutional dispensation in which all could participate.

"I therefore once again would like to extend an invitation to all leaders who together desire a peaceful future to seize the opportunity presented by the National Council," Mr Heunis said.

It could provide a mighty demonstration to those inside and outside South Africa who sought the country's destruction, that black and white wanted to stand togeteher.

"But through this we also send out an echoing signal to our own people, which I believe they are waiting for, that those desiring peace are prepared to stand up and fight for that which they believe.

"I believe the National Council presents us with this opportunity."

But despite the Government's euphoria over its latest constitutional innovation, the lack of real representativeness of the proposed National Council has been attacked.

Questions have been asked about how the council will achieve its stated object of granting blacks a voice in Government.

Even the Conservative Party — which rejects the council out of hand as "the thin edge of the wedge of power-sharing" — has criticised it as being incapable of truly representing blacks.

Mr Frank le Roux, the Conservative Party MP for Brakpan and chief whip, said yesterday the Bill was an "ineffective and clumsy effort to secure black representation.

### THIN END OF WEDGE

"To divide the country into nine seats for blacks seems to be so impractical and inadequate when there are ten million blacks outside the national states," Mr Le Roux said.

"Having said that it is still the thin edge of the wedge of power-sharing. It may eventually become a super-mixed Cabinet or a super-mixed Parliament, both of which concepts are totally unacceptable to us."

Other parliamentary sources said the council was not truly representative of any of the race groups.

Among whites only the National Party would be sure of representation, unless the State President chose to appoint members of other parties



ADDRESSING THE PRESS: Major Wynand du Toit at 2 M[illegible] (centre), a publisher who has bought the rights

# SA feared trickery i[n]

DAVID BRA[illegible]
Political Corr[illegible]

CAPE TOWN — Right until the very end of the exchange of prisoners this week, South Africa was deeply suspicious that Angola would renege on the deal.

South African negotiators feared Angola was going to trick Pretoria into parting with Mr Klaas de Jonge and the 133 Fapla troops without handing over Major Wynand du Toit

The venue of the exchange, a country more sympathetic to Angola than to South Africa, intensified the South Africans' unease.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha admitted on television on Tuesday night his worst moment was when the jet bringing Major du Toit to Maputo did not take off from Luanda on schedule

At that stage the 133 Fapla troops had already disembarked from the South African aircraft at Maputo.

"Afterwards, I felt ashamed with myself, that I had let myself down because I did not have faith," he said.

In the days before the swop senior South African officials agonised over the possible repercussions of the deal going wrong

If, for example, the 133 Fapla troops had been handed over and the Angolans took off from Maputo with Major du Toit still in their aircraft, and if the Mozambique authorities refused to allow the South African aircraft carrying Pierre-Andre Albertini and De Jonge to leave, there would have been a huge [illegible] propaganda could have [illegible] of the fact that the [illegible] Government had been [illegible]

South Africa was [illegible] Angola simply planned [illegible] negotiations, tantalising [illegible]ca, in the hope that [illegible] not dare to upset the [illegible] porting Unita in a major [illegible]lan onslaught on the [illegible]ment's headquarters.

In the end the only "[illegible] upon the South African [illegible] was the presentation document to be signed swop This contained [illegible] unacceptable to Mr Pik Foreign Minister sat in for more than hour [illegible] hammered out a [illegible]

For South Africa the [illegible] Monday was more than just one man It is true [illegible] by continually adding [illegible] list of people it wanted [illegible] Major du Toit, pushed [illegible] gerously high.

Sources indicated a [illegible] fore the swop that [illegible] had reached the limit [illegible] pared to pay.

But for South Africa was this.

● The return of M[illegible] which, according to Mr

# Heunis's Indaba response 'encouraging'

In a major breakthrough for the Natal/KwaZulu Indaba the Government has accepted the "principle" of a single legislature for the region.

This was announced in Parliament yesterday by Minister of Consitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis. But he said that if it was decided after negotiations to take such a step, among other things "the rights of minorities must be protected".

This follows on the heels of the KwaZulu Government and Inkatha presenting their views on the Indaba to Government, but Mr Heunis still withheld official Government response to the Indaba proposals saying this would follow receipt of the Natal Executive Committee reponse.

Natal's Administrator, Mr Radclyffe Cadman, said in a brief statement that the Executive Committee was in the process of finalising its response.

A spokesman for the Indaba said in reaction to Mr Heunis's speech: "We note several encouraging aspects. We would like the opportunity to study it further"

The speech is to be discussed by the Indaba executive on Monday.

Mr Heunis's conciliatory speech follows a rough handling of the Indaba by three Natal Nationalist MP's in Parliament on Wednesday.

Mr Heunis pointed out that he had already said the Government was not opposed to the introduction of a provincial legislature. Such a step however still had to be considered in the wider programme of reform and constitutional development.

He said both Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Administrator of Natal, Mr Radclyfffe Cadman, wanted a "legislature representative of all the people of Natal and KwaZulu".

"In principle I also do not have any objection that a legislature can be introduced at regional level."

CAPE TIMES 12/9/87 30KA



Mr P W Botha

# PW resigns as Stellenbosch chancellor

**Staff Reporter**

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, said last night that he wished to resign as chancellor of the University of Stellenbosch.

At a formal dinner at the university, Mr Botha said he informed the university in 1984 that he would be able to accept the post for only a limited time because of other duties.

His four-year term of office ends in March 1988.

A statement issued last night by the office of the university's rector and vice-chancellor, Professor Mike de Vries, said that Mr Botha made the announcement to the university council at a formal banquet at which he and his wife Mrs Elise Botha were guests of honour.

Mr Botha said last night that it had been a great honour to accept the post in 1984, especially since he had been elected unanimously.

"However I then foresaw that because of numerous other duties of public life I wouldn't be able to hold the position for a very long time."

He said he valued friendships which had developed between him and members of the teaching staff as well as students, that the Student Representative Councils's visits to him and their contact with him had meant much to him and that he appreciated the fact that the teaching staff had kept in touch with him and made it possible for him to to keep contact with them.

"I now realize it is not possible to fulfil my commitments to the university students or to keep in touch with the teaching staff in the way that I would like to. It is therefore with much regret that I have to lay down this position.

"But it will not prevent me from continuing my good relationship with and interest in the university. Stellenbosch has a central place in the life of South Africa and the spirit of Stellenbosch will always be of importance to a civilized and prosperous South Africa," he said.

Golden Acre *Advertising Feature*

# Blacks on National Council to represent 1 000 000 each

**Political Correspondent**

CAPE TOWN — Black members of the National Council will be representing roughly one million people each, if the composition of the new body is accepted as proposed in legislation tabled yesterday.

It will mean Black elections and provides for 15 Black members — the six chief ministers of the self governing territories, such as KwaZulu, and nine elected members representing areas corresponding to the nine development regions.

However, the Bill does not lay down an exact number of Council members and leaves the way open for a government majority.

Other members will include the State President, the three chairmen of the Ministers' Councils, "not more than ten" presidential nominees, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning and "such other members of the cabinet . . . as may be appointed by the State President."

Opposition parties have not yet had the opportunity of studying the bill but it is expected to draw strong criticism.

According to the bill, the objects of the council will be to:

● "Plan and prepare a constitutional dispensation which provides for participation by all South Africans in the processes of government;

● "Grant to Black South African citizens on an interim basis a voice in the processes of government; and

● "Promote and protect sound relations among, and the human dignity, rights and freedoms of, all South African citizens."

The government has consistently portrayed the proposed council as a forum for negotiating a new constitutional dispensation which will pave the way for black participation right up to the highest levels of government.

The bill says in order to achieve its objectives, the council may:

● "Investigate and consider any matter which in its opinion is of national interest, including existing and proposed legislation and steps taken or contemplated by the government of the Republic;

● "Make recommendations to the government on any matter which has been investigated and considered by the council. including a new constitutional dispensation which provides for participation by all South African citizens; and

● "Do anything which it may deem necessary."

All Blacks will be able to participate in the elections if they live in South Africa, excluding the non-independent homelands, and if they are not disqualified by regulations to be published by the State President.

Membership of the council is open only to South African citizens living in the republic and is closed to unrehabilitated insolvents and anyone declared by a competent court to be "of unsound mind."

Membership is also closed to people who imprisoned for more than 12 months, unless 5 years has elapsed.

# PW IS EXPECTED TO DO AWAY WITH THE GROUP AREAS ACT

304A

13/9/87 cl Press



KHULU SIBIYA

THERE are strong indications that the President's Council will endorse proposals to open some white suburbs, especially new ones, to all races.

An announcement is expected to be made sometime next week by the President's Council on the thorny Group Areas Act issue, it was revealed in Cape Town this week.

The PC report will come a month after President PW Botha told the House of Delegates last month that the Separate Amenities Act had never worked.

Among other things that the PC will recommend is the opening of sport, theatres, cinemas, restuarants, hotels, recreation and other public facilities built with public money to all races.

Part of the recommendation is that some existing suburbs should be "deproclaimed" and new townships be opened to all races, "if this is the choice of the developer".

The report says people buying in a new residential area would know their position right from the start.

The Group Areas Act has been a thorny issue since Botha first announced his new reform policies. The act is seen by most politicians as the cornerstone of the apartheid system.

They contend that, no matter how hard Botha tries with his reform policies, as long as the Group Areas Act remains so does apartheid.

Most public facilities are now open to all races in cities like Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban. However, in areas like the Free State and most rural areas, separate amenities still exist.

Residential areas like Hillbrow, Berea and Mayfair are now predominantly occupied by blacks. These areas were becoming white elephants when most whites moved out to better areas in the northen suburbs.

Political analysts said it was the government's intention to scrap the Group Areas Act long before the April 6 white general elections. At least that was one area where the National Party had common ground with what was then the official opposition party, the Progressive Federal Party. But the white electorate flatly rejected this as demonstrated by the gains made by the Conservative Party.

The CP, which stood for the first time in the Hillbrow constituency, used the Group Areas Act to embarrass both the National Party and the PFP.

To appease the voters, shortly after the elections the government launched a nationwide crackdown on people contravening the Group Areas Act. The flow of Africans, Indians and coloureds into white areas had continued unchecked for a long time with the government deliberately turning a blind eye.

The government threatened to eject offenders from property they rented in white areas and the owners were warned that their premises would be seized by the government within three months without any compensation.

Many owners took this threat seriously and started evicting blacks. Most of these premises are now lying empty.

Although white people are sensitive about mixed residential areas, the number of blacks in areas like Hillbrow and Berea has been estimated at about 30 000 to 40 000. This is caused primarily by the acute housing shortage in the black townships.

A survey conducted shortly before the elections revealed, however, that more progressive thinking was found among the young, upwardly mobile, single and professional whites who lived in the area for relatively shorter periods and did not regard themselves as trapped.

Foreigners like the Italians, Germans, Portuguese and Greeks were generally more opposed to mixing than white South Africans.

# 'PW is running out of excuses to delay Mandela's release'

A STATEMENT by the Release Mandela Campaign said this week "it has become clear that the State President, PW Botha, is running out of excuses for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners."

The statement, released by Aubrey Mokoena, national co-ordinator of the RMC said:"At first he demanded that Mandela renounce violence – a condition which Mandela rejected.

"Today he links the release of Mandela to that of Wynand du Toit.

"The Release Mandela Campaign are calling for an unconditional release of all the political prisoners, and not a release based on an exchange.

"Mandela and other prisoners are South Africans and, at no stage, must their release be subject to Pretoria's campaigns against the frontline states.

The RMC statement also said the 133 Fapla soldiers were also not guilty of a crime, according to the internationally recognised Geneva Convention.



**PW Botha**

"They are entitled to defend the sovereignty of their country against aggression, co-sponsored by Washington and Pretoria.

"The RMC finds the linking of our leaders' release to that of South African soldiers and Unita bandits objectionable.

"There shall be peace and friendship if Mandela is released and the exiles are allowed to return home," concluded the statement.

**See pages 10, 11.**

# It may be dangerous, but we've just GOT to build that new road



**LAWRENCE SCHLEMMER**

of the Centre for Policy Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, joins the debate on whether there is a third road away from national or communal conflict

NEW roads are very dangerous places to be on in highly polarised political conflicts.

Hermann Giliomee's article, The Third Way, has been highly controversial and perhaps even wilfully misunderstood.

One of the greatest political sins in South Africa and other deeply divided societies is to challenge the categories in which protagonists place themselves.

If one cannot join the protagonists it is safest to be wishy-washy, which Giliomee is most decidedly. not.

Giliomee argued that, underlying all the obscuring rhetoric, surface ideology and strategic alliances, the real contest in South Africa is between Afrikaner and African nationalism.

Both lay claim to effective control over the major instruments of power in the South African territory. Both have a powerful historical momentum.

Neither is likely to suffer defeat and collapse save in a war of attrition which will leave no real victors.

African nationalism has survived the most massive onslaught by the State from the fifties onward and will prevail and grow.

The National Party has confounded every prediction of imminent collapse and is now as firmly established as ever.

Even if it were to collapse or capitulate, a dangerous reserve force of white conservatism and Afrikaner nationalism is waiting in the wings — the CP and its alliances.

## The tendency in the ANC was to reject thesis

Giliomee sees no alternative to the chronic and escalating conflict save for an alternative course — the "third way".

As I understand it, this route, which he calls "bicommunalism", involves an acceptance on both sides of the inescapable reality of the opposing force.

The deep entrenchment of the opposing power bloc requires resolution akin to an international settlement, probably taking the form of an agreement to share power; a "pact", hammered out in negotiations.

In Dakar and subsequently, the tendency in the ANC was to reject Giliomee's thesis.

As with the National Party, in which Afrikaners have secure, numerically-based control over an alliance with English-speaking whites and therefore can afford to play down Afrikaans identity, the ANC can afford to de-emphasise African nationalism in its alliance with the SA Communist Party and various left-leaning non-African formations.

Its manifest ideology, democratic non-racialism, can never really threaten the reality of the numerical preponderance of the African majority.

This allowed the ANC delegates the luxury of rising above the unpleasant realities of nationalisms of any kind.

Afrikaner nationalism was described as archaic, chauvinistic and outmoded compared with the universalist and modern ideology of the ANC.

Giliomee, who was crudely misunderstood as pleading the cause of Afrikaner nationalism, became the "boer in the woodpile".

This was the epitome of irony, since Giliomee's break with Afrikaner nationalism long precedes that of most of the newly enlightened co-delegates to Dakar. There is none so arrogant as the new convert.

The basic nature of the South African conflict is complex and cannot be finally resolved in Dakar.

Aside from the fact that being attacked from both sides is often a compliment to the validity of an argument, one or two uncomfortable questions may be pointers.

If one assumes some future majority-ruled South Africa, could a State President and Cabinet be appointed solely on merit and political record without regard to race?

## Nobody is likely to concede a third option

Could the leader of the ANC be a white, an Indian or a coloured person? Similarly, could the NP or the CP ever appoint a Cabinet with a majority of English-speakers?

Even the most ardent protagonists of non-racial or white solidarity respectively would have to admit that these questions are uncomfortable.

In short, I believe that Giliomee is right about the underlying reality of the conflict of nationalisms.

Is a third way possible, however? Is bicommunalism an option? Almost nobody on either side of the conflict is likely to concede this in advance.

For both Afrikaner and African nationalists it will mean a substantial step back from either the power already possessed or the future power taken to be a legitimate right.

Hence, the National Party has to continue to try to divide power into "own" and "general" affairs so that it can share some powers without losing control of the really crucial structures like the fiscus, security, major infrastructure, etc.

For the ANC, the prospect of a governing pact with its arch-enemy is hardly compatible with its pesent mission of a transformation of society and a liberation of the majority from all vestiges of minority rule.

Yet, if a resolution to our conflict is to be found in this century, the following elements will have to accepted as part of the "pact":

- Full majority representation in the highest organs of government without reference to any formal constitutional distinction between the powers of communities.

Any division of powers making for elements of self-determination for groups would have to be part of the agreement in the pact.

- White leadership in the highest organs of government which is sufficiently trusted and popular to convince the majority of whites that the system is worth participating in.

Such leadership will have to have sufficient credibility or leverage in conservative white communities to discourage extra-parliamentary dissidence among groups like the AWB and others, who could become far more dangerous than the "comrades".

## High road won't emerge from ashes of revolt

- A formula, which will inevitably be complex and controversial, to guide the creation of equality of opportunity in our very large civil service without running the very real risk of dissidence in the public sector and a breakdown of administration.
- Sufficient reassurance as regards checks and balances in government, law and order and efficiency of administration to protect what little investor confidence our economy is able to generate.

At the same time economic planning and socio-economic reform will have to address the legitimate needs of the disadvantaged groups in our society so as to create a sense of widening opportunity in the population at large.

This is the high road which Giliomee, following Clem Sunter, talks about in his article.

This high road will not emerge, Phoenix-like from the ashes of revolution and probably right-wing counter-revolution. Nor will it emerge from the complicated half-measures of present-day constitutional reform.

It can obviously only be the product of high-level political statesmanship in a joint endeavour involving all major mobilised power-groupings in our society — black nationalist groupings, Inkatha, other black movements and the right-wing parties included

As such, it would be a complete understatement to say that the resolution alluded to is a monumental and, at this stage, remote task requiring attitudes and orientations among the salient actors which are simply not present yet.

In the meantime, what South Africa needs most urgently in my view is a movement of leaders across lines of colour and political parties capable of rising above the divisions of ideology and party-politics, performing a bridge-building function.

Such a movement will have to accept the realities of all mobilised power-groupings, Afrikaner nationalism and the ANC included.

It will also have to rise above the symbolic sensitivities and aversions which cripple our present-day political debate, in which certain people won't talk to others because they are either too far inside or outside the "system".

Such a movement needs to become vehemently and emphatically committed to a "third way" and to promote itself among all political persuasions. There is probably no other route for South Africa in this century.

# When you have to turn back on the Eiger



**THE South African position is rather like that of a climber who sets out on the north face of the Eiger and high up finds he has chosen a wrong route — a cul-de-sac.**

He has a lot of trouble relocating his pitons and reslinging his ropes. He has to backtrack before he can go forward again. He is the recipient of strident advice through loud-hailers.

His friends tell him to do this or do that, and some, tired of the whole spectacle or wishing his downfall, call on him to jump. The fact that the man was a fool in the first place and realises it should not alter the general statement that the balance of value should be to encourage him by all means to get to the top.

South Africa is often presented as having unique problems wrought by a uniquely evil governmental and social system.

The conclusion seems to be that solutions must be sought and applied immediately, which, in ignoring a host of realities about South Africa and the developing global context, will not only fail to remove the manifest injustices, political, economic and social under which so many South Africans labour but will most assuredly remove any chance of the average South African, black or white, improving his lot for generations to come.

It would be silly to pretend that the problems which flow in South Africa from our heterogeneous cultural and ethnic structure are unique: it is only that compared with anywhere else they are infinitely more complex.

Now, in 1987, after three years of dramatic developments, the following general propositions can be made:

● Neither revolution nor resolution is at hand. South Africa in 1987 is generally presented as a society in crisis. Such a presentation is complete-

ly correct in reflecting deep-seated social, political and economic conflict. It is also correct in reflecting coercive rule and violent rebellion.

But it is misleading in suggesting a basically unstable and imminently apocalyptic situation. The balance of coercive forces excludes a change of government through armed conflict in the foreseeable future: that is why to talk in terms of Philippines or Iranian analogies is mistaken.

There is no quick fix, internal or external, to the country's problems.

● The status quo cannot be maintained.

Notwithstanding the above, the old order in which power and privilege are organised on racial lines with whites in control cannot be maintained.

This is so, first, because the changing base of the economy has shifted significant economic, social and, not least, buying power into black hands. The most dramatic evidence of this has been the emergence of the black labour movement, and in particular recently the showing of the National Union of Mineworkers in holding a three-week strike.

Secondly, because a now-prolonged phase of internal rebellion indicates that social order in the black townships and black education, for example, must be constructed on a new basis.

Thirdly, because among Afrikaners apartheid is increasingly a dead ideology.

● The time for negotiation has not passed, but has not yet even arrived.

This is because both the governing group and those in opposition are in a state of flux and have not yet gained their definitive character. Also currently, though probably less fully than three years ago, both the State and its opposition believe they can win on their own terms and therefore do not need to negotiate.

On the other hand, since increasing numbers of South Africans are coming to accept the necessity for compromise and negotiation, sensitive encouragement of that trend, out of the unhelpful glare of the media lights, is necessary.

In this context and since central political negotiations are unlikely in the short term, regional negotiations take on an additional importance.

Here the Kwa-Natal Indaba should be an inspiration: of course, it cannot be a substitute for national negotiation and power-sharing, but its authors never pretended it should be: and, of course, its blueprint for the region is not the most elegant imaginable, but it does provide for majority rule while safeguarding minority rights in a non-racist way, using classic Western liberal techniques.

What the indaba can and does do is to provide encouragement that a process of negotiation is possible in South Africa. As always with South Africa, we should not let the best be the enemy of the good, or the ideal the enemy of the workable.

● Conflict in South Africa is not a simple clash between monolithic white versus black interests. Interracial alliances exist both on the side of the State and of its opposition, though these alliances have not always been given full institutional expression.

Conflict in South Africa has at least as much to do with competing concepts of democracy and economic justice as it does with race.

● Conflict in South Africa is capable of non-racial democratic resolution. Significant agreement exists between almost all actors as to the desired future, though the understanding of what the terms "non-racial" and "democracy" entail differ.

Nevertheless, the debate about whether it is desirable to have a liberal, pluralist democracy or a centralist one is increasingly vigorous. And, most importantly again, as the miners' strike has so vividly demonstrated, all South Africans are caught up in an economic reality based on high levels of white/black interdependence.

Such interdependence is creating an imperative for political interaction and compromise.

● Western policies towards South Africa have been short-range, based on false analogies and strategically self-contradictory.

South Africa is often understood in the West in the context of decolonisation (as in Algeria) or desegregation. Both analogies are fundamentally flawed. Military power is held by an internal group, not a colonial power, and cannot be dislodged by decolonisation.

**By**



**GAVIN RELLY**

Conflict in South Africa is not only about civil rights and racial integration, but, now more centrally, it is about both who wields power and through what sorts of institutions and processes.

The strategic nature of Western actions in respect of South Africa has been that of moral censure and economic punishment.

These actions have had neither the coercive power to force Pretoria to act as intended nor the persuasive quality to promote the dynamic elements (economic power redistribution, domestic rebellion and fractures within Afrikanerdom) already in play.

● Significant untried avenues exist for constructive Western interaction with South Africa.

The West needs to become more involved with all South Africans seeking to influence all in the direction of a non-racial and democratic future. At the institutional level, Western agencies (governmental and private) can do much to assist in the creation and strengthening of the institutions without which effective non-racial democracy will be impossible.

However, this can only be done if it is accepted that time and effort will be required for results.

● *Extract from a speech by Mr Relly to the Financial Economic Magazine in The Hague, Netherlands, this week.*

## Chilling tale of ANC arms smuggler Klaas de Jonge

# AGENT OF TERROR

13/9/87

S11 (304A)

By NEIL HOOPER

**FUGITIVE Hollander Klaas de Jonge was a cool and efficient courier of death — perhaps the most menacing arms smuggler since elements of the ANC began their terrorism campaign in South Africa.**

He smuggled a massive arsenal of weapons and explosives — including the components of two car bombs — into South Africa after being recruited into the ANC by Joe Slovo in 1981.

The full story of the man who spent two years of self-incarceration in the Netherlands Embassy in Pretoria before being released in the prisoner swop can now be revealed from official accounts of his arrest and interrogation.

It is apparent that the gun-runner who displayed so much bravado upon his return to Holland this week "sang like a canary" during the weeks he was in SAP custody.

It is a chilling tale of the actions of a terrorist widely held to have had some responsibility for the Church Street Pretoria, car bomb in May 1983 which claimed the lives of 19 people.

By the time De Jonge was arrested on June 23 1985 he had established 17 arms caches, often with the assistance of his former wife, Helene Pastoors, now serving 10 years for high treason.

After his return to Holland as part of a complicated prisoner swop that also saw Frenchman Pierre Albertini released from a Ciskeian prison, De Jonge admitted he had smuggled massive quantities of arms into South Africa

What he failed to do was reveal the extent of his smuggling activities on behalf of the ANC and the lethal power of the huge caches he set up in various parts of the country

The 17 secret dumps he pointed out to the police contained among other things

- The components for two car bombs, including a remote-control radio transmitter, receivers and detonators



## Course record falls as favourite takes it all home

By MARLENE BURGER

IT was a punter's dream and a racing marvel

The 1[illegible] 10 favou[illegible] Pede[illegible]ter, with current South African champion jockey Jeffrey Lloyd in the saddle, romped home an incre[illegible] 14 lengths ahead of his n[illegible] rival Un[illegible] Percy, to [illegible] South Afri[illegible] [illegible] yesterday

## Robbers kill reggae star Peter Tosh

Sunday Times Reporter

**JAMAICAN reggae superstar Peter Tosh, 43, who returned to his African roots three years ago by playing in Swaziland, has been shot dead at his home on the island's capital Kingston.**

Police say robbers killed Tosh and an unidentified man on Friday. Tosh's wife and four others were taken to hospital. No details of the shooting were available.

During the Sixties, Tosh with Bob Marley and Bunny Livingston founded the group the Wailers. B[illegible] up several hit singles, the [illegible] brought reggae's [illegible] sound to world [illegible]ention



PETER TOSH

### Mission

[illegible] Wailers [illegible] 197[illegible] [illegible]

Thousa[illegible] converge[illegible] on Swaziland in December 1983 for two [illegible]ference puffing a dagg[illegible] joint and wearing a [illegible] African [illegible]ess [illegible]

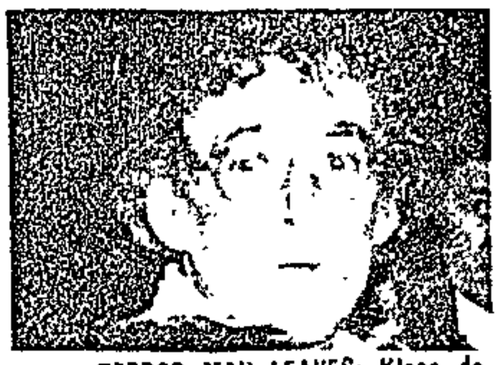
[illegible] Tosh [illegible] Legalis[illegible] [illegible] passioned plea for the [illegible]galisation of pet smoke.

Tosh, whose real nam[illegible] was Peter Mackintos[illegible]

country.

The 17 secret dumps he pointed out to the police contained among other things.

- The components for two car bombs, including a remote-control radio transmitter, receivers and detonators



TERROR MAN LEAVES: Klaas de Jonge at the Maputo handover

- 41 blocks of 400gm TNT.
- 21 blocks of 200gm TNT.
- 131 limpet mines.
- 52 mini limpet mines
- 24 SZ-6 demolition mines.
- 10 RPG projectiles and launchers.
- 23 F1 hand-grenades.
- 8 AK assault rifles.
- 9 Luger 9mm pistols.
- 1 Makarov pistol.

De Jonge was arrested the day after he and Pastoors travelled to Halfway House, where he established an arms cache which contained the components of a car bomb.

They had both been working in Maputo since 1981 on secondment from the Netherlands Government, and both held, among others, Dutch "service" passports, similar to diplomatic passports, in this capacity.

Pastoors had been lecturing in the linguistics department at Mondlane University in Maputo, where she met Ruth First, wife of Joe Slovo, a member of the ANC



THE HERO RETURNS: Turn to Page 7 for the Wynand du Toit story

high command, who recruited her and De Jonge.

After they separated in 1984, De Jonge settled in Zimbabwe after being refused a residence permit in South Africa. From there he continued to smuggle arms into South Africa for the ANC.

However, Pastoors obtained a study permit in February 1985 to stay in South Africa so that she could enrol at the University of the Witwatersrand. In South Africa she was to continue clandestine work for the ANC.

She had been under observation by the National Intelligence Service since her arrival, and when she made contact with a member of the ANC the security branch of the police took over the surveillance and her telephone was tapped.

As a result they heard her arrange to meet De Jonge in Louis Botha Avenue in Johannesburg at 3 30 on the afternoon of June 22.

From there the couple were under observation as they travelled to Halfway House, where De Jonge established the arms cache.

He was arrested the next morning near Mafikeng after booking out of his Johannesburg hotel at 4am on his way back to Zimbabwe via Bo-

□ To Page 2

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P. T. O

# Defining 'groups'

## Move to change from 'race' to 'interest'

**POWERFUL lobbies in the National Party and bureaucracy are pushing for a blurring of the rigid statutory definitions of groups in the political process.**

The move — as yet tentative and still subject to much debate — is occurring even as the Government moves ahead on its plans to establish a National Council in part comprising elected black leaders.

It is learnt from sources close to the Cabinet and from constitutional planners that some government inner circles are looking for ways of converting the group ideology from compulsory group association by race to a looser definition of "interest groups".

**LESTER VENTER: Political Correspondent**

Such "interest groups" would obviate colour as a statutory determinant and begin to blur racial distinctions.

Details of how this would be done and how it would work in practice have not been fully worked out.

But a hint of the approach was given by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, during his Vote this week when he said: "We can debate the definition of groups."

It is understood, however, that the Cabinet is not of one mind on the question, and that it is once more dividing into verligte and verkrampte camps on the mooted experiment with freedom of association.

The concept is aimed at overcoming a major anticipated hurdle in the National Council — if it gets under way with a reasonably representative sample of black opinion.

Even moderate black leaders like Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi believe the Government wants to use the National Council to extract from blacks a validation of its neo-apartheid system of Own Affairs and General Affairs. This system rests on compulsory group association by race, which blacks are not prepared even to negotiate.

Before this point is reached, however, two virtually across-the-board black preconditions will have to be dealt with: the release of political prisoners and the lifting of the state of emergency.

The National Council Bill, which may become law in the next four weeks, provides for a national election for an estimated 10-million blacks outside the homelands.

Black voters will elect nine representatives, who will join homeland and government delegates on the council, which is intended as a negotiating forum to design a system of black participation in national government.

Announcing the Bill, Mr Heunis said: "The agenda is open. There is just one point on the agenda, and that is a new constitutional dispensation in which all South Africans are represented and can participate."

Mr Heunis and other government speakers have made it clear, though, that the Government remains committed to a solution that will recognise and protect population groups as a means of upholding individual rights.

### Violent

He called the National Council Bill "one of the most fundamental reform steps ... in the history of our country".

It is likely to become one of the most hotly contested South African political issues for decades.

The first-ever national election for blacks is expected to unleash the deep and often violent divisions among blacks.

Suspicion of government intentions run so deep that only peripheral black leaders have so far declared their willingness to participate in the National Council.

Cpt Times 14/9/87

# Council will 'refer bills'

JOHANNESBURG. — The National Council would consider bills before they went to Parliament and only after consensus had been reached would they be referred to the cabinet, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said in an interview on SABC-TV last night.

"Should consensus be reached on a bill it would be referred to the cabinet. Should the cabinet then approve the bill it will only then go to Parliament."

Mr Heunis said the purpose of the process was to give the leaders of the communities the opportunity of participating in the drafting of a new political dispensation.

## Ucasa

Asked why only nine representative leaders from the black communities would be in the council, he said the chief ministers of the national states would also be represented, because they had been elected.

Meanwhile, SABC radio news reports that the president of the black Urban Councils Association (Ucasa), Mr Steve Kgame, says the national council would enable urban black people to participate in government at the highest level.

He said black councillors would be able to bring the aspirations of their people to the attention of the government.

## Indaba

Earlier, the Chief Minister of Gazankulu, Professor Hudson Ntsanwesi, said he was prepared to serve on the national council provided the constitutional development of black people was not subverted to that of other population groups.

● Political staff report that Mr Heunis said in a statement last night he had not agreed to a joint legislature for Natal/KwaZulu.

He said he had referred to a legislature on a "provincial basis" during his department's budget vote of Friday.

He said last night it had had nothing to do with KwaZulu or Natal Indaba proposals as

(i) to (iv) Falls away.

It should be mentioned, however, that during the financial years 1982-83 up to and including 1986-87 project aid in the form of loans, including non-recoverable financial assistance, was granted to the independent national states for educational purposes. In the accompanying schedule an exposition is given thereof.

**PROJECT AID IN THE FORM OF LOANS, INCLUDING NON-RECOVERABLE FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE, FOR EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES**

| Country | 1982-83 | 1983-84 | 1984-85 | 1985-86 | 1986-87 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Transkei ..... | R2 705 644 Erection of primary and secondary schools. | R2 590 000 Erection of primary and secondary schools. | — | R7 122 165 Erection of classrooms at primary and secondary schools. | R3 677 384 Erection of classrooms at primary and secondary schools. |
| Bophuthatswana | R5 824 459 Financial contribution towards the erection of a University at Mmabatho. | R2 774 752 Financial contribution towards the erection of a University at Mmabatho. | R857 594 Erection of primary, middle and secondary schools at Winterveld. | R6 339 448 Erection of primary, middle and secondary schools at Winterveld. | R5 366 648 Erection of primary, middle and secondary schools at Winterveld. |
| Venda ..... | — | — | — | R311 472 Erection of additional classrooms at primary and secondary schools. | R3 996 966 Erection of additional classrooms at primary and secondary schools. |
| Ciskei ..... | — | — | — | R3 585 104 Upgrading and provision of primary and secondary schools. | R1 475 765 Upgrading and provision of primary and secondary schools. |

**Goods transported by rail/road**

407. Mr A J W P S TERBLANCHE asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:†

How many tonne kilometres of goods were transported by the South African Transport Services by (a) rail and (b) road in the 1986-87 financial year?

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

(a) 91 690 592 176.

(b) Particulars are not available on the basis as set out in the Question. The total mass conveyed was 4 211 990 ton. A distance of 78 609 590 kilometres was covered for this purpose.

**Diplomatic immunities/rights/privileges**

414. Mr C W EGLIN asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

Whether the State President has granted diplomatic immunities, rights and privileges to any persons in terms of section 2B of the Diplomatic Privileges Act, No 71 of 1951; if so, (a) to how many since 12 April 1985 as at the latest specified date for which information is available, (b) what are the (i) names of, (ii) nationalities of and (iii) positions occupied by each of these persons and (c) what was the nature of the status granted to each of these persons?

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

No. (a), (b) and (c) Fall away.



**TUESDAY, 15 SEPTEMBER 1987**

†Indicates translated version.

*For oral reply:*

*General Affairs:*

*State President:*

**SABC: telephone call**

*1. Mr D J DALLING asked the State President:

Whether he or any other person acting on his behalf telephoned the SABC or any senior official of the SABC during the broadcasting of the 8 pm news bulletin on TV1 on 24 August 1987; if so, (a) (i) who made the telephone call and (ii) to whom did he speak and (b) what was the (i) purpose of the call and (ii) response obtained?

The STATE PRESIDENT:

Yes. I personally phoned the Director-General of the SABC and requested him to carry out my original request, namely to broadcast the full version of the statement issued on that day by my Office on this matter, as well as the contents of my letter of that date to the Chairman of the Ministers' Council of the House of Representatives and his reply to me. If I deem it necessary under similar circumstances in future, I will do so again.

Mr D J DALLING: Mr Speaker, arising from the reply given by the hon the State President, and bearing in mind that any request of this nature from the hon the State President during a news broadcast would largely be regarded as an instruction, could he tell the House by what legal authority or otherwise the State President has the right to interfere with the independent broadcasting of the SABC? [Interjections.]

The STATE PRESIDENT: I did so in the interests of truth, Sir. [Interjections.]

Mr SPEAKER: Order!

Mr D J DALLING: Mr Speaker, further arising from the reply given by the hon the State President, can he tell the House whether that facility of being able to make this sort of immediate request which will be carried out is available to the leaders of all political parties in this House?

The STATE PRESIDENT: If they want to do so, Mr Speaker, I shall not stop them. [Interjections.]

†Mr F J LE ROUX: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the State President's reply, does the hon the State President want to imply that the first news version was not the truth?

†The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Speaker, the first news version was incomplete and not to my liking to let the country learn the true facts.

Mr D J DALLING: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the State President's reply, I should like to ask him in what manner, in his view, the report was "onvolledig"?

†The STATE PRESIDENT: Mr Speaker, it did not present a true reflection of the correspondence, and also not of the statement issued by my office.

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Speaker, . . .

†Mr SPEAKER: Order! I am not prepared to allow any more supplementary questions on this question to the hon the State President.

Mr D J N MALCOMESS: Mr Speaker, on a point of order: May I ask in terms of what Standing Order you have given that ruling?

Mr SPEAKER: Order! It is within Mr Speaker's discretion to do so, and I am doing just that. [Interjections.]

†The STATE PRESIDENT: With all due respect for you, Mr Speaker, I am enjoying the questions and the replies

**SABC: director-general**

*2. Mr D J DALLING asked the State President:

Whether, during the month of August 1987, he or any other person acting on his behalf initiated any (a) actions, (b) instructions, (c) suggestions and/or (d) discussions in regard to the continued employment of the present incumbent of the post of the director-general of the SABC; if so, (i) what (aa) actions, (bb) instructions, (cc) suggestions and/or (dd) discussions, (ii) why and (iii) with what result?

†The STATE PRESIDENT:

No. The rest falls away.

Mr D J DALLING: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the State President's reply, is the hon the State President telling us then that at no stage during that week the job of the Director-General was in question insofar as the Government was concerned?

The STATE PRESIDENT: Not by me, and not on my instructions.

*3. Mr F J LE ROUX—State President. [Withdrawn.]

*Ministers·*

*Questions standing over from Tuesday, 8 September 1987:*

**Waterdal: expropriation**

*2. Mr J H VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:†

Whether the State intends expropriating the White area of Waterdal, situated near Vereeniging; if so, (a) when and (b) why; if not, what action does the State intend taking in respect of this area?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT PLANNING:

(a) No.

(b) The future of the Waterdal area is still being investigated by the Provincial Administration of the Transvaal.

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, arising from the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, is he aware that in this particular area of Waterdal, Black families are living in ten of those houses and that no steps have been taken to evict them, while it is a White area?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I have told the hon member that the matter is being investigated at present.

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, further arising from the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, can he tell us what steps are being considered to remove those ten houses in which Black families are living, and what other steps he is contemplating in this connection, apart from saying that he is giving attention to the matter.

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, after we have completed the investigation I shall tell the hon member what steps we are contemplating.

†Mr T LANGLEY: Mr Speaker, further arising from the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, if the investigation should indicate that there is in fact illegal occupation of White houses by persons of another racial groups, will he be prepared to act?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I dealt with that matter at length in the discussion of our Vote.

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Piet, you are making Parliament ridiculous! [Interjections.]

†Mr SPEAKER: Order! It has been ruled previously in this House by the presiding officer that it is not permissible to refer to any hon member across the floor of the House by nicknames, first names or in any other such manner. I should thus appreciate it if the hon member for Overvaal would abide by that ruling.

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, may I address you on the matter?

†Mr SPEAKER: Order! I have already spoken to the hon member for Overvaal.

†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, on a point of order.

†Mr SPEAKER: Order! Does the hon member wish to put a new point of order, or does he want to deal with the same matter?





†Mr J H VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, I want to raise a point of order on the fact that hon members are shouting my first name at me.

†Mr SPEAKER: Order! That deals with the same matter and that is now closed.

**Permanent residence: application forms**

*22. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

(1) Whether application forms for permanent residence in the Republic contain a section pertaining to the religion of the applicant; if so, why;

(2) whether it is compulsory for an applicant to complete the section on religion; if so, (a) why and (b) what action is taken in respect of applicants refusing to complete this section;

(3) whether applicants failing to complete the section on religion are (a) sent and (b) required to complete a further form pertaining to their religious convictions; if so, (i) why, (ii) for what purpose is the information so obtained used, (iii) what action is taken in respect of applicants refusing to provide the information requested and (iv) what is the reference number of this form;

(4) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

†The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

(1) Yes. The application form for permanent residence is prescribed in terms of section 4 (1) of the Aliens Act, 1937 (Act 1 of 1937). The question pertaining to religion has been part of the application form since 1957. The question initially only dealt with an applicant's church denomination, but since 1965 an applicant must state his religion as well as denomination. The information is necessary to assist in the process of determining whether an applicant is a desirable immigrant in terms of section 4 (3) of the Aliens Act, 1937.

(2) Yes.

(a) The information is part of the broad background information to be furnished by the applicant on his application form to enable the Immigrants' Selection Board to have all the relevant particulars of the applicant.

(b) The application is regarded as incomplete and is not submitted to the Immigrants' Selection Board for consideration.

(3) (a) and (b) Yes. This is done in all cases where applicants either failed to complete the section concerned or have indicated that they have no religion.

(i) and (ii) The information is required for the purpose as already stated.

(iii) Such applications are not submitted to the Immigrants' Selection Board.

(iv) BI-952.

(4) No.

*New Questions:*

**Canadian Indians: Food/other aid**

*1. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

(1) Whether he or any member of his Department offered any (a) food and (b) other aid to the Canadian Indians who visited the Republic in or about August 1987; if so, (i) when, (ii) who made the offer, (iii) what aid was offered, (iv) why was the offer made and (v) what action has been taken in respect of this offer;

(2) whether his Department has attempted to ascertain the need for food in local communities and of local charitable organisations; if so, (a) in what manner and (b) what were the findings;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(1) (a) No, but I am aware that certain

# NRP unlikely to fight another election — MP

It is "very unlikely" that the New Republic Party (NRP) will fight another election, according to the party's lone parliamentary representative, Mr Ralph Hardingham.

Speaking at the NRP's Transvaal congress in Pretoria at the weekend, he said however that members had to look towards "a new moderate re-alignment" which would include the more verlig members of the National Party.

"We've got to do a certain amount of soul-searching. It is very unlikely that we will fight another general election as the NRP.

"I do feel that we have a very important role to play in a new moderate re-alignment.

"Let's not bluff ourselves. The position of the party in Parliament ... couldn't be as near to ground level as it is.

"We've got to be looking at a larger re-alignment, something that is going to attract the more moderate-thinking National Party members when the time comes ... The time will come."

Mr Hardingham said he believed the independents intended forming a political party in February. Although he doubted its leaders would negotiate with the NRP or the PFP as political parties, he said: "I don't think it's something that we're going to turn our backs on."

He warned however that should the independents, who have as yet made no concrete proposals, espouse a policy "that is not sufficiently right of the Progs", the NRP would not consider joining a moderate alliance with them.

The gloom of the morning's proceedings, which was attended by about 45 — mostly middle-aged or elderly — people, was dispelled to a certain extent after lunch by a speech from the party's Natal leader, Mr Derek Watterson.

Mr Watterson ordered members to "get off their tails" no matter how bad things appeared to be, and to start working for the NRP.

He said he had "great reservations" about the independents' ability "to do the job". He told the gathering he doubted there would be much satisfaction for those who wished to keep the NRP going in the hope the independent movement would get off the ground.

"If the NRP is going to keep going, it must keep going as the NRP."

The proceedings were concluded by a speech from the leader of the NRP, Mr Bill Sutton.

He said although the party's fortunes "seem at a very low ebb" this did not mean that what it stood for would die out.

Mr John Gogotya, leader of the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance (Fida), also addressed the congress and, to applause, said: "We must be prepared to stand up and say 'Hamba Apartheid, Woza democratic South Africa'."

Mr Gogotya asked everyone to give peace a chance. "The new South Africa will be shaped here and not in exile or in the capitals of the Western governments.

"Our goal is not victory of might, but vindication of right — not peace at the expense of freedom, but both peace and freedom!"

Last year's office bearers were all re-elected.

## 'Take blacks off our TVs'

A HNP delegate has warned advertisers on TV1: "Stop bringing blacks into our sitting rooms by using them on advertisments shown on TV1."

"Keep them out of our homes, they are not part of our community," she warned.

"We don't want to take your business away but use the TV2 and TV3 to put blacks in ads. TV1 is for us white people."

## Marais sets challenges for party's comeback

# HNP refuses 'to give up 18-year struggle'

**Pretoria Correspondent**

The Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) congress this weekend indicated the party is not about to give up its 18-year struggle.

But how much of the party's spirit is based on unwarranted hope and blind faith is difficult to determine.

The congress showed anything but humility.

With the present state of the party: unrepresented in Parliament, its support figures dwindling, one would have expected a congress of self-examination rather than challenge.

However its leader, Mr Jaap Marais, has set the road of comeback for the party on challenges which he sees in two pending by-elections in the Transvaal and especially on next year's municipal elections — without the help of the CP.

Mr Marais made it clear in his opening speech to the congress that he was still open for discussion with the CP even after the failure of talks last week for a unified right in the municipal election.

He also made it clear that he did not trust the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, which he still regards as a political party.

The HNP leader warned of a future clash between the AWB and the CP and the "unbuttoning of their relations" over differences in policies and principles.

With the split, Mr Marais predicted the fall of the CP and its removal as official opposition.

There is no doubt that Mr Marais is hoping to be the catchnet party when the hammer falls.

Mr Marais is still deeply embittered towards Dr Treurnicht for the failure to achieve co-operation in the election.

He is convinced it was a plot by the AWB and CP to destroy the HNP.

Which leader should be charged with the failure of the right wing to go into the election as a unified front is still open for argument.

The CP's refusal to work with the HNP in the municipal election leaves the HNP no other choice but to go it alone.

The CP has succeeded in becoming the official opposition — it has no more place for the HNP or its leaders.

Mr Marais has changed, his old firebrand political temper seems to have returned — his mood shared by the 200 delegates who attended the congress.

There was a lively tone of discussion under five themes including Economy and Agriculture, Terrorism, Unrest and Murder of Whites, South West Africa and Southern Africa, Outside Attack on South Africa and the Media and The role of the Afrikaner in Politics.

## Minister speaks about the solution for SA

# White domination 'can't stay forever'

**Own Correspondent**

CAPE TOWN — White political domination cannot be perpetuated if South Africa is to find an ideal solution for the future, says one of the men charged with negotiating that future, Deputy Minister for Information and Constitutional Planning Dr Stoffel van der Merwe.

The Deputy Minister makes this assertion in an interview in the latest edition of Leadership magazine.

Dr van der Merwe said Government's intention was to forge a future in which no group dominated another. "If we say we want to create a system in which no one group dominates any other group or groups, it also means that white domination of such a system cannot be perpetuated," he told the magazine's interviewer, Martin Schneider.

However, Dr van der Merwe was emphatic that minority interests would have to be heavily protected.

Despite saying, earlier in his interview, that the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba process was "fine", he said the Government had not been more supportive of the process because the interests of the minority — "the Afrikaans-speaking part of Natal" — were not catered for.

"Each minority must feel safe within such a system," Dr Van der Merwe said. The trouble with the Indaba was that "they did not continue long enough until real consensus was reached".

Dr van der Merwe, one of whose chief tasks is the groundwork which will lead to the establishment of a National Statutory Council (for blacks) repeated his view that the fact that a person was in jail did not preclude negotiations with him.

It was true, he said, that many people in detention and others who were convicted prisoners could be regarded as leaders. "If one could find a way to let these people out and allow them to participate in the elections, that would be an ideal solution."

At the moment, Dr van der Merwe said, the proposal was that blacks in each of the country's nine economic development regions should be allowed to choose representatives themselves.

This would work out as a true reflection of the nature of South Africa, the Deputy Minister said, "a mixture of cultural and geographical representation".

Dr van der Merwe refused to say which blacks had been negotiated with or consulted regarding the Government's latest plans.

## Indaba plan gets the nod

**Political Staff**

CAPE TOWN — The Government has accepted the "principle" of a single legislature for Natal/kwaZulu — a major breakthrough for the Indaba.

Minister of Consitutional Development Mr Chris Heunis announced the decision in Parliament on Friday.

But he said that if it was decided after negotiations to take such a step, among other things, "the rights of minorities must be protected".

This follows the kwaZulu government and Inkatha presenting their views on the Indaba to the Government.

Mr Heunis still withheld official Government response to the Indaba proposals, saying this would follow receipt of the Natal Executive Committee response.

The Administrator of Natal, Mr Radclyffe Cadman, said in a brief statement that the executive committee was in the process of finalising its response.

A spokesman for the Indaba said in reaction to Mr Heunis's speech: "We note several encouraging aspects. We would like the opportunity to study it further."

Dealing with the protection of minorities, Mr Heunis pointed out that Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi believed that "constitutionally-entrenched individual rights under a Bill of Rights need to co-exist with mechanisms to protect minority rights".

# Mandela 'release' rumours: Decoding that diplo-speak

By PATRICK LAURENCE

THE repatriation to South Africa of Major Wynand du Toit, the South African commando captured in Angola in June 1985, kindled speculation that it might presage the release of the jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela.

But the government was quick to deny that there was any link between Mandela and the exchange of Du Toit for 135 men: European anti-apartheid activists, Klaas de Jonge and Pierre Albertini, and 133 Angolan government soldiers held prisoner by South African-backed Unita rebels in Angola.

There was no connection, a representative for President Botha's Office told *Beeld*. Hours later Foreign Minister Pik Botha denied in parliament that there was a parallel, arguing that the prisoners involved in Monday's exchange were captives in a foreign country, not men convicted in a court of law in their own country.

But PW Botha himself linked the fate of Mandela with that of Du Toit in his opening speech in parliament in January 1986. It is one of three key statements he has made on the release of political prisoners in the past 30 months.

"I am conscious of the fact that Mr Mandela has been in prison for a long time and that he is now in his sixties," Botha said in 1986.

Recording that he had given the matter much thought, Botha said: "In principle, I would be prepared to consider his release on humanitarian grounds."

Botha then made the connection: "But I think also of Captain Wynand Pretorius Johannes du Toit at present held in an Angolan prison."

He went on to refer to two prominent Soviet dissidents: banished nuclear physicist Andrei Sakharov and jailed intellectual Anatoly Scharansky, who, Botha said, had been convicted of "treason" and "anti-Soviet agitation".

Botha concluded with a question and comment.

"If I were to release Mr Nelson Mandela on humanitarian grounds, could Captain Wynand du Toit, Andre Sakharov and Anatoly Shcharansky not also be released on humanitarian grounds?

"A positive response ... could certainly form the basis of negotiations between interested governments."

As it transpired, however, the releases were initiated by the Soviet rather than the South African government.

Shcharansky was released from a labour camp in a prisoner exchange with the West Germany. He subsequently emigrated to Israel.

Later Sakharov was allowed to return to Moscow from his place of banishment, with Western correspondents being free to interview him.

The release of Du Toit completed the trio of releases which Botha implicitly set as the *quid pro quo* for Mandela's release.

But the government is now loosening the link forged by Botha, arguing that too much time has passed between the 1986 speech and Du Toit's release and that the freeing of De Jonge and Albertini and the 133 Angolans for Du Toit was itself a more than adequate trade-off.

That does not mean that the government has no intention of releasing Mandela, only that it wants to keep its options open and to control the timing should it decide to free him.

Comparison of Botha's three most recent major statements on Mandela suggests that he is groping for a formula to release him.



Together at last ... Major Wynand du Toit deep in discussion with foreign minister Pik Botha at Maputo airport

In January 1985 Botha told parliament that he would consider releasing Mandela if the ANC leader renounced violence, adding: "The choice is his. All that is required of him now is that he should unconditionally reject violence as a political instrument."

Mandela, however, refused to do so, arguing that the onus was not on him to denounce the "armed struggle" against apartheid but on Botha to relinquish deployment of armed force to protect apartheid.

Botha's statement gave the initiative to Mandela: in the sense that it was Mandela who, by rejecting or refusing to reject violence, determined whether he would remain in jail.

It meant, in effect, that it was he rather than Botha who held the key to his cell door.

Botha sought to rectify that in part by his January 1986 statement. He did so more effectively last month in another statement to parliament.

Backtracking on his 1986 declaration, Botha said. "Renunciation of violence, like any other single positive factor, can contribute towards a good prognosis (for release) but is not decisive in own right."

Several additional factors had to be considered, including the "interests of the state", Botha added.

Logically it inferred that the interests of the state might outweigh Mandela's refusal to renounce violence and that the ANC leader might be released even while refusing to retract his conviction that armed struggle was justified.

Botha's latest statement on August 13 is seen by diplomats as a "facilitating statement" clearing the way for the release of Mandela after more than 25 years.

Whether the government will to so is a matter of conjecture. But it is interesting that it has given itself the option of doing so.

A majority in the cabinet is said to favour freeing him. But the final decision still lies with Botha, a man who, as he grows older, becomes more difficult to fathom and whose actions are thus harder to predict.

**Hillbrow: election**

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

(1) Whether his Department has received any complaints regarding the conduct of the election held in the Hillbrow Parliamentary constituency on 6 May 1987; if so, (a) when and (b) what was the nature of the complaints;

(2) whether his Department has investigated these complaints; if not, (a) why not and (b) what action has been taken in respect of these complaints; if so, (i) when and (ii) what were the findings of this investigation?

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

(1) Yes.

(a) After initial complaints were made by way of a telephone calls, the matter was reported by letter on 27 June 1987.

(b) The complaints referred to alleged irregularities under the Electoral Act, 1979 (Act 45 of 1979), including possible fraud, forgery and impersonation.

(2) Yes.

(a) Falls away.

(b) An interdepartmental committee consisting of 2 officials of the Department of Home Affairs and a Chief Magistrate of the Department of Justice were appointed by the Director-General: Home Affairs, with the following terms of reference:

> "To enquire into and to report on the aleged irregularities concerning the casting of special votes by the voters for the Hillbrow electoral division at the Special Polling Station in Hillbrow and at the office of the Electoral Officer, Johannesburg during the recent General Election, with special reference to the manner in which voters were identified, with the power to take evidence and to call for documents."

(i) 27 July 1987.

(ii) The interdepartmental committee completed its task on 24 August 1987. The lengthy report is still being studied by the Director-General in order to determine what, if any, action is to be taken.

The South African Police is presently also conducting an independent investigation into this matter due to a complaint lodged with them.

The premature disclosure of the findings of the committee could seriously prejudice such an independent criminal investigation.

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, may I ask him, first of all, whether the findings of that committee will be made public in due course; and secondly, whether the complainants will be apprised of the details of the committee's findings?

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, at this stage I can see no objection to the disclosure of the committee's findings, but all those considerations will be taken into account when the full report is studied. In principle, however, there should be no objection to the disclosure of the content of the report.

†Dr J J VILONEL: Mr Speaker, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, does the hon the Minister not think that it is now time for the Progs to accept that they have lost the election as well as the Hillbrow seat and that's it? [Interjections.]

**South African Certification Council**

*14. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of National Education:

(1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 38 on 9 June 1987, he has as yet appointed persons to serve on the South African Certification Council; if not, why not; if so, (a) what are the names of the persons appointed, (b) what are their qualifications for serving on this council in each case and (c) with effect from what date were they appointed;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

†The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

(1) No. I am currently busy with deliberations on the appointment of the members.

(a) Falls away.

(b) Falls away.

(c) Falls away.

(2) No.





**Group Areas Act**

*15. Dr M S BARNARD asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:

Whether, since 1 January 1986, his Department has received any applications for exemptions from the provisions of the Group Areas Act, No 36 of 1966, in respect of residential premises in the Parktown constituency; if so, (a) how many such applications had been (i) granted and (ii) refused as at the latest specified date for which information is available and (b) what were the reasons for (i) granting and (ii) refusing each application?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT PLANNING:

Statistics regarding applications for permits in terms of the Group Areas Act, 1966, are not maintained according to parliamentary constituencies. The question, therefore, cannot be answered in its present form.

Mr K M ANDREW: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, may I ask him, if statistics are not kept in that form, how they know which member of Parliament to write to to ask him for his opinion on applications for permits in terms of the Group Areas Act?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, it is very simple: We know in which constituency the application for the permit is made and then it is referred *inter alia* to the local authority and also the local member of the House of Assembly. We do, however, not keep statistics of each application that is made, according to the constituencies of Parliament.

Mr K M ANDREW: Mr Speaker, further arising from the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, could he explain to the House how he was able to reply to a similar question relating to Cape Town Gardens earlier this year if that is the situation?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, it is such a simple constituency that one could reply to that question off-hand. [Interjections.]

*16. Mr F J LE ROUX—Administration and Broadcasting Services. [Reply standing over.]

*17. Mr J J WALSH—Justice. [Reply standing over.]

*18. Mr J J WALSH—Law and Order. [Reply standing over.]

**Salt River: bomb explosion**

*19. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether the South African Police received any prior warning of or information regarding a bomb which exploded at Community House in Salt River on or about 29 August 1987; if so, (a) (i) at what time, (ii) by which branch of the Police and (iii) in what manner was this warning or information received and (b) what specified action did the Police take as a result; if not, (i) (aa) at what time and (bb) in what manner did the Police first hear of the explosion and (ii) what action did they take;

(2) whether the Police have conducted an investigation into this explosion; if

Cape Times 15/9/87

# Divorce for Cape AWB's Leibold

306A

**Staff Reporter**

FORMER Afrikaanse Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) leader in the Cape Province Mr Johan Leibold was given a divorce by the Supreme Court yesterday even though he had resigned his position in the hope of a reconciliation with his wife, Aletta.

This was confirmed by Mr Leibold, who said his wife had sued him for divorce, but he still wanted a reconciliation.

## Threats

He said he had been unhappy about threats he had received after telling a Conservative Party election meeting that University of the Western Cape students were living in a hotel in a white area.

"She was not only unhappy about the threats. There was also the financial uncertainty that came about through my involvement in right-wing politics.

"I was too much involved with the AWB as well as with the Conservative Party," he said. "She felt uncertain about that."

There had also been a great deal of stress at election time, he said. Mr Leibold was an unsuccessful candidate for the CP in Bellville.

His wife could not be reached yesterday, but Mr Leibold said it was unlikely she would speak to the press because she was "a shy woman".

Cape Times 15/9/87 (SOCH)

# Van Eck guilty of incitement - Schwarz

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

A ROW erupted in Parliament yesterday when Mr Jan van Eck (Independent Claremont) said the government had no moral right to force people to take up arms against their fellow South Africans.

Mr Harry Schwarz (PFP Yeoville) immediately accused his former colleague of inciting people to break the law.

Interrupting Mr Van Eck's speech on a point of order during the defence budget vote debate, Mr Schwarz asked if the MP for Claremont was allowed to "use the House to incite people to break the law".

When the chairman of the committee, Mr Johannes van Zyl (NP Brentwood), allowed Mr Van Eck to continue with his speech, Mr Schwarz again rose, asserting that proceedings in the House would be "getting out of hand" if incitement were permitted.

## Freedom of speech

The chairman ruled that Mr Van Eck was entitled to say what he wanted in terms of the freedom of speech that was afforded by the House.

Mr Schwarz contended that the issue had nothing to do with freedom of speech and that it was illegal — both inside and outside the House — to incite people to break the law.

Earlier, Mr Van Eck said that the war that the government was conducting in Namibia and increasingly in South Africa was primarily a civil war.

"(It is) a civil war between a white minority government that calls up white youths from Claremont and Kenilworth to fight against black and 'brown' youths from Nyanga and Bonteheuwel."

Mr Van Eck said this situation was a "deep South African tragedy" in which people were shooting each other dead and where nobody was the winner.

"This tragedy is not going to be ended by simply calling up more people and shooting more people dead."

## 'Feel justified'

Mr Van Eck said that as long as the government continued apartheid policies and put down opposition with violence, "black and brown South Africans will ... feel justified in using violent methods in getting rid of the government".

"Sir, in view of the above, it is my belief that this government has no moral right to force people to take up arms against their fellow South Africans.

"But not only does it force white South Africans to do this, it at the same time acts ruthlessly against individuals and organizations such as the ECC that campaign against conscription."

● In Maritzburg, the former PFP MP for Maritzburg North, Mr Graham MacIntosh, refused to report to a military camp for duty yesterday morning in protest at a snub by the Minister of Defence of the PFP spokesman on defence, Mr Peter Gastrow.

"Mr Malan is duty-bound to accept Mr Gastrow because he has been elected by the people and, if Mr Malan believes that Mr Gastrow is a security risk who passes on information to the ANC, then he must discuss it with the party's leader, Mr Colin Eglin."

...the one Taryn is showing is by Mr Jeff Milne of Caledon.
Picture: RICHARD BELL

CAPE TIMES 15/9/87

# UDF rejects govt's National Council

3044

JOHANNESBURG. — The United Democratic Front has rejected the proposed National Council as no different from the Native Representative Council of the 1940s.

Mr Azhar Cachalia, national treasurer of the UDF, said it expected action against anti-government bodies in the wake of their rejection of the National Council.

The proposed body would enable elected black leaders, and those of other population groups, to draft a new power-sharing constitution.

And at the weekend the CP's Transvaal Council adopted a resolution saying the proposed National Council constituted the beginning of the process of black participation in central government.

United Municipalities of South Africa president Mr Tom Boya reiterated in Johannesburg yesterday that UMSA would not serve on the National Statutory Council till certain conditions were met.

These included the unbanning of all political organizations and scrapping of all discriminatory legislation.

● The nine black leaders who will be elected to the National Council will collectively represent about 8,364-million blacks in nine "development regions".

The government hopes to hold elections next year in October during the nationwide municipal elections. While it will not be possible to draw up a voters' roll by then, Home Affairs officials indicated yesterday that ID documents may be used instead.

The development regions will roughly follow SA's Industrial Development Regions, which are: Western Cape; Western Transvaal, Northern Cape and parts of the OFS; parts of the OFS and QwaQwa; Eastern Cape and parts of the OFS; Natal and KwaZulu; Eastern Transvaal, KaNgwane and parts of Lebowa and Gazankulu; and the PWV area.

Elections in October 1988

# 1m blacks for each NC leader

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

**THE nine black leaders who will be elected to government's National Council (NC) will collectively represent about 8,364-million blacks in nine "development regions".**

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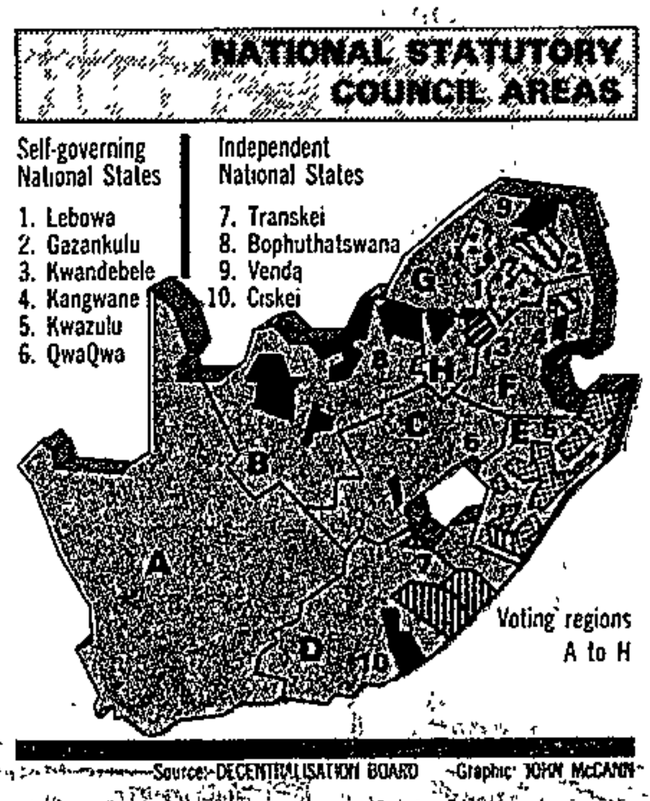
Officials could not identify the ninth region yesterday.

In essence, government officials responsible for the drafting of last week's NC Bill yesterday openly conceded they intended each of the elected representatives to represent roughly one-million people.




One of Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis's top officials, Kobus Jordaan, pointed out that, in the PWV region, one NC member might well represent more than 3-million people.

Said Jordaan: "It's a legitimate thing

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P.T.O.

Argus 15/9/87 (3044)

# ANC not part of future SA, says Magnus

By DALE LAUTENBACH
Parliamentary Staff

THE African National Congress was "not a part of the future plan for South Africa", said Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan.

While the Freedom Charter was a "good document", it would fall away when the "first phase of the revolutionary onslaught against South Africa" gave way to the "second phase" of communist domination.

Speaking in the House of Assembly yesterday during the defence budget vote, General Malan said those who sought talks with the ANC were naive.

The ANC was controlled by the South African Communist Party (SACP) which was in turn under the sway of Moscow. The ANC's role lay in the first phase in which negotiation was the message, hence the Freedom Charter.

The influence of the document would be short-lived as it was designed to make more attractive the introduction of the second phase under the domination of the SACP.

"The Freedom Charter is a good document and that is why the West accepts it," said General Malan. "But the point is that it is going to disappear when the so-called national democratic revolution becomes a socialist revolution."

Anyone who had dialogue with the ANC should realise that they were not talking to the "real bosses" and that the strings were pulled in Moscow.

"So don't go to Dakar and talk. Go to Moscow. And that is why I always say the Progressive Federal Party is soft on security. Because they don't understand security.

"People's democracy is a nice emotional phrase but what does it mean?" said General Malan. "It is the exact opposite of Western democracy and it does not mean that all people will take part in democratic process. 'People' in people's democracy means the party elite, the governing clique. People's democracy means a one-party state."

The "enemy" would not succeed though, said General Malan, because South Africans were "too motivated".

Thanking President Botha and "President" Jonas Savimbi for their roles in the prisoner swop which freed Major Wynand du Toit, General Malan warned that the swop should not be seen as the "sign of a new era of negotiation" or a "spirit of reasonableness" in the sub-continent."

Mr Roger Hulley (PFP Constantia) asked General Malan to spell out South Africa's strategic relationship with Unita.

With the military balance of power "shifting inexorably" against South Africa in Angola, how long was South Africa going to hold out as the sole backer of Unita before the situation became "our own Vietnam", asked Mr Hulley.

General Malan said it was in South Africa's interests that Unita stood in the "path of Red expansionism in the region".

30 KA

# Buthelezi, UDF reject new council

**The Argus Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG. — Black South Africans are divided over the nine-man elected National Council, details of which were disclosed last week by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis.

While the United Democratic Front (UDF) has warned of massive repression centred around the National Council, Mr Heunis has said black leaders are overwhelmingly in favour of it.

The Government wants to get the National Council Bill passed during this session of Parliament. It provides for a forum on which elected black representatives will be included with the political leaders of the other population groups and the homelands to hammer out a new constitution.

**SOVEREIGN**

Dr Mangosothu Buthelezi of Kwazulu said yesterday that there should be only one sovereign Parliament in South Africa. He said he had spurned the offer to make Kwazulu "so-called independent" and that he continued to reject "anything other than the full inclusion of blacks in Parliament".

Mr Azhar Cachalia, national treasurer of the United Democratic Front, said the National Council was in essence no different from the native representative council which was an advisory body for Africans in the 1940s.

"At least the native council was supposed to be representative of all African people whereas only urban blacks and chiefs from self-governing states will be represented in the National Council."

Mr Cachalia said the UDF believed meaningful negotiation could only take place if the state of emergency was lifted, Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners released, and the ANC and other banned oranisations unbanned.

The president of the black Urban Councils Association (Ucasa), Mr Steve Kgame, said the national council would enable urban black people to participate in government at the highest level.

**AMNESTY**

Mr Tom Boya, president of the rival United Municipalities of South Africa said it would not serve on the National Council until all political prisoners were released, all banned political organisations unbanned, an amnesty granted to all political exiles and the scrapping of discriminatory legislation.

The chairman of the Soweto Civic Association, Dr Ntatho Motlana, dismissed the National Council as a "worthless measure". "We need universal franchise in South Africa and that is what we should be talking about. The national council is worth nothing," Dr Motlana said.

The Chief Minister of Gazankulu, Professor Hudson Ntsanwesi, is prepared to serve on the council provided the constitutional development of black people was not subverted to that of other population groups.

# National Council Bill is slammed

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Sowetan
15/9/87

**TWO major extra-parliamentary organisations in the country yesterday slammed the Government's National Council Bill and black leaders who have welcomed it.**

The United Democratic Front called on the Government to abandon plans for the National Statutory Council, while the Azanian People's Organisation said people should be aware of what it stands for.

Mr Chris Heunis, the Minister of Constitutional Development, yesterday said the Government is making a determined attempt to get the Bill passed this session of Parliament.

The Bill, providing for a forum on which elected black representatives will be included with political leaders of the other

**By NKOPANE MAKOBANE**

population groups, and of the homelands, to hammer out a new constitution, is to be submitted to the Joint Standing Committee on Constitutional Development on Thursday.

So far two black leaders, Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, Chief Minister of Gazankulu, and Mr Steve Kgame, president of the Urban Council of South Africa, have publicly welcomed the Bill.

Mr Nkosi Molala, Azapo's national president, said they viewed the NSC as a contraption that is intended ultimately to dupe the oppressed masses. He said the Bill is aimed at deflecting the people's focus away from legitimate causes for change in the country.

The UDF national treasurer, Mr Azar Cachalia, said they were not surprised that the Government has embarked on yet another disastrous path.

"We warn the Government that, just as the tricameral parliament gave birth to the UDF and massive opposition to that constitution, we are convinced that the vast majority will be united in their opposition to the NSC.

The United Municipalities of South Africa president, Mr Tom Boya, said yesterday Umsa would not serve on the NSC until certain conditions were met.

Mr Boya added that he would be referring "broadly" to the NSC in a paper to be delivered on Friday at the South African Institute of Race Relations.

# Botha admits role in SABC row

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

**AN UNREPENTANT President P W Botha has admitted to interfering personally in the recent SABC-TV news broadcast on the resignation of Mr Allan Hendrickse from the cabinet — and has threatened to take similar action in future, if necessary.**

Mr Botha told Parliament yesterday that he had personally phoned the Director General of the SABC, Mr Riaan Eksteen, during the 8pm news bulletin on TV1 on August 24 and "requested" him to broadcast certain material.

Asked to tell the House "by what legal authority or otherwise" he had the right to "interfere with the independent broadcasting" of the SABC, the State President responded amid a hail of interjections: "I did so in the interests of truth."

Mr Botha's manipulation of a major SABC news broadcast was condemned last night by oppostion parties to the left and right of government as a cynical and illegal abuse of his presidential authority in favour of the National Party.

However, during a series of stormy exchanges during question time which Mr Botha said he "enjoyed", the President denied that he had initiated any action aimed at a[illegible] of Mr Eksteen from his job.

## 'Understand the facts'

A defiant Mr Botha set the scene for the SABC row in Parliament yesterday when, in reply to a question from Mr Dave Dalling (PFP Sandton), he freely acknowledged that he had personally "requested" Mr Eksteen to "... carry out my original request, namely, to broadcast the full version of the statement issued on that day by my office on this matter, as well as the contents of a letter of that date of ... (Mr Hendrickse) ... and his reply to to me".

Mr Botha then added: "If I deem it necessary under similar circumstances in future, I will do it again."

Asked by the chief whip of the Conservative Party, Mr Frank le Roux, if Mr Botha considered the original news broadcast to be untruthful, Mr Botha responded that it was "incomplete and, in my view, did not allow the country to understand the true facts".

Asked whether the facility of being able to make "this sort of immediate request, which will be carried out" was available to leaders of all political parties of the House, Mr Botha stated: "If they want to do so, Mr Speaker, I shall not stop them."

When the Speaker, Mr Louis le Grange, intervened — amid protests from the PFP — to say he was not prepared to allow any further supplementary questions on the issue, Mr Botha said: "With all respect to you, Mr Speaker, I am enjoying the questions and the answers."

Mr Dalling, the PFP's chief media spokesman, said in an interview afterwards that Mr Botha seemed to be

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From page 1

"quite proud" of the fact that he had "physically and directly interfered" in the contents of a major news broadcast.

"Yet he pretends what happened was merely a request by him to the SABC to change its broadcast. We all know that presidential requests in these circumstances are nothing short of a command.

"Had that command been ignored, there is no doubt that heads of virtually the entire parliamentary staff of the SABC would have rolled.

"We all know that the SABC takes no notice whatsoever of other opposition parties, but jumps to attention when the State President throws a tantrum.

"There is no doubt that the President misused the office of the presidency in manipulating news in this instance.

"What is astounding is that the President seems to be proud of it," Mr Dalling said.

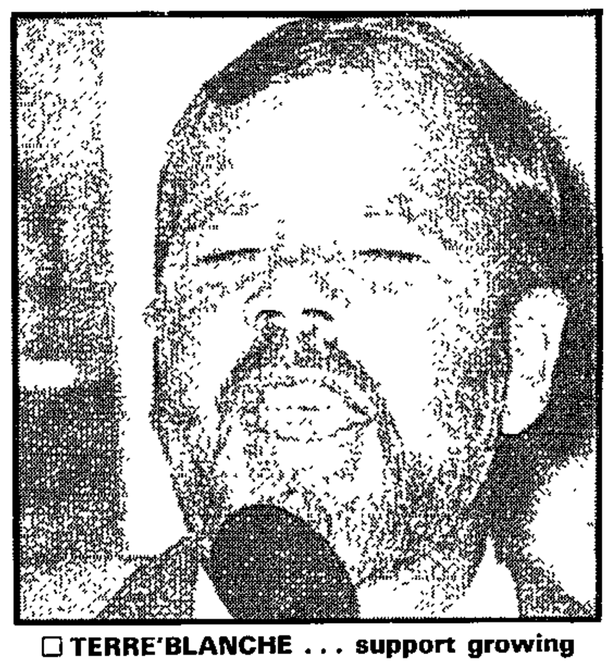
The CP's media spokesman, Mr Fanie Jacobs, said in a statement last night that Mr Botha's answers "show once again, without doubt, how the SABC is being manipulated and prescribed to by the National Party government, and especially the State President, to favour the National Party in its programmes and even its news broadcasts".

(364) B/day 16/9/87



☐ TREURNICHT . . . growing support

# South Africa's white revolt



☐ TERRE'BLANCHE . . . support growing

**A R KENNY, writing in the Spectator, finds the great threat comes not from black miners but from right-wing white workers**

SOUTH AFRICAN revolution is coming, but everybody is looking the wrong way. The black miners' strike once again turned the heads of South Africa-watchers in the wrong direction.

Our little Eastern Transvaal fastness made the main international news with a violent incident at the coal mine that supplies our power station. There was no such interest in the far more ominous event in May of this year, the white election.

This election revealed with chilling clarity the most dangerous fact of South African politics; politically white SA is divided not by language, not as between town and country, not by region — but by class.

All white opposition to apartheid comes from the rich middle-class; the white working-class is rock-solid in favour of it.

Throughout the country there is now a great tidal movement of white workers towards the extreme pro-apartheid parties, a movement compared with which the antics of the ANC are a sideshow and which more than anything else menaces SA's future.

The easiest way to see this is to superimpose a map of the white political constituencies upon an economic/geological map of SA. You will see immediately that support for the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) is reduced to a few rich middle-class constituencies in the big cities, the swimming-pool constituencies.

You will see that support for Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party (CP) follows the coal seams. Where there is coal there are mines and heavy industry and a white industrial proletarait which now votes CP.

The map will show you, too, that the most enthusiastic support for hard-line apartheid comes not from the farmlands but the industrialised areas.

Throughout the economy the divide is the same. The boardrooms and reception areas are open to all races; the factory floors have "White Men" and "Non-White Men" lavatories.

The senior managers might vote PFP; the welders and fitters used to vote for the Nationalist government and are now voting CP.

White university students are trickling into the multi-racial United Democratic Front (UDF); white workers are pouring into the AWB.

The AWB — led by Eugene Terre'Blanche — is a straightforward fascist party: nationalist, racist, socialist and big on the historical destiny of the volk. It is also, I believe, the fastest-growing political party in Africa.

The class divide over race in SA is far wider than any class divide in Britain.

There is nothing at all unusual about the racial attitudes of white working men in SA.

I worked for some years at a factory in the north of England and I am now working at a power station in the Eastern Transvaal, and in their attitudes towards race, and indeed everything else, I find the white worker from Lancashire and the white worker from the Transvaal to be as alike as two peas in a pod.

By far the most serious insurrection that SA has ever faced happened in 1922 when the country was faced with an armed rebellion of white mineworkers. The workers rose up in arms when the mine owners on the Rand decided to allow black miners into jobs until then reserved for whites. The Smuts government backed the mine owners and had to use troops and artillery to put down the workers' rebellion, with a large loss of life.

Some of the white workers were communists and their interesting rallying cry was: "Workers of the world, unite and fight for a white SA!" Some died on the gallows singing the Red Flag — working-class martyrs dedicated to apartheid.

The NP that came to power in 1948 carried the mantle of these martyrs.

But over the last decade or so the NP has lost its raw working-class appeal and has become gentrified, prosperous and reform-minded. Many of the men at our power station regard P W Botha as a "kafferboetie" and increasingly the NP are regarded as a bunch of rich careerists who, at the behest of the international community, are preparing to sell out the white working man to the blacks.

My employer is now an "equal opportunities employer" and has rejected job reservation for whites. I attended a meeting of our shift when the production manager explained the new system to the operators, black and white.

I watched the white workers as he spoke. Fearing the loss of their jobs if they dissented, they listened in silence, their faces like stone. That week there would be another 100 new recruits for the AWB. In the May election the lads voted overwhelmingly for the CP.

Liberal opinion, at home and abroad, shuns white workers completely. South African liberals and socialists, who find blacks exotic and pitiable, find the white workers merely vulgar and ignorant. Various pilgrimages of foreign anti-apartheiders never consult representatives of the white working-class — in many ways the most important "shade of opinion" in SA.

The worst snobs in this regard are the Marxists, for whom the white worker is a forbidden non-subject. It sometimes seems that the only thing which unites Marxists the world over is a deep loathing for the working-class.

However, the Nationalist government might well have managed to push through racial reforms and keep its working-class support but for one crucial new circumstance: sanctions.

Sanctions have been brilliantly successful in strengthening the facist parties and in damaging the prospects for ending apartheid. When the NP began its programme of reform, it promised that white living standards would not suffer.

In fact the reforms were immediately followed by sanctions (a line of causation that the fascist parties have gleefully pointed out) and living standards among the poorer whites have fallen.

And as they become poorer and feel themselves more threatened by a hostile outside world, the white workers are turning for protection and understanding to the AWB.

SA faces two, and only two, possible outcomes for as far into the future as it is possible to see — democracy or white tyranny.

Democracy can only be established with the consent of the white working-class, without whom industry could not operate and whose sons and brothers fill the lower ranks of the police and armed forces.

This consent is obtainable. In all my conversations with the workers and operators here I find them reasonable men, even if their racial perceptions are different from my own. Their relations with the black workers are usually easy and cheerful — in sharp contrast to the excruciatingly awkward relations between liberal white academics and black students at the University of Cape Town, where I studied.

Like working men everywhere they are immune from *folie de grandeur* and they do not dream about a Great White Empire in Africa. It's the little things that matter to them. They would be quite happy to consider power-sharing but not social integration. For them the important thing is to keep their whites-only schools and pubs and lavatories.

Black workers are more worthy of our sympathy because they are worse off than the white workers. But white workers are more worthy of our attention because they, unlike the blacks, have the potential for mustering irresistible industrial, political and physical force.

When the black workers at the mine which supplies our coal were nearly all on strike, our coal flow from the mine continued unaffected. If there were a strike of black workers at our power station, we would not lose a MW-hour. A white strike at either plant would shut it down instantly and completely.

When I climb on to the roof of our power station I can see at least four others in the distance. Over the horizon lie the other stations of the Transvaal and the huge oil-from-coal-plants. This area, which provides more than 80% of SA's electricity and all of her oil-from-coal, now lies under the political control of the CP and the AWB, and the control is spreading into the rest of SA's industry.

In the pits and factories and turbine halls about me I seem to see the spectre of 1922. The shadow of the AWB now falls over the whole of northern SA, from the Kalahari to the Swaziland border and it is lengthening southwards.

Unless the debate about SA changes, there are dark days ahead.

304A

CITY/NATIONAL

# New move to speed up National Council Bill

**Political Staff**

TOMORROW'S sitting of the House of Assembly has been suspended, allowing the high-powered Constitutional Affairs Committee to process the National Council Bill.

The move is seen as further evidence of the Government's determination to push the Bill through Parliament during this session, which is due to end early next month.

Mr Colin Eglin, the leader of the Progressive Federal Party leader who is a member of the committee, said today he hoped the Government did not intend to force the Bill through Parliament. He said that would be "unforgiveable".

The Government had heard over 150 memoranda on the Bill and the opposition had the right to hear the same evidence and call for more.

Mr Eglin said the PFP's stand on the Bill had not been formally decided upon. A decision would be made at a caucus meeting tomorrow.

Dr Andries Treurnicht, the leader of the Conservative Party who also serves on the committee, said the CP rejected the Bill completely.

## "Resistance"

"It doesn't satisfy anyone. It has met resistance from very important black leaders and, for the white man it's a further stage in the surrender of power and self-determination."

Parliament agreed yesterday that the Bill should be referred to the constitutional committee. It had originally been set down for consideration by the relatively junior Constitutional Development Committee.

Both the Houses of Delegates and Representatives will sit briefly tomorrow and then adjourn to pursue the business of the constitutional affairs and other committees.

The Constitutional Affairs Committee is chaired by Mr Chris Heunis, who introduced the Bill last week.

CAPE Times
17/9/87

# Tutu in Lusaka for talks with ANC leaders

LUSAKA. — The Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, flew unannounced to Zambia yesterday for fresh talks with the African National Congress and the Zambian government.

"The political situation in South Africa is explosive and most likely to worsen unless all parties involved agree to a round-table conference," Archbishop Tutu said on arrival.

He refused to answer questions, but promised to brief the press on the outcome of the talks, whose duration he did not disclose.

Immediately afterwards he was whisked away by officials of the ANC.

Zambian officials said the main object of the archbishop's visit was to persuade the ANC that a dialogue with Pretoria would be the best way to solving South Africa's problems.

Diplomatic sources also said Archbishop Tutu hoped to persuade Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda to put pressure on the ANC to talk with South Africa.

Mr Kaunda plays a key role in Southern African affairs in his capacity as chairman of the front-line states, bordering South Africa, as well as of the Organization of African Unity.

Until now, the Zambian leader and the ANC have insisted that talks with the South African government could take place only after all South African political prisoners were freed, apartheid dismantled and a 27-year-old ban on the ANC lifted. — Sapa-Reuter

# Ex-MP reports to camp, sent home

**Own Correspondent**

DURBAN. — Former PFP MP Mr Graham McIntosh, who at first refused to report for a military camp, yesterday decided to go — but was sent home after he had reported for duty.

Mr McIntosh had boycotted the camp, which began on Monday, in protest at the refusal by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, to include PFP defence spokesman Mr Peter Gastrow on a border tour by MPs.

This week Mr Gastrow telephoned Mr McIntosh and said he felt the government had partially defused the situation and suggested Mr McIntosh report to the camp.

Yesterday he drove to the camp at Ladysmith.

"I went throught the usual procedures, but when I arrived to receive my uniform I was told by the commanding officer that he had instructions by higher authority not to issue me with a uniform, and said I should not continue attending the camp."

Brigadier H Pretorius, officer commanding Natal Command, said Mr McIntosh had not been exempted from the camp, but the serving of the duty had been postponed.

Military police were investigating.

SOWETAN, Thursday, September 17, 1987

# A BIG PUSH FOR COUNCIL BILL

SOWETAN CORRESPONDENT

**TODAY's sitting of the House of Assembly has been suspended, allowing the high-powered Constitutional Affairs Committee to process the National Council Bill.**

The move is seen as further evidence of the Government's determination to push the Bill through Parliament during this session, which is due to end early in October.

Yesterday Mr Colin Eglin, Progressive Federal Party leader and member of the committee, said he hoped that the Government did not intend to force the Bill through Parliament.

He said this would be "unforgivable". The Government has heard over 150 memoranda on the Bill and the opposition had the right to hear the same evidence and call for more.

## Sitting is suspended

Mr Eglin said the PFP's stand on the Bill had not been formally decided upon. A decision would be made at a caucus meeting today.

Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Consevative Party, who also serves on the committee, said the CP rejected the Bill completely.

## Black leaders

"It doesn't satisfy anyone. It has met resistance from very important black leaders and for the white man it's a further stage in the surrender of power and self-determination."

Parliament agreed on Tuesday that the Bill should be referred to the Constitutional Committee.

It had originally been set down for consideration by the relatively junior Constitutional Committee.

The Houses of Delegates and Representatives will sit briefly today and then adjourn to pursue the business of the constitutional affairs and other committees.

The Constitutional Affairs Committee is chaired by Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, who introduced the National Council Bill last week.

Several Cabinet Ministers, and Ministers' Councillors, including the chairmen of the Ministers' Councils, and the leaders of the Progressive Federal Party and Conservative Party, serve on the committee.



**CHRIS Heunis . . . introduced Bill.**

# Conference on whites gaining support — FFF

A NATIONAL conference on "The Role of Whites in a Changing South Africa" was getting growing support from prominent speakers and the public, according to the Five Freedoms Forum, which is hosting the conference.

In a statement to Sapa, the Forum said it was aiming the conference — which starts on September 25 — at white South Africans "because they are out of touch."

"They are out of touch with what is happening in their country because of the lack of freedom of speech and the vast amount of laws that keep whites isolated from knowing and even thinking about the changes that are needed.

"They are also out of touch with the possibility of doing something as individuals and the areas where they can contribute, whites have become scared to do anything because there are so many things that are now illegal."

The Forum said that although the conference was directed at whites, it had the support of blacks such as Mr Azhar Cachalia of the United Democratic Front, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa of the National Union of Mineworkers, and a Congress of South African Trade Unions' speaker. The conference will be open to everybody — Sapa.

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**CHRIS Heunis . . . introduced Bill.**

# Council 'rejected'

17/9/87 · Sowetan

3044

**THE United Democratic Front (UDF) has reiterated its "total and absolute rejection" of the National Council and all Government structures "designed to enforce and prolong white minority domination."**

In a statement yesterday the UDF said the National Council faced "massive and widespread rejection.

"We are sure that the voteless people of South Africa will recognise the National Council for the farce that it is, and return it to the dustheap where all the Government's other toy telephones and other grandiose schemes lie.

## Power

"The demands of the South African people are that they shall govern in a democratic and non-racial South Africa. Any lasting solution must involve the transfer of power from the white minority to the people as a whole, where all people — black and white — share in the decision-making processes in the country.

"The UDF contrasts its demand for one-person, one-vote in a united and unfragmented South Africa and vision of the future to this travesty of democracy that the Government is trying to force down our throats," the statement said.

# Insight into crucial issues

SMC 17/9/87

**Reviewing a new book, John Patten summarises the contrasting views of two South African leaders.**

A wide range of opinions on crucial political issues in South Africa today has been assembled in a book just published.

"A Question of Survival",* compiled by Michel Albeldas and Alan Fischer, two young graduates from the University of Cape Town, contains a series of articles giving insight into the South African situation by well-known commentators. In a second section, interviews are conducted with leading figures in public life, with personality profiles added for context and background.

Perhaps the greatest contrast in views is to be seen in the interviews with President Botha and the national vice-president of the United Democratic Front, Mr Curtis Nkondo.

The following is a summary of some of their most important statements during the interviews:

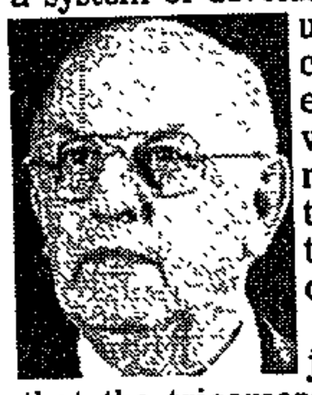
**Mr P W Botha.**

On his vision of an ideal government for South Africa: "We believe in a democratic system of government. We believe in the sovereignty of the law as the basis for the protection of the fundamental rights of individuals and groups ... But this can only be possible within a system in which there is not domination of one population group over another."

On black participation to "the highest level of decision-making": "I have in mind the devolution of power to the greatest extent possible ... but you will always have a central body — in one form or another — which will deal with matters which you cannot hand over under the system of devolution, and that is what we are trying now to achieve with our national statutory body."

Told that Mr Heunis had referred to "the black man will have a say", Mr Botha said: "But it is wrong to say 'the black man'. There again 'the black man' implies that there is only one type of black man in South Africa. So it's *totally* wrong ..."

Asked if blacks would have an equivalent say in politics to that of coloureds and Indians, he said all minority groups would — relatively speaking — have the same say under a system of devolution of power and



under a system of conferring with each other on what was absolutely necessary for the treatment of matters of common concern.

Mr Botha rejected suggestions that the tricameral system be disbanded to build up a new system on the ground that such disbandment would create a vacuum leading to a power takeover by a power clique.

Asked if the new constitutional dispensation could work in the long term without the participation of groups such as the ANC, the UDF and Azapo, he said: "It *will* work without the participation of all those who stand for violence. You just *cannot* accommodate people who stand for violence. That is just impossible."

Asked why the ANC, if it was interested only in violent revolution, had been prepared to speak to any group from South Africa, he said the ANC was using rapprochement only to promote its own legitimacy in South Africa and abroad. It was not interested in negotiations and a settlement. It regarded itself as the "only alternative government" for South Africa.

Questioned on whether South Africa was faced by a revolutionary or an evolutionary future, Mr Botha said: "Revolution will destroy this country. Evolution, on the other hand, will and can save it." His message to the black community was: "Be calm, co-operate through your elected leaders and turn your back on revolutionaries, because they are not going to succeed."

**Mr Curtis Nkondo.**

His vision of an ideal government for South Africa: "It is the kind of government that has been brought into being by the people themselves." He was definitely in favour of a socialist system, but it must not be construed to mean a communist system, and it was not necessarily a one-party state.

Asked if there could be reform, he said: "There is no reformation here, because every reform contains an oppression, so we must all undergo a complete transformation — the creation of a new man, the creation of a new society."

The only possibility of reconciliation between UDF views and those of the government would be if the oppressed masses and the organisations were strong enough to be able to take part in negotiations. If they were weaker, it was not advisable for them to take part.

If the black opposition groups such as the UDF were given the chance to become involved in negotiation, they would not do so at the moment "because they do not have the political and economic power".

Mr Nkondo said he could not see the Government accepting power-sharing. Asked if, in that case, the country was not heading towards an irreversible path of destruction, he said: "Yes we are ... unless something turns up, something dramatic happens."



Questioned on safeguards for the white minority, he said all those ideas were irrelevant in a liberated South Africa, because there were no minorities in that system. "The only way I can allay the fears of the whites is to say that they will never be driven into the sea." There was no question of revenge. Revenge was unjust and immoral.

Mr Nkondo said he would like to see "a kind of nationalisation" of industry. There was a need for a large-scale redistribution of wealth.

In South Africa today, the UDF was definitely the largest opposition group. He did not know if the ANC commanded the majority of support among black South Africans, but "the government has made the ANC very popular by constantly referring to it." The was no other leader than Nelson Mandela who could unify black opposition.

His messsage to white South Africa was that whites must understand that "they just have to change."

*Published by Jonathan Ball, R44,95.

# Majority says Govt should hold referendum on Indaba — survey

By Martin Challenor

Two out of every three people canvassed on the kwaZulu-Natal Indaba feel the Government should agree to a referendum on whether or not the plan be implemented.

This is one of the findings of a Markinor survey on behalf of the Indaba of 798 white adults in urban and rural parts of Natal in May and June.

About 67percent felt the Government should allow a referendum among all race groups in Natal to decide on implementing the Indaba plan, while 17percent disagreed.

The survey found that 89percent had heard of the proposals. Some 60percent felt they were either "a very good idea" or "quite a good idea" while 17percent believed they were "not a good idea" or rejected them. The rest were undecided.

A breakdown of respondents into voting habits showed that 42 percent of people who voted for the National Party in the election and who had heard of the Indaba, backed the proposals, 28 percent were opposed and 30 percent undecided.

Other findings were:

- 76 percent believed the people of Natal "should be allowed to decide how their province is going to be governed", 16 percent disagreed.
- 63 percent felt implenting the proposals would improve race relations, 19 percent disagreed.
- 62 percent felt that "a good thing about the Indaba is that it involves Chief Buthelezi in the government of kwaZulu and Natal", and 17 percent disagreed.
- 61 percent felt the Indaba proposals could serve as a good example to South Africa, 21 percent disagreed.
- 59 percent said implementing the proposals would lead to greater peace and stability in kwaZulu/Natal, 23 percent disagreed.
- 55 percent felt the proposal to get rid of the Group Areas Act in kwaZulu and Natal was a good thing, 30 percent disagreed.
- 50 percent felt the proposed Bill of Rights would "strongly contribute to protect the rights of individuals and groups", 21 percent disagreed.

Three out of four people had not changed their attitude towards the Indaba in the wake of the election. While 12 percent had become more favourable, the same portion had become less favourable, the survey found.

# PFP ANNOUNCES ITS OPPOSITION TO BILL

**THE Progressive Federal Party has decided to oppose the National Council Bill in Parliament, Party leader Mr Colin Eglin said last night.**

**SOWETAN Correspondent**

Mr Eglin said in a statement the Party could not support the Bill in its present form and in the political circumstances the Government had created.

While it was important that negotiations on a new constitution took place as soon as possible, it was even more important that those taking part in the negotiations should be truly representative of all sections of the South African people.

Mr Eglin: "If the Government proceeds to set up negotiating machinery that is not fully representative, not only will its efforts fail, but the process of negotiation will be set back still further.

## Mandela

"It is clear that the National Council Bill does not make adequate provision for representation of all sections of our people.

"In addition there is no prospect of the National Council being truly representative as long as political leaders like Mr Mandela are in gaol, as long as political organisations like the ANC are banned by the executive, and as long as the emergency regulations restrict legitimate political activity."

Mr Eglin said negotiations would not get off the ground if the Government remained uncompromisingly committed to key elements of apartheid.

"I call on the Government as a matter of urgency to create the climate and establish the conditions which would make it possible for the leaders of the nation to be at the negotiating table.

"South Africa cannot afford to have a false start to the process of negotiation. For if it does it will have lost a precious opportunity for resolving its problems".

# Facing the ANC reality

**Louwrens du Plessis was part of the group that met the ANC in Dakar. As Professor of Law at Potchefstroom University, the centre of Afrikaner Christian National Education, his views on the encounter — specifically regarding violence, communism, and the need for dialogue with the ANC — take on an added significance. They are also relevant in considering the possible release of Nelson Mandela, which important black leaders have made a precondition for serving on the proposed National Council.**

**Black Africans** do not hate white Africans in SA. This is the overwhelming impression I gained from Dakar — one that is both encouraging and challenging.

Encouraging, because black Africans (including black members of the ANC) maintain that those whites who have made Africa their physical and spiritual home are indeed Africans, and are accepted as such. What white SA is badly in need of, then, is a final liberation from the bondage of internal colonialism, and from the sorry plight of being seen as the oppressor.

This immediately poses a challenge to whites — get rid of the hereditary taint of Western superiority and paternalism, which has produced crude and traditional, as well as refined and modern, versions of apartheid.

Apartheid bases a dispensation of "us" and "them" on considerations of race, justifies it with an appeal to differences in culture and "development," and keeps it going with the help of ingenious discriminatory techniques.

Apartheid is profoundly offensive to black Africans because it is rooted in racial bias. Government "reforms" will therefore continue to fail as long as statutory differentiation based on race is not actively addressed. And *verligte* Nationalists, especially, should note that black Africa, with the experience of colonial Pharisaism still fresh in its memory, is not easily deceived by political hypocrisy.

Historically and factually, the ANC enjoys extensive legitimacy as a proponent of the liberation ideals of the majority in SA. For me, there is no doubt that racial tension, polarisation and conflict will continue to fester as long as the ANC, instead of being involved in a search for "the solution," remains part of "the problem."

But can (and should) people who advocate a peaceful transition in SA negotiate with the ANC? I think so, in spite of the fact that the ANC has opted for the armed struggle as part of its strategy for liberation.

The use of violence as a means to liberation is, I believe, morally dangerous and politically counter-productive. Violence stirs up counter-violence, to the point where the parties resorting to it are left with no other desire or choice than to destroy each other.

There are those who maintain that there cannot be negotiations with the ANC — which is a perpetrator of violence — if it refuses to renounce violence unconditionally. But they lose sight of several factors:

- ☐ ANC violence is a historical fact, caused by a reality which has changed very little over the years. Part of this reality is that the ANC is not the only perpetrator of violence in SA;
- ☐ Because the ANC is a banned organisation, part of its legitimacy is based on its involvement in the armed struggle;
- ☐ If negotiation with the ANC is ruled out, the only other possibility that remains is to destroy it militarily. In view of the legitimacy it enjoys both at home and abroad, this would be virtually impossible; and
- ☐ The ANC is not committed to violence as its only or even its principal strategy. This is why, in a joint communiqué issued after Dakar, the delegates from "inside SA" and the ANC delegation expressed unequivocal preference for a negotiated solution.

From what I have said, it should be clear that our discussions with the ANC did not lend it legitimacy — which it had long before Dakar.

It has also been alleged that our talks with the ANC were a slap in the face for moderate blacks in SA. But, up to now, no moderate black leader who can lay claim to any significant support has reacted negatively to the Dakar initiative.

The Dakar visitors have also been accused of being useful idiots of "the communists." My response is that the ANC accommodates a variety of ideologies, of which Marxist-Leninism is but one. Furthermore, as one who is against communism, I think the time has come to address the reality of communism in Africa, instead of running away from it. At any rate, communism poses a very real threat to those who maintain that the useless and immoral system of apartheid (though in its updated, New Nat disguise) is to any extent conducive to racial harmony and peace.

I am an academic, wary of what politicians do to get or retain power. I do not look upon the ANC as an "innocent" organisation. I cannot and do not condone its strategy of violence. I am also disturbed that some ANC members, after more than two decades in exile, have lost contact with many of the unpleasant realities (for instance, the threat from the far Right) of the country.

However, a neurotic and one-sided demonisation of the ANC makes it unlikely that white South Africans will look political facts in the face. A rude awakening is awaiting them — and it is sad because it is unnecessary.

Those prepared to face realities are well-positioned to help transform potential disillusionment into actual challenges. ■



304A

# Different Dakar picture emerges

(30A) Star 18/9/87

**The much-maligned exercise has prompted a healthy debate and has thrown a little light into the dark corners of the ANC, writes Gerald L'Ange, editor of The Star's Africa News Service.**

Two months and several thousand words of analysis later, the Dakar talks have taken on a slightly different appearance.

It looks as though the right-wingers who castigated the Afrikaners on their return from talking with the ANC in the Senegalese capital in June need not have got so upset after all.

They might even find it possible to see some merit in the exercise, for while the Dakar talks undoubtedly boosted the ANC's international image they also drew attention to what would be seen by the white right and perhaps even by moderates as blemishes.

In general, the picture of the ANC that emerges from the accounts of the white participants in the talks is far from reassuring to the voters who keep the Pretoria government in power.

It is blurred in many details, not so much because the white delegates failed to examine the ANC closely but because the ANC seems not entirely sure of its own shape and policies.

Most participants appear to agree that the aim of the Dakar exercise was to measure the ANC's willingness to abandon violence and its readiness to seek a negotiated solution.

Their reports do not show much cause for white optimism in either area.

Those who had not previously had dealings with the ANC tended to be pleasantly surprised at the personal charm, warmth and openness of its representatives.

But as a body the ANC tends to emerge as a determinedly hegemonic organisation dedicated to the total destruction, violently or otherwise, of the existing political order and its replacement, under the sole direction of the ANC, with a system of uncertain socialist character.

The Dakar talks, rather than identifying areas of possible negotiation between the ANC and the Government, emphasised the wide gap between their positions — and this without even getting substantially into the question of South African Communist Party influence in the ANC.

Perceptions of the conference not surprisingly differed among the white delegates. Professor Abraham Viljoen, Northern Transvaal Director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative, formed a "very vivid" impression of the "democratic" nature of the ANC.

Rather than the "bloodthirsty terrorists" perceived by many white South Africans, he found them to be a group favouring negotiation to decide the future of the country.

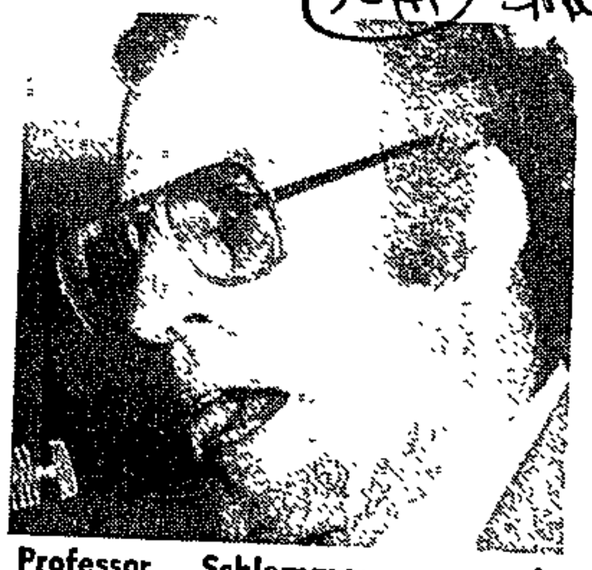
Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, director of the Centre for Policy Studies at Wits University, on the other hand found that the talks were "of limited benefit", although this did not mean further debate should be prevented.

Professor Schlemmer and another participant, Professor Hermann Giliomee, the University of Cape Town political scientist, have since gone on to explore new ideas suggested by the Dakar talks.

But in doing so they are tending to get ahead of people who were not at Dakar and have not yet been able to get a reasonably clear view of what transpired there.

At Dakar the ANC justified its use of violence both as a valid element of the wider political struggle and as a morally defensible response to the violence and intransigence of apartheid.

Professor Giliomee formed the impression that the ANC sees violence only as a means of forcing the Government to negotiate.



Professor Schlemmer . . . several major problems identified.

It seems still to be unclear, however, how the ANC relates negotiation to its apparently uncompromising stance that the present system (defined broadly as apartheid) must be destroyed, not just reformed, and replaced with something entirely new.

Marxist members of the ANC, incidentally, are reported to have derogated violence as counter-productive and to consider industrial action to be more effective. But no evidence has emerged that they support negotiation.

Rejecting the Government's insistence on the renunciation of violence as a prerequisite for negotiation, the ANC offered to suspend violence but only on condition that the Government met its other conditions for negotiation, which included the release of all political prisoners, its own unbanning, withdrawal of police and troops from the townships and lifting of the state of emergency.

The ANC envisages confrontational, two-party negotiations, with itself leading one party and the Government the other, rather than multiparty talks aimed at consensus.

While denying that it sees a hegemonic or domineering role for itself, the ANC insisted at Dakar that what it terms the transfer of power to "the people" be conducted under its own leadership.

It rejected notions of decentralisation of functions in any new dispensation and insisted on an even more centralised system than the present one on the grounds that a strong gov-

from the consolidation of state power to the redistribution of wealth and then to the establishment of a classless society based on people's power, according to one account.

But they appeared to have given little or no thought to the mechanics of implementing these stages or to their administrative and economic implications.

They were especially vague about economic policy and the extent to which nationalisation would be carried beyond the expropriation of the mining, banking and other monopolies.

Mr Leon Louw, director of the Free Market Foundation, said the ANC delegates had not put forward specific political or economic alternatives. He indicated the ANC was still being guided largely by the vague principles enunciated in the Freedom Charter. When questioned about details, their delegates said these matters would be decided "by the people".

## No accommodation

Professor Schlemmer, one of the most prolific analysts of the Dakar meeting, saw several main problems emerging from the talks.

One was that the ANC refused to re-examine the "liberatory intolerance" with which it rejected any accommodation with Afrikaner nationalism and other minority interests. The ANC showed little inclination, he said, to recognise that this could lead to prolonged conflict, leaving the South African society atomised into warring factions, like Lebabon.

Another problem was the ANC's unwillingness to recognise that white rule was not suddenly going to collapse before the anti-apartheid onslaught and the organisation's reluctance to concede the implications of the stalemate that had been reached in the struggle.

He also found that the ANC was still relying almost exclusively on outdated theories and notions of "triumphant revolutionary mobilisation".

Though much maligned, the Dakar exercise has sparked a healthy debate within South Africa. And it shone a bit

tribute wealth and redress the inequalities of apartheid.

The ANC delegates appeared to have no clear concept of how the restructuring of the South African society would be carried out. They envisaged a three-stage process going

of light into some of the dark corners of the ANC. The examination may indeed have been the most probing the organisation has yet been subjected to by outsiders. It will be interesting to see whether it results in changes in ANC thinking.

npleted until late in 1988.

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**Reductions of capital**

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put before court by the state. — Sapa.

B/Day 18/9/87

# Diary-makers in a daze

THEO RAWANA 304A

NEXT year's calendars and diaries would have to be sold bearing outdated public holidays, should the President's Council recommendations on changing the holiday calendar be accepted before the end of this year, say Johannesburg publishers.

The PC has recommended the scrapping of Founders' Day (April 6) and Kruger Day (October 10) and proposed a new holiday (Heroes' Day) for the first or second Monday in September.

A spokesman for the Department of Manpower said yesterday the PC's recommendations would have to be taken from the State President to the Home Affairs and Manpower departments, which would in turn advise the respective ministers before being taken to the Cabinet for a decision.

He said although there was no definite time set for the changes to be applicable, it was hoped this could be done as speedily as possible.

Impact Publishers director M J Walsh said yesterday: "I would have preferred it if we were notified nine months before the end of the year. Our calendars are printed 14 months in advance and we would be able to make the changes, although that would be costly.

"As it is, next year's calendars are already out and the 1989 consignment will be printed in October. Whatever changes there are will have to be marked by the customers."

A spokesman for Fincorde Stationers (previously Concorde Stationers) said there was nothing the company could do as next year's diaries were already printed and delivered to customers.

Protea Calendars said it was too late to do anything at this stage.

sional director of M & R Neil Fraser.

POLITICAL POLLS FM 18/9/87

# Testing the mood

**Benjamin Disraeli**, quoting Mark Twain, said there are three kinds of lies: lies, damned lies and statistics. Had he lived in our age, he might have added opinion polls.



3041

For just as the selective quoting of statistics is used to justify or condemn, so the results of public opinion surveys have become tools in the hands of all and sundry to fashion political arguments to suit their ends.

A case in point is government's latest poll, conducted for the Bureau for Information (BFI) in June and July and quoted selectively by Nationalist MPs to support government policy. (The poll had not been released for general information). These details, plus others that have "leaked," apparently contradict an almost simultaneous poll by the independent Research Surveys (RS).

According to Deputy Information Minister Stoffel van der Merwe, the BFI survey on political attitudes (excluding whites) indicates that a "beautiful democracy" is possible in SA.

He says the survey shows most people:

- ☐ Believe nothing can be gained by violence;
- ☐ Oppose all forms of boycott;
- ☐ Believe there have been meaningful reforms, but progress has been too slow; and
- ☐ Believe blacks and whites can negotiate a new constitution.

Other details of the survey, not released officially, show Nelson Mandela to be the most popular leader in SA, followed by Mangosuthu Buthelezi and P W Botha.

Botha is shown to be the most popular leader among coloured and Indian people, followed by Allan Boesak. Allan Hendrickse is way down in the popularity stakes. Coloured leaders have expressed surprise at these findings and question their accuracy.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok used some findings of what he termed "extensive and reliable" research to tell Indian MPs that the majority of Indians reject violence. He said the survey revealed "the real thoughts and moods of South Africans."

The BFI's chief researcher, Kobus Neethling, says the findings will not be released at this stage because research is continuing. "We believe that by releasing details now, we may jeopardise future research," he says.

Neethling says about 4 500 people nationally were polled by an independent research company on behalf of BFI.

However, an Omnichek survey released by RS found that most Indians and coloureds believe the tricameral parliamentary system has failed and are critical of the performance of coloured and Indian MPs.

The poll was conducted among 400 urban Indians in Natal and 400 coloureds in the Western Cape in June.

The majority of respondents believe a national convention representing all South Africans will secure a better future than the tricameral set-up, though most support negotiations based on group interests rather than "one-man-one-vote." Only 10% of Indians and 4% of coloureds support the tricameral system. ■

ANSWER

# Govt faces a lonely battle

## All other parties refuse to accept Group Areas report

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

Cape Town

**The Government found itself stranded in the middle of a political minefield today as all the other parliamentary parties refused to accept the President's Council committee report on the Group Areas Act.**

President Botha last night indicated the Government was tilting in favour of accepting the main recommendations in the report, including those that residential and certain farming areas could be open to ownership and occupation by all races according to local choice.

In a statement, the Office of the State President said the Government would make its general position known as soon as possible.

But the Government wished to reiterate its position that the Group Areas Act, like any legislation, could be reviewed.

# Political control crucial to 'open areas'

**Political Correspondent**

CAPE TOWN — Political control of town councils will be critical to opening residential areas to all races, if the President's Council committee recommendations on amendments to the Group Areas Act are accepted.

The Conservative Party could use the amendments as ammunition to win votes in next October's municipal elections, as existing and new residential areas could be reserved for a particular race group, or opened to two or more groups, according to local need.

The initiative to lodge an application to change the status of a township would rest with the local authority concerned, a group of legal residents or owners, and the management and local affairs committees.

Progressive Federal Party-controlled towns, such as Sandton, however, would presumably be favourably disposed towards opening some or all of the townships under its control.

Major recommendations include:

- Local communities should decide for themselves whether or not to open their residential areas.
- The Separate Amenities Act should be repealed but regulation should then be the responsibility of the local authorities and the provincial administrations.
- The Slums Act should not be repealed and replaced, as recommended by the earlier Strydom Committee, but its principles should rather be retained, extended and reinforced.
- The Provincial Administrator concerned should have the final say on appeals.
- Legal residents of affected townships should be consulted.
- Mixed schools need not be a necessary consequence of open areas.
- Racial restrictions should be eased on the occupation and ownership of agricultural land.
- Developers should be free to choose whether new townships should be open or closed.

The Government stood by the principle of own communities with guaranteed own areas for "those who regarded this as important".

But "it must also be possible to make provision for those who prefer a different lifestyle', the statement said.

The governing and opposition parties in the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates, and the Progressive Federal Party and New Republic Party in the Assembly were unanimous today that the report should be rejected.

The reasons ranged from the claim that the report did not go far enough to meet the realities and needs of South Africans to its falling short of repealing the concept of group areas in its entirety.

The National Peoples' Party last night expelled from its caucus its representative on the President's Council Constitutional Affairs Committee, Mr T L Gounden, who signed the report.

Mr Gounden signed with the reservation that he did not accept the principle of group areas but he believed that the positive aspects of the report would generate its own momentum towards a total repeal of the Act.

## Disappointed

NPP leader Mr Amichand Rajbansi said last night he was disappointed and perturbed by the report which did not go far enough to ease the system of group areas.

On the right of the parliamentary spectrum the Opposition in the House of Assembly, the Conservative Party, has rejected the report in its entirety for different reasons.

The CP said last night that the application of the recommendations would without doubt lead to full integration in South Africa.

The scene is now set for a political brawl both in Parliament, when the report is debated later this month, and in the country as the CP plans to exploit white fears and prejudices that the Government intends phasing out group areas.

Nationalist MPs today privately expressed enthusiasm for the report but one said that, if the Group Areas Act were scrapped, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht could pack his bags in readiness for his move into Tuynhuys.

● See Pages 4 and 15.

# Walkout is protest at 'whitewash'

**Political Staff**

CAPE TOWN — A protest walkout was staged by 15 President's Council members during the debate on the group areas report to highlight the fact that the report is "a whitewash".

"Let no one be fooled by the recommendations," said the 15 in a joint statement.

"The Group Areas Act remains as firmly entrenched as ever, albeit in another disguise, and it will continue to destroy lives and thwart an acceptable political solution in South Africa."

"The report is a pathetic attempt to sell a better face on the Group Areas Act," said Mr Robin Carlisle, Progressive Federal Party PC member and one of the 15. "This is a whitewash job".

# Suburb to take Group Areas local option — Rightwinger

**By Martin Challenor**

Johannesburg's Homestead Park suburb is to become the first area in South Africa to exercise its local option in terms of the President's Council proposals on the Groups Areas Act, says right-wing leader Mr Allen McCabe.

"If the majority of the people here want it to become open, I'll put up a sign in the park saying Indians and coloureds are welcome," he said. Two weeks ago he stopped a black family moving illegally into Mayfair

Last night, as chairman of the Homestead Park Residents and Ratepayers' Association, he disclosed his plans for the suburb to take up its local option.

"I'm going to distribute pamphlets throughout Homestead Park this weekend calling people to a meeting next Wednesday to discuss if this is to be a white or open suburb."

MANDELA

# Now is the hour

304A PIM 18/9/87

**While** President P W Botha appears reluctant to commit himself to a negotiating process that could lead to freedom for ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, a top Matie academic says this is the time to take a "calculated risk to break the political logjam."

"And I think P W Botha will be the first to acknowledge that there is a logjam," says Dr Willie Breytenbach of the University of Stellenbosch's Africa Studies department. "There can hardly be a more appropriate opportunity to release Nelson Mandela."

The *FM* was unable this week to get Botha to say whether he now believes that a basis exists for negotiations on Mandela's release, in terms of conditions he laid down in January last year. A spokesman for Botha, Jack Viviers, says the president's current position on the release of "security prisoners" was stated in parliament last month, and is the "most valid" position.

When asked if Botha believed that the conditions laid down last year for negotiations on Mandela's release had been met, Viviers said the President had no further comment.

Many observers believe Botha's earlier conditions have been met. They were ostensibly that Russian dissidents Andrei Sakharov and Anatoly Shcharansky, and South African soldier Wynand du Toit, should be freed. But Breytenbach, a former chief constitutional planner, says Botha selected his words very carefully. "He did not compromise himself at all. From his speech in parliament, it looks as if Mandela's release might be justified. Logic might say yes, but then politics are never logical.

"One does not know what the security situation is at the moment, but there are times when you have to live with a calculated risk. We have reached a checkmate, and Chris Heunis would need a break like this (Mandela's release) to get his National Council off the ground."

Unbanning the ANC is a different matter, says Breytenbach. A lot will depend on the evaluation of data presented to Botha by his security management team. "Pik Botha will not have a hand in this as he did with Du Toit, Klaas de Jonge and Pierre Albertini," says Breytenbach. "This is where (Defence Minister) Magnus Malan and (Deputy Minister of Defence and of Law and Order) Adriaan Vlok's voices will be decisive." The "securocrats" (a term coined by Breytenbach) will decide on matters of security.

Breytenbach is supported by Mike Hough of the University of Pretoria's Strategic Studies department, in that a calculated risk should be taken — "though one must remember that the consequences can not be foreseen." Hough agrees that the circumstances for Mandela's release look more promising than ever before.

In spite of Botha's silence, it is understood that senior government officials are working behind the scenes to plan strategies for the release of senior "security prisoners."

One source says it is unlikely that any "security prisoner" will be released before Christmas. The source says that, although former ANC national chairman Govan Mbeki has been named as the most likely candidate among the Rivonia trialists for early release, there is a possibility that one or more of the other top name "security prisoners" may be freed at the same time.

Meanwhile, in parliament this week, the repercussions of Du Toit's release from Angola continued. Malan poured cold water on new optimism — not least in the Department of Foreign Affairs — that the successful prisoner swap signalled a new climate of regional co-operation.

Speaking in the debate on the defence Budget vote, Malan warned against expectations of a new era of negotiation, reasonableness and peace in southern Africa after the swap:

"I want to warn people (to) come back to the reality of Africa," he said. "This is not the first time we have been involved in an exchange with Angola ... it is the fourth time since 1978. What have we got from the previous three? ... A handful of feathers. I am saying do not grab at straws in the search for peace and freedom in southern Africa."

Breytenbach warns, however, against what might happen should Mandela die in prison. "That," he says, "would be too ghastly to contemplate." ■

Cape Times 19/9/87. 3044

# MP caught smoking in SAA loo

By CHRIS ERASMUS

THE SAA domestic flight smoking ban had been broken at the highest level — by a Member of Parliament.

Conservative Party MP Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg was nabbed during a recent SAA flight between Cape Town and Johannesburg when he slipped into the loo for a quick puff on his pipe.

And it was not an on-board smoke detector that gave Dr Hartzenberg away.

The aroma of his favourite brand of pipe tobacco led a conscientious air steward straight to him.

Although slightly red-faced about his escapade, Dr Hartzenberg was quick to admit his offence when questioned by the Cape Times yesterday.

"Yes, it's true, I cannot tell a lie," said the MP for Lichtenburg.

"It happened about a month ago. I went into the toilet for a puff on my pipe, and when I came out the steward asked me if I had been smoking.

"I said 'Yes, I had some pipe' and asked him what would happen next. He did not seem to know, so I said he should report me to the minister (of Transport Affairs, Mr Eli Louw)," said Dr Hartzenberg.

But even though Dr Hartzenberg thinks the whole thing was a bit of a joke, he has clearly learnt his lesson.

"No man, I won't do it again, and that's a promise."

It also looks like he got away with just a warning, as there appears to be no attempt rigidly to enforce the R50 on-board smoking fine in Dr Hartzenberg's case.

Mr Leon Els, a spokesman for the minister, said no complaint had been forwarded to Mr Louw.

"Dr Hartzenberg's was among the last incidents of this kind — most members of the public seem happy to co-operate with us on the smoking ban and we have had very few incidents recently," said Mr Els.

SA Transport Services spokesman Mr Francois Louw said it was SATS policy to protect the privacy of its passengers, so the incident would not be confirmed or denied by SATS.

"Generally our stewards have had excellent co-operation from passengers on the no-smoking rule and we have neither had to, nor do we want to, impose a fine," he said.

In case any other SAA passengers who were caught having an illicit puff in the loo are worried, they can rest assured that the airline does not keep a "little black book" for offenders.



IE'S SMOKE . . . Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg with the pipe that trouble in an airliner toilet." Picture ANNE LAING

W/E Argus 19/9/87



The fire that ravaged Corporation chambers in 1985.

# The right-wing menace in SA



The explosion that damaged Community House in Salt River.

by ROBERT HOUWING
Weekend Argus Reporter

EVERY so often people associated with the left-wing cause, and their property, are targets of attack, as happened recently again when a blast rocked Community House in Salt River — home of several unions and community organisations.

It was one of several apparent sabotage attempts to have caused deep consternation in Cape Town in recent times.

Among others were the fire that ravaged Corporation Chambers, a building housing several United Democratic Front affiliates, in the city centre (October 1985) and the fire-bombing of a car belonging to then MPC Mrs Di Bishop outside her Oranjezicht home a month later.

More recently, an ongoing smear assault appears to have been launched against organisations like the End Conscription Campaign (ECC).

WHO are these clandestine operators, where do they fit in, where do they get their arms from . . ? These are just some of the questions in an atmosphere increasingly fraught with suspicion.

"Progressive" organisations are viewing developments with growing concern. Some consider themselves sitting ducks.

It worries them that the police seem to have had little success in catching the perpetrators, while by contrast claiming to solve a high proportion of leftist attacks.

But the police vigorously deny insinuations that they are less than 100 percent committed in tracking down right-wing saboteurs.

The police oppose violence from all quarters, says Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Brigadier Leon Mellet, citing a recent speech by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

The Minister told Parliament: "We will mercilessly track down any violence-monger, criminal, revolutionary or left or right-wing radical who disturbs the lives of ordinary, peace-loving South Africans"

Brigadier Mellet says it is difficult to state whether "so-called right-wing terror" has increased, due to lack of evidence that acts committed were, in fact, organised by right-wing organisations.

"As far as ANC terror is concerned, it forms a certain pattern and is therefore easier to identify.

"So-called right-wing terror, although in most cases quite obviously not the work of left-wing radicals because of targets chosen, is more difficult to identify.

"It could be the work of organised right-wing groups or that of a particular individual — or even a crank."

HE says there is no evidence to suggest that right-wing terror groups have arms caches. "In the past right-wing terror acts and according to evidence in court, it was established that arms and ammunition involved were obtained through abusing available access to these items."

He pointed out that two members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) are still serving prison terms for offences commited "some years ago."

The UDF sees right-wing activity as "part of a systematic and seemingly well-planned campaign of terror attacks" against progressive movements.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) has faced a nation-wide onslaught from mysterious right-wing forces. Its Vereeniging premises were recently burgled and ransacked, the sixth attack on its offices since two blasts rocked their Johannesburg headquarters on May 7.

"No Cosatu offices are safe any more," says information officer Mr Frank Meintjies. "A determined campaign is being waged to destabilise us completely, and we are having to discuss more and more the question of security measures to protect the lives and property of our leadership.

"We had to spend about R30 000 on protective bars and cameras at our headquarters and employ full-time security guards. There are serious limitations to our attempts to defend ourselves — I doubt whether we would be granted gun licences, even for our guards.

"And we are far from convinced that the police are seriously looking for perpetrators of violent acts against Cosatu."

THE national co-ordinator of Idasa, Mr Wayne Mitchell, agrees that right-wing violence is on the upsurge. "A lot of people are beginning to wonder, in fact, whether bombings not acknowledged by the ANC are the work of the right-wing.

"Violence from the right, I believe, is being fuelled by statements and actions by the Government, who give the impression that anyone who opposes them is an enemy."

Mr Mitchell sees the right-wing as represented by "all people who still maintain that the future lies in continued white domination."

As long as the Government persisted with discriminatory legislation like the Group Areas Act, there would be a "very thin dividing line" between it and violent right-wing movements.

Political analysts attribute violence by right-wingers mostly to disenchantment when these people believe apartheid is becoming less explicit and progressive forces too vociferous. Racial "baasskap" threatened, they mobilise.

IN the Transvaal, massive right-wing hysteria followed the visit to Dakar of a group of South Africans under the leadership of Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, head of Idasa.

Members of the AWB flocked to Jan Smuts airport to meet returning delegates and their leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, threatened to "get" Dr Slabbert.

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Families of Dakar delegates experienced a terror campaign while the group was away — mainly in the form of threatening telephone calls — and Idasa's Border co-director, Mr Eric Mntonga, was tortured and killed in the Eastern Cape shortly after the return of the delegation.

WHAT does the rightwing stage look like in white society?

In Parliament, as the new official opposition, sits Dr Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party, which regards itself as a respectable conservative cause, opposed to terror attacks regardless of their source.

Controversy has surrounded the position of at least three of its MPs — shadow minister of law and order Mr Moolman Mentz, Mr Chris de Jager and Mr Fanie van Vuuren — who have been reported to be members of the AWB.

In a recent interview, Mr Mentz denied membership. But asked whether the AWB could be useful to the CP, he replied: "Yes, to the extent that the AWB awakens a sense of patriotism."

He subsequently told Weekend Argus. "The Conservative Party is against violence in any form — that has been our consistent approach"

Mr Jaap Marais's HNP, having surrendered its solitary seat in the Assembly, soldiers on outside Parliament. It says it opposes violence but believes that countries which harbour "terrrorists" are "at war" with South Africa, and South Africa has to use "every available method" to win that war.

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Their existence came to light recently in a recent poster campaign in Johannesburg and Verwoerdburg. Posters, carrying the initials of the BBB, read: "Stop terror — repatriate all non-whites."

Professor Schabort acknowledges that the BBB's policies are racist and their thoughts revolutionary. They are based on "refined Nazism with no room for compromise".

In black areas, right-wing activity has been spearheaded for at least the last three years by illegal vigilante groups.

Attorney Mr Nicholas "Fink" Haysom, author of a book titled *Mabangalala: The Rise of Right-Wing Vigilantes in South Africa* identified two varients of the black vigilante phenomenon which emerged in the mid-eighties — homeland and urban vigilantes.

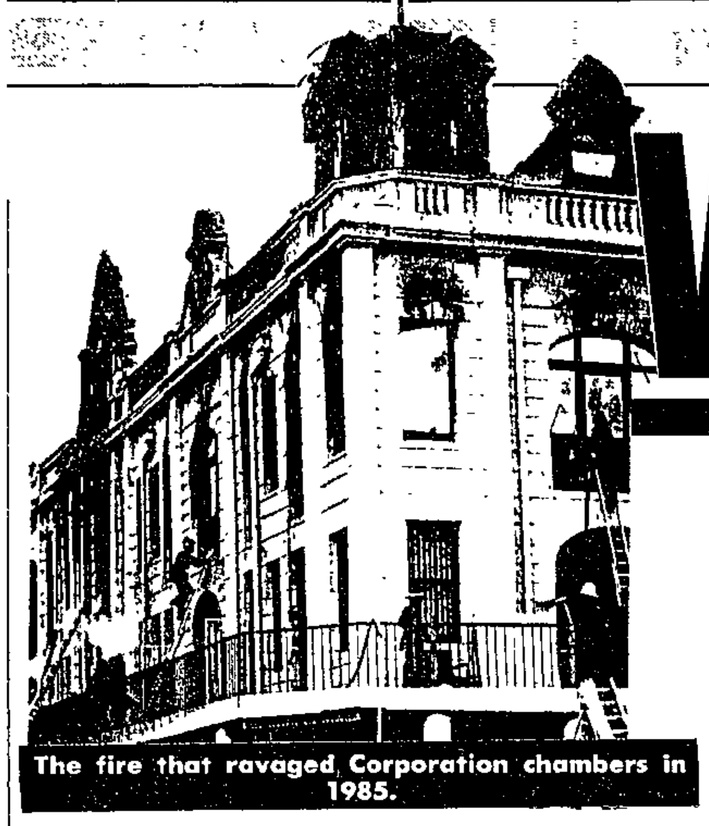
The former were "classical versions of fascist brown-shirts" — tribal police enforcing systems regarded as authoritarian and undemocratic. Little was done to obscure their "clear affiliation" to homeland authorities.

The driving forces behind urban vigilantes, Mr Haysom said, were community councillors, viewed as potential prime motivators of "artificial power for blacks."

Main targets of these vigilantes were youth groups and civic organisations.

w/e ARGUS 17/7/85 (3044)

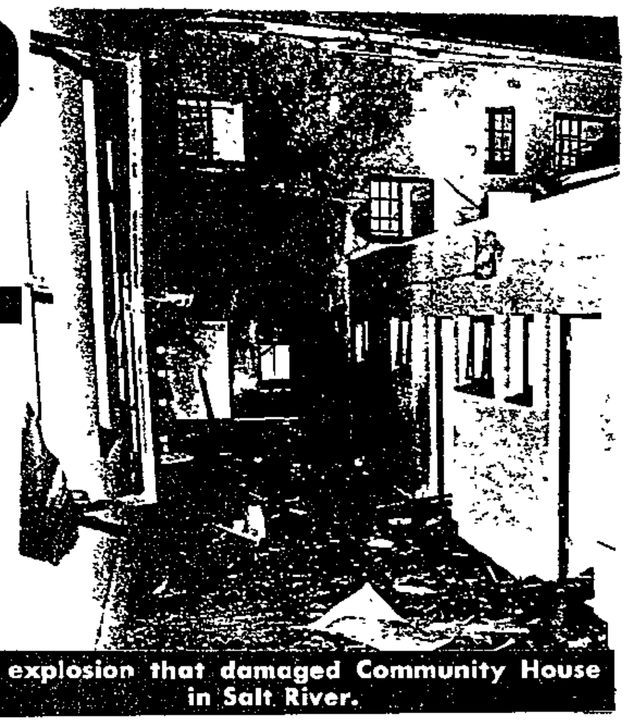




The fire that ravaged Corporation chambers in 1985.

# WHO DID IT?

## The right-wing menace in SA



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The driving forces behind urban vigilantes, Mr Haysom said, were community councillors, viewed as potential prime motivators of "artificial power for blacks."

Main targets of these vigilantes were youth groups and civic organisations.

# AWB leader quits to win back his wife

A RIGHTWING parliamentary candidate whose wife divorced him because she could no longer take his political campaigning and anonymous phone threats against their family swore this week to start another campaign — to win her back.

And his first step was to resign as Cape Leader of the Afrikaanse Weerstandsbeweging (AWB).

Mr Johann Leibold spoke this week at his Stellenberg home of the heartache the dissolution of his marriage had brought him.

"I neglected my wife and children for my political beliefs," he said.

This week his wife, Alette, was granted a divorce in the Cape Supreme Court.

Mr Leibold said: "It came as a big shock. I had no idea Alette was going to walk out."

He knew his wife was worried about the threatening phone calls he had been receiving since he began to campaign for the Conservative Party.

**By EVELYN HOLTZHAUSEN**

One caller had threatened an attack on his 10-year-old daughter.

"Once I saw a group of coloured men in a car opposite my house, pointing at it," he said, "They drove off after a while."

"Aletta knew of the threats but I did not realise how much she worried about them."

He now thought he perhaps should not have told his wife about the threat against his daughter.



**JOHANN LEIBOLD**
**Threatening phone calls**

"I think that was a mistake," he said. "Aletta was obviously frightened by that."

(304A) SIT 20/9/87

# SEVEN DAYS THAT SHOOK GOVERNMENT MORALE

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

THE GOVERNMENT has played its reform trump cards — and finds itself without political friends and an election it does not want.

In an historic seven days, the Government moved into the apex of its reform policy by taking its stand on negotiation, Group Areas and Separate Amenities.

But, in a crushing blow to its morale, it failed to win any real support either inside or outside Parliament.

On NEGOTIATION, the proposed National Council failed to convince meaningful black leaders that the Government has the stomach for a real solution thrashed out with real leaders.

On GROUP AREAS, the Government's coloured and Indian partners in the tricameral Parliament rejected the proposed "local option" on racial mixing as "retrogressive".

On SEPARATE AMENITIES, legal experts said scrapping of the law provided "no reason" to expect wide-scale opening of facilities.

And Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse hardened his position on refusing to help the Government duck a constitutionally-scheduled general election in 1989 — an election that the National Party does not want.

White opposition Conservative Party MPs were privately delighted at the Government's dilemma, and a constitutional expert said the impasse was strengthening the CP's hand.

It was reliably learned that some government circles are weighing up the benefits of rejecting the President's Council's report in the face of its failure to win support.

In the absence of support from the coloured and Indian parties, whom the Group Areas concessions are intended to benefit, the Government is left with only the downside of giving the CP a stick with which to beat the NP in municipal elections next year and a now-likely general election in 1989.

The controversial Group Areas report was signed by only the NP members of the President's Council constitutional committee, Mr Peter Marais, who does not have party backing in the tricameral Parliament, and an Indian National Peoples' Party member, Mr T L Gounden, who added a proviso that he did not support the principle of Group Areas and was expelled from the NPP on the day the report was published.

Labour Party members, NPP, PFP and Solidarity members walked out of the Council and would not participate on its debate on the report.

They said the decision to open areas was placed in the hands of the white residents of places such as Hillbrow and Woodstock.

"Local option" became an "own affairs" issue, they charged, and this made Indians and coloureds "agents of their own subjugation".

Legal experts said the Separate Amenities Act was introduced in 1953 to circumvent court rulings at the time that facilities could be separate, but had to be equal.

The scrapping of the Act, as recommended by the President's Council, would be a return to the pre-1953 position.

The status of public parks, pools and libraries in a conservative city such as Pretoria, for example, might have to be decided in the courts, experts said.

National Party MPs, however attempted to play down the crisis. There was "still plenty of hop in the ball" one said.

They said the report offered real reform by allowing individual communities to decide whether they wanted to be open to all races.

In a further development, the PFP geared itself to extract maximum advantage from the Group Areas concession.

Six MPs announced a campaign to get the whole of Cape Town declared an open area.

If it gets under way, the campaign is certain to become a hotly controversial issue in next year's local elections.

20/9/87 Cl Press

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# Nats support Indaba – survey

FAR more National Party supporters in Natal support the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba proposals than oppose them, a survey conducted by a leading market research organisation has claimed.

The Markinor Survey, conducted on behalf of the Indaba, sampled opinions of white adults in both urban and rural areas throughout Natal.

It canvassed a "statistically representative sample" of 798 respondents, and corroborated results of a larger pre-election (May 6) survey of 1 200 whites.

The latest survey disclosed that 89 percent of the people canvassed had heard of the Indaba proposals, and that 60 percent of these felt the proposals were "a good idea".

Of the remainder, 17 percent believed the proposals were "not a good idea", and 23 percent were undecided.

The post-election survey, conducted in May and June, also showed an increased awareness of the indaba, with 89 percent having heard of the proposals, compared with 81 percent at the time of the March survey.

Other major points to emerge from the survey's findings included:

- 76 percent of respondents believed that the people of Natal "should be allowed to decide how their province should be governed", with 16 percent disagreeing.
- 67 percent felt the government "should agree to a referendum amonong all race groups in Natal to decide whether or not indaba recommendations should be implemented", with 17 percent disagreeing.
- 63 percent felt the implementation of the proposals would improve race relations, with 10 percent disagreeing.
- 59 percent felt the implementation of the Indaba proposals "would lead to greater peace and stability in Kwazulu/Natal", while 23 percent disagreed.
- 50 percent felt that Indaba's proposed bill of rights would "strongly contribute to protecting the rights of individuals and groups". Thirty percent disagreed.
- 55 percent felt the proposals to get rid of the Group Areas Act in Kwazulu-Natal "is a good thing", with 30 percent disagreeing.
- 62 percent felt that "a good thing about the Indaba is that it involves Chief Buthelezi in the government of KwaZulu and Natal", with 17 percent disagreeing.

"The survey findings bear out those of its predecessor in March, which so accurately predicted the result of the May election," said Prof Dawid van Wyk, executive director of the Indaba.

"What is particularly heartening is the confirmation that we have retained support across the political spectrum.

Van Wyk added: "This bears out our long-standing contention that the Indaba proposals transcend party political lines and affiliations.

"The findings underline the fact that the swing of support towards the National Party did not represent a swing away from the Indaba. They also clearly show that the so-called swing to the right by white voters has been grossly exaggerated," he said.

The latest findings showed, as far as National Party supporters went, that 42 percent who were undecided on the Indaba, while 27,9 percent either rejected the proposals or did not think them a good idea.

NP supporters who answered "Yes" or "somewhat agreed" to the question: "Do you believe the bill of rights would strongly contribute to protecting the rights of individuals and groups", was 40,4 percent.

There were 38,8 percent "Yes" votes, while 16,9 precent were undecided or did not agree, and 44,2 percent that "somewhat or totally disagreed" with the question: "Would the termination of a Group Areas Act in Natal/Kwazulu be regarded as a good thing".

Sixty-five point seven percent of NP supporters answered "Yes" to: "Should the people of Natal be allowed to decide how their province is to be governed".

The vast majority of PFP and NRP supporters supported all questions siding with the Indaba proposals.

HNP and CP supporters remain strongly opposed to all indaba proposals.

Only 13,7 percent of them were, in any degree, in favour of the removal of the Group Areas Act, 72 percent opposed it, with 14,2 percent undecided.

The Bill of Rights question saw 54,5 percent of the two right-wing party supporters against it, with 28,7 favouring it in varying degrees.

Reaction by HNP/CP supporters canvassed to: "Should Natal be allowed to decide how their province should be governed" was 60,2 percent totally or somewhat against, 9,4 percent "don't knows" and 30,3 percent disagreeing. – Sapa

# Blacks to get say in top SA forum?

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

A DRAMATIC reshaping of the President's Council so as to include black South Africans is believed imminent.

A proposal now under discussion within the council would see 12 blacks — nine from the homelands and three representing urban blacks — brought into the advisory and deadlock-breaking body.

But opposition representation in the council under the new scheme would be reduced to representatives of the official oppositions in the three chambers of Parliament, meaning that the Progressive Federal Party would not be represented at all.

And the present National Party domination of the council would remain unchanged.

## Opposition

The proposals are apparently the council's response to a request last year by President Botha to investigate the possibility of bringing blacks into the council.

Fierce opposition can be expected from the smaller opposition parties should the idea be accepted by the council and the Government.

Sources made it clear this week that the proposal is not related to the National Council which operates in a different way and has different functions. It is also not clear what the Goverment's response will be to the idea.

Currently there are 10 members of opposition parties on the PC — six from the House of Assembly, three from the House of Representatives and three from the House of Delegates.

In terms of the proposal, their numbers would be reduced to accommodate blacks. And this would bring about a complete restructuring of the PC and the disappearance, among others, of the three PFP representatives, the two from the Democratic Workers' Party, and the sole representative of the People's Congress Party.

## Options

It is understood the PC could in future still comprise 60 members and that only its composition would change.

One of the options being considered is that nine blacks from self-governing states be elected by their own constituents or nominated by them.

Alternatively the State President could appoint them.

The other three blacks could come from black metropolitan areas — presumably from the Witwatersrand, the Eastern Cape and the Western Cape areas.

However, like now, the white component, all National Party supporters, will retain a built-in majority.

The new PC may comprise 30 Government supporters — 15 nominated by the NP and 15 nominated by the State President.

# High Road to peace— a road Nats reject

S. Times 20/9/87 (304)

*Wynand Malan, MP for Randburg, joins the debate started by Hermann Giliomee as to whether there is a third way out of the clash between opposing nationalisms.*

VARIOUS signposts pointing out new roads to national salvation have been springing up on these pages ever since Hermann Giliomee defied a "Third Way to Peace" on his return to South Africa after the Dakar Safari.

When proponents of viewpoints as divergent as that of Mr Giliomee, Stoffel van der Merwe, Willem van Vuuren and Laurence Schlemmer all start using the same language of reason, we may be moving in the right direction in our search for the High Road to peace, stability and economic growth.

More's the pity that this language is not more distinctly heard in the corridors of power, where the Government's election rhetoric — focused on white fears — too often prevails.

That's why we, the Independents, have argued all along that the road to a new South Africa cannot run through Parliament alone.

The tragedy is that the Government is still inexorably stuck in a quagmire of incomprehension about the politics of negotiation and, of course, in their own clever technical formulas (as Professor Giliomee calls them).

Furthermore, they believe they can win the war without talking to the legitimate leaders of black South Africa, and they are apparently determined to stick to this policy regardless of the price we have to pay in terms of sanctions, international isolation, white youngsters patrolling the townships, regional destabilisation and economic havoc.

## Implications

What makes the situation even worse is the fact that many National Party politicians realise this.

They even admit that the crux of our problem is political rights for black South Africans.

And yet they refuse to admit the implications of their own diagnosis — that you cannot accept the political, demographic and economic realities of black South Africa and still refuse to grant them political rights at the highest level.

Having been forced by the realities of the political situation to abandon many of their previous "clever technical formulas", as Professor Giliomee would have it, the Government now tinkers with incremental co-option — thus exposing its soft underbelly as more and more blacks refuse to play in the third league of National Party schemes.

The soft underbelly is, of course, the Government's lack of legitimacy, which forces it to govern through coercion, which in turn can only lead to more of the same — empty promises and more states of emergency.

Any second way, however, which leads to ANC hegemony, is entirely unacceptable to the majority of white South Africans.

Or, as Stoffel van der Merwe subsequently said: "If we simply exchange one form of domination for another form of domination, we will have gained very little, if anything."

This is encouraging, as is the fact that some members of the Dakar Safari now also accept that the ANC will simply not be able to guarantee a tolerant, democratic dispensation — despite their honest promises.

Pressures from their black constituency for rectification of historical wrongs in terms of economic, educational and political deprivation will be too strong.

The nature of the present apartheid system largely rules out the viability of the second option, attractive as it may be from the viewpoint of the majority of South Africans.

As long as South African politics is regarded in terms of these two irreconcilable extremes, we can expect a violent equilibrium that will devour our resources and the last vestiges of goodwill and moderation that still exist in this country.

That is why the third way: the road leading to geniune negotiation and bargaining, is so important.

A key condition for anyone wishing to take the third way is to accept that all the authentic leaders of this country must be involved in an open-ended process of negotiation.

We must also accept that the National Party and the ANC are not the only two actors on the political stage.

## Devastation

On the contrary, in black politics especially, there are many who have enough power to prevent the implementation of any negotiated settlement from which they have been excluded.

This is not a zero sum-game with only a winner and a loser. All, in a sense, must be winners.

There is no other alternative except total devastation after a protracted war — with no winners and nothing left to inherit.

Whites still have so many bargaining chips left that they can afford to enter the process, especially since there is still a surprising willingness among the majority of blacks to participate in a process that can lead to a more just and peaceful society.

However, these valuable assets can easily be squandered by the growing radicalisation and polarisation evoked by Government policies.

The KwaNatal Indaba has demonstrated — albeit in a limited way — that white fears can be accommodated in a negotiated compromise.

The freely negotiated protection accorded by the Indaba to white cultural, language and political needs will, in the end, prove to be much more effective than the Government's unilateral dictate that those rights should be protected within the confines of a legally defined group.

THE REAL CHANCE FOR BLACKS IN THE NEW I

# Take the fight fo right into PW's camp!

Sunday Times 20/9/87





**BRIAN POTTINGER on the crucial options facing radical leaders**

**THE National Council Bill has been quite rightly condemned as a bone-headed response by the Government to the demands of a fractured society.**

**It has been branded as unrepresentative, toothless, divisive of the struggle of the masses, manipulative, ameliorative and dishonest.**

A thousand other epithets from the Handbook of Radical Cliches tumble easily to mind — more than a few of them apt.

That said, the argument of what to *do* about it is still not advanced one iota and those who have watched and reported on the cycle of optimism, violence, despair and impotence that followed the introduction of the tricameral Parliament are left with a forbidding sense of *deja vu*.

Are we indeed condemned to go the same route again?

The answer is no, but it will depend as much on the critics — radical or otherwise — of the National Council as the prolix Mr Chris Heunis and his team of constitutional "experts".

Now, surely, is time for the critics to turn their considerable organisational and political skills towards learning how to live with the National Council instead of a quixotic dismissal of it.

The key lies in discerning the potential of the Council.

In the mid-1930s the Pact Government established an advisory Native Representative Council comprising both nominated and elected blacks.

Prime Minister Jan Smuts proposed in 1946 that members of the NRC should have executive powers in the homelands and black urban areas.

The NRC suspended itself in 1946 because of its failure to halt the drift to white supremacist legislation and in 1950 its members were summoned to Pretoria to meet their new National Party masters: altogether more insular, ruthless and effective people who immediately scrapped the NRC in favour of grand apartheid.

One is compelled to note that President Botha's National Council differs very little in composition and functions from the old NRC except that, paradoxically, the proportion of elected representatives has actually decreased.

The National Party, to put it in a nutshell, is proposing a version of a failed 50-year-old scheme which it dumped nearly 30 years ago, and in this alone no better example can be found of the ideological bankruptcy of the current National Party leadership.

Now all this would appear to be a powerful reason for questioning the potential of the National Council.

Quite the reverse.

It is the sheer lack of imagination on the part of the incumbent political leaders that demands response.

The National Council must be seen as a gamble by the Government and we all know that desperate men are more likely to negotiate if they believe there is something about which to negotiate.

Only if denied this possibility do desperate men turn truly dangerous, in which case the current crop of radical black leadership could find itself, like the NRC representatives of earlier years, summoned at some point in the future to Pretoria to find a new and yet more frightening group of people in charge — those mustering even now on the right flanks of white politics.

Is the National Party prepared to negotiate in good faith?

A government that claims it is broadening democracy through the process of locking up opponents, removing the security forces from public accountability, side-tracking the courts, establishing a secret inquisition to monitor the Press, hijacking the State media and ruling by dint of presidential pique, one could argue, has no right to expect to be taken seriously about anything.

And yet, it is the very vulnerability of government ideology, the sense, in Yeats's immortal words, that "if things fall apart the centre cannot hold", that suggests the National Council could be the forum through which the National Party might be prepared to make some significant concessions.

The question thus for radical opponents of the Government is: why are you not prepared to confront the National Party where it is so patently at its weakest, in the realm of ideas, rather than where it is strongest, in the arena of force for which it has garnered a substantial white mandate?

And the subsidiary question: why will you not do it in the only forums which are available for the exchange of these ideas — those created, however cynically, by the Government?

The answer from radical quarters is as predictable as it is tired: the system entrenches apartheid and is divisive of the struggle

Both propositions are to an extent true but neither answers two incontrovertible facts: the council *will* become reality and some blacks *will* serve on it.

The division of the struggle will therefore occur whether the radical opposition likes it or not — and the Government will surely profit.

Already one can hear the anticipatory stropping of razors by those shadowy interlocutors and agents provocateurs who have so skilfully helped turn black organisations one against each other in the period from 1985 though to the present.

This leads to the second and equally important question — the quality of representation on the council

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BLACKS IN THE NEW NATIONAL COUNCIL

# fight for ideas

Sunday Times 20/9/87 (304A)




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This leads to the second and equally important question — the quality of representation on the council.

The boycott lobby has had its day; and a long, bloody and pointless day it has been. In pursuit of ideological purity the politicians, quite unlike the independent trade unions, have surrendered potentially useful platforms to lesser men.

Thus the participants of the tricameral Parliament, if we are brutally frank, have, with their parochialism and incompetence during their tenure, reinforced white prejudices and confirmed the vindictive suspicions of the radical left.

Already there are ominous signs that if black political leaders genuinely bent on a fairer deal step back from the challenge of the National Council, the way will be left open to an assorted collection of peripatetic "politicians" and "religious leaders" with no discernible public suppport and hidden sources of financial support.

If nothing else, participation in the tricameral Parliament has extended to the players the mantle of State protection, has given a platform for the expression of dissident views and has created the opportunities for constitutionally challenging rule by presidential dictate.

An illustration nothing President Botha has done — locking up dissidents, declaring states of emergency, attacking neighbouring states, the Rubicon speech — shook his own party's confidence in his leadership one scrap as much as his bizarre vendetta against Mr Hendrickse and SABC Director-General Riaan Eksteen.

Both the targets were players and thus "protected" Their mere presence within the halls of influence (power is too strong a word) extends to them a cachet denied the detainee in his cell or the querulous academic. The point should not be taken lightly.

The options open to South Africa's black leaders are thus simple boycott the National Council, make it President Botha's answering mirror and condemn oneself to the limbo of protest politics or, on the other hand, take part and convert the council, as the Americans would say, into a new window of opportunity.

CM Times 21/9/87 Sowa

# NRP to wait and see on independents

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Natal New Republic Party is adopting a "watch and wait" position concerning the Independent movement.

It seems the NRP is busy trying to reorganize to present the strongest possible negotiating position in any arrangements with the Independents.

The party's Natal congress in Amanzimtoti at the weekend voted unanimously to retain its identity as a separate political party so its philosophy and policies remain "available to South Africa in any new political developments".

It seems many NRP members were keen on an agreement with the Independents, but others want to wait till the Independents have made their policies clear.

Another factor is that the NRP is shy of entering into another "arrangement" such as the disastrous election pact with the Progressive Federal Party.

Mr Bill Sutton, NRP leader, said a political movement was needed ahead of the government on reform which could attract mass voter support.

"The CP-NP thing is an in-house fight between Afrikaners about who will control the machinery, not a struggle about what the machinery will do.

"There is a deliberate campaign by the NP and its older brother, the CP, to install fear of the black man signified by the ANC so that change becomes impossible in the minds of whites.

Mr Sutton said the NRP believed blacks should be included in Parliament because creating a body outside Parliament to include blacks in decision-making would destroy Parliament.

"Move away from Parliament and you reduce the chances of whites taking part in decision-making in the future."

He said the NRP had a message for the people of South Africa which no one else could bring.

"This party has no fear of the ANC or SACP. If you do what is right the black people will organize the ANC and SACP right out of South Africa."

Former NRP leader Mr Vause Raw said the most vital issue was whether the NRP would be there to take that which it stood for into any new deal.

● Mr Ralph Hardingham was elected unopposed as the new Natal NRP leader at the congress.

FOCUS

# Confusion over National Council Bill, says Heunis

**THE National Council Bill tabled in Parliament recently has come under heavy criticism.**

**Minister of Constitutional Planning and Development Mr Chris Heunis in this article explains Government thinking on the Council, and replies to some of the criticism.**



AT the outset, I want to say that I am surprised at the confusion that has arisen in certain quarters in their reaction to the National Council Bill that was recently tabled in Parliament.

It is obvious that some of the criticism levelled at the Bill is being made without any knowledge of the contents thereof. I would thus once again like to explain the most important aspects of this Bill.

The objects of the National Council are stated very clearly in the Bill.

Firstly, the main object of the Council is to "plan and prepare a constitutional dispensation which provides for participation by all South African citizens in the processes of Government."

This makes it absolutely clear that the Council itself is not intended to be the new "parliament" nor does this Bill represent the "new constitution".

Quite the contrary: the Council is intended to be the instrument through which a new constitution can formally be negotiated by elected representative leaders of all our communities.

If this object of the Council, as it is formulated in the Bill, does not exactly represent what most black leaders have been asking for, I will readily concede that I have absolutely no understanding of black political thinking.

## Voice

The second object of the Council is to "grant to black South African citizens on an interim basis a voice in the processes of government".

From this it is clear that the Council is only to be an interim structure and that, in the period during which a new constitution is being planned and prepared, black leaders will have the opportunity to promote the interests of their communities at the highest possible governmental level.

Blacks will therefore not have to wait patiently in a void until a new constitution is finalised.

The third object of the Council is to "further and protect sound relations among, and the human dignity, rights and freedoms of all South African citizens".

I seriously challenge any black leader to explain to South Africa and the world what his objections to this object of the Council are and why he will not avail himself of the opportunity to actively pursue this goal together with his fellow South Africans in an orderly and civilised way.

Criticism is further raised that the Council will only be a "glorified advisory council with no teeth". I find this criticism astonishing.

Considering the main object of the Council, the Council by nature has to be an advisory body if we take the principles of democracy seriously.

The leaders of all the communities are to come together, work out a new constitution, and then advise the people of the country on their proposals. But in the final instance, the people themselves must decide whether to accept or reject the proposals.

With regard to the other objects of the Council, the fact that the leaders of all the communities, including the State President and Cabinet members, will serve together on the Council, will give the Council the necesary clout.

How can any government ignore the advice of a body on which itself serves?

## Ridiculous

In view of what I have explained so far, it is also ridiculous to liken the National Council to the earlier Native Representative Council. Persons doing this, display a lack of knowledge of both these councils, and of the present Government's general policy framework.

Objections are also raised with regard to the provisions in the Bill which grant the black communities outside the self-governing territories the opportunity to directly elect their representatives to the National Council.

Anybody objecting to the principle of such an election casts serious doubts on his or her commitment to democratic processes.

Also, organisations proclaiming to have the support of the majority of blacks, have the opportunity to prove this beyond any doubt.

I want to reiterate that there are no restrictions regarding who may participate. Those organisations which believe in and perpetrate violence, obviously exclude themselves on those very grounds.

Concerning the practicalities of the proposed election, it is currently envisaged that nine persons will be elected on the basis of one representative for each of the development regions.

It must again be remembered that the purpose of this election is to democratically identify the leaders of these comunities for participation in negotiations on a new constitution, and not to elect members for parliament or for government. It should be quite clear that the Council is no legislative or governmental body — it is a negotiating body.

## Numbers

For this reason, the numbers are kept as low as possible — in fact, all groups are represented by only a minimum number of persons. Negotiations between too large a group of people are from a practical point of view virtually impossible.

I further want to explain that the proposed election is only applicable to blacks outside the self-governing territories, simply because those residing within these territories have already from time to time identified their leaders through elections.

Furthermore, the self-governing territories and their peoples form as much a part of the Republic and of the South African nation as any other community or region. There can therefore be no question of dividing blacks on a "bantustan and non-bantustan" basis.

The election will be held along virtually the same lines as elections for the other population groups in that organisations will be able to register and participate in the election as political parties, that independent candidates may make themselves available, and that more or less the same qualifications for voters will apply.

## Voters

In this regard, the Government will go out of its way to ensure that as many voters as possible, in both urban and rural areas, are able to exercise their democratic right to participate in this election.

In summarising, an objective study of the Bill will show that the proposed National Council is in essence a constitutional conference between the leaders of all our communities and regions, and I earnestly appeal to all leaders to consider the proposal in this light, rather than to concentrate on less important detail.

# Struggle for NP leadership 'hotting up'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

NATIONALIST MPs had already formed an organization to canvass support for Mr Pik Botha as the next State President, Mr Dave Dalling (PFP Sandton) said yesterday.

The existence of this informal organization of backbench MPs was "no big secret", he said during debate on the third reading of the budget.

Mr P W Botha could take the National Party no further because the president had "run out of both steam and credit".

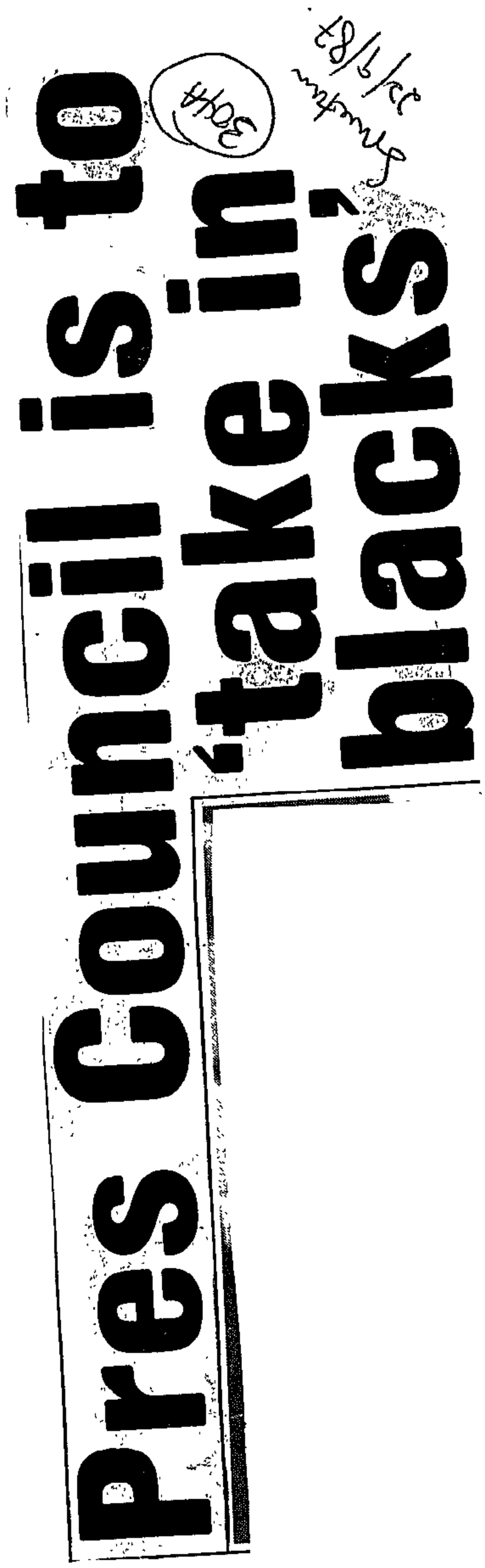
Mr Dalling added: "The message is this — think not of planning for a post-apartheid era, rather start at something more practical, more imminent. Think rather of planning for a post-P W Botha era."

The pro-Pik Botha backbenchers would, of course, not have a clear field since the internal NP struggle was "hotting up".

The NP's parliamentary whips, who "obviously" wielded a lot of influence, were the "agents" in this campaign of the Minister of National Education and the Transvaal leader of the NP, Mr F W de Klerk.

Amid interjections from Nationalist benches, Mr Dalling continued: "I do not know who will win, but it is good that the process of leadership renewal has started.

"The power struggle should be hastened, for once the leadership change is a fact, a new beginning can be made with greater energy in trying to come to terms with what is needed to bring peace, racial harmony and prosperity to our country," Mr Dalling said.




**THE President's Council is likely to be re-shaped to bring in African members — and to drop all opposition party representatives except the official oppositions in each of the three Houses of Parliament.**

The Progressive Federal Party, which would lose its three representatives if the proposal were accepted, yesterday said if this were true it would be a "useless exercise."

Professor Nic Olivier, the PFP's constitutional spokesman, said it was useless to bring blacks in without first trying to solve the problem of black political representation at national level.

"And if its true that they intend to reduce the representation of opposition parties, to that extent the exercise is even less acceptable."

It is understood that a report giving the Council's Constitutional Affairs Committee's recommendation on accommodating Africans on the council will be tabled next month.

**By SOWETAN Reporters**

President Botha requested the Council to consider this question earlier this year.

## Homelands

One of the proposals is that the non-official opposition parties should make way for 10 Africans representing the self-governing homelands and the townships, slightly increasing the overall number of councillors from 60 to 63.

And it is understood that there is a "very strong possibility" that the Constitutional Affairs Committee will make this recommendation to the Council.

The Africans would be appointed directly by the State President, ensuring an even greater domination of the Council by the National Party which already holds a clear majority.

Opposition sources yesterday said that the move would be in line with the Government's policy of implementing reform by co-opting blacks sympathetic to the National Party.

Long-standing parties like the PFP with their own tradition of opposition were not wanted in this system.

They said in the President's Council there were many National Party members who felt they didn't need the opposition in the decision-making process.

They were merely a "nuisance-factor' as they were inevitably outvoted.

The State President requested the President's Council earlier this year to consider the possibility of bringing Africans onto the council which now has only white, coloured and Indian members. The Constitutional Affairs Committee "has devoted much of its time this year to this question."

There are now 10 members of opposition parties on the Council, six from the House of Assembly, three from the House of Representatives and one from the House of Delegates.

If the proposal is accepted, seven of them would have to go, leaving only one from each of the three official opposition parties in the three Houses of Parliament — namely the Consevative Party, Democratic Workers' Party and Solidarity.

The PFP and the one-man Peoples' Congress Party would then lose the representation.

The President's Council advises the State President and breaks deadlocks when three Houses of Parliament cannot agree on legislation.

# PFP challenges UDF strategies

Times 22/9/87

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE UDF had "little to show" for its years of struggle and it was time for this "passive partner of the ANC" to become involved "in the system it hates so much", the PFP MP for Sandton, Mr Dave Dalling, said yesterday.

Mr Dalling said that since the outbreak of violence in Soweto in 1976, "the National Party government has faced everything that an incensed urban black populace — led by a heavily Marxist-influenced party and supported by a cynically outraged international community — could throw at it, and survived".

Speaking during the third reading of the budget debate, he said violent revolution was not necessary in South Africa and would fail.

"There is a message for those who support the UDF — the passive partner of the ANC. The UDF has little to show for its years of struggle. Most of its leaders are jailed.

"While the UDF elects to stay politically pure and aloof, others will dictate the future. The message to the UDF is that must get involved — yes, even in the structures which it hates so much.

"For if it does, then new and democratic processes will be released which will forever kill this ridiculous, racially focused tricameral system.

"But there are no quick fixes. There is no shortcut to a non-racial democracy."

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Cape Times 22/9/87

# Independent fights shy of 'Group'

JOHANNESBURG. — The Independent Movement does not want the candidate it has proposed for the Randburg municipal election to get involved in issues such as the Group Areas Act, Mr Wynand Malan said yesterday.

Mr Malan, a leader of the movement, was addressing a meeting in Randburg in support of Mr Reg Pheiffer, Independent candidate in today's by-election in Ward Seven, Randburg.

He said the Group Areas Act should be completely scrapped and not replaced by "any other law". It was "an illusion", he said, to believe the act protected people. — Sapa

# UDF hits back at Dalling criticism

Cape Times 2/3/1987

**Staff Reporter**

THE United Democratic Front (Western Cape Region) yesterday criticized Mr Dave Dalling's claims in Parliament on Monday that the UDF had "little to show" for its years of struggle and rejected his call for it to participate in the tricameral system.

A UDF spokesman rejected as "nonsense" the claim by Mr Dalling, Progressive Federal Party MP for Sandton, that the UDF was a passive partner of the ANC. Mr Dalling was "preoccupied with criticizing the democratic movement", the spokesman said.

"We don't usually comment about things said by people who make the system work. The UDF's views were well documented . . . we decided to oppose the Tricameral Parliament because it is undemocratic and does not carry the blessing of the majority of people in the country."

He said Mr Dalling was correct in saying the UDF "hated undemocratic practices".

(Mr Dalling called on the UDF to "get involved — yes, even in the structures which it hates so much".)

The UDF spokesman said proof of his organization's opposition to undemocratic practices was their non-participation in the tricameral system.

He said it was "no wonder Mr Jan van Eck (who left the PFP and is now an independent MP) decided he had enough of the party".

"We agree with Mr Dalling that there is no quick fix to the country's problems and believe that the solution to the problem is the ANC — who have overwhelming support in this country."

# ANC-SA 'talks' cause confusion

Cape Times 23/9/87 304A

**From MIKE ROBERTSON**

LONDON. — Reported attempts by the SA government to make contact with the ANC are being interpreted by leading members of the banned organization as part of a strategy aimed at sowing confusion in its ranks.

In addition, the ANC believes hints at possible talks are being used to ensure the defeat of the sanctions lobby at the coming Commonwealth Summit.

According to the ANC there have been at least three incidents of people approaching its members claiming to be intermediaries bearing a message from the SA government.

The "intermediaries", the ANC says, claim the government wants to talk but advance no further details.

The first approach was from one of the delegates to the Dakar talks who approached an ANC member in private. The second was a US academic who arrived in Lusaka with a similar message. On the third occasion an alleged NIS official made contact with a businessman with ANC links in Botswana.

The ANC also claims that a senior government official visited Lusaka two weeks ago and held talks with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda.

Dr Kaunda is reportedly due to brief ANC executive members on the contents of the talks later this week.

The ANC, however, believes the intention is to create the impression that talks are possible rather than a serious attempt to talk.

According to one leading ANC member, the organization believes these "attempts at contact" are designed to sow confusion in the relationship between the ANC and internal organizations.

Government, he said, believed it could drive a wedge between not just the "communist" and "pure nationalist" ANC members, but also between those in exile and those in prison.

The idea of impending talks, the ANC says, has been conveyed via the British to Commonwealth members. "The inference being that something major is about to happen. Don't muck it up now by bringing more sanctions pressure on the South Africans."

The Foreign Office dismisses out of hand the suggestion that it has played any such role.

The ANC, however, says the British and the US are also bringing pressure to bear on the frontline states to persuade them to delay or abandon support for key elements of ANC strategy and ultimately to get it to drop armed struggle.

An example of this, it says, is the UK providing aid, both military and developmental, to frontline states suffering the effects of destabilization as an alternative, rather than in addition, to increased sanctions against South Africa.

The Office of the State President last night declined to comment on the claims. "Our policy on the ANC is well-known and we have nothing to add," spokesman Mr Jack Viviers said.

# Top official denies bid to contact ANC

**Own Correspondent**

**JOHANNESBURG. — A top official at the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning yesterday denied claims that he tried to contact the ANC on a recent visit to Zambia.**

**A spokesman for the department said constitutional development director Mr Kobus Jordaan visited Zambia "in his private capacity" a month ago and they had no details of his visit.**

**Mr Jordaan yesterday "categorically denied" ANC claims this week that he tried to contact the organization when he was in Zambia. ANC sources in London said Mr Jordaan met President Kenneth Kaunda and tried to make contact with the ANC through him.**

**Mr Jordaan, who spent 16 years in Zambia as a missionary, said he attended the opening of the Zambian Reformed Church in Madzimoyo. "The only time I had contact with Kaunda was at the opening ceremony. I did speak to him but in the presence of other people and not about the ANC."**

another

# White tide moving to extremes in politics

A R KENNY: Johannesburg

South African revolution is coming, but everybody is looking the wrong way. The black miners' strike once again turned the heads of South Africa-watchers in the wrong direction.

Our little Eastern Transvaal fastness made the main international news with a violent incident at the coal mine that supplies our power station. There was no such interest in the far more ominous event in May of this year, the white election.

This election revealed with chilling clarity the most dangerous fact of South African politics; politically white SA is divided not by language, not as between town and country, not by region — but by class.

All white opposition to apartheid comes from the rich middle-class; the white working-class is rocksolid in favour of it.

Throughout the country there is now a great tidal movement of white workers towards the extreme pro-apartheid parties, a movement compared with which the antics of the ANC are a sideshow and which more than anything else menaces SA's future.

The easiest way to see this is to superimpose a map of the white political constituencies upon an economic/geogolical map of SA. You will see immediately that support for the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) is reduced to a few rich middle-class constituencies in the big cities, the swimming-pool constituencies.

You will see that support for Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party (CP) follows the coal seams. Where there is coal there are mines and heavy industry and a white industrial proletariat which now votes CP.

The map will show you, too, that the most enthusiastic support for hard-line apartheid comes not from the farmlands but the industrialised areas.

Throughout the economy the divide is the same. The boardrooms and reception areas are open to all races; the factory floors have "White Men" and "Non-White Men" lavatories.

The senior managers might vote PFP; the welders and fitters used to vote for the Nationalist government and are now voting CP.

White university students are trickling into the multi-racial United Democratic Front (UDF); white workers are pouring into the AWB.

The AWB — led by Eugene Terre'Blanche — is a straightforward fascist party: nationalist, racist, socialist and big on the historical destiny of the volk. It is also, I believe, the fastest-growing political party in Africa.

The class divide over race in SA is far wider than any class divide in Britain.

There is nothing at all unusual about the racial attitudes of white working men in SA.

I worked for some years at a factory in the north of England and I am now working at a power station in the Eastern Transvaal, and in their attitudes towards race, and indeed everything else, I find the white worker from Lancashire and the white worker from the Transvaal to be as alike as two peas in a pod.

By far the most serious insurrection that SA has ever faced happened in 1922 when the country was faced with an armed rebellion of white mineworkers. The workers rose up in arms when the mine owners on the Rand decided to allow black miners into jobs until then reserved for whites. The Smuts government backed the mine owners and had to use troops and artillery to put down the workers' rebellion, with a large loss of life.

Some of the white workers were communists and their interesting rallying cry was: "Workers of the world, unite and fight for a white SA!" Some died on the gallows singing the Red Flag — working-class martyrs dedicated to apartheid.

The NP that came to power in 1948 carried the mantle of these martyrs.



TERRE'BLANCHE ... Support growing.



TREURNICHT ... Growing support.

But over the last decade or so the NP has lost its raw working-class appeal and has become gentrified, prosperous and reform-minded. Many of the men at our power station regard P. W. Botha as a "kafferboetie" and increasingly the NP are regarded as a bunch of rich careerists who, at the behest of the international community, are preparing to sell out the white working man to the blacks.

My employer is now an "equal opportunities employer" and has rejected job reservation for whites. I attended a meeting of our shift when the production manager explained the new system to the operators, black and white.

I watched the white workers as he spoke. Fearing the loss of their jobs if they dissented, they listened in silence, their faces like stone. That week there would be another 100 new recruits for the AWB. In the May election the lads voted overwhelmingly for the CP.

Liberal opinion, at home and abroad, shuns white workers completely. South African liberals and socialists, who find blacks exotic and pitiable, find the white workers merely vulgar and ignorant. Various pilgramages of foreign anti-apartheiders never consult representatives of the white working-class — in many ways the most important "shade of opinion" in SA.

The worst snobs in this regard are the Marxists, for whom the white worker is a forbidden non-subject. It sometimes seems that the only thing which unites Marxists the world over is a deep loathing for the working-class.

However, the Nationalist government might well have managed to push through racial reforms and keep its working-class support but for one crucial new circumstance: sanctions.

Sanctions have been brilliantly successful in strengthening the fascist parties and in damaging the prospects for ending apartheid. When the NP began its programme of reform, it promised that white living standards would not suffer.

In fact the reforms were immediately followed by sanctions (a line of causation that the fascist parties have gleefully pointed out) and living standards among the poorer whites have fallen.

And as they become poorer and feel themselves more threatened by a hostile outside world, the white workers are turning for protection and understanding to the AWB.

SA faces two, and only two, possible outcomes for as far into the future as it is possible to see — democracy or white tyranny.

Democracy can only be established with the consent of the white working-class, without whom industry could not operate and whose sons and brothers fill the lower ranks of the police and armed forces.

This consent is obtainable. In all my conversations with the workers and operators here I find them reasonable men, even if their racial perceptions are different from my own. Their relations with the black workers are usually easy and cheerful — in sharp contrast to the excrutiatingly awkward relations between liberal white academics and black students at the University of Cape Town, where I studied.

Like working men everywhere they are immune from folie de grandeur and they do not dream about a Great White Empire in Africa. It's the little things that matter to them. They would be quite happy to consider power-sharing but not social integration. For them the important thing is to keep their whites-only schools and pubs and lavatories.

Black workers are more worthy of our sympathy because they are worse off than the white workers. But white workers are more worthy of our attention because they, unlike the blacks, have the potential for mustering irresistable industrial, political and physical force.

When the black workers at the mine which supplies our coal were nearly all on strike. our coal flow from the mine continued unaffected. If there were a strike of black workers at our power station, we would not lose a MW-hour. A white strike at either plant would shut it down instantly and completely.

When I climb on to the roof of our power station I can see at least four others in the distance. Over the horizon lie the other stations of the Transvaal and the huge oil-from-coal-plants. This area, which provides more than 80 per cent of SA's electricity and all of her oil-from-coal, now lies under the political control of the CP and the AWB, and the control is spreading into the rest of SA's industry.

In the pits and factories and turbine halls about me I seem to see the spectre of 1922. The shadow of the AWB now falls over the whole of northern SA, from the Kalahari to the Swaziland border and it is lengthening southwards.

Unless the debate about SA changes, there are dark days ahead.

The mind of the Chief ... door, so to speak. I won-

# Two top Idasa men quit in PE

304A EPOST 23/9/87

By KIN BENTLEY

THE Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) has been hit by the resignations of two prominent members of its Port Elizabeth office.

The men who have quit Idasa are Mr Kevin Wakeford, who was its Eastern Cape regional co-ordinator, and Mr Gavin Bradshaw, a lecturer in political science at the University of Port Elizabeth, who served as a consultant.

Claims of internal divisions as to the role of Idasa and the use of a major part of the institute's funds in the Eastern Cape on salaries and offices — with little going on the few projects undertaken — accompanied the resignations.

The Eastern Cape co-director of Idasa, Mr Keith Wattrus, said today he did not see the resignations as a major issue.

Mr Wakeford said Dr Alex Boraine, executive director of Idasa, sent him a letter last week accepting his resignation and expressed regret that the matter had been taken to the Press.

While both were reluctant to discuss the reasons behind their quitting, when pressed yesterday Mr Wakeford said one factor was differences as to the perceived role of the organisation.

Some, like himself, saw it as facilitating discussion between both Afrikaner and African nationalists for a future democratic system, while others wanted it to align itself closer to township organisations, which he believed would in turn isolate the other half.

He also claimed that excessive amounts of money were being spent on salaries and offices and that few projects were being carried out.

About 69% of expenditure by Idasa in the Eastern Cape was on salaries and offices and only 31% on projects.

The monthly salary for a director was about R3 000, plus a R250-a-month expense account, company car and other lucrative perks.

Mr Bradshaw confirmed yesterday that he, too, for reasons similar to Mr Wakeford, had tendered his resignation, which was accepted last week.

Idasa was launched in PE at the beginning of the year. Officials still in the organisation here include Mr Wattrus, Mr Max Mamase, co-regional directors, and Mr Monde Mtanga, a regional co-ordinator.

(3) The power vests in the Administrator who is not in favour of such a neutral commitee. It will have a negative effect on the autonomy of the Town Committee.

(4) Yes.

(a) (i) 4 140

(ii) 700

(b) As result of the recent floods.

(5) This is a matter on which the Town Committee still has to decide.

**Detainees**

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

(1) Whether his Department keeps statistics on persons detained in the national states in terms of the (a) Internal Security Act, No 74 of 1982, and (b) emergency regulations; if not, why not; if so, (i) how many persons had been detained in each national state from 12 June 1986 as at the latest specified date for which information is available and (ii) in terms of what statutory provision was each person detained;

(2) whether the lists of persons detained in terms of the emergency regulations for periods of longer than 30 days that were tabled in Parliament in terms of section 3 (4) of the Public Safety Act, No 3 of 1953, included the names of persons detained in the national states; if not, (a) why not and (b) (i) how many persons had been detained in the national states under emergency regulations for periods of longer than 30 days and (ii) for how many days had each person been detained?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER (Reply laid upon the Table with leave of House):

(1) (a) Yes.

(i) No persons.

(ii) Falls away.

(b) Yes.

(i) Complete lists of names of persons are tabled regularly in terms of section 3 (4) of the Public Safety Act, 1953 and include the names of persons detained in the national states.

(ii) In terms of the emergency regulations issued by virtue of Section 3 of the Public Safety Act, 1953.

(2) Yes, (a) and (b) Fall away.

**Jan Smuts Airport: AWB supporters**

*20. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

With reference to his reply to Question No 14, standing over, on 18 August 1987, at what time did (a) the group of AWB supporters assemble at Jan Smuts Airport on 21 July 1987, (b) the South African Police issue a warning to this group to disperse and (c) this group finally disperse?

†The MINISTER OF JUSTICE (for the Minister of Law and Order):

(a) Because persons entered the airport building as individuals and not in identifiable groups, it is not possible to say at exactly what time supporters of leftist and rightist organisations assembled as identifiable groups.

(b) When leftist and rightist groups were, for the first time, at about 10h35 identified as groups with a common goal, a warning to disperse was addressed to them inside the airport building.

This warning was repeated at about 10h45 outside the airport building after which the groups dispersed.

(c) At about 11h05 the groups finally dispersed.

Mr D J N MALCOMESS: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply and bearing in mind that in reply to a previous question that I asked, it was stated that the group of AWB supporters had in fact dispersed within a short period of time after they had been given a warning, may I ask





whether the hon the Minister does not think the police were extremely dilatory in giving that warning? In fact, the group was present in large numbers with the previously advised intention of meeting the group returning from Dakar . . .

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon member is now making a statement.

Mr D J N MALCOMESS: Well, Sir, may I then ask whether he does not think that the police were very dilatory in not giving the order to disperse earlier, so much so that the leader of the AWB was even able to make a speech?

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I will not pass judgment on the actions of the police, but to say that they achieved the intended results without any bloodshed or severe conflict taking place. This is proof of outstanding performance of duty.

**Wavecrest township development project**

*21. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning:

(1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 5 on 1 September 1987, a minority report was submitted by any member or members of the committee of inquiry into the Wavecrest township development project; if so,

(2) whether this minority report has been released; if so, when; if not, why not;

(3) whether he intends releasing this report; if not, why not; if so, when will it be released?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT PLANNING:

(1) Yes.

(2) The recommendations contained in the minority report were tabled in the Provincial Council on 25 February 1974 for general information.

(3) Falls away.



**Deputy directors of education**

*22. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister in the State President's Office entrusted with Administration and Broadcasting Services:

(1) Whether the Commission for Administration has carried out any inquiry into the (a) number, and (b) scope of work, of the deputy directors of education in the provincial education departments and/or the central department of the Department of Education and Culture: House of Assembly; if so, (i) when was this inquiry carried out, (ii) when did the Commission report on this matter and (iii) what were the findings of the inquiry;

(2) whether any movement of staff has occurred or will be brought about as a result of the inquiry into the posts of deputy director in the Department of Education and Culture: House of Assembly; if not; why not; if so, (a) what movements have occurred or may occur and (b) when did these movements occur or are they to occur;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

†The MINISTER IN THE STATE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE ENTRUSTED WITH ADMINISTRATION AND BROADCASTING SERVICES:

(1) (a) and (b)— in respect of the provincial departments of education—No.

— in respect of the Department of Education and Culture: Administration House of Assembly—Yes.

(i) October/November 1986.

(ii) February 1987.

(iii) That the management echelon of the Department of Education and Culture: Administration House of Assembly be strengthened with three posts of Chief Director (Deputy Director

the State President's Office entrusted with Administration and Broadcasting Services:†

Whether he will furnish information on the provisions of the (a) motor-car scheme for Ministers and (b) motor-car purchasing scheme for public servants; if not, why not; if so, what are the main provisions of each scheme?

†The MINISTER IN THE STATE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE ENTRUSTED WITH ADMINISTRATION AND BROADCASTING SERVICES:

(a) Yes.

A Minister is entitled to, instead of a second state vehicle, acquire a vehicle according to a financing scheme that is reviewed from time to time. The application of this scheme is the same as the scheme for Directors-General, except that Ministers are entitled to a more expensive car and that all kilometers travelled will be considered official.

According to the Consultants who advised the Committee of Inquiry into the Structure of Remuneration and Conditions of Service of Political Office-bearers during 1985 on the remuneration of Members of Parliament, the average guaranteed cash remuneration on comparable levels in the private sector is presently R295 000 per annum with a fringe benefit package of about R80 000 per annum. Depending on the performance of the company, an additional cash remuneration of up to R100 000 per annum is possible. Furthermore, under the share option schemes, shares in the name of the employee are accrued up to an amount of R1,2 million over a period of 10 years, free of cost to the employee.

The cash remuneration of Ministers (allowances excluded) presently amounts to approximately 35% of those of their equivalents in the private sector, while fringe benefit packages compare favourably.

(b) Yes.

The salient features of the motor finance scheme for senior officers in the Public Service are as follows:

(i) Only officers in the classified managerial echelon (ie Director and higher) participate in the scheme. According to statistics for 1986, these officers formed only 0,2% of the total number of officers.

(ii) In terms of the scheme, an officer can apply for a State loan to purchase a new vehicle. In exchange for this, it is required that the officer use his vehicle for official journeys. The amount of the loan is a maximum amount which is linked to the post level which he occupies.

(iii) An officer can apply every fourth year for a new loan to purchase a new vehicle.

(iv) The loan must be repaid in 48 monthly instalments to the State at the official interest rate (at present 13%).

(v) The officer receives from the State a monthly allowance which—

* is equal to the monthly repayment on the loan amount; but

* also provides in a limited measure for the following components:

Insurance
Parking fees
Registration fees
Licence fees
Running and maintenance costs for 500 official kilometer per month.

(vi) The officer is the owner of the vehicle and he may use the vehicle for private purposes but without compensation by the State for this.

(vii) Participation in the scheme ceases immediately when the—

* officer's services terminate;





* officer is transferred to a post which is not classified in the managerial echelon.

In these cases, the outstanding debt on the loan must be repaid immediately in one lump sum.

†Dr W J SNYMAN: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Ministers's reply, I would like to know whether a trip to a political meeting by a Minister is regarded as a private or an official trip.

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, as far as I know, a Minister may use his official car for any purpose at any time, except in his own constituency during an election campaign in which he himself is involved.

*17. Mr J J WALSH—Justice. [Reply standing over.]

*18. Mr J J WALSH—Law and Order. [Reply standing over.]

*Questions standing over from Tuesday, 22 September 1987:*

**Hillbrow: election**

*1. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Law and Order:

Whether the South African Police have received any representations regarding the conduct of the election held in the Hillbrow Parliamentary constituency on 6 May 1987; if so, (a) when, (b) what was the nature of the representations, (c) what action has been taken by the Police in response to these representations and (d) what was the result of this action?

†The MINISTER OF JUSTICE (for the Minister of Law and Order):

Yes.

(a) On 21 July 1987.

(b) to (d) A case docket has been registered and is being investigated; therefore I am not prepared to furnish any further information at this stage.

†Mr A FOURIE: Mr Chairman, arising from the hon the Minister's reply, can he tell us whether he is aware of the fact that on the day of the election the NP won that seat with 120 votes, excluding postal and special votes?

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, that is public knowledge. Sir, I do not think you would expect me to enrich the knowledge of the opposition any further.

**Parliamentary session: Black employees**

*2. Mr S S VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister in the State President's Office entrusted with Administration and Broadcasting Services:

(1) Whether any Black employess of the State who are normally resident in Pretoria, are required to render service in Cape Town during the Parliamentary session; if so, (a) how many, and (b) in which grades of employment;

(2) whether arrangements are made by the State to accommodate these employees in Cape Town during the Parliamentary session; if not, why not; if so, (a) what arrangements, (b) what is the nature of the accommodation provided, and (c) where are they accommodated;

(3) whether the State provides any travel facilities or assistance to these employees while in Cape Town; if not, why not; if so, what facilities or assistance;

(4) whether the State makes arrangements for these employees to travel from Pretoria to Cape Town and back; if not, (a) why not and (b) who is responsible for these travel arrangements; if so, by what means do these employees travel?

†The MINISTER IN THE STATE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE ENTRUSTED WITH ADMINISTRATION AND BROADCASTING SERVICES:

(1) Yes.

(a) 11.

(b) All Messengers.

(2) Yes.

(a) Accommodation is provided to

# Two quit Idasa

24/9/87

**TWO prominent Eastern Cape members of Dr van Zyl Slabbert's Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa have resigned.**

They are Mr Kevin Wakeford, Idasa's Eastern Cape regional coordinator, and Mr Gavin Bradshaw, a lecturer in political science at the University of Port Elizabeth, who served as a consultant.

The Eastern Cape co-director of Idasa, Mr Keith Wattrus, said yesterday he did not see the resignations as a major issue.

He declined to discuss details, saying it was an "internal matter", but added that "everyone is entitled to have a few gripes".

## Letter

Mr Wakeford said Dr Alex Boraine, executive director of Idasa, sent him a letter last week accepting his resignation and expressed regret the matter had been taken to the Press.

While both were reluctant to discuss the reasons behind their quitting, Mr Wakeford said one factor was differnces on the perceived role of Idasa.

Some, like himself, saw it as facilitating discussion between Afrikaner and African nationalists for a future democratic system, while others wanted it to align itself closer to township organisations which, he believed, would in turn isolate the other half.

He also claimed that excessive sums of money were being spent on salaries and offices and that few projects were being carried out.

About 69 percent of expenditure in the Eastern Cape was on salaries and offices and only 31 percent on projects.

The salary for a director was about R3 000 a month, plus a R250 a month expenses, a car and other perks.

# Uproar after CP quote from minutes of NP's Tvl meeting

**Political Staff**

The National Party in the Transvaal has been embarrassed by a leak to the Conservative Party of the minutes of a closed meeting of the Transvaal Head Committee where the weak points in the party's general election performance and other issues were discussed.

CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg caused an uproar in Parliament when he quoted from the minutes — out of context according to Transvaal National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk.

The Head Committee is the highest body in the NP's provincial hierarchy, after the congress.

The meeting was on June 20 this year in the Hoër Handelskool, Menlo Park, Pretoria.



**Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg says a nation which needs blacks to protect it "no longer had the right to live".**

The full text of the minutes show that the committee held a sombre post mortem of the Transvaal party's performance in the May election. It identified several weak points in the election campaign such as the "vagueness of NP policy", "ambiguous statements by candidates" and the NP's failure to assuage voters' fears that the Government intended opening white group areas to other races and was failing to control black trade unions.

The document made it clear that the remedies proposed were clearly designed to placate conservative fears — not surprising since the NP lost 22 seats to the CP in the province.

For instance, the commitee's minutes said, Group Areas Act had caused problems — "but the President's Council's report will shortly be available. This matter will have to be dealt with as soon as possible."

On black unions it says, "The percepion exists among industrial workers that neither their employers nor the Government are capable of controlling radical black trade unions and they feel threatened as a result."

"This matter is receiving urgent attention", the committee said.

"The Department of Manpower has received orders to investigate more efficient methods of restricting the abuse of unions for political purposes."

This lends credibility to speculation that a crack-down on unions is in the offing.

The committee observed that the grievances of teachers were a a problem, but tha the recent 12,5 percent salary increase should placate them.

NP representatives were instructed to "make peace" with teachers at local level.

Dr Hartzenberg's objections arose from the statement: "The Government wants to get a majority of black people to give their support to a system which protects the established rights of whites."

Dr Hartzenberg's reaction was that if a nation was so incapable of protecting itself that it needed blacks to do so, it "no longer had the right to live".

Mr de Klerk said Dr Hartzenberg had quoted out of context.

"It is an absolute untruth to say that the NP is asking black people to protect whites," Mr de Klerk told Parliament this week.

# We have lost all, says AWB chief

24/9/87 — West Rand Bureau — 30th STAR

Despite the fact that the Government made the ~~task~~ of the South African Police more difficult with the abolishing of influx control and other laws, the police force was the only reason why there was still peace in South Africa, Mr Eugene TerreBlanche said last night.

Addressing a responsive audience of several hundred in the Krugersdorp Centenary Hall, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader said he did not mind that policemen had been forbidden by the Minister of Law and Order to join the AWB. "The day when State officials (the police) are forbidden to join an organisation, the Government is losing and the forbidden organisation becomes the new government."

Mr TerreBlanche said everything had been taken away from the Afrikaner — his culture, his language, and now even his country's date of birth (April 6) and the day on which one of his heroes, President Paul Kruger, was honoured.

"Who is going to forbid the Zulus or the Xhosas their important days? Who is going to go and tell Britain to move Nelson away from Trafalgar Square? Only the Afrikaner can't have his important days as they might offend other cultures living in the country."

Referring to the possibility of South Africa signing the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, Mr TerreBlanche said: "South Africa must be the one country that has the right to use atomic power and now the State President wants to sign away that right."

He urged all AWB members to join every committee — "from the golf club to the festival committee" — and vote in any and every election.

# ATTACK BY PFP

# UDF REPLY

THE United Democratic Front has rejected a claim by a Progressive Federal Party MP that it is a passive partner of the African National Congress.

Mr Joe Marks, Western Cape vice-president of the UDF was reacting to statements made in the Assembly by Mr Dave Dalling (PFP Sandton).

He said Mr Dalling's claim was nonsense and that he was preoccupied with criticising the democratic movement.

He also rejected a statement by Mr Dalling that the movement had little to show for its years of struggle.

It was clear that he was out of touch with the realities of the country.

The UDF's views were well documented.

It decided to oppose the tricameral parliament because it was undemocratic and did not carry the blessing of the majority of the people in the country.

In Parliament, Mr Dalling said the UDF must get involved, even in the system it hated so much because this would release new democratic forces.

Mr Marks said the UDF hated undemocratic processes.

Proof of the movement's opposition to undemocratic practices was its non-participation in the tricameral system.

"We agree with Mr Dalling that there is no quick fix for the country's problems, and believe that the solution to the problem is the ANC which has overwhelming support in this country.

"We long for the day when there will be peace and friendship and a just future for all," Mr Marks said. —*Sowetan* Correspondent.

SOWETAN, Thursday, September 24, 1987

... Brussels, appealed for Scott...

CAPE TIMES 24/9/87

# Idasa men quit after row over project

3067

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The failure of two PE members of Idasa, who quit the organization last week, to inform those above them about a project they organized, probably led to their resignation.

This was said yesterday by Mr Wayne Mitchell, national co-ordinator of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa.

He was commenting on the resignation of Mr Kevin Wakeford, the institute's Eastern Cape regional co-ordinator, and Mr Gavin Bradshaw, a lecturer in political science at the University of Port Elizabeth, who was a consultant.

Mr Mitchell said that at a recent Idasa national staff meeting, members unanimously expressed "disappointment" at the action of Mr Wakeford and Mr Bradshaw in setting up the project "above the head of the regional director". He would not say what the project was.

He would not comment on a claim that regional directors in the organization earn about R3 000 a month and have a R250 expense account, a company car and other perks, but did not contest it.

# Dakar II 'is already on the cards'

JOHANNESBURG — Dakar II is already on the drawing boards, according to a Unisa academic, Professor Abraham Viljoen, who was part of the group of South Africans which provoked the Government's wrath by meeting high-ranking members of the ANC in Dakar, the Senagalese capital.

Speaking at a meeting of the Unisa student body, Prof Viljoen said that although a venue was still to be decided on, another conference was being planned by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa). It would be on the same lines as the last one in which the group, including Afrikaner intellectuals, met the ANC to discuss possible future constitutional developments in South Africa.

He said both sides were aware of the inherent risks involved, but decided to "jump in at the deep end". The ANC's old guard was also finding it difficult to explain their participation in the conference to its more militant and unyielding younger members.

He said any discussion about South Africa's political future must necessarily include the ANC, which enjoyed the greatest support of all political organisations amongst the country's black population.

He added that it was of great symbolic value that the group consisted predominantly of Afrikaners, who have historically been regarded as the creators of apartheid.

It became apparent from the discussions that the ANC is prepared to negotiate a settlement, and would discontinue its armed struggle if the Government made positive moves towards meaningful discussions.

"Africa is prepared to accept South Africa with open arms if we are prepared to take up our rightful place on the continent," said Prof Viljoen.

# Conference on role of whites

A CONFERENCE on the "Role of Whites in a Changing South Africa" has had growing support from both prominent speakers and the public.

The Five Freedoms Forum, which is hosting the conference, sent in a statement that it is aiming this conferenc at white South Africans "because they are out of touch.

The conference will be held at Wits University and starts this evening.

Although it is directed at whites, there is support from black South Africans. Speakers such as Azhar Cachalia representing the UDF, NUM's Cyril Ramaphosa and a Cosatu speaker indicate wide black acceptance, the FFF said.

Everybody is welcome to attend the public meeting. Tonight's speakers include:

- Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, who will be giving the viewpoint of an extra-parliamentary leader;
- Mr Bob Tucker, managing director of SA Permanent Building Society, who will talk on the very important role of business in change;
- The Rev Smangaliso Mkhatshwa, general secretary of the SA Catholic Bishops Conference;
- Mr Abram Viljoen, who will speak as an Afrikaner academic; and
- Mrs Sheena Duncan, past Black Sash chairperson and currently an executive of the SACC, will chair the meeting.

During the weekend there will be papers given and discussions held on South Africa in Crisis, the Cost of Apartheid.

Registration for the conference can be made by telephone or at the official registration desk open in the Arcade at the University of the Witwatersrand from 10am today. For more information, phone (011) 716-5021 or follow signs to the public meeting at the Wits Arcade.

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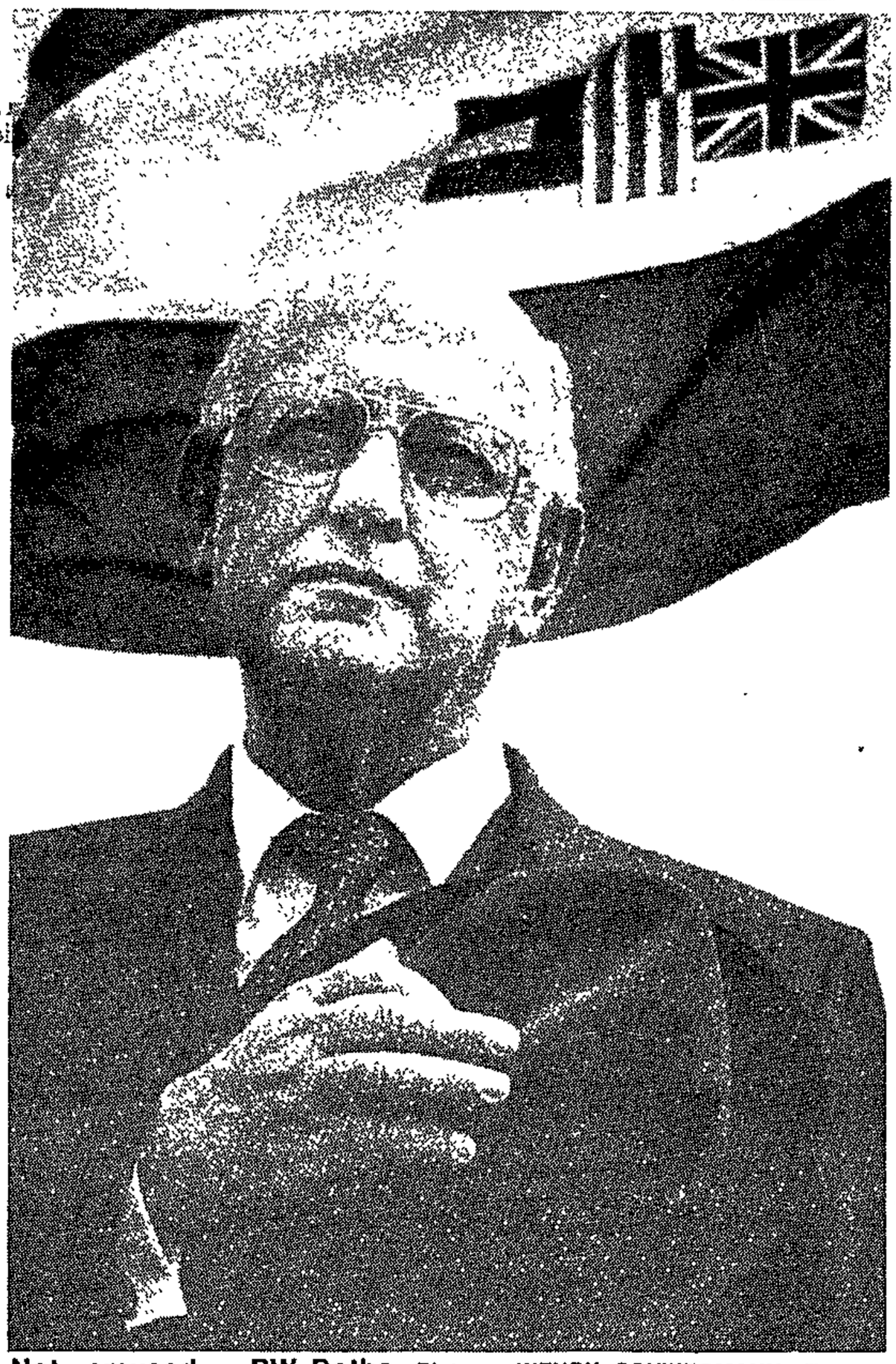
# From behind the throne, sounds of restlessness

**PW Botha is more feared by his associates than ever. But behind his back, a fierce tussle for his seat proceeds. Comment by PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK**



**Not amused ... PW Botha.** Picture: WENDY SCHWEGMANN, Reuter

THE smell of a succession struggle for state president can be sensed around parliament.

But what sort of strange throne is it that *hoofleier* PW Botha has created for himself and which his potential successors are bidding for?

As head of state, as party leader, as boss of the invisible extra-parliamentary government — the National Security Management System — Botha probably wields more personal power than any of his predecessors.

How does one, thus, separate the man and his quirks from the office?

Though he has become Caesar, Botha has been unable to break with his past as a political street fighter. In fact, those very qualities which helped Botha to the top — vindictiveness and political ruthlessness — have become more pronounced with the accumulation of power.

Botha's own party is in awe of him. Progressive Federal Party MP Dave Dalling this week described Botha as "a president who brooks no opposition, a leader who keeps his party together by a mixture of fear and patronage".

No-one dares to step out of line lest they face a similar political castration to Riaan Ecksteen and Allan Hendrickse — neither of whom will be remembered for being overendowed to start off with.

A few random examples of the presidential style can be mentioned. Professor Robert Schrire, of the University of Cape Town's Department of Political Studies, wrote an opinion piece in the *Sunday Times* three weeks ago arguing that Botha was making such a mess of things that this would hasten change and reform.

According to sources at the university, he got a personal call from the president's office on the Monday telling him that "the state president is not amused" and taking issue with the argument.

In the same week a student, writing in Stellenbosch University's student magazine, *Die Matie*, did a satirical rip-off of the conversation between Botha and Ecksteen following the Hendrickse resignation/firing debacle. The student was summoned to see the rector and told that objections had been received from the president's office.

Ironically, this pettiness has coincided with a mock dignity, verging on banana republic style.

When Botha leaves his official residence, Tuynhuys, every morning he is fanfared out by a brass band with a drum roll in the middle. If he drops home for tea, the procedure is repeated.

Sources in parliament say the new parliamentary debating chamber, now being constructed, will have a special place for the state president to sit, ringed off from the rest of the chamber — a real live throne.

Professor Andre du Toit, of UCT, says that people normally talk about the power of the state president in terms of Botha's personality.

"But I would say it goes a bit deeper. One should look at the implications of the constitutional structure, the change to an executive president.

"This has really removed the president from the kind of collective leadership which there still was within the National Party caucus. The constitution has created just that much more distance.

"It's much more difficult to have access, he's much more ensconced with a certain inner grouping of particular figures."

This inner grouping of advisors with access to Botha — an open secret in parliament — is said to include the president's dominee from the Wilderness.

Aside from the structural aspects, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert says Botha is pivotal to the whole power structure. "I don't know to what extent the whole National Security Management Committee has gelled so that it can go on without him."

The nature of the office has important implications for the succession struggle.

With Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis blown out of contention by his opponent in the May election, Denis Worrall, many believe that the field should now be open to Minister of National Education FW de Klerk.

For years past De Klerk has been assiduously wooing the National Party caucus which, though weaker now in terms of political clout, still — under current rules — decides the succession.

But De Klerk has distinct weaknesses. He is a lightweight both in terms of his cabinet portfolio and his relationship with the state security apparatus. He is not even thought to be a member of the inner cabinet, the State Security Council.

Distrusted by the remaining *verligtes* inside the caucus, De Klerk is leader of the party in the Transvaal, where National Party support is crumbling in the face of the Conservative Party threat.

Essentially, De Klerk is the George Bush of South African politics — his rather skimpy political CV gives little indication of what kind of leader he will be if he ascends to power. But there are precious few other real contenders.

Dalling told parliament this week that NP backbenchers were already canvassing support for Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha, who would probably be the choice of the white public if they directly elected the president.

However, Botha is said to lack the political respect of his cabinet colleagues and is unlikely to win a majority of the caucus.

One name which is now being mentioned — for the first time — as a contendor is archmilitarist General Magnus Malan, who is now said to have a full-time lobbyist in parliament wooing the caucus.

Though the tendency is still to scoff at Malan, one part-time parliament-watcher, Van Zyl Slabbert, takes him very seriously: "There was an interesting shift when Magnus became deputy leader of the National Party in the Transvaal. He moved away from being a purely bureaucratic minister of Defence, and he entered the political arena.

"Magnus must be taken very seriously — he understands the whole security system back to front. Even if De Klerk makes it, the first person he will have to get very close to is Magnus."

That there should be a succession struggle right now, however, is strange because Botha appears fit and is renowned for not easily relinquishing power — for instance, he hung on to the Cape leadership of the party until last year, eight years after taking over the party leadership.

However, if the level of concern at the president's apparently irrational behaviour is as deep and widespread as it seems, then powerful forces may ally in a palace coup.

The only problem is who will replace Botha and move into the exceedingly powerful position which he has created around himself.

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# Why the State's been illegal for 56 years

**A controversial paper by a legal academic argues that the South African state has been 'illegal' since 1931. THAMI MKHWANAZI reports**

WHEN the British government granted independence to South Africa, it violated the right of the people of South Africa to national self-determination — a right enshrined in the 1919 League of Nations Covenant.

Acording to advocate Mathole Motshekga, a legal academic at the University of South Africa, the Covenant embodied a principle of trusteeship which required the British to administer South Africa until the people themselves could take over.

The 1931 Statutes of Westminster, which granted independence to a number of self-governing territories and dominions, including South Africa, violated the Covenant.

In a paper at the recent Intervarsity Law Students' Council in Johannesburg, Motshekga, senior lecturer in the Department of Criminal and Procedural Law, argued that instead of complying with the two requirements, the British granted independence to a settler white minority community thus creating a settler colonial state, contrary to international law and morality.

Both the South Africa Act of 1909 and the Status of Westminster Act were validly enacted in terms of British law. But insofar as they applied to South Africa, they were illegitimate, he said, because they violated the Covenant.

The subsequent enactment of the Status of South Africa Act of 1934 did not validate the "fatally defective" title conferred on the settler white minority by Britain.

As a result all subsequent South African governments became "merely *de facto* governments". Such governments had no legitimacy because they were not constituted on "the will of the people".

Motshekga said the Freedom Charter, adopted in Kliptown in 1955, sought to remedy the British flaw, for it called for the extension of the right to national self-determination to South Africans as a whole.This implied the replacement of the present apartheid administrative organs of power.

The idea of people's organs of power promoted by the "mass democratic movement" were the realisation of an alternative state envisaged in the Freedom Charter, he said, not some new state inspired by an alien ideology.

Because colonialists had robbed indigenous African people of their land and exploited its resources, thereby underdeveloping them, the charter called, as a remedy in post-apartheid South Africa, for the restoration of the national wealth — the mineral resources, banks and monopoly industry — to the people as a whole.

But by stating that "all other industries and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people", the charter made it clear that the control of industries and trade did not mean a total prohibition of private enterprise. In fact, it extended the right to trade and to choose where to trade to the people.

In the paper Motshekga distinguishes between human rights and people's rights. The former were focused on the individual, while the latter were the rights of an organised people within a given territory. According to Motshekga, before human rights — such as the rights of assembly and worship, the right to vote, freedom of consicence — could be attained, people's rights had to be achieved.

"In South Africa," he said, "we have not yet achieved people's rights and therefore it is premature to debate about human rights."

Motshekga identified three main people's rights contained in the Freedom Charter: the right to national self-determination, the right to development and "permanent and inalienable" rights over the national wealth which, he says, entitles formerly colonised countries to nationalise it.

The right to self-determination, he said, was a fundamental "people's right". In underlining this the African Charter (adopted by the Organisation of African Unity) granted colonised and other oppressed people a "right of resistance" against all forms of colonialism and oppression. It also called upon member states to render material and other assistance.

The Freedom Charter, like the African Charter, was distiguishable from liberal human rights concepts in that it established a link between people's rights and human rights.

African states, he said, had developed the idea of people's rights found in a 1977 United Nations General Assembly resolution, sponsored by the Non-Aligned Movement.

The recognition of peoples' right to self-determination in the early forties coincided with the rise of Afrikaner nationalism. A group of young Afrikaner intellectuals published a draft constitution for the future South African republic which was couched, he said, in uncompromisingly racial terms.

Ironically in the same year, the African National Congress established the Youth League, which recaptured the ideology of Africanism and adopted it as their liberatory creed, relying on African culture as their inspiration.

# A nod to Indaba Bill of rights ... but KwaZulu still detains

**KwaZulu is a 'major signatory' of the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba, which includes a Bill of Rights outlawing detention without trial. But that hasn't prevented KwaZulu police from holding detainees.**

**By CARMEL RICKARD**

KWAZULU Police actions are under the spotlight for alleged human rights violations, sparking criticism that they are not observing fundamental civil rights, let alone abiding by the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba's Bill of Rights.

This month, in what may be the first such incident since the start of the Emergency, the KZP have used Emergency provisions to detain — and in at least one case, deny legal access to such a detainee.

KwaZulu is a "major signatory" of the Indaba whose Bill of Rights outlaws detention without trial and provides for legal access as a fundamental right.

The detentions occurred after a memorial service for executed African National Congress guerrilla Andrew Zondo on September 9. Members of the KZP detained over 170 students in Zondo's father's church and held them overnight. The unrest report issued by the South African Police said the arrests were made in terms of Emergency regulations.

The following day all but four were released. Of the four, only the name of a Nhlakanipho High School matric pupil, Tebello Joshua Nteshane, 18, has been confirmed by the KZP.

Nteshane's lawyer, Linda Zama, said she telexed KwaZulu for permission to see him. On Monday this week she was informed by telex from Ulundi that Nteshane was being held in Westville Prison under Emergency regulations. She was told by KwaZulu's Brigadier SM Mathe that she was not allowed to see Nteshane, and cited the Emergency regulations as reason for the refusal "at this stage".

Zama said she acts for a number of clients held under Emergency regulations by the SAP, but that she has never been refused permission to consult with them.

She said the detentions at the Zondo service carried out by the KZP under Emergency powers were the first she was aware of.

"In refusing to allow consultation with detainees, the KZP appear to be worse than the SAP," she added. "They are denying a fundamental human right in not giving a detainee legal access."

Her comments were backed by other Durban lawyers who said they had never been refused permission by the SAP to see their clients.

Lawyers have begun to co-ordinate information and affadavits about what they say is the "apparent excessive use of force" by members of the KZP in Natal townships.

A recent example emerged in two urgent applications brought last week in the Durban Supreme Court.

The judges ordered that lawyers be given access to three detainees held by the KZP— one of them a woman who was allegedly last seen "naked except for a sheet wrapped around her while being transported by the KZP."

The other case related to two men picked up by the KZP at the same time as the woman. The brother of one said he had seen them being assaulted by KZP members at the Umbumbulu police station and feared for their lives. When Legal Resources Centre lawyers tried to get information on their whereabouts, KZP officers at Umbumbulu said the two had been "transferred" and there was no record of where they had been taken— a situation described by lawyers as "highly unusual if not improper".

KwaZulu's commissioner of police, Brigadier Mathe, later sent a telex to the LRC saying that the two were being held at Ulundi. The judge hearing the urgent application ordered that lawyers be given access to them. Failing this, KwaZulu would have to produce them in court.

The LRC lawyers immediately went to Ulundi, saw their clients and took statements alleging they were beaten by KZP at Umbumbulu. A damages claim is being prepared on behalf of the two.

Asked to comment on the apparent breach by KwaZulu of the Indaba's Bill of Rights, through Emergency detention without legal access, Natal PFP leader Ray Swart said, "We are opposed to detentions without trial and have always stood up for this principle.

"If you had a Bill of Rights this would not happen. I think it lends strength to the need for such a Bill. They (KwaZulu) should be questioned about this but we continue to believe in the principles enshrined in the Bill."

New Republic Party signatory to the Indaba and former Natal MEC Fred Clarke said he had "total confidence" in the *bona fides* of the KwaZulu government, although he had entered the Indaba talks with "big doubts".

If some breach of civil rights occured, colleagues in the cabinet would ensure the matter was rectified once the "new system" was implemented, he said.

Indaba co-convenor Oscar Dhlomo, who is also the KwaZulu minister of education and culture, said the issue involved the department of the minister of police and he was unable to comment on the situation.

The minister of police — KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi — had not replied to a telex on the issue at the time of going to press.

# Prisoners tell what lay behind 18 day strike

**By JO-ANN BEKKER**

BEHIND an 18-day passive disobedience strike in the section reserved for white political prisoners in Pretoria Central Prison lie claims of physical and mental maltreatment.

The details emerged in an application currently before the Transvaal Division of the Supreme Court. The commissioner of prisons and the officer commanding the security prison have one month to respond to the claims and application for relief.

At the root of the application lies the authorities' decision last December — which the applicants claim contravenes the Prisons Act — to divide the six long-term prisoners into two groups of three.

The five applicants — Carl Niehaus, Eric Pelser, Stephen Marais, Robert Adam and Roland Hunter — claimed the separation had damaged their psychological and physical wellbeing. Their conclusions were supported by four psychologists, including a professor at the Rand Afrikaans University.

The inmates are asking that the authorities revoke their decision to separate white male prisoners according tal deterioration with the prison psychologist, Colonel Rina Nel. Niehaus said they had asked Nel to recommend the three be reunited with the other white political prisoners.

But, he said, "She said she was not prepared to make such a recommendation. She further pointed out that 'prison is not meant to be a hotel'."

Niehaus said Colonel Nel had later stated "her first loyalty was to the Prison Service. She said she was not prepared to do anything about the circumstances of our imprisonment."

When repeated attempts failed to secure their reintegration, and after Niehaus was demoted for allegedly communicating with a detainee, the five men embarked on a passive protest on July 30.

They refused to shave, rise on instruction, or clean their living quarters. "We did so not out of any gratuitous desire to be defiant but because we were at the end of our tether and no-one, least of all those charged with the responsiblity for our mental health, seemed to care," Niehaus

# Much cause for scepticism

It would seemingly take a lot more to get the National Council going than meeting the demands made by black leaders as conditions for taking part.

But if the government is serious about involving blacks in the decision-making process, it will have to seriously consider these demands.

At the moment, there is very little to convince blacks of the viability of the new body as a forum for constitutional talks. It seems doomed to fail, as has been indicated by its rejection by most black political and community organisations and by trade unions.

Even some leaders in government-created institutions are sceptical about it. Daveyton's mayor, Mr Tom Boya, who is also president of the United Municipalities of South Africa (Umsa), has said that his organisation, which has the support of 50 local authorities, will not take part unless certain conditions are met.

Umsa's conditions are similar to those laid down by other organisations, including Inkatha: release Nelson Mandela and Zephania Mothopeng

**By Sam Mabe**

and unban the Pan Africanist Congress and the African National Congress.

Most people have lost faith in the Government, particularly because of the poor perfomance of the tricameral parliament, homeland governments and the black local authorities.

For that reason, they will have to be armed with a reasonable amount of hope and confidence that negotiations that are going to take place in the National Council are not going to be an exercise in futility.

If the Government has indeed had a change of heart, it seems only logical that its first step would be to release political prisoners, allow exiles to return and unban those organisations which have been calling for black participation in Government.

This will mean that laws restricting freedom of speech and association will also have to be scrapped. This will create a climate in which views can be expressed freely and those leaders at present unknown to the Government and who are probably too scared to show their heads, will start emerging.

Leaders who are to take part in the National Council will be able to consult freely with their constituencies and to get mandates from time to time. It will make no sense for the Government to expect dialogue between black and white when there is no dialogue between black and black.

Credentials of all participants in the National Council, particularly bantustan leaders, will also have to be verified through the ballot box in free and fair elections which are not going to be run in terms of the present bantustan constitutions.

This is because the representivity of most of them is highly questionable. A leader such as Chief Patrick Mphephu of Venda, for example, did not win any of the three elections held in his homeland. He would therefore need the backing of his constituency before qualifying to speak for anybody.

The status of the "independent" bantustan governments will also have to be given serious thought. Any constitutional dispensation that recognises the independence of the bantustans will be meaningless.

There are also leaders such as Mr John Gogotya of the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance and Bishop Isaac Mokoena, United Christian Conciliation Party, who are not known in the black community except through appearances they have made on SABC-TV.

They have come out very strongly in favour of participation in the National Council, but none of the credible black leaders will be happy to sit at the same side of the table with them until their leadership has been given a ballot test.

The bona fides of Mr P W Botha, who is to be chairman of the National Council, are also questionable since there is no guarantee that he can be a neutral chairman.

The temperamental outbursts he has made against members of the Labour Party in the tricameral parliament can only make most blacks even more sceptical.

# Role of whites in future SA

By Adele Baleta

Political, business, church, academic and trade union leaders will address meetings and workshops at the Five Freedom Forums' national conference to be held at the University of the Witwatersrand this weekend.

The three-day conference titled "Towards Democracy — Whites in a Changing South Africa" begins tonight.

The aim of the conference is to explore the role that whites can play, both now and in the future, in building a non-racial South Africa, said Forum spokesman, Mr Noel Stott.

The conference opens with a public meeting to be addressed by Dr van Zyl Slabbert, director of planning and policy for the Institute for Democratic Alternatives in South Africa (IDASA), Mr Bob Tucker, managing director of the S A Permanent Building Society and Professor Abram Viljoen, Idasa's Northern Transvaal director.

Mr Tucker said he did not fear any backlash from clients or business associates as a result of his participation.

"I am not a member of Idasa or the Five Freedoms Forum. I will be talking purely on economic issues which I believe need to be heard by those who want to attack the existing system.

"Economic issues are imoportant to anyone who is considering South Africa's future," he said.

Tomorrow's plenary session will be addressed by Professor Mike Savage, head of the Department of Sociology at the University of Cape Town and Independent MP, Mr Johan van Eck.

This will be followed by a number of forums featuring speakers such as Mr Sydney Mafumade, assistant general secretary of the Congress of South Africa Trade Unions and Mr Azhar Cachalia, treasurer of the United Democratic Front.

Reverend Nico Smit of the NG Kerk of Africa and Unisa's Theology Department will be among the speakers at Sunday's session.

It will be followed by workshops dealing with various aspects affecting people's lives, such as religion, sport and business.

Registration opens at 4 pm today

NTGW 25/9/87 (HB) (30KA)



# SA approached ANC 3 times, says BBC

**The Argus Foreign Service**

LONDON. — The South African Government had tried three times in two months to arrange secret talks with African National Congress leaders, the BBC reported today.

The broadcast noted that in the past South Africa had consistently condemned the ANC as a terrorist organisation, saying it would never negotiate with those who perpetuated violence.

## Tambo

The BBC said news of the reported attempts emerged at the Harare anti-apartheid conference. But one of those attending, ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, had made it clear he was not interested in secret talks with South Africa.

Graham Leach, the BBC's Southern Africa correspondent, reporting from Harare, quoted "highly placed conference sources" on the three attempts.

The first occurred at the meeting in Dakar between ANC leaders and liberal Afrikaners, one of whom, said the sources, had previously met officials of South Africa's National Intelligence Service, who asked the Dakar delegate to tell the ANC that a Government minister was willing to meet them.

The sources said the second contact involved a meeting arranged through an intermediary between an ANC refugee in Botswana and members of South Africa's security police and military intelligence when a similar message was passed on.

According to the sources, further interest in meeting the ANC was expressed by a South African official recently in Lusaka.

## Why secret?

To each of these approaches, said the sources, the ANC response was the same: to ask which minister and why the talks had to be secret, as well as demanding that anti-apartheid groups within South Africa should also be consulted.

The sources said the ANC suspected that Pretoria was signalling a willingness to talk to help Mrs Margaret Thatcher to fight off further sanctions demands at the Commonwealth conference summit in Vancouver.

# The bitter and the sweet

**Will F W de Klerk, seen by many as a strict party ideologue, be able to ride out the times? The *FM* quizzed him on his perceptions of Nat policy and the recent swing to the Right in his province.**

***FM*: To what extent does the CP "threat" influence NP decisions?**

**De Klerk:** The parties on the far Right do not affect National Party (NP) thinking or strategy materially. We do things because we believe they are right. Our policy is our guideline for our decision-making. Obviously there has been a redefinition of the role of the Conservative Party (CP) in parliament because it is now the official opposition and of necessity more attention is given in debates to contrasting their point of view with ours.

**What is your view of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) and of the Independents?**

The PFP is visibly dispirited. It seems to be a party that has lost direction and is floundering. The Independents have gone underground. We hear they are active at constituency level and appear to be honing in on the void left by the weakening of the PFP. If they get their act together — because forming a party is different to making vague noises, which is all they've done up to now — the Independents might, in the place of the PFP, become an element in South African politics. I don't believe they will be a greater threat to the NP than the PFP ever was.



***FM*'s Botha and Freimond interview De Klerk . . . heir apparent**

**Is the perception correct that government is becoming more intolerant of extra-parliamentary opposition groups?**

When you use the words extra-parliamentary opposition you create the impression that government adopts the stance it does merely because opposition comes from extra-parliamentary groups as such. That isn't true. The crux of the matter is that there are organisations that want to bring about constitutional change in an unconstitutional manner through extra-parliamentary channels. Anyone is free to have an opinion and to express it within the bounds of the law; but when extra-parliamentary organisations start bypassing parliament you have a totally different situation. That is not opposition, that is undermining the authority not of the government, but of the State. We must guard against that in SA because it's the road to anarchy.

**In the censure motion debate in May you stated that the NP won't accept majority rule in a unitary state and that the only workable solution is a balance of power where everyone has power and a share in the power, but in such a way that no one can manipulate the system to seize all power. Is this not an extremely rigid and prescriptive approach to negotiation?**

No. There is broad consensus on this view. Many black leaders opposed to the government accept that a typical one-man-one-vote system in a unitary state is not the solution for SA. Everyone involved in the negotiation process, and those one would like to see more fully involved, make no bones about their points of view — so why shouldn't the NP clearly state its own strongly held views?

Negotiation is a give and take process. You aren't negotiating if all the giving is from one side and all the taking from the other. Rigidity is bad for negotiation and the NP is not rigid. It has views about certain basics, but built into my statement is a preparedness to share power, to reach a situation where de jure and de facto we will no longer dominate others. Refusal to accept this as a departure point implies support for a system where a majority will be able to dominate minorities, and I'm sure that's unacceptable to the leaders of all minority groups in SA.

**In recent years the business community and some business leaders have become increasingly involved in what may be regarded as purely political issues. What specific role should businessmen play in the reform process?**

My philosophy is sovereignty within one's own sphere (*soewereiniteit in eie kring*). Whenever a government interferes in business it makes a mistake and there is an outcry from the business community. The opposite is also true; whenever business becomes too directly involved in politics, it's not good for business and it's not good for the country. I believe the various disciplines, in this case government and organised business, must respect each other's autonomy. Government is doing so. Its policy of deregulation and privatisation and its efforts to contain the growth of the civil service and to promote the concept of a free economy is proof of this. Business would be making a mistake to interfere directly in politics.

I believe the emphasis on reform through business must be in the business field itself. Obviously business and government can't be divorced from each other. There is an interrelationship and communication channels must be kept open — but within the framework of respecting each other's autonomy.

**But, for example, a businessman may believe the Group Areas Act is contributing to an unstable climate in SA and is therefore bad for business and should go. He may appeal to government to scrap the Act. Would you say that is becoming directly involved in the political sphere?**

I don't object to a person stating his belief. But let me also use an example: I believe it is in order for business to say that if a Bill of Rights should come about, the following points should be included with regard to the economy. But to start writing constitutions and drafting Bills of Rights dealing with all issues is, I believe, overstepping the mark. Then businessmen are stepping onto a political platform. They are free to do so, but, to a certain extent, they then become politicians and subject to the normal disciplines applying to politicians and must accept the bitter and the sweet of politics.

**Many people are currently pessimistic about SA when they look at continuing unrest, the apparently slow pace of reform and nothing obvious on the horizon to give them hope. How do you see the future?**

I have confidence in SA and in the ability of South Africans to overcome our problems and to provide full opportunity and security for all. In essence that's what the NP is striving for. I believe that in 20 to 25 years SA will fulfil its potential and become an economic giant. The road ahead will be tough, there are no short-cuts or quick fixes for the problems of SA. But if we succeed — and I'm sure we can and will — in getting reasonable people from all population groups to stand up and be counted and to assert themselves in this watershed period, I have no doubt that we will come out strongly on the other side and that we won't only survive, but we will prosper. ■



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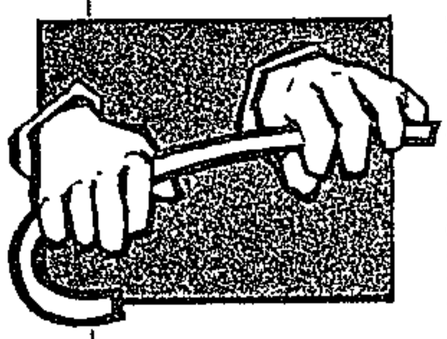
FACE TO FACE

THE PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION

# From P W to F W



**It's repetitive,** but it has to be said: P W Botha has had his day. No one can doubt the force, and obstinacy, of his personality — his unwillingness to temper domestic realities to foreign suasion. He believes in what he says; he is taking reform as far as he wishes it to run; and his impact on his party and the country will be felt for many years yet.

But at what a cost! He wrecked the rand. Our human rights record is lower than Cuba's. The financial burden of the public sector he vowed to curb is crushing life and will from the taxpaying entrepreneur. And for all the lip-service to individual enterprise, deregulation and privatisation, the cumbersome regulatory mechanisms governing the homelands — "independent" or not — have left us with massive economic distortions and deepening racial polarisation.

Botha, now 71, will sooner or later make his exit. So who comes next? Enter F W de Klerk, described by the London *Financial Times* as "the perfect man to reassure nervous, politically unsophisticated middle-of-the-roaders to head off the rightwing challenge. At present he looks more like an intelligent pragmatist determined to make the entrenched ideological system work better than a man with a new vision of a modern non-racial future for SA."

**The man most likely to be king is F W de Klerk. He is well aware of this — and has begun rehearsing for the role. But the actual presidency will require great political and economic skills which he does not yet appear to have.**

That isn't a compliment; F W's limits are unfortunately all too apparent (see **accompanying *Face to face***). Nonetheless, he is the crown prince. His credentials are good: Transvaal leader of the National Party (NP), Minister of National Education, chairman of the white Minister's Council, leader of the House of Assembly, fifth in Cabinet seniority.

His main rivals are seen as Cape Nat leader Chris Heunis, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and — as an outsider, though once the frontrunner — Education and Development Aid Minister, Gerrit Viljoen.

Heunis's chances were scuppered by Denis Worrall. Pik Botha, while no longer quite the rogue elephant of a few years ago, lacks structural party support. Magnus Malan perhaps represents the military solution — but we aren't there yet.

Only in the event of a Cape/Transvaal impasse, elder statesman and P W Botha confidant, Alwyn Schlebusch, may emerge as a compromise candidate. So De Klerk has emerged as the strongest contender for the post-P W presidency.

True, his image as provincial leader did not emerge unscathed after Conservative Party (CP) gains in the May elections; but as the *FT* correctly observes, he remains the only Nat personality capable of luring party dissidents back to the laager.

This task takes on paramount importance when the results of the last election are placed in perspective. Traditionally, the NP leader came from the Transvaal — that was where the majority of seats were held, and where ideological purity was a *sine qua non* until John Vorster wrecked his leaky ship and Connie Mulder was ignominiously ejected in place of the Cape leader, P W Botha.

Now, the numbers look very different. The Transvaal Nats have 47 seats; the Cape 48 (with 14 alike in Natal and the OFS). The CP holds 22 in the Transvaal, and is set to gain without heroic efforts from, specifically, De Klerk — Transvaal leader and presidential heir apparent. (There are 10 nominated NP MPs, and one for the CP.)

Perhaps wisely, as a man with so much at stake, he declines to even discuss the possibility of party — and national — leadership. But this is doubtless an issue he contemplates at length, and it is a position he will fight for when the time is propitious.

What kind of man is he?

De Klerk places strong emphasis on group security, group rights, own affairs and own this-and-that. For insecure whites this offers a degree of comfort; and this is where the shrewd politician he hides behind a bland exterior excels. Or to put it another way — he can tell an audience what it wants to hear. If he contradicts himself . . . well, what politician doesn't?

Thus, a closed NP information meeting at Innesdal heard De Klerk say clearly that NP policy on blacks has failed, and that it is "untenable that a white minority can rule a black majority." Yet only a few weeks before that he asked that people of colour living in "white" areas be reported to the authorities.

On the university discipline issue he felt free to talk tough — laying down the law in no uncertain terms to principals of liberal universities plagued by student unrest.

For this and other reasons his leftwing opponents in parliament see him as a conservative merely pandering to the growing rightwing. Of course, those on the Right believe he oscillates between verlig and verkramp views depending on which sector of the NP he is trying to influence.

The ambiguity is well caught in De Klerk's own definition of his political philosophy — that it is based on the need to simultaneously achieve two goals, group security and equal rights for all. "We didn't create the groups, they are part of the reality," he says. "Their need to be and feel secure against being swamped by majorities is a reality. Unless you succeed in catering for that, you won't find a solution.

"On the other hand, there is the reality that there are millions of people who don't as yet enjoy the same rights as others; who are suffering as a result of backlogs that can be historically explained; who are not participating at all levels in decision-making. You must provide full participation for them. You must evolve a system in which everyone will participate, but where there will still be security for minorities and where no one group will be able to dominate another."

What this will mean in practice remains to be seen; it sounds good but means little without action. And F W really ought to start honing his economic skills, if any.

Apart from hunting with the hounds and running with the hares, F W needs all the friends he can get. In his (fervently denied) quest for the presidency he has an influential supporter in Cabinet colleague and former Broederbond boss Gerrit Viljoen. Seen as a powerful intellectual figure among verligtes, Viljoen's backing could be decisive once the race is on.

However, in a close-run race, Viljoen himself may be tempted to run — and in that case could draw support from the Pik Botha and Heunis camps. Sources close to De Klerk say in this event — a sudden death play-off between De Klerk and Viljoen — De Klerk may be pipped at the post. His all-things-to-all-white-men game may militate against him then.

Other problems lie ahead en route to Tuynhuys. As a Dopper (a member of the Potchefstroom-based Reformed Church), De Klerk positively invites resistance from some quarters, notably members of the bigger Dutch Reformed Church. And there has been his tricky relationship with his older brother Willem, who earlier this year resigned as editor of *Rapport* in protest against government pressure on his editorial policies.

It was left to De Klerk — insiders say on the instructions of the president — to public-

ly castigate his brother for going against Nat policy. Yet they remain close and have apparently agreed to disagree.

On the other hand, critics on the Nationalist Left have no doubt that his wife is the staunch conservative of the De Klerk household. Marike de Klerk plays a leading role in party politics — she serves on the Federal Council of the NP — and is a very outspoken lady.

For example, she has advised the wives of Nat MPs — especially those belonging to women organisations — not to get into political discussions with black women. De Klerk will always give serious consideration to his wife's viewpoint, those close to him say.

Then there is the role of the Afrikaans press. The old cosy Keeromstraat relationship between Nasionale Pers and P W Botha cannot be ignored. The continuing bond between chairman Piet Cillie and Botha (together with Botha's formidable presence) is definitely the determining factor in Naspers's subservient attitude towards the Botha regime. The group has even seconded a senior journalist, Jack Viviers, as press spokesman to the president's office.

As president, De Klerk would simply not enjoy the same degree of media obedience. As a Transvaaler he would find it difficult to penetrate the inner sanctum of the Cape-based press group, whose bosses — with 50% of *Rapport* — did nothing to protect Willem de Klerk from P W's wrath.

De Klerk's style has also come under fire as lacking aggression — a quality more favoured in some Afrikaner circles than clear-headedness and an ability to negotiate. Part of the problem lies in the unexpected elevation of De Klerk to Transvaal leadership in the wake of Andries Treurnicht's rebellion in 1982.



**FW ... precipitated into leadership**

At that time F W tramped the length and breadth of the northern and western Transvaal, facing waves of rebellious Nationalists who consistently shouted him down as he attempted to salvage what was left of the NP in those regions. It was a baptism of fire that no Nat provincial leader since 1948 had experienced, and clearly tempered him for the confrontations to come.

This year rural voters in their tens of thousands turned their backs on the Nationalist cause. Despite De Klerk's relatively cool public dismissal of the CP "threat," it is considerable and growing — and he knows it: " ... there were periods I found particularly challenging ... the most challenging so far was when the rift in the NP occurred and I was called on as a relatively young man and relatively junior minister to assume the leadership of the NP in the Transvaal. Things were in disarray, old friendships were destroyed, supporters of the NP were confused. But we are now through that," he adds optimistically — or disingenuously.

De Klerk probably keeps the lowest profile of all P W's senior ministers. He does not socialise with Cabinet colleagues and those who know him well describe him as a very private person. He has never really been one of P W Botha's coterie — a dubious honour bestowed on Pik Botha, Malan and, until recently, Heunis. Only lately had the president begun to confide in him, and solicit his opinion. Perhaps there is a reason for this: the president will want to sound out his heir apparent before conferring the regal succession.

De Klerk is shaping up for the role: "In my management style I believe in convincing people, because by doing so you take them with you and the decision has a chance of acceptance and successful implementation."

Can this man rescue us from the economic malaise and political cul-de-sac into which P W's rule has taken us? He is clearly a canny, astute politician. That may well get him the job — but after that he will have to deliver, and do so for the majority, not just the privileged whites in the boundaries of the old South African Republic. ■

# 'Break from Westminster?'

## 9 chambers proposed for Parliament

**DAVID BRAUN,**
**Political Correspondent**

CAPE TOWN — Parliament could sit in up to nine different chambers if radical new rules and orders for its procedures are accepted.

The new rules are contained in a report of the Committees on Standing Rules and Orders tabled in Parliament yesterday. They are to be discussed by the various Houses of Parliament on Monday.

Chief Whip of Parliament Mr Alex van Breda yesterday described the proposed new rules as "the final break from the Westminster system".

The rules have been drawn up after the decision by Parliament last year to allow for joint debates of members of all three houses in the same chamber from the 1988 session.

Among the new proposals are:

● Parliament may sit together as three houses, but in up to four different chambers, in the form of "extended committees" at the same time.

The four chambers that would be used in this way, with members of all three houses together in any one venue, would be those used by the House of Assembly, the House of Representatives, the House of Delegates and the new chamber for the House of Delegates (which comes on stream when the new wing of Parliament containing a super-chamber for assembly of all 308 MPs in the tricameral system comes on stream).

The practical effect of sitting in separate extended committees would be that the different budget votes of ministers, or different items of legislation, could be handled by Parliament at the same time.

Political parties would be under no obligation to attend any of the extended committee debates, and may choose to have all its MPs in only one particular debate.

The current requirement that there be a quorum in a house would fall away under the new system, although each house would have to have a quorum when it voted.

● When the various Joint Standing Committees responsible for the four provinces meet and discuss their respective provincial budgets, they may meet in the provincial capitals concerned.

This would mean that for the duration of those debates, the chambers used in those capitals would be part of Parliament. Parliament would not sit in plenary session in Cape Town during such debates. The debates would be open to the public.

Attention was being given to the possibility that the Administrators could take part in the debates, Mr van Breda said.

● There would be no joint voting in the new system. Each house would meet separately once a week for a voting session, at which, before each vote, the different parties would have the opportunity to make one "voting declaration" of two to three minutes outlining their attitudes towards the vote.

● The tradition of a no-confidence debate will be scrapped, except unless an individual house introduces such a motion in the Cabinet or its Ministers' Council.

In place of the annual no-confidence debate at the start of each session, the assembled Parliament will, in the week after the opening of legislature, discuss the State President's opening speech.

No vote will be taken on the speech and the President would be under no obligation to reply to the debate.

The debate, like that in a no-confidence debate, would be free-ranging on any topic affecting the country.

● Amendments to Bills after they have been debated in joint sittings will be referred with such Bills back to the original Standing Commmittees which considered them.

If such Committees agree by consensus to the amendments the Bills will go straight to vote, without further public debate.

Post Focus



TERRE'BLANCHE . . . support growing fast

# South Africa's white revolt



TREURNICHT . . . gets white industrial vote

## A R KENNY, writing in the Spectator, finds the great threat comes not from black miners, but from right-wing white workers

SOUTH AFRICAN revolution is coming, but everybody is looking the wrong way. The black miners' strike once again turned the heads of South Africa-watchers in the wrong direction.

Our little Eastern Transvaal fastness made the main international news with a violent incident at the coal mine that supplies our power station. There was no such interest in the far more ominous event in May of this year, the white election.

This election revealed with chilling clarity the most dangerous fact of South African politics; politically white SA is divided not by language, not as between town and country, not by region — but by class.

All white opposition to apartheid comes from the rich middle-class; the white working-class is rock-solid in favour of it.

Throughout the country there is now a great tidal movement of white workers towards the extreme pro-apartheid parties, a movement compared with which the antics of the ANC are a sideshow and which more than anything else menaces SA's future.

The easiest way to see this is to superimpose a map of the white political constituencies upon an economic-geological map of SA. You will see immediately that support for the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) is reduced to a few rich middle-class constituencies in the big cities, the swimming-pool constituencies.

You will see that support for Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party (CP) follows the coal seams. Where there is coal there are mines and heavy industry and a white industrial proletariat which now votes CP.

The map will show you, too, that the most enthusiastic support for hard-line apartheid comes not from the farmlands, but the industralised areas.

Throughout the economy the divide is the same. The boardrooms and reception areas are open to all races; the factory floors have "White Men" and "Non-White Men" lavatories.

The senior managers might vote PFP; the welders and fitters used to vote for the Nationalist Government and are now voting CP.

White university students are trickling into the multiracial United Democratic Front (UDF); white workers are pouring into the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB).

The AWB — led by Eugene Terre'Blanche — is a straightforward fascist party: nationalist, racist, socialist and big on the historical destiny of the volk. It is also, I believe, the fastest-growing political party in Africa.

The class divide over race in SA is far wider than any class divide in Britain.

There is nothing at all unusual about the racial attitudes of white working men in SA.

I worked for some years at a factory in the north of England and I am now working at a power station in the Eastern Transvaal, and in their attitudes towards race, and indeed everything else, I find the white worker from Lancashire and the white worker from the Transvaal to be as alike as two peas in a pod.

By far the most serious insurrection that SA has ever faced happened in 1922 when the country was faced with an armed rebellion of white mineworkers. The workers rose up in arms when the mine owners on the Rand decided to allow black miners into jobs until then reserved for whites. The Smuts Government backed the mine owners and had to use troops and artillery to put down the workers' rebellion, with a large loss of life.

Some of the white workers were Communists and their interesting rallying cry was: "Workers of the world, unite and fight for a white SA!" Some died on the gallows singing the Red Flag — working-class martyrs dedicated to apartheid.

The NP that came to power in 1948 carried the mantle of these martyrs.

But over the last decade or so the NP has lost its raw working-class appeal and has become gentrified, prosperous and reform-minded. Many of the men at our power station regard P W Botha as a "kaffirboetie" and increasingly the NP are regarded as a bunch of rich careerists who, at the behest of the international community, are preparing to sell out the white working man to the blacks.

My employer is now an "equal opportunities employer" and has rejected job reservation for whites. I attended a meeting of our shift when the production manager explained the new system to the operators, black and white.

I watched the white workers as he spoke. Fearing the loss of their jobs if they dissented, they listened in silence, their faces like stone. That week there would be another 100 new recruits for the AWB. In the May election the lads voted overwhelmingly for the CP.

Liberal opinion, at home and abroad, shuns white workers completely. South African liberals and socialists, who find blacks exotic and pitiable, find the white workers merely vulgar and ignorant. Various pilgrimates of foreign anti-apartheiders never consult representatives of the white working-class — in many ways the most important "shade of opinion" in SA.

The worst snobs in this regard are the Marxists, for whom the white worker is a forbidden non-subject. It sometimes seems that the only thing which unites Marxists the world over is a deep loathing for the working-class.

However, the Nationalist Government might well have managed to push through racial reforms and keep its working-class support but for one crucial new circumstance: sanctions.

Sanctions have been brilliantly successful in strengthening the facist parties and in damaging the prospects for ending apartheid. When the NP began its programme of reform, it promised that white living standards would not suffer.

In fact the reforms were immediately followed by sanctions (a line of causation that the fascist parties have gleefully pointed out) and living standards among the poorer whites have fallen.

And as they become poorer and feel themselves more threatened by a hostile outside world, the white workers are turning for protection and understanding to the AWB.

SA faces two, and only two, possible outcomes for as far into the future as it is

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## Wraps off major reform plans

By PATRICK CULL
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — In the course of the past three weeks the Government has taken the wraps off its two major reform initiatives — the proposed National Council and the President's Council Group Areas Act report.

They have implications both internally and outside South Africa.

As initially presented, the National Council attracted little support from black leaders of any standing and seemed destined to be remembered more for the heated opposition it attracted from the Conservative Party and the PFP than anything else.

To some extent that has changed as a result of the line adopted by the Labour Party, which wants to drastically amend the nature of the council as a negotiating forum.

There is, however, still no evidence that the likes of Kwazulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will be prepared to co-operate or risk being tarred with the brush of collaboration let alone those beyond the parameters of Government patronage. And unless this happens the council appears likely to resemble the kind of discredited shell that is the community councils.

The Group Areas Act report also offers little although in all fairness the Government is going to have a tough enough job selling the concept of open areas to the intransigent souls on the Platteland.

(Many National Party MPs are surprised that the State President, Mr P W Botha has accepted the report at all.)

The report has been rejected inside the Tricameral Parliament and also outside with Government apologists having to beat the tried and tested tomtoms of "it's a step in the right direction".

The problem is that when it comes to reform the Government resembles a man on a dance floor without even rudimentary knowledge of how to dance.

The steps are either too long, or too short, while most of the time is spent in an aimless and directionless shuffle.

And, while the Government is involved in this stiff-legged pirouette, the polarisation of the South African society continues, increasingly pushing people towards a choice between black and white nationalism.

If these latest offerings from the Government have up to now met with an unhappy reception internally, reaction outside is unlikely to be markedly different.

Apart from the United Nations debate, two other key events concerning South Africa are due to take place in the near future.

United States President Ronald Reagan has to report to Congress on the efficacy of the sanctions package introduced a year ago while the Commonwealth heads of state meeting in Vancouver will also discuss economic measures against the Republic.

In the latter case, the focus will once again be on Britain's Margaret Thatcher, a steadfast opponent of sanctions.

British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe stated earlier this month in Ottawa he did not believe sanctions had been an "effective way of achieving change in the right direction".

Mrs Thatcher will therefore oppose further sanctions and is confident that she will be able to persuade the other Commonwealth heads of state to go along with her. Other diplomatic sources do not altogther share her optimism, in fact there are ominous rumblings which are by no means restricted to the African nations.

President Reagan is expected to have a far easier time as South Africa has been pushed off the centre stage by the dramtic events in the Persian Gulf and also the Phillipines as well as the Iran-Contras arms scandal.

A top United States source stated recently, however, that South Africa could still be an issue in the 1988 presidential elections.

In Vancouver, Commonwealth leaders will be viewing what progress South Africa has made towards the establishment of a non-racial democracy and in the light of this whether the present sanctions package has proved effective.

The goal of sanctions as spelled out by Sir Geoffrey Howe was to bring about the release of jailed ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, and other political prisoners and a start to negotiations.

None of this has happened and instead the Government has presented the world with the National Council and a report which continues to entrench "own" residential areas and schools.

They are eunuch achievements compared to the demands.

Mrs Thatcher may be able to argue cogently that sanctions have failed to produce the kind of change demanded — that no one can dispute.

And she may succeed again in Vancouver.

However, whether she will be able to continue to hold this line against an increasing tide of demands for a harder package with ammunition such as the National Council as currently envisaged by the Government, and the Group Areas Act report, is another matter altogether.

Such movement may count as reform in the eyes of white South Africans, but it is a far cry from what the rest of the world wants to see — and more important what the majority of South Africans desire.

# 'No solution without ANC'

DR Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, the former leader of the Progressive Frederal Party, believes no solution can be found to the country's political problems without the African National Congress (ANC).

Dr Slabbert, who last month led a group of South Africans to meet an ANC delegation in Dakar, Senegal, spoke to SOUTH correspondent MARIMUTHU SUBRAMONEY about the "Dakar Trek"; his views on the current stalemate in the country; and the role of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa).



Van Zyl Slabbert

NO solution can be found to the country's problems without the inclusion of the ANC, according to Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert.

Interviewed at his offices in Stellenbosch, Slabbert said he recognised that there were other organisations in the political debate but the Government would not find a workable solution by excluding the ANC.

Composed and confident in spite of threats against his life by the "lunatic fringe" of white politics, the Idasa leader said the ANC was one of the main participants in the struggle for political rights. They could not be wished away or dismissed as a "foreign-based terrorist organisation".

"It is wrong to compare the ANC to organisations like the Bader Meinhoff and the Red Brigade. The facts are against that.

"The ANC has a diplomatic offensive in 33 capitals of the world. They have linked-up with labour, education, religious and other organisations inside the country. They are deep into civic structures. They use strikes, boycotts, persuasions and the armed struggle - and elements of the armed struggle sometimes spill over into the use of arbitrary violence.

"This is used by the Government to claim that the main thrust of the ANC initiative revolves on the use of arbitrary violence. That, as far as I am concerned, is simply a distortion. As much as I disagree with violence, and particularly indiscriminate violence, I think one still has to keep a sense of balance about what is going on."

Slabbert said he had found the ANC officials to be seasoned diplomats. They were the kind of people the Government should be negotiating with to bring about a solution to the otir political problems.

The Government, he said, had a choice - to negotiate with ANC people with their experience and background or to be confronted by young people who had been through States of Emergency and who were "obviously going to be less diplomatic and less experienced".

It appeared that the Government regarded negotiation as talking to people who agreed with them, rather than striking a compromise with people who disagreed with them fundamentally.

"The Government's negotiation politics did not have a snowball's chance of working because it was going for the co-optive alternative.

"This option is, of course, a contradiction of the concept of negotiation politics. The fundamental difference between Pretoria and the majority is the concept of compulsory group membership where you can only participate in constitutional politics as a member of a racial group.

"Now as long as the government tries to reach a solution on that basis, no negotiation of any consequence is going to take place."

Slabbert, a "nigger" in the Afrikaner woodpile, said South Africans were trapped in a violent situation and it was up to the Government to create the climate for genuine negotiation.

"All that we can try to work for is a decrease in the level of violence by getting to the negotiating table as soon as possible. However, this cannot happen if the Government depends on coercion, a prolonged State of Emergency and other forms of repression where it detains the very people it should be negotiating with.

"Under these conditions the stability you have is very precarious. One can never be sure that the kind of compromise you are going to strike with any community leader has any durability."

The present stalemate would continue as long as the Government continued on its present course of a prolonged Emergency and other measures that curtailed basic freedom and free political activity.

Slabbert said there was a lot of common ground between the ANC and those who reject apartheid.

"We may belong to different movements and organisations, but we found we could agree on the kind of South Africa we would like to see.

"Members of the ANC delegation were also very clear about there being a way out of the circle of violence."

"The ANC delegation called for the release of political prisoners, the unbanning of organisations, a commitment to the disbanding of all forms of apartheid, particularly the Population Registration Act. "Once this is done the ANC made it very clear that they are prepared to re-negotiate the armed struggle and to look at alternatives.

"Those at Dakar showed that there is a great deal of flexibility and compromise on matters where there may be differences. For example, they are prepared to look at the interpretation of sections of the Freedom Charter."

On a solution to the country's problems, he said: "I want to say that I cannot see any other solution to our problems, but a political solution. It has to be a negotiated solution between those who control power at the moment, and those who want power and to participate in the exercise of power.

"And again, what is to be negotiated is the transfer of power to a democratic alternative, to a constitution which makes provision for all South Africans — irrespective of race, ethnicity, sex, creed or religion or whatever — to participate formally on an equal basis in a political system which means a system of universal franchise in one government and in one country.

"Then what can be negotiated is a whole range of issues — whether you have a parliamentary system or a presidential system; whether you have separation of powers between the government and the executive, administrative and judicial or whether you have a concentration of power; whether you have an independent judiciary, Bill of Rights that can be tested by the courts or whether you don't have a Bill of Rights.

"I would prefer a multi-party democracy with the conventional protections for the individual against the State. I would like to see an economic system which I would call social democratic in that the State would prevent any form of massive concentration of capital in monopolies, but will allow at the same time a great deal of freedom for the individual to pursue his or her economic interest. I would also like to see human rights protected."

On the demand of Eugene Terre'blanche, the leader of the extreme right-wing organisation, for a separate Afrikaner homeland, Slabbert said they were being unrealistic.

"The problem with Terre'blanche is that he does not want a separate ethnic homeland. He wants the whole of the Transvaal, the old Boer Republics and Northern Natal for the Afrikaners. If you go back to historical land claims, then you are going to have a terrible mess.

"If you look at the land claims of the Zulus or the Xhosas or the Tswanas there is simply not enough land to justify the kind of separateness that each of them would want.

"So I would have no objection to Terre'blanche and his supporters having their own independent area, but they certainly can't take the gold mines of the Free State, Transvaal and Northern Natal.

"That sort of situation will not bring about a solution to our problems."

He said he did not see a new constitution making provision for racial or ethnic privileges of any kind and the present so-called independent and non-independent bantustans would eventually have to become part of a greater South Africa through a process of transition.

On the role he was going to play in the unfolding political situation, Slabbert said he would continue to address private civic meetings, but would not address large public gatherings where only the converted would attend.

He was also taking very seriously the threats that had been made against him by the lunatic right, but he had no intention of going into hiding.

"I have not taken these threats lightly but at the same time I am not going to let them determine the way in which I am going to work and live. But I'll be not to go shopping in Pietersburg."

# Heavy cost of divided society

By MARLENE BURGER

TWELVE cents out of every rand spent by the State last year was used to enforce and maintain apartheid in South Africa.

Professor Mike Savage, head of the Sociology Department at the University of Cape Town, said yesterday direct expenditure on a segregated society had cost R3,9-billion last year.

He estimated that South Africa's gross national product would have been 50 percent — or R66-billion — higher during the period if there had been no "wasteful" apartheid.

Speaking at the Five Freedoms Forum's first national conference at Wits University, Professor Savage said the Government's "mad, bad and dangerous policy" was also responsible for an economic growth rate of only one percent last year.

## Balkans

Warning that the Government's present policy of reform would not provide solutions to the economic crisis facing South Africa, Professor Savage said the tricameral parliamentary system would merely reinforce "Balkanisation".

One of the three spokesmen for the Five Freedoms Forum, Dr David Webster of the Detainees Parents Support Committee, said it was an alliance of approximately 26 human rights organisations working towards genuine democracy.

Speakers at the three-day conference included Mrs Sheena Duncan, vice-president of the SA Council of Churches and former national president of the Black Sash; Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, former leader of the Opposition and currently Idasa's director of policy and planning; Azhar Cachalia, national treasurer of the United Democratic Front; Independent MPs Wynand Malan and Jan van Eck; and Sir Richard Luyt, former vice-chancellor of UCT.

# New Nats plan slammed

**By LESTER VENTER**
**Political Correspondent**

THE National Party is introducing a new system of parliamentary law-making in the face of bitter criticism from opposition parties.

Progressive Federal Party MPs warn the new system has grave implications for the practice of democracy.

Conservative Party MPs share their view — and also object to proposed joint sittings of the three of parliament for whites, coloureds and Indians.

The new system centres on joint debates for the three Houses. A new chamber, already dubbed "the Great Hall of the People" by parliamentary wits, is nearing completion. It can seat the 308 members of the three and will be the venue for debates on "general affairs".

However, critics say, the joint debates will stop short of joint decision-making. The new system provides also for separate voting in individual after debates have taken place.

Another important element of the proposed system is that it extends the law-making functions of the standing committee machinery introduced with the tricameral system in 1984.

All parliamentary parties are represented on the standing committees and the Government argues this provides them with functional input on the formation of legislation.

But the standing committees meet behind closed doors.

One PFP MP said: "The Government is confusing moving away from the Westminster system with moving away from the fundamental principles of the parliamentary system."

In the new system, legislation will pass primarily either through the individual Houses, as at present, or through joint sittings.

The system loads considerably increased procedural decision-making on to the chief whip of parliament, currently Mr Alec van Breda.

"The chief whip is supposed to be an official of parliament — now he's the boss," said one MP.

The overall concern of opposition MPs is that while the Government views the new system as a streamlining of procedure, it significantly speeds up the trend to executive government as opposed to parliamentary government.

# Dance of the Botha Bureaucrats



By DRIES van HEERDEN
freelance journalist

S. Times
27/9/87

## At last count, 11 presidents, five security ministers, 14 finance ministers, 11 health ministers and 11 interior ministers were in charge of South Africa. Even then they may not be governing it . . .

IT'S almost 10 years since President Botha first announced his intention to "rationalise" the public sector.

His promises of a clean administration and an efficient civil service were eagerly received by an electorate fed up with the abuses of power revealed by the Info scandal.

Studies were undertaken and White Papers produced; 18 "super departments" were created and "secretaries" were elevated to the status of "director-general".

Today the results of all these frantic efforts are not much more than outdated official stationery. Indeed, if the Government Printer were a private company, it would have made a fortune by printing letterheads for ministries trapped in the revolving door of Mr Botha's rationalisation programme.

Five major Cabinet reshuffles since 1979 and a myriad of minor inter-departmental exchanges resulted in a civil service that may appear to be different, but where very few changes have taken place below the surface.

Titles have changed, offices were swopped and names have come and gone, and come and gone.

Mr Botha's own office is a shining example For no apparent reason it was changed from a department to an office, back to a department and, since September 1984, again to an office, headed by a secretary-general who has in the past been both a secretary and a director-general.

The Ministry of Economic Affairs was renamed Industrial Affairs and Trade and Consumer Affairs in 1979, because, Mr Botha said, the new name "better described its functions"

Since then it, in turn, became Industry, Trade and Tourism (1980), Industries and Commerce (1984), Commerce and Industries (1985) and, at the time of writing, Economic Affairs and Technology.

Fisheries has been shunted from pillar to post since rationalisation began. It was moved from Economic Affairs to Agriculture to Environmental Affairs. Somewhere along the line it was renamed Marine Affairs, but this did not affect its peripatetic nature. It moved to Transportation and then back again to Environmental Affairs

[redacted]

The Ministry of the Interior was first renamed Internal Affairs. Coloured and Indian Affairs were added, and so was Planning It lost both to Constitutional Development. It became responsible for the Commission for Administration, renamed Home Affairs and then lost the Commission again.

Traditionally, Home Affairs is responsible for the administration of hatching, matching and dispatching, but Mr Botha has turned it into a "trashcan" department which once briefly administered influx control and nowadays regulates thought control through the publications control boards and the new system of media censoring.

Today it is known as Home Affairs and to cell a mere intra-departmental shuffle.

Finance also managed to keep out of harm's way. The irony here is that it is exactly this department that may need the biggest shake-up.

In January 1983, the then Receiver of Revenue, Mr Mickey van der Walt, testified before a parliamentary Select Committee that the decision to keep Finance, the Treasury, the Internal Revenue Service, and Customs and Excise in one department was a grave mistake "costing the country millions"

Labour changed to Manpower Utilisation, then to plain old Manpower. Transport became Transport Affairs, Transportation and again Transport Affairs. Somewhere along the line the Weather Bureau left Transportation Affairs and joined Environmental Affairs/Planning/Conservation.

Health and Pensions must have driven the Government Printer up the wall. It changed from Health and Social Welfare and Pensions (1979) to Health, Welfare and Pensions (1980) to Health and Welfare (1982) and eventually to National Health and Population Development (1985).

The SABC is the organisation that every politician wants to use and abuse, but refuses to take responsibility for. During Mr Botha's reign it moved from National [illegible] to

ters, a plethora of Own Affairs Ministers and a gaggle of Ministerial Representatives — the latter with the expressed idea to "bring government closer to the people" (after elected provincial councils were abolished).

Every month more coaches are added to the gravy train Appointed Provincial Authorities are followed by indirectly elected Regional Services Councils — all with the powers of administering taxes.

At the last count there were at least 156 government departments operating in South Africa, if all the national states were taken into account. This included 11 presidents, prime ministers or chief ministers, five ministers of national security, 14 ministers of finance, 11 ministers of the interior, and 18 ministers of health.

The real problem, however, is that all these people may not even be governing the country, because, somewhere, under the control of Mr Botha and, who knows else, is a State Security Council with nine Area Command Structures (GBS), 60 regional or sub-structures, 448 local or mini-structures, each divided into committees for security (VEJ-com), Politics, Economics and Social (PES-com) and Communications (Com-com) . . .



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Today it is known as Home Affairs and Communications — previously known under the aliases Post Office (1979) and Post and Telecommunications (1979-1986).

To show that the Government readily admits its mistakes, the Ministry of Agriculture has come a full circle.

It was Agriculture in 1979, Agriculture and Fisheries in 1980, Agriculture Economy and Marketing in 1984, Agriculture Economy and Water Affairs one month later and, since last year, just plain old Agriculture again.

Have pity for Mr Japie van Wyk, MP for Gordonia, who may have difficulty remembering at any given moment whether he is Deputy Minister of Waters or Deputy Minister of Water Supply.

Actually, it is all quite simple, according to Government logic. When it is an "affair" it is a "general affair", but when he starts supplying the water it becomes an all-white "own affair".

Incidentally, Water Affairs was a fully-fledged department up to 1982 when it was dissolved and relegated to a directorate attached first to Environmental Affairs and later to Agriculture. Two years later, however, the Department of Water Affairs was resurrected.

The Police and Justice departments escaped the rationalisation process relatively unscathed, although Police did become Law and Order — presumably because the previous Minister, Mr Louis le Grange, preferred "ordering" to "policing".

Justice acquired the Prison Services so as to make the movement from courtroom to cell a mere intra-departmental shuffle.

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The SABC is the organisation that every politician wants to use and abuse, but refuses to take responsibility for. During Mr Botha's reign it moved from National Education to Telecommunications to Foreign Affairs to the State President's own office.

The benefit of the latter move is that at least it makes Mr Botha's telephonic *diktats* to Mr Riaan Eksteen local calls.

The best example of the utter lack of planning is the fate that befell the Department of Planning and the various high-powered advisory bodies.

In 1980 Mr Chris Heunis started building his present-day empire, at the time under the guise of Internal Affairs. Planning was attached to this ministry, but Mr Botha's office got control of the economic, scientific and planning advisory committees.

In 1982 the "Land of Milk and Heunis" moved to Constitutional Development and, like the children of Hamelin, he was followed by all the planning sections.

Three years later it split up again. The Economic Advisory Committee, Statistics and Social Planning went back to Mr Botha, Scientific Planning went to National Education, while Mr Heunis received Physical Planning.

When last heard of, the Economic Advisory Committee — the one without an economist serving on it — was attached to the Department of Finance.

Meanwhile, in the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning the confusion has reached new heights — Mr Piet Badenhorst is now known as the Deputy Minister of Development Planning.

In the last decade Mr Botha has also appointed a constellatiion of Deputy Ministers, a plethora of Own Affairs Ministers and a gaggle of Ministerial Representatives — the latter with the expressed idea to "bring government closer to the people" (after elected provincial councils were abolished).

Every month more coaches are added to the gravy train. Appointed Provincial Authorities are followed by indirectly elected Regional Services Councils — all with the powers of administering taxes.

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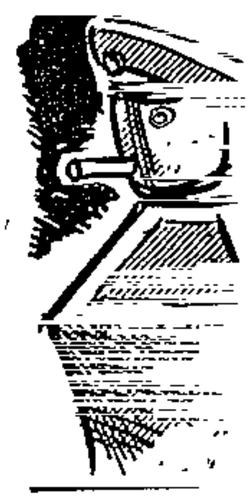

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# The 'time is right to mobilize SA whites'

JOHANNESBURG. — About 1 000 white people resolved at the weekend "that the time is right for a broad-based initiative to mobilize white South Africans in support of ending apartheid and establishing a non-racial democracy in SA".

The resolution was passed at the end of a three-day conference convened by the Five Freedoms Forum at the University of the Witwatersrand to examine the "role of whites in a changing SA".

The meeting was closed by the SA Council of Churches general secretary, the Rev Frank Chikane, who said it was not possible to guarantee a future for whites in a post-apartheid SA.

"What will guarantee your future is what you are prepared to do now," he said.

Mr Chikane said it was "P W Botha who does not want to negotiate — not the ANC".

He called on whites to exert whatever pressure possible to make the government feel vulnerable.

simply was no space

# Plan to mobilise white community against apartheid

By Colleen Ryan and Adele Baleta

More than 1 000 people backed a comprehensive plan to mobilise white South Africans against apartheid and to fight for the establishment of a non-racial democracy at a meeting held yesterday at the University of the Witwatersrand.

The public meeting was held at the conclusion of a weekend conference convened by the Five Freedoms Forum to discuss the role of whites in a changing South Africa.

About 800 delegates from anti-apartheid organisations throughout the country attended the conference to provide a new direction for whites seeking change.

Speakers and delegates represented a wide range of anti-apartheid organisations and disciplines, including affiliates of the United Democratic Front, independent and Progressive Federal Party MPs, academics, trade unionists and businessmen.

## 'Treat blacks as human beings'

The main message that came across was that it was time for whites to take positive action, and not merely to talk about the problems. Many speakers highlighted the importance of getting ordinary South Africans involved in the process of change.

The Rev Nico Smith of the N G Kerk of Africa stressed the need for whites to get to know blacks as human beings.

He called for face-to-face contact. As an example, he said a programme had been launched in several towns, where black and white couples were meeting once a month, sharing a meal in each others' homes and discussing problems.

The issue of economics also emerged as a central problem. Business consultant Mr Christo Nel said that blacks and whites met most frequently at their place of work.

He said it was important to re-educate whites at the workplace, so that they were aware that there was an alternative to the present system.

## Living wage for black workers

A trade unionist put the black view when he said it was not enough to merely foster better communication and black promotion in the business sector. The real issue for the mass of workers was still the need to earn a living wage and the redistribution of the country's wealth.

Some of the findings to emerge from the conference included:

- It was proposed that a new progressive business organisation be launched to spearhead opposition to apartheid in business and to start defining alternative economic systems for debate.
- Delegates expressed their opposition to new Government efforts to clamp down on universities and to vigorously oppose attacks on academic freedom. White school pupils should be encouraged to meet and understand the problems of their black peers. White parents should get more involved in the education of their children and voice opposition to questionable syllabi.
- The central role of the UDF in black and white extra-parliamentary politics was highlighted.

# Force Govt to recognise unions — Cosatu

Whites must support trade unions and pressure the Government into recognising them, Mr Sydney Mafumadi, assistant general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), said yesterday.

He told the Five Freedoms Forum in Johannesburg most South Africans were workers. For change to be meaningful it would have to redress grievances, give workers a say in the workplace and a say in political decision-making.

Whites should support campaigns such as "Hands off Cosatu" and NUM strikes.

Employers should facilitate rather than obstruct the process of organising workers.

The struggle for a democratic, non-exploitive society had to go beyond the workplace.

"It must be fought in the townships, the schools, the universities and the sports fields."

# Govt moves to stop unfair labour practice

**CHRIS CAIRNCORSS looks at government's proposed changes to existing labour legislation.**

CAPE TOWN — Government has moved to crack down on the undisciplined or "unprincipled" efforts of employers and employees to break any deadlock which may occur in labour disputes.

Government's new disciplinary procedures — long speculated on — form the basis of major changes to existing labour legislation contained in the Labour Relations Amendment Bill finally tabled in Parliament last week.

The projected changes have already been widely opposed.

The crucial clauses contained in the 63-page draft Bill set out new increased powers for a special labour or industrial court and spell out a more detailed definition of what it has decided is definitely not an "unfair labour practice".

Of particular significance, the legislation makes provision for this special labour court to order punitive financial action to be taken against a labour organisation whose members are found to have caused financial damage to the companies concerned.

In summary, government's definition of what is not an unfair labour practice, contained in 64 clauses, includes:

☐ The dismissal of an employee or employees who at the time of dismissal, have not been employed by the same employer for a continuous period of at least 12 months;

☐ The dismissal of an employee where an employer fails to hold a hearing or a disciplinary enquiry and the industrial court thereafter decides that it could not reasonably have been expected of an employer to hold such a hearing;

☐ Any dismissals which take place after substantial compliance with the terms and conditions of an agreement relevant to the dismissal;

☐ The termination of the employment of an employee on grounds other than disciplinary action unless reasonable prior notice of such termination of service and the reasons thereof, have been given to the employee;

☐ The unfair unilateral suspension of an employee;

☐ The use of misleading or unfair methods of recruiting members by any trade union, employers' organisation or official of any trade union;

☐ Any act whereby an employee or employer is intimidated to agree or not agree to any action which affects the relationship between employer and employee;

☐ The incitement to support or participate in any boycott of any product or service;

☐ The unfair discrimination against any employee on the grounds of race, sex or creed.

# WHITES JOIN FIGHT AGAINST APARTHEID



**MORE than 1 000 people at the conclusion of the "historic" Five Freedoms on Sunday night resolved to "mobilise white South Africans" in a broad-based initiative to end apartheid and establish a non-racial democracy in South Africa.**

**SOWETAN Reporter**

"Historic" was how the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, described the weekend-long forum which called on whites to examine their role in taking a "changing South Africa" towards democracy.

"In the past, blacks wrote off whites in the struggle . . . the word white was synonymous with racism, brutality and injustice," said Mr Chikane in his closing address to an audience whose numbers did not flag from the beginning of proceedings on Friday night through an intense two-day gathering to the wrapping up in a freezing and rain-swept Johannesburg.

## Power

"It's a privilege to be with you in your struggle to make sense of where you are and where you should be going," said Mr Chikane.

"It is historic in that we haven't before seen whites beginning to grapple with the real issues of abandoning white power and living in a non-racial democratic society.

Dr Neil Aggett gave his life for justice and made it easier for us, for youths in the townships, to say that there are whites who are human beings. I hope your initiative here this weekend goes on to prove that beyond doubt."

The initiative unanimously agreed upon by those attending the forum held at the University of the Witwatersrand, was that, stronger than the many differences between them as to how change should come about, was the "uniting goal" of ending apartheid.

The gathering resolved that the time was right to mobilise while South Africans in a "broad-based initiative" in support of this goal.

It was agreed that meetings should be convened all over South Africa to carry "the spirit and the experience" of the forum to as wide an audience as possible; that those regions should explore how the initiative could be taken forward and expanded upon and that within six months there should be another national meeting of this kind of assess progress.

"Please help us to be human," said Mr Chikane. It was "amazing" that in the face of "years of brutalisation", blacks were not murdering whites simply because they were whites, he said. He, cautioned though, that if nothing happened, if initiatives like this forum were not instrumental in changing the existing order, that "murdering" might begin.

# First shots fired in war of words over apartheid

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — In his policy speech last night on an American vision for the future of South Africa United States Secretary of State Mr George Shultz fired the opening shots in an approaching war of words here over apartheid.

The fight will be sparked by a report to be sent to the United States Congress — probably on Friday — by President Reagan.

It will examine progress towards the ending of apartheid in the past year and possible options for strengthening United States economic sanctions.

President Reagan's report is said to be a clinical analysis of the situation that concludes with a rejection of further sanctions saying they are counter-productive — a conclusion that will anger liberal Democrats and members of the Congressional Black Caucus.

By contrast, last night's address by Mr Shultz was an upbeat, almost emotional, message to Americans — and to South Africans too — that there need not be despair over the future of a country that has perplexing racial problems that strike a deep personal chord in many Americans.

Mr Shultz offered a positive plan for Americans to promote, a plan based roughly on their own constitutional experiences, rather than a further dose of the economically punitive medicine that liberal Democrats want to administer.

It set out in detail what Americans stand for and not only what they are against in South Africa.

### CONTINUED PRESENCE

By doing this, Mr Shultz was responding not only to his own perceptions of where the South Africa debate in the United States needs to be steered but also to appeals made to him by many South Africans who favour a continued American presence and influence in the country.

They had explained to the Secretary of State that the barrage of criticism from Washington was having the effect of turning many South Africans away from the United States — at a time when they should be looking to Americans for help and support.

Mr Shultz included criticism in his address to American business leaders, expressing American outrage at a system that denies people human rights because of their race. It was politically necessary for him to do so, given the strong feelings here about apartheid.

However he was careful to explain that moral repugnance was not enough to sustain a policy. The United States had to be involved in southern Africa, boosting those elements that gave cause for hope.

Whether or not Mr Shultz's positive speech will prove effective in the administration's efforts to head off further sanctions in Congress will be clearer next week when liberal Democrats try to raise South Africa as a major issue again.

There are signs that the merits of the arguments for and against sanctions will not be the only important factors.

Other factors will include pressure of time as the Congress struggles to complete a full legislative programme — and what is described as a reluctance by some to get involved in yet another debate

## Mapping out the ideal SA

The Star Bureau

**WASHINGTON — What sort of South Africa does the United States want to see in the future?**

**According to the US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, the new South Africa would have universal franchise for all adult citizens, personal freedoms similar to those protected by the US constitution, and protection for the country's deeply-rooted cultural and regional traditions.**

**Mr Shultz spelled out his vision for the future in an address to American business leaders last night:**

- **A new constitutional order for a united South Africa with equal political, economic and social rights for all without regard to race, language, national origin or religion.**
- **A democratic electoral system with multi-party participation and universal franchise for all adult South Africans.**
- **The rule of law, safeguarded by an independent judiciary with the power to enforce constitutionally guaranteed rights.**
- **An economic system that guarantees economic freedom for all, allocates government social and economic services fairly and enables all to realise the fruits of their labour, acquire and own property and attain a decent standard of living.**

**Mr Shultz said: "I challenge South Africans to rise to the test of building a future which takes these ideas into account."**

**They were, he said, the basic ideas that had to be addressed by all South Africans**

## Communication needed across race lines

# Hope for change in SA — Shultz

By Neil Lurssen, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The US Secretary of State Mr George Shultz has told American businessmen that, in the midst of South Africa's grim reality, there is hope for the country.

"When, as an American, I look at the trauma in South Africa, I emphatically reject the fatalistic notion that the country's future has already been written, that it is too late for accommodation.

"I know there is hope for the future," Mr Shultz told the Business Council for International Understanding in New York.

Two elements that gave him hope, he said, were a sense of common identity and a reservoir of goodwill for each other that he had detected among South Africans of all races that he had spoken to.

But there was a tremendous need for communication across racial lines in South Africa.

### Mutual fear

"South Africans of different races may talk *about* one another all the time, but they all too rarely talk *to* one another.

"The result is exactly what one would predict — mutual misunderstanding and fear — by whites that their way of life will be destroyed and by blacks that their just aspirations will never be realised through peaceful means.



Mr George Shultz . . . found a sense of identity and a reservoir of goodwill.

"These fears are paralysing. They become self-fulfilling because all parties convince themselves that it is impossible to engage in a true give-and-take with the others," he said.

In addition to the growing bitterness and anger, there was a debilitating fear of unleashing pent-up grievances and violent retribution. But the reservoir of goodwill provides something on which to build.

"For when South Africans do sit down and talk to one another, they find that the barriers that separate them are not as high as they had feared. They find the ties that bind them are stronger than they had realised."

New headlines often went to the negative realities of South Africa and not to the hopeful elements — but there were efforts to expand communications between the races and evidence that those efforts could bear fruit.

He cited among reasons for hope the Natal Indaba, a voice for change from Natal that was too strong for anyone to ignore, and the ANC-Afrikaner meeting in Dakar, Senegal.

Communication such as the Dakar talks should be encouraged and expanded, Mr Shultz said.

"It breaks down stereotypes — racial as well as ideological — and it has the potential to identify the shape of a road forward. We applaud the vision and the courage of all who participated in those talks — as well as the far-sighted Africans who helped put it together."

### Religious

South Africans of all races were devoutly religious people and the force of religion was yet another element of hope, Mr Shultz said.

Integrated churches represented institutional channels for dialogue and reconciliation across racial barriers, he said, and religious leaders played important roles in resolving community disputes.

The decision by the Dutch Reformed Church that apartheid was not justified by the Bible and not in accordance with Christian principles had removed a spurious moral basis for apartheid.

"This simple but powerful truth hit like a thunderbolt among the Afrikaners," he said.

Change in South Africa was not on some distant agenda but taking place now.

The United States intended to be involved, working with individuals, institutions and forces that were part of the solution and not part of the problem, Mr Shultz said.

# Black labour and management seen as vital

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The future of South Africa's economy depends on the success of black labour and management, the US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, has told American business leaders.

In an address in New York last night, he said without success in these two areas, the economic growth needed to overcome South Africa's social and economic injustices will not be possible.

"But with the full and free participation of skilled and educated black workers and businessmen, the future of South Africa's economy can be bright indeed," Mr Shultz said.

He repeated an argument he has used constantly in his efforts to persuade US firms not to cut and run from South Africa. "A strong and growing SA economy is a powerful force for change," he said.

"South Africa's white businessmen have been in the forefront in the white community in arguing that apartheid is an unworkable ideology incompatible with a modern economy.

"Blacks are moving into managerial positions in major industries.

"US corporations, often maligned for even being in South Africa, can be proud of being in the forefront of the forces for change.

"Blacks are seeking to start their own businesses in record numbers, a sign of confidence in their country's future even as their own activities contribute to its transformation. The future of South Africa's economy depends on the success of black labour and management."

Mr Shultz's encouraging speech contrasts sharply with the tone of speeches he has made on South Africa in recent years and in evidence he has presented to congressional hearings.

Last night, he saw positive developments, such as blacks and whites learning the politics of negotiation in the area of labour-management relations. They were going beyond the politics of white minority domination and black protest.

# Police raid Idasa office

SECURITY POLICE yesterday raided the Port Elizabeth offices of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) and seized "about 1 000 pamphlets" in connection with a bus boycott.

It is believed to be the first action of its kind involving Idasa.

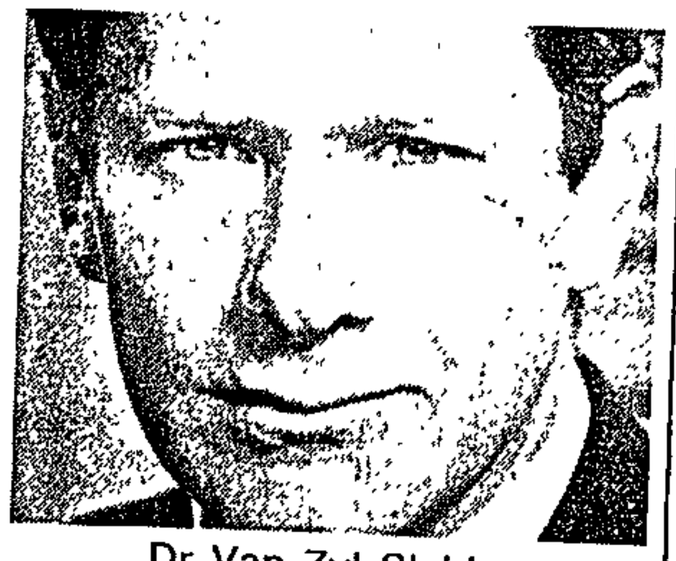
According to Captain Peet Grobler, South African Police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, two black men were arrested in connection with the incident.

Captain Grobler said the pamplets were "propaganda for a bus boycott in Port Elizabeth". Because the matter was still under investigation he could give no further details.

Idasa, formed at the beginning of the year by former PFP leaders Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine, sponsored the trip by some 50 Afrikaners to Dakar earlier this year to meet with members of the banned African National Congress.



Dr Motlana



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert

# Eight blacks walk out of US meeting on SA

From SIMON BARBER

WHITE PLAINS, New York. — The much-heralded White Plains conference on South Africa came close to disintegration yesterday when eight black South African delegates walked out.

The eight, who included UDF representative Mr Cassim Salojee, Nactu's Mr Phiroshaw Camay and Mr Sam Motsuenyane of Nafcoc, acted after a series of telexes and telephone calls from home.

Their principal reason for leaving was Pretoria's refusal to issue passports to mineworkers' leader Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, Cosatu's Mr Jay Naidoo and University of Natal Professor Fatima Meer to attend the meeting.

In a statement, the eight said: "The very fact that certain key organizations and their views will not be heard at this meeting is the direct responsibility of the minority racist regime. No prospect of dialogue therefore exists."

Led by Dr Willie Esterhuyse and other Stellenbosch academics, white South African and Inkatha delegates responded with a scathing attack on the government, which was represented at the meeting by Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Kobus Meiring.

Their statement, co-signed by Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, Dr Denis Worrall, Mr Willem de Klerk, Prof Sampie Terreblanche, Mr Oscar Dhlomo and others, read: "We strongly condemn the refusal of the government to grant passports to a number of fellow South Africans who were invited to attend.

"The aim of this conference was to create a climate in which South Africans of all political persuasions could talk calmly and creatively about their country's future.

"Under these circumstances, to deny people with differing views the opportunity to put those views not only undermines the aims of the conference but grievously damages the credibility of the Republic's official delegation."

It called the government's action "short-sighted and morally unacceptable".

Abandoning the schedule, delegates emotionally debated whether to abandon the conference entirely, or radically alter the agenda.

Mr Meiring noted that the meeting was unrepresentative to begin with — "the AWB is not here", he said. Neither, he said, was the official opposition.

The ANC had earlier declined invitations to the conference.

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## Secrets of new group's bid to lure MPs: Why they only got Progs

# REBEL NATS DITCH MALAN



MIDDLE MAN: Maverick Wynand Malan who has split the left asunder

**Tanya the brunette becomes blonde TV bombshell**

By LESTER VENTER: Political Correspondent

**BREAKAWAY MP Wynand Malan this week came within an ace of securing two defections from the National Party.**

However, many weeks of secret negotiations failed at the last moment.

Now political observers believe Mr Malan's failure to draw support from the NP will severely damage the National Democratic Movement's chances of attracting support from white voters.

In the event, it has succeeded only in splitting the two bodies on the left, the Progressive Federal Party and the Independent Movement.

The formation of the NDM was preceded by bitter and secret manoeuvrings to isolate Dr Denis Worrall. His exclusion was set as a pre-condition by the three prominent PFP members who defected to it.

They argued his credibility was low among black South Africans and his presence in the movement would hamper negotiations with extra-parliamentary groups.

The rebel Nats who had been negotiating with Mr Malan were stymied by a written undertaking to the National Party leadership that they would resign their seats on leaving the party.

A week of drama in left-of-centre opposition politics has resulted in:

- The National Party nearly suffering more defections to the left — Mr Sakkie Louw of Newton Park and Mr Andre van der Walt of Bellville were named as possible defectors — as party dissent with the style and pace of President Botha's reform became known;
- The Progressive Federal





## 3 die as fighting flares in parks

By IVOR CREWS

THREE people were reported to have died when violence broke out among hundreds of Kruger Day holidaymakers in two Johannesburg parks yesterday.

Mr Sam Bloomberg, National Party MP for Bezuidenhout, said he believed two whites and a black had been killed.

Four others, including a woman, were seriously injured.

Mr Bloomberg said truckloads of blacks from outlying areas apparently descended on Rhodes Park and Bezuidenhout Park, bringing "vast quantities of liquor".

He said police were called in to restore order as mobs stoned cars and caused damage.

"I understand that police had to use teargas to restore order."

Witnesses said cars were were stoned and a number of

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● The Progressive Federal Party being dumped in a renewed leadership crisis with

THE KAMIKAZE OPPOSITION
See Page 28

caucus moves to oust Mr Colin Eglin.

● The Independent movement — begun with such high hopes before the May elections — shattered, with former comrades-in-arms Mr Malan and Dr Worrall, throwing down the gauntlet.

A plan to draw disaffected Nationalists into the newly formed National Democratic Movement sank when it became clear that the three MPs who would desert the PFP — Mr Peter Gastrow, Mr Pierre Cronje and Mr Pieter Schoeman — had been members of the controversial expedition to Dakar organised by Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert.

## Visits

And news of the secret talks between Mr Malan and the Nat rebels reached the NP hierarchy.

The party's machinery was swung into action to corral the dissidents — with late-night visits to the home of at least one of them by NP officials.

Although there were reports of six Nat MPs involved in talks with Mr Malan, it was learned from Parliamentary sources that discussions reached an 'advanced' stage with only two.

One of those named, Mr Sakkie Louw (Newton Park), went to ground before plans were finalised and was said to be under extreme pressure from party officials.

On Friday night his wife said Mr Louw was sick and could not be interviewed for a week.

Another Nationalist, Mr Andre van der Walt (Bellville), confirmed the existence of the signed undertaking by MPs to resign seats should they leave the party.

He said of talks with Mr Malan: "In the course of Par-

□ To Page 2

P.T.O.

# AWB 'AT WAR'

11/10/87
304A
Cape Times

**CP Correspondent**

MEMBERS of the Brandwag, the civil guard unit of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, are receiving regular combat training at clandestine venues in the Western Cape.

Their instructor is a British-born man, who has asked to be identified as Keith C because he wants to protect his children from possible victimisation at school.

Keith C, a karate expert, speaks no Afrikaans, but that has not discouraged the rightwing AWB from employing his skills.

He is a skilled marksman and holds a black belt in karate.

The 43-year-old Keith C regularly instructs Brandwag members in unarmed hand-to-hand combat, handgun combat methods, and baton-and-knife fighting.

They are also taught how to defend their homes and vehicles, defensive driving tecniques and how to search vehicles.

He also teaches AWB members what skills to use when guarding their leader, Eugene Terre'Blance, and other leading members of the organisation.

Skills like shooting from moving vehicles, night combat shooting and armed guard procedures are not neglected.

While he may not speak Afrikaans, his views are not out of tune with those of the AWB.

He was born in Wimbledon, England, and came to South Africa at the age of 19 "because I wanted to help fight for the white man's survival".

"South Africa will be Western man's final battleground where he will have to make his last stand or be ploughed under forever," he said.



**AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche at one of his many meetings.**

He said the rising crime rate was another reason why Brandwag members were trained in self-defence combat tecniques.

Keith C denied that the Brandwag would become the AWB's para-military arm.

"I see Brandwag training as being non-political – a method to teach survival tecniques to Western Europeans and Afrikaners," he said.

He added that training was not limited to Afrikaners.

"Any white Christian may join the Brandwag training program," he said.

Most AWB members warmly welcomed him when they saw his total commitment to their cause, he claimed.

"As an AWB member, I naturally associate totally with the Boer's struggle and the Boer state policies," he said.

But he does "all my training in English".

He does not neglect to instruct Brandwag members when a person is legally allowed to use force.

IS IN BIG TROUBLE FROM RIGHT

# Power struggle

w/t nrgg) 3/10/82 30 kA

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Political Staff

THE next general election on present constituency boundries could see a change of government in South Africa for the first time in 40 years — and one considerably to the right of the Nationalists.

This was said in analyses presented at a three-day conference held at Stellenbosch University by the Political Science Association of South Africa — which has prominent academics from most South African universities among its 300 members.

The analyses showed the government was in "big trouble" and facing a grim struggle to hold on to power.

Key factors behind the Government's silent fight for survival, as pinpointed by the analysts, include:

- The awesome rise of the right-wing movement;
- Weaknesses, from the Government's viewpoint, in the electoral system;
- Misconceptions held by the government and its advisers; and
- Political instability caused by the Government's handling of security, especially its domination through military and police coercion.

The congress is due to end today.

## Swing to right

Mr Donald J Simpson, a researcher at Potchefstroom University, found in a critical analysis of the South African electoral system that even if the country's constituency boundaries were made as advantageous as possible for the National Party, it could still lose.

In this year's election there was a 10,8 percent swing in votes from the NP to the right, according to standard swing measurement, he said. If a smaller swing of, say, 10 percent from NP to CP occurred in the next election — in 1989 or 1992 — the result could look like this:

NP 817 816 (40,2 percent) votes and 49 seats;

CP 872 301 (42,8 percent) votes and 84 seats;

PFP 340 760 (17,0 percent) votes and 33 seats.

The rise of the white right wing was analysed in a paper by Professor Simon Bekker and Janis Grobbelaar, both of the University of South Africa.

They said the ruling NP, self-proclaimed torch-bearer of Afrikaner nationalism for 70 years, was being displaced by parties to the right. They said 62 of the present 166 constituencies for the House of Assembly were now "within reasonable reach of the white right wing".

The right-wing movement encompassed five dimensions — historically interwoven and institutionally linked. In addition to the two right-wing political parties, there was a range of Afrikaner organisations and religious groups which provided intellectual direction for the activities and policies of the movement, they found.

The militant Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) could provide the right wing with the vehicle and the opportunity for extra-constitutional political action "should such a path be chosen".

A fifth dimension drew together a wide range of civic associations and voluntary bodies in support of the right. These were to be found in predominantly Afrikaans-speaking communities of most South African cities and towns.

Other studies showed that the Government's struggle against extra-parliamentary political forces to the left was not going smoothly.

Dr I Phillips of the University of Natal, Durban, said movements like the United Democratic Front remained formidable opponents of the Government — "despite tremendous odds against them as a result of a sustained and unprecedented State campaign of [illegible]".

Positive steps in the Government's reform initiatives were "constantly and profoundly negated by the introduction of laws and practices that serve to make the system more rigid, autocratic and irresponsible".

Mr Keith Gottschalk, of the University of the Western Cape, said however much the Government's current domination through military and police coercion suppressed one or other specific insurrection, the present State remained intrinsically unstable, guaranteeing further insurrections.

Dr Koos van Wyk, of Rand Afrikaans University (RAU), said some Government policies were based on misconceptions about attitudes in neighbouring states. There was a need in South Africa's bureaucracy for greater scientific skills to gather and interpret data.

"South Africa's perception of its environment is based on fantasy rather than accurate perceptions," Dr Van Wyk said.

## Taiwan deports US student

TAIPEI. — American student Scott Hoyer, 25, was deported today for interfering with police during a Taiwanese dissident demonstration in May, police said. Hoyer was the first foreigner expelled from Taiwan for involvement in dissident activities since 1979. — Sapa-Reuter.

# Apartheid has caused economic shambles in homelands — PFP

CAPE TOWN — The grand plan of apartheid is to blame for the parlous state of the economies of the independent homelands — and the South African taxpayer will have to foot the bill for years to come.

Mr Harry Schwarz MP, Progressive Federal Party finance spokesman, says there is little doubt there is a premium to pay for the independence of the homelands — both in duplication and in poor administration.

Mr Schwarz recently revealed in Parliament that the financing problems of the four TBVC-homelands had reached such a state that the South African Government was having to stand security for multi-million rand loans.

And indirectly the Department of Foreign Affairs, which is charged with dealing with the independent states, has admitted that many of the problems were created by independence.

Describing the situation as a crisis, the department painted a bleak picture of the position in reply to numerous questions about the bookkeeping of the four homelands.

**BRUCE CAMERON and POLITICAL STAFF**

In the short-term, the South African Government was bailing out the homelands by guaranteeing loans of R778 million for 1986/87 with a further R620 million for 1987/88.

This is on top of the R2 870 838 000 given in direct and indirect aid for 1987/88.

The department has given little indication how the homelands will repay the money.

It says the repayment will be handled in terms of recent agreements which could entail the repayment of interest and capital over 15 to 20 years, whilst making full provision for the repayment of interest liabilities within a three to five-year stabilisation period.

The "fact of the matter is that whatever liabilities have to be met by the TBVC countries will be built into their ensuing estimates of expenditure."

But Mr Schwarz says the only way the money can be repaid is by increased grants from the South African Government and ultimately from the taxpayer.

He points out that well over half the total budgets of the four homelands come from various South African sources.

At best, Bophuthatswana met 57 percent of its budget needs from its own resources, while the least viable, Venda, met only 30 percent of its budget requirements from its own resources.

The department says it is now involved in negotiating "multi-year adjustment programmes" in an attempt to rectify the position.

In an explanation of the position the department said the governments of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei had limited economic bases.

This was complicated by inexperienced civil services, high population growth exacerbated by the high inflow of people from South Africa and the migratory labour system (which created the need for government assistance for families).

The integrated southern African economy "further creates serious practical and political problems" with the TBVC-homelands struggling to provide the same standards as in South Africa.

# Reforms a cheap deception, says Issel

THE tampering with Apartheid instead of its complete abolition is providing no respite to the South African government, community leader Johnny Issel told delegates to the annual general meeting of the University of the Western Cape's Alumni Union.last weekend.

Issel told the meeting the Government's reformist path of "gradualism" was cheap deception.

"Our people's demand remains unwavering, the total abolition of Apartheid and an end to economic exploitation.

"Their hegemonic political position of old has been reduced to their armoured vehicles and troop carriers which occupy the streets of our township," Issel said.

He said the desperation was indicated when "political unknowns and shebeen kings" were "dressed up" and paraded on television as substitutes for such political giants as Nelson Mandela.

"No political meddling or constitutional tampering will succeed in distracting the people from their stated objective of a true and genuinely democraticSouth Africa.

Referring to education, Issel said the Government's old regulatory mechanisms and political control over black educational institutions had been rendered ineffective.

"What we teach and how we teach have ceased to be their sole prerogative. No more can they arbitrarily close our schools and universities or harass our teachers."

Dr Dwight Trieghaardt of the Peninsula Technikon was re-elected as chairperson of the Alumni Union.

# AWB's secret combat

Scores of the Brandwag's youthful "Super-Afrikaners" receive regular combat training at secret rendezvous in the Western Cape. ADA STUIJT of The Argus Tygerberg Bureau was there. HANNES THIART took the photographs.

A BRITISH-born karate expert is the new Western Cape leader and instructor of Brandwag — the civil guard unit of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging — whose members receive regular combat training at secret rendezvous in the Western Cape.

The instructor allowed a news team of The Argus to study the unit's training techniques at various venues in the Tygerberg area this weekend.

He asked to be identified only as Keith C to protect his children from possible "victimisation" at school.

The Brandwag leader — who speaks no Afrikaans — regularly trains scores of the Brandwag's youthful "super-Afrikaners" in unarmed combat, baton-and-knife fighting, and handgun combat methods. The training includes special techniques for guarding the AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche and other VIPs

Keith, 42, is a skilled shottist and holder of a karate black belt.

## "Non-political"

Born in Wimbledon, he came to this country when he was 19 years old "because I wanted to help fight for the white man's survival," he said.

"South Africa will be western man's final battleground where he will have to make his last stand or be ploughed under forever."

"The rising crime rate is another reason why Brandwag members are trained in self-defence combat techniques."

The unit's leader denied that Brandwag was ultimately destined to become the AWB's "para-military" organisation.

"I see Brandwag training as non-political — a method to teach survival to Western Europeans and Afrikaners," he said.

"Training is not limited to AWB members. Any white Christian may join the Brandwag training programme," he said.

Asked how a British immigrant managed to get around the organisation's avowed Afrikaans-only policy, Keith said most AWB members warmed quickly to him "once they saw my total commitment to their cause.

"As an AWB member, I naturally associate totally with the Boer's struggle and the Boer State policies. However, I do all my training in English."

He said Brandwag members were taught unarmed hand-to-hand combat, baton defence, defensive knife-fighting, home and vehicle defence and perimeter protection, anti-ambush and defensive driving techniques (for instance how to get out of roadblocks), and to search vehicles safely for bombs.

Other techniques that were taught included firing from moving vehicles, night-combat shooting with live ammunition and armed guard procedures for the AWB's visiting leaders.

"All Brandwag members receive legal instruction so that they know under what conditions a person is allowed to use force in self-defence, and when not," said Keith

Among the local Brandwag's best-known members photographed during training sessions was Mr David Walters, leader of the University of Stellenbosch's AWB branch. His shooting, usually quick-drawn from the holster, was unfailingly accurate — whether from standing, lying, falling or running positions.



**TAKING AIM:** The Western Cape Brandwag leader, Mr Keith C, takes aim.





**ON ATTACK:** Keith C, right, and an unidentified Brandwag member, top right, in gun-training session.

# ecret combat sessions

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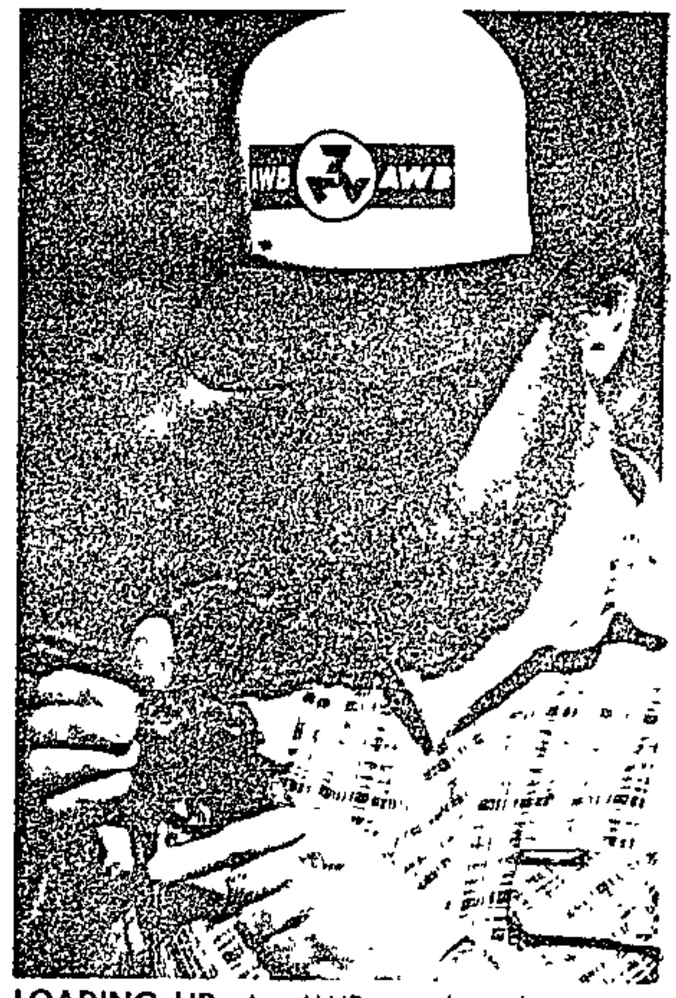

**LOADING UP:** An AWB member during combat gun-training of the Brandwag.

**ON TARGET:** Matie student David Walters during combat training of the Brandwag.



**IN ACTION:** Two members in action during pistol shooting practice.

# NSC: Is it doomed to an early death?

FOCUS



By JOHN KANE-BERMAN, Director of the South African Institute of Race Relations.

THE proposed National Statutory Council, slow to get off the ground, has among its forerunners a body that never did. In 1980 Mr P W Botha tried to establish an advisory council for blacks, evidently as a sop to them because they were to be excluded from the new President's Council.

Mr Hennie Smit, Minister of Posts and Telecommunications, earned himself a footnote in the history books when he explained that the reason for their exclusion was their "slow" thought processes.

The black advisory council met once - on August 8, 1980. Several leaders of homeland administrations were present—but not the one whose participation was essential to giving the council any legitimacy, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Some of those who were present rejected the notion of a separate council. The black advisory council was scrapped there and then.

The fact that in 1987, seven years later, blacks are still offered a separate council highlights the excruciating slowness of the Government's evolutionary process. It is truly a case of fiddling while Rome burns.

Are we about to turn over a new leaf? Yes, in the sense that the National Party now accepts that not all homelands will become independent and has committed itself to negotiations with blacks about power-sharing outside the homelands, something which Mr Botha, still then a mere prime minister, firmly rejected in 1980.

The Government said that the main reason for calling the recent white election was to obtain a mandate to negotiate with blacks about bringing them into central government. This represents a policy somersault, because generations of black leaders have demanded a voice in the central corridors of power, only to be repeatedly rebuffed.

It is not very many years since Mr Pik Botha declared that the Government might make concessions to blacks, but "never in a 100 years agree to share power with them." White South Africans would "fight to the last man" rather than abandon the "Transkei pattern" of solving racial problems, he said.

So we have made some progress at least in that the NP seems to have given up on trying to "solve" the country's constitutional problems by launching all the homelands into a separate constitutional orbit.

The tables are also beginning to turn. It is barely four years ago that Mr Steve Kgame told a symposium at the South African Institute of Race Relations that Dr Koornhof refused to meet him in his capacity as chairman of Ucasa, but would only talk to him as chairman of an individual community council.

## Plea

Last week at the same venue, a deputy minister pleaded with blacks to come and talk.

Mr P W Botha has said he will become more involved personally in negotiations with black leaders, but it is not clear whether this is a promise or a threat. Neither his political style nor his position as leader of a political party qualifies Mr Botha for the role of chairman of a negotiating body - that job should go to a neutral person.

Mr Botha aside, a number of other obstacles stand in the way. Only Mr John Gogotya's Fida and the more conservative black municipal authorities - whose power base is at best uncertain - have indicated any willingness to serve on it.

Of other black political organisations, the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress cannot participate, the United Democratic Front will not, the Umsa and Inkatha have laid down conditions before they will join. These include the release of political prisoners and a government commitment to use the council to dismantle the tricameral parliament.

Although the Government has said it is in principle willing to negotiate with people in gaol or in detention, it has also said it will not talk to organisations that do not renounce violence.

The ANC's attitude on violence is that nobody paid the organisation any attention until it turned to violence, so that demanding that it renounce violence is really telling it to throw away its biggest weapon.

From the ANC's perspective the Government's demand is therefore unrealistic. Equally unrealistic is the ANC's attitude that it is willing to talk to the Government not about how power should be shared but only about the technicalities of handing it over to the ANC. The result is stalemate.

Chief Buthelezi's refusal to consider joining the council unless Mr Nelson Mandela is released poses a major problem for the Government. Chief Buthelezi's presence on the council would not guarantee its success, but his absence would guarantee its failure.

## Problem

There is an additional problem. The Government is saying that the only precondition for blacks is renunciation of violence, but one minister after another in the election campaign made it clear that any powersharing formula would have to be on the basis of "own affairs".

Stripped to its essentials, this is another term for apartheid. In practise it also means *baaskap*, because it is the whites who decide how much money the coloured and Indian chambers get to spend on "own affairs", and who also decide what slice of the national cake is allocated to the ten homelands.

The experience coloured and Ind parliamentarians in th e years of powersharing .. the basis of "own aff is not likely to ins confidence among b to walk the same po road.

## Mand

So Mr Botha h his mandate to blacks into ce al government, but, because it is based on concept of "own affa the mandate is flawed, to coin a phrase. As was the case in the referendum on the new constitution in 1983, Mr Botha has asked for and received a mandate to lead the country up a constitutional dead end. He seems unable or unwilling to read the signs that say "straat loop dood". He has to discover this himself by making the costly journey first-crisis which the whole country has to bear.

The Government has been discussing the council with as many blacks as will talk to it, and has also demonstrated a willingness to accommodate some of their demands such as election of at least some of the council members. But there is a great risk that if it cannot get wider black support, the government will go ahead and impose the council anyway.

Black rejection did not stop the tricameral parliament. Will it stop the national council? Or are we still in the days when the Bothas know best?



Political comment in this issue by J Latakgomo and A Klaaste. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by S Matlhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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# I offered Eksteen a job after SABC row — Pik

**Political Staff**

THE director-general of the SABC, Mr Riaan Eksteen, was offered a job in foreign affairs during the week he was rumoured to have been fired by President Botha.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, told Parliament this yesterday amid a barrage of questions from the Conservative Party which is refusing to allow the "Eksteen-Botha" controversy to die.

It has accused President Botha of "evasion" because he did not directly confirm or deny yesterday if anyone in his office had been considered for Mr Eksteen's job.

The President merely referred to a clause of the Broadcasting Act which states that only the SABC board can appoint a director-general.

### "Stood alone"

Mr Pik Botha said he offered Mr Eksteen a job because it appeared from Press reports that he "stood alone" and that his job was in jeopardy.

Mr Eksteen had done good service in the Department of Foreign Affairs, Mr Botha said. Mr Eksteen was at one time Ambassador to the United Nations.

After the replies to these and other questions yesterday the CP said "the whole story had not been told" and announced it had asked for a select parliamentary committee to investigate.

The row blew up over reports that President Botha telephoned Mr Eksteen during a TV news broadcast on August 24 and threatened to fire him because he did not like the SABC report on the resignation of the Rev Allan Hendrickse from the Cabinet.

President Botha has admitted that he telephoned Mr Eksteen to ask him to change the news but has denied threatening to fire him.

In Parliament yesterday the CP's Mr Fanie Jacobs, MP for Losberg, asked President Botha if a senior official in his office had been considered for Mr Eksteen's job.

President Botha was not in the House, but on his behalf Mr F W de Klerk answered by referring Mr Jacobs to the Broadcasting Act.

"This does not answer the question," Mr Jacobs said at a Press conference afterwards.

"Why did he evade such a simple question? The CP has information which suggests that the full story has not yet been told."

In reply to a question by Mr Jacobs, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, Minister in charge of broadcasting, said he had not investigated the rumours surrounding Mr Eksteen because, in a news report of August 27 Mr Eksteen said he had not been dismissed and only the SABC board could dismiss him.

# Theft charge: Three on bail

**Court Reporter**

A TEACHING assistant at the University of Cape Town and two others have been released on bail by Wynberg Regional Court after being held in connection with the theft of computer equipment from the UCT Graduate School of Business.

Mr Manoog Singh, 28, of Sandringham Court, Wynberg, a part-time teaching assistant in the department of inorganic chemistry, Mr Charles Naidoo, 25, of Rawalpindi Road, Merebank, Durban, and Mr Morgan Padyachi, 27, of Mains Road, Athlone, were not formally charged and were not asked to plead.

The State has alleged that they broke in to the School of Business on July 23 or 24 and stole three computers, two printers, two typewriters and an Erica telephone, together worth R36 890.

The hearing was postponed to next Wednesday for further investigation.

Funds being raised — Worrall

# Independent movement to launch new party

3044 SJM 7/10/87

**Political Staff**

CAPE TOWN — The Independent movement is to launch a new political party in the first quarter of next year and it should have structures going in 80 to 100 constituencies by the end of the year, Dr Denis Worrall said last night.

Addressing an enthusiastic audience of more than 600 in the Somerset West town hall he conceded that the movement had lost some momentum since the election.

He said a staggering volume of work was needed to get such a movement off the ground in the form of a political party. So far some 30 constituencies had been organised.

It had been necessary to explain to many community leaders what the movement had in mind. Funds were being raised and some staff had already been appointed.

The movement was maintaining an office in Somerset West and for the next few months he would concentrate on the area with a view to next year's local elections in which the new party would take part.

He predicted that the party could "clean up" in such elections in Somerset West.

The new movement would be a comprehensive one across colour lines and it would differ in some ways from existing parties. There was tremendous interest in the movement as a catalyst for change and because the National Party had no credibility because its leadership had no vision, he said.

## Accusation

The Government underestimated the readiness of whites to face up to the future.

Dr Worrall accused the Government of taking two steps forward and one step back on issues such as the Group Areas Act.

The fears of whites had to be taken into account and it was necessary to spell out that fundamental change need not mean one man-one vote in a unitary system, he said.

The independents realised that being in the middle in politics while trying to be bridge builders was a dangerous vocation.

He said it was important to keep alive and spread the concept of negotiation and to demonstrate that it can work.

Dr Esther Lategan said the independents wanted to place the country on a different course away from confrontation and crisis on the way to a common future.

# Freedom conference aims at building country 'to be proud of'

JOHANNESBURG. — Whites in South Africa have an important role to play in dismantling apartheid.

All whites genuinely opposed to apartheid, whether operating in parliament or belonging to structures of the United Democratic Front, should now come together to form a new democratic organisation to channel white opposition to apartheid.

This was one of the many far-reaching recommendations made at a conference to focus on white participation in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa.

Held at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg and attended by 600 white and 1 000 black delegates, the conference was organised by the Five Freedoms Forum (FFF).

The theme was: "Towards democracy: Whites in a changing South Africa".

The FFF is an alliance of organisations opposed to apartheid and includes the Black Sash, End Conscription Campaign, Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee, the Detainees Support Committee and the National Union of South African Students.

## Basic freedoms

The FFF has urged whites to stay in South Africa and contribute to building a non-racial, democratic society. It's goal is the achievement of five basic freedoms — from want, fear, discrimination, of speech and association and of conscience.

The tone was set by keynote speaker Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, director of Idasa, who said: "A conference like this give us an opportunity to take stock of ourselves and to particularly consider whether it is possible to broaden and consolidate the base of a democratic opposition in South Africa.

"If this is going to be so, I believe it is going to depend on how we respond to a few questions.

"Are the goals we share, more important than those on which we differ? Are our differences debatable? Is it possible to agree on interim strategic objectives? Do we trust one another?"

Slabbert was responding to debates raised within white extra-parliamentary organisations.

## Key debates

Key debates included whether participation in the white parliament would promote democracy; what role should be played by anti-apartheid paliamentary parties like the Progressive Federal Party; how to make whites conscious of the harsh realities that blacks were forced to experience; how to challenge media restrictions and challenge National Party propaganda; what role should whites play in the struggle, and what was the role of churches and the business community.

Other prominent speaker included Professor Mike Savage, head of the Sociology Department of the University, of Cape Town; Mr Jan van Eck, an independent MP; Dr Tom Lodge of the Department of Political Studies at Wits; Azhar Cachalia, UDF national treasurer; Sydney Mafumadi, assistant general secretary of Cosatu; Wynard Malan, an independent MP; Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, and the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches.

Cachalia, the only executive member of the UDF not in detention, gave a detailed description of life in the townships.

"No amount of repression, detentions and killings can stop the people's resistance. No more will the apartheid government be able to rule black people with their consent.



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, key-note speaker at the Five Freedoms Forum conference

"The people have made clear their demands for a nonracial, democratic society and are prepared to struggle for these freedoms, even if it means detention or loss of life."

Cachalia claimed that he had documentary evidence of torture in detention and challenged the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, to dispute his claim.

He urged whites to actively participate in the struggle against apartheid.

## Rightful role

"The UDF is not a blacks-only organisation. We welcome whites to join and guide the organisation together with millions of blacks. Already there are more than 12 white organisations affiliated to the UDF. We call on you to join these organisations, to become part of the broad democratic movement and play your rightful role in a changing South Africa."

Mafumadi drew attention to the many victories workers have won through Cosatu. He said that Cosatu would welcome committed whites joining in the struggle against the exploitation of workers.

Jan van Eck, who recently resigned from the PFP, slammed the government for dealing with co-opted black leaders who had no support in the community.

"The ANC must be unbanned, political prisoners released, the State of Emergency lifted and a climate for genuine negotiations created."

While agreeing that parliament is not the most important forum to effect changes in white attitudes, he called for unity between those whites who work within and outside parliament.

He felt that working separately and in opposition to each other, would result in tension and divide white opposition. Van Eck felt that there were many whites who were opposed to apartheid but were suspicious of the UDF and other extra-parliamentary groups because of National Party propaganda which painted these organisations as demonic.

Malan expressed similar views calling on whites to unite. He said that the differences between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary opponents to apartheid should not be allowed to divide those whites genuinly opposed to apartheid.

Dr Tom Lodge detailed the ANC's history saying that the ANC was forced to use violence after decades of peaceful protest because of repression.

The deliberations at the conference made it clear that the role of whites in building a democratic future in South Africa must not be viewed pessimistically.

Whites, it was felt, have an important role to play not only in the process of dismantling apartheid, but also in building democracy and stability in the future.

The key question raised towards the end was: "Where to after the conference?"

## Workshops

At one of workshops in the conference focussing on the possibilities and limitations of participating in the white parliament, it was suggested that a new political organisation be formed to challenged apartheid.

It was felt that such organisation should unite all whites opposed to apartheid and those rank-and-file whites who are opposed to apartheid but lack a political home.

Such an organisation would not draw up a new political programme but educate whites about what was really happening in South Africa and put pressure on the government to begin a process leading up to genuine negotiations with authentic black organisations, like the ANC, about the future of South Africa.

The workshop included participants from various organisations, Peter Gastrow, a PFP MP, and Van Eck. All generally agreed to the suggestion.

Delegations generally felt that the conference was very successful and historic in that so many whites opposed to apartheid sat together and seriously considered the role and future of whites in South Africa.

The organisers of the conference are optimistic that the conference has contributed greatly to their desired goals of building a country that they could be proud of.

"A country free from stigma, sanctions and from sports and cultural boycotts. A country that can take its rightful place in a community of free and democratic nations."

—*Concord*

(i) Western Cape
Algoa
Walvis Bay
Bloem Area
Pretoria
West Rand
East Rand
Central Witwatersrand

(ii) (aa) Western Cape .. R900 000
Algoa ..... R800 000
Walvis Bay ..... R100 000
Bloem Area .... R150 000
Pretoria ..... R550 000
West Rand ..... R200 000
East Rand ..... R500 000
Central Witwatersrand ..... R750 000

(ii) (bb) Regarded as bridging finance to defray administrative costs until adequate own revenue is being received.

(b) Yes.

(i) Vaal Triangle
West Vaal
Rustenburg-Marico
Highveld
Bushveld
Northern Transvaal
East Vaal
Lowveld Escarpment

It is envisaged that the four regional services councils mentioned last, will function as from December 1987/January 1988.

(ii) (aa) Amounts have not yet been determined.

(bb) Will be regarded as bridging finance to defray administrative costs until adequate own revenue is being received.

**KwaZulu/Natal-Indaba**

532. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of National Health and Population Development:

(1) Whether his Department has issued a certain organisation, the name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, with a welfare number for fund-raising purposes; if so, (a) on what date and (b) what is the name of this organisation;

(2) whether this organisation is a political organisation; if so, on what basis did it become eligible for being issued with a welfare number; if not, (a) what kind of organisation is it and (b) on what grounds was it issued with such a number?

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND POPULATION DEVELOPMENT:

(1) A temporary fund-raising number was issued.

(a) 26.11.1986.

(b) KwaZulu Natal Indaba Fund-raising.

(2) No.

(a) A fund-raising organisation.

(b) In terms of section 6 of the Fund-raising Act, 1978 (Act 107 of 1978).

**Overseas visitors**

533. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

(1) (a) How many overseas visitors were the guests of his Department during the period 7 May 1987 up to the latest specified date for which information is available, (b) what are their names and (c) from which countries did they come;

(2) whether these visitors were afforded the opportunity of meeting members of the Official Opposition in this House; if not, why not?

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(1) (a) From 7 May 1987 to 30 September 1987, there were 186 visitors from other countries who were guests of the Department of Foreign Affairs.





(b) It is left to the guest to disclose whether he was a guest of the Department of Foreign Affairs or was not.

(c) It is not deemed to be in the interest of the RSA to mention individual countries.

(2) It is the practice to arrange interviews with representatives of the political parties in all three Houses of Parliament. Sometimes, however, meetings with representatives of all the parties cannot be fitted in either because the visitors' programme does not allow it or because the programme of the representative of the relative party does not allow it.

**Diplomatic personnel**

534. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

Whether his Department takes any precautions to ensure that members of diplomatic personnel representing foreign countries in the Republic are not sympathisers of or collaborators with subversive organisations; if not, why not; if so, (a) what precautions and (b) what are the names of the main organisations considered to be subversive?

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

Yes.

(a) When heads of diplomatic missions are appointed it is customary that the approval for the appointment must be sought from the receiving state. This is done by submitting a copy of the nominee's *curriculum vitae* which is then scrutinised by the receiving state before approval or agrément is given.

In regard to other members of diplomatic missions, it is customary that the sending state may, with certain exceptions, freely appoint the staff of the mission. However, the receiving state may at any time and without having to explain its decision notify the sending state that the head of mission or any member of the diplomatic staff of the mission is *persona non grata*, or that any other member of the staff of the mission is not acceptable. Such persons are obliged to leave the country. When this happens the sending state in turn frequently in retaliation declares a member of the receiving state's diplomatic staff *persona non grata* even if that staff member had not acted improperly in any way whatsoever.

(b) This question does not fall within the purview of the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

**Mr Robert Smit**

535. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether any progress has been made in the investigation into the murder of the National Party candidate for Springs in the general election of 1977, Mr Robert Smit, and his wife; if so, what progress;

(2) what difficulties are being experienced in solving this crime?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) and (2) It is not the policy of the South African Police to make known information regarding the investigation of cases which have not yet been completed and finalised.

**Restrictive minimum wage legislation**

536. Mr C J DERBY-LEWIS asked the Minister of Manpower:

Whether it is the intention of the Government, in terms of its deregulation policy, to abolish current restrictive minimum wage legislation; if so, when; if not, why not?

The MINISTER OF MANPOWER:

No, because minimum wages are regulated by the Labour Relations Act, 1956, and the Wage Act, 1957, after negotiations in industrial councils and in conciliation boards in the case of the first-mentioned Act and after extensive consultation by the Wage Board with

# Rally for the Boer Republics

**Own Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG. — The leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, will seek a mandate from the volk at a Blood River rally this weekend which will enable him to deliver a demand for the re-establishment of the old Boer Republics.

Mr Terre'Blanche yesterday that the demand — which he wants to deliver to the State President, Mr P W Botha — will be for the Free State, Transvaal and large chunks of northern Natal to be "returned as an independent republic to the volk".

"Northern Natalians do not want to be part of Natal or that KwaNatal Indaba," he said.

# AWB want N Natal in 'Boere Volkstaat'

Argus 7/10/82 30&4

**The Argus Correspondent**

DURBAN. — The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging are to gather at the site of the Battle of Blood River on Saturday, Kruger Day, to demand the separation of northern Natal from the rest of the province.

The demand will be made in the light of concern "from growing AWB ranks" in the region over the Natal Kwazulu Indaba.

An AWB spokesman in Pretoria said the organisation had called the mass meeting at short notice after several urgent requests from people and organisations in the area protesting against the Indaba.

The AWB have stipulated northern Natal as a territory to be included in their "Boere Volkstaat" ideal.

Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, leader of the AWB, will adress the meeting which starts at 10.30am

A motion from Natal will be passed at the meeting demanding the separation of northern Natal from the rest of the province.

The motion will be carried to the Transvaal at a second meeting, and later handed to President P W Botha and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Two horse commandos, one from the Free State, led by Commandant P van Huysteen, and another from the Transvaal, lead by Mr Manie Maritz, a descendent of the great Voortrekker leader General Manie Maritz, will both carry messages of solidarity.

# Independents to launch party in 1988



Leaders of the Independent Movement in the Cape, Mr Jannie Momberg, left, Dr Esther Lategan and former South African ambassador Dr Denis Worrall.



Pictures: WILLIE DE KLERK, The Argus

About 600 people attended an advance meeting announcing the launch of the Independent Movement's political party in the Somerset West town hall last night.

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE independent movement is to launch a new political party in the first quarter of next year and it should have structures in 80 to 100 constituencies by the end of the year, according to Dr Denis Worrall.

Addressing an enthusiastic audience of more than 600 in Somerset West town hall last night, he conceded that the movement had lost momentum since the May 6 election.

A staggering volume of work was needed to get such a movement off the ground in the form of a political party. So far 30 constituencies had been organised.

## Full-time office

It had been necessary to explain to many community leaders what the movement had in mind. Funds were being raised and some staff had been appointed.

The movement was maintaining a full-time office in Somerset West and for the next few months he would concentrate on this area with a view to next year's local elections in which the new party would take part.

The new movement would be comprehensive across colour lines and it would differ in some ways from existing parties. There was tremendous interest in the movement as a catalyst for change and because the National Party had no credibility.

Dr Worrall accused the Government of taking two steps forward and one step back on issues such as the Group Areas Act.

The National Party had lost its traditional base. President Botha was surrounded by moral "wimps" who were totally compromised.

The Progressive Federal Party was also in trouble but was showing signs of pulling out of the nosedive it took after the election.

Stressing the need for negotiation as the independents believed in it, Dr Worrall said the Government was prescriptive in its attitude. Blacks would not talk in the proposed national council because that would give legitimacy to a system which they rejected.

Dr Esther Lategan said the independents wanted to place the country on a different course away from confrontation and crisis on the way to a common future.

South Africans had to be exposed to each other because they needed each other.

The National Party was indulging in reactive politics which was too little too late. This was illustrated by its attitude to the Group Areas Act.

# Council holds on to coloured housing

CAPE TIMES 7/10/87

By PETER DENNEHY
Municipal Reporter

AN ATTEMPT to get Cape Town City Council to abandon its responsibility for coloured and Indian housing to "own affairs" government departments has been staved off — for the moment.

In January this year the council's executive committee asked for a report from its senior officials on the implications of transferring the housing function, which is costing more and more, to the administrations of the Houses of Representatives and Delegates.

By May, the city's powerful and influential corporate management team (which includes the heads of all six council departments) was of the view that "council could not continue to remain responsible for the administration of housing and the financial responsibility which goes with it".

According to a report before the Housing Committee yesterday, "it was anticipated that the present political circumstances would lead to an increase in the problems of housing administration and that this would become an area of greater politicization, criticism and anti-authority activity".

Housing account deficits had grown steadily from R198 000 in 1981 to R2,9-million in 1986/7, the report said. Arrear rentals had also cost the council an estimated R159 500 last year.

These losses were "partly the result of the council's own policies", in that rents were kept down below their "objective level", and houses were given better finishes "than those permitted by the government".

In August the housing committee itself voted 4-3 that the government be told to take over responsibility for housing, and recommended that the council should plan and construct new housing schemes purely on an agency basis.

# Houw Hoek sets the record straight on SA liberals

DD 30/48 9/10/87

By Stanley Uys in London

One must say this for South African liberals: they are optimists. Who else would choose to rise Phoenix-like at a time when a state of emergency has all but snuffed out the values they hold dearest and when parliamentary elections have demonstrated that the last thing 82 per cent of white voters want to save them from impending doom is liberalism?

Yet the liberals who assembled at Houw Hoek in the Cape on June 29 to July 2, 1986, have done just that, and they have produced a book now to mark the occasion. The aim of their book, 426 pages divided into five sections and subdivided further into 24 chapters, is to clarify the record on what liberals have actually done and advocated in South Africa, instead of leaving it to contemptuous critics to define it for them.

But it is more than just a record of liberalism's history and prospects. It is an absorbing if selective political history of South Africa which should be on every concerned South African's bookshelf.

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Various definitions of liberalism are offered by the 24 authors, but there are few significant differences of opinion. Liberals are convinced for example that only a society with multiple centres of power can withstand the pressures for authoritarianism endemic in South African society.

Liberals give high priority to evolutionary change, they emphasise accomodation and compromise, they believe that education based on liberal values can shape a moral, well-informed and democratically-minded citizenry, and they like to pursue the more subtle values of altruism and ethical behaviour in politics.

In their excellent foreword, the editors suggest that to be 'liberal' in South Africa is to demand limitation on the powers of government, holding it to strict adherence to the rule of law and demanding protection of minorities, individuals, and non-governmental entitities like the press. And to be 'democratic' is to insist unambiguously on a universal franchise, exercised in free and open elections for the country's rulers, and hence to insist on black preponderance in government.

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By their nature, therefore, liberals essentially are mediators and conciliators who have positioned themselves as reasonable people in the ground between the two implacable extremes of Afrikaner and African nationalism, the middle of the road where all the accidents happen.

The Marxists vs. Liberals controversy, which has been thundering along for some 15 years now, is given considerable attention in the book. It is too complex to be discussed here, but it is interesting to note Richard Elphick's admission that "Marxism bids fair to become the new orthodoxy in South African historiography." There is no "liberal school" to oppose Marxism, he says because the commitments of liberals are too varied and their vision of history "too idio-syncretic for a homogeneous, non-Marxist vision to emerge from their efforts".

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David Welsh agrees. None of the liberal historians, he says, approached South Africa's history with a framework nearly as comprehensive as Marxism. Yet according to Jeffrey Butler and Deryck Schreuder this is a virtue not a vice. "The very lack of a rigid social theory, which implies an ideologically defined outcome sooner or later, is, potentially, liberal history's greatest strength, given the manifest failure of any social theory so far to be accurate in its predictions."

As the 24 authors relate the story of South African liberalism, Rodney Davenport opens the contributions with The Cape Liberal Tradition to 1910, so the broadly optimistic approach is seen to be flecked with pessimism. In a chapter on The Cape Afrikaners Failed Liberal Movement, Andre du Toit declares (despairingly?) that "...it was the rise of Afrikaner nationalism as a major political force that would expose the innocence and powerlessness of liberal aspirations in our time."

Butler adds that "liberalism has never been a dominant force in South Africa, or even the core of the programme of a major political party," and that between 1910-1948 it fought a losing rearguard action, while Phyllis Lewsen identifies 1942 (when Smuts was preparing to placate the white electorate in the 1943 wartime election) as "the last hopeful year for liberalism."

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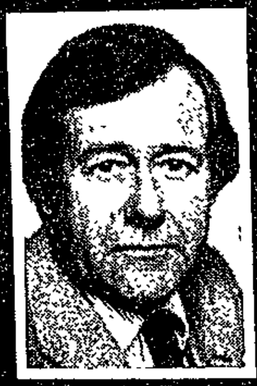
After posing the question whether the liberals in parliament (the Natives' Representatives) had succeeded, she replies: "No: their marginal reforms were wiped out after 1948."

David Yudleman, on the other hand, claims that much of the liberal analysis of the 1950s-1960s was remarkably accurate, particularly its plea for a radical expansion of South Africa's internal market by upgrading black skills and wages, which should be seen as a harbinger of the current "inward industrialisation" policy. Yudelman asserts that "the South African government, though not necessary the South African state or Afrikaner nationalists generally, has now adopted, in many essentials, the liberal position of 25 years ago."

This raises the interesting question discussed by several authors, whether the "chief ideological contender" against liberalism today is not Afrikaner nationalism, but Marxism. John Dugard concurs. "The radical right is a well-known force: nearly 40 years of struggle have taught liberals to withstand its racism and repression and to resist the treachery of its rhetoric. The threat from the radical left is far more insidious and has clearly disturbed many liberals who have never wavered under attack from the right."



Dugard urges liberals not to be intimidated by radicals who portray any form of working within the system as "collaboration," or who ostracise those who participate in the debate over a constitutional blueprint; and he urges them further to reject "the equally absurd idea that the only constitutional model worthy of consideration is unfettered majority rule in a unitary state."

Elphick, too, says that liberals, always prone to self-criticism and guilt-feelings, should not be tempted into creating a history which is anti-West, anti-capitalist and even anti-Liberal.

Some of the authors are openly bullish about liberalism's future in South Africa. One day, they believe, the country will have to find an answer that lies between repression and revolution, and that is where they will come in. So far, even if they have been virtually wiped out as a movement, they have vindicated their prophetic role, they enjoy considerable representation in academe, business and the professions, and their idea are as vibrant as ever.

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Hence the Houw Hoek revival.

A persistent theme of the book is the need for liberalism to revise itself, even radically. But how? The 1958 general election convinced Liberal Party chairman Peter Brown that the party's future did not lie with the white electorate (the party was formed in 1952-1955 and was dissolved in 1966, with a peak paid-up membership in 1961 of about 5 000), and that its main threat should be an extra-parliamentary one.

But there were difficulties even then. The party had refused to participate in the Congress of the People which framed the Freedom Charter, and the anti-communism and pro-PAC views of some of its leaders bedevilled relations with the ANC, and still do today. The eternal dilemma of the post-1948 white opposition has been to reconcile identification with the black cause with retaining influence over white voters. The PFP is being torn by this dilemma today.

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Yudelman distinguishes two kinds of liberals: political liberals who are primarily concerned with individual human rights and the immorality of race discrimination, and economic liberals, who are primarily concerned with economic freedoms, the primacy of markets and the necessary restriction of the economic role of the state.

Yudelman anticipates that while economic liberals will support those businessmen who want to prevent income redistribution, political liberals are likely to face an agonising dilemma: "They will be forced to make a choice between liberal democracy and democratic socialism, a choice they have always been able to avoid in the past."

Marxists will make the most of this dilemma, and several authors urge liberals to become more aggressive about their liberalism; while the editors, in their foreword, slide a knife quietly between the Marxists' shoulder-blades with the reminder that all the 16 Marxist-Leninists states in Europe, Asia and America are one-party states, all have human rights records "that range from poor to appalling," all have economies shackled with cumbersome central plans, and "none has so far taught us much about the elimination of ethnic prejudice."

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Liberals don't like revolutions: they fear the havoc it leaves in its wake. Yet how do they play their conciliating role in the polarised South African situation? Just how do they respond to Herbert Adam's advice to form alliances with black nationalist organisations and trade unions or to Van Zyl Slabbert's impatient exhortations to them to make their choices?

"The primary question now that liberals are forced to face," says Slabbert, is "where do you stand in the struggle? For freedom or stability? .... If the choice is for stability then liberal politics because of its co-option into the establishment will lose all influence in grass-roots extra-parliamentary politics.

"If it is for freedom, it can begin to expect increasing persecution and harassment from the establishment.

"Whether it chooses freedom or stability, it can expect derision and abuse from the revolutionary: if freedom, it will be accused of wanting to dilute, divert, or hijack the revolution; if stability, it will be accused or propping up the system of repression and undermining the revolution."

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Slabbert concludes that because of their commitment to humane values, liberals really do not have much of a choice; nevertheless his chapter, the ultimate one in the book, imparts a pessimistic conclusion, whereas Schlemmers's penultimate chapter, with its more overt optimism, probably is more representative of the liberal position.

True, he lists 10 characteristics of a liberal democratic society, almost none of which exists in South Africa, and he predicts an economic growth rate which outstrips population growth as a precondition for facilitating evolutionary change; neverthless, the tone of his contribution is hopeful whereas Slabbert's is not.

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Schlemmer does not hesitate either to venture into controversial areas with ideas that will not endear him to revolutionaries (although it is a chastened revolution these days following the June 1986 state of emergency.) Schlemmer sees the best prospect of democratisation in "a governing coalition between a white party and one or more other parties either black or non-racial." In the short to medium-term, as he sees it, there will be power-sharing rather than a fully open democratic process. The transition seems to call for a "grand coalition" at the executive level: a cabinet, and perhaps in addition some form of federal council or upper chamber, in which all major parties, some of which inevitably will represent ethnic groups, are able to participate actively, if not on the basis of parity, at least in some other form of balance acceptable to minorities.

Black liberation groups are dead opposed to group rights, offering individual rights instead. Group rights might mean, for example, giving the white minority exclusive residential rights in certain areas, and what non-racial government, they ask, could tolerate such a situation? But Schlemmer is not the only liberal who believes that group rights for ethnic minorities is at least a transitional stage through which South Africa must pass: Johan Degenaar, Herman Giliomee, Herbert Adam, Charles Simkins — they all think a case can be argued for group rights, subject to conditions, of course.

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The nettle liberals are being asked to grasp, at least by many of the book's authors, is to break out of the thrall in which they are being held by left-wing radicalism. They have learnt to cope with right-wing radicalism, but not yet with its counterpart on the left, which confuses and intimidates them; every independant move they make is met with the taunt that they are turning soft on apartheid.

But knowing the problem does not necessarily inform liberals on how to resolve it, and that is why the book urges them to produce a rigorous liberal theory applicable to South African conditions.

What the authors of this landmark book are telling South African liberals is that the time has come for them to get their act together.

**●Democratic Liberalism in South Africa. Its History and Prospects. Eds: Jeffrey Butler, Richard Elphick and David Welsh. (Wesleyan University Press, Middletown, Connecticut and David Pholip, Cape Town and Johannesbur (1987)**

JO-ANN BEKKER REPORTS ON THE FIVE FREEDOMS CONFERENCE

# extraordinary willingness to reconcile



SA Perm MD, Bob Tucker (left) one of the conference speakers in an unprecedented line-up and right, delegates sing Nkosi Sikele after the final address.

Pictures: ERIC MILLER, Afrapix and GIDEON MENDEL

Five Freedoms Forum, an alliance of Johannesburg extra-parliamentary organisations, represented a major effort finally to bury the hatchet. Speakers said there was a dire need for a broad alternative for whites in the face of a growing shift to the rightwing and increase in emigration.

On the opening night Slabbert helped set the conference's tone of sober pragmatism and reconciliation.

Pretoria's efforts to establish a multi-racial autocracy, he said, were trouncing the endeavours of those working for a non-racial democracy. This was only partly because of the state's repressive actions and control of the media.

"Part of it has to do with ourselves — our own diversity of conceptions of strategies to achieve and resources to contribute to a non-racial democracy," Slabbert said.

He asked: "Can we despite our differences, but given our common commitment, set some common objectives which can mobilise our collective resouces?"

Former End Conscription Campaign chairman Mike Evans took the process of pragmatic reflection further.

He acknowledged the UDF and ECC might appear too radical or too narrow in their focus for some.

"When we're brutally honest, and we examine our white extra-parliamentary organisation, we are still extraordinarily small and, with a few exceptions, are not really accessible to the majority of white South Africans."

Evans said there were large numbers of whites — Afrikaans and English speakers — who were organisationally homeless, falling between the extra-parliamentatry movement and parliamentary organisations.

On the one hand, the May 6 election stayaway had showed, in part, that many voters felt parliamentarians were cut off from the broad democratic movement, Evans argued.

On the other hand, extra-parliamentary groups "both in their pronouncements and more importantly in their style of work" had alienated many by imposing obstacles to working in the white community — preconditions such as non-participation in parliament.

But there were clear indications throughout the weekend that old suspicions die hard.

A speaker from the floor told PFP general secretary Robin Carlisle she had found it impossible to vote for an SA Defence Force major who was standing for the PFP in her constituency. Carlisle replied — to a chorus of hisses — that he was unaware of this, but should a person support a non-racial democracy, the PFP would not scrutinise his job record.

The strain this exchange placed on endeavours towards rapprochement was resolved the following day. Broadly the conference acknowledged there was an important role for parliamentarians who consulted closely with extra-parliamentary organisations.

In the end the gathering's success lay in its ability to keep delegates focused on one goal. Said conference organiser David Webster of the Detainees' Parents Support Committee: "The government does not have legitimacy, but it does have power. Our task is to make it weak enough so it has to negotiate."

His view was echoed by Azhar Cachalia, national treasurer of the UDF: "To achieve this we will have to build the broadest possible unity between the oppressed people and all democrats and to intensify the struggle against apartheid. If we are not able to convince whites not to turn their guns against their fellow South Africans, then the struggle will be longer and more painful."

Several white delegates argued for the hardline position that, rather than form a new front, white democrats should join existing mass-based organisations such as the UDF and the Congress of South African Trade Unions. Among delegates who argued this position the group were perhaps Port Elizabeth's best-known anti-apartheid whites, the Watson brothers.

But Cachalia and Sayco's general secretary Rapu Molekane said blacks did not demand that whites join the UDF. They asked only that all whites break decisively with apartheid and act against it.

"To all whites we want to say that we understand your fears," Cachalia said. "We know it is not easy for many of you to come to grips with the fact that your inevitable destiny lies in the country where the population is three-quarters black. We are anxious to address those fears but we will only be able to do that if you in turn identify with our cause, if you are prepared to stand with us and share our suffering. Together we will be able to work towards a democratic future."

Cachalia said the UDF admitted its work in the white community had been narrow. "It is not only the task of white democrats to organise whites, but of the entire democratic community," he said and called for "an anti-Nationalist and anti-apartheid movement that would isolate the Nats and force them to negotiate with the majority of South Africa's people".

Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said whites bore a greater responsiblity because of their privileges.

"You people have legal space — you can hold this type of conference, but it could not happen in Soweto. Such privileges put a heavy responsibility on you. If you do not use it you will take responsibility for all the deaths that happen in the townships.

"Isolate the Botha regime. Get all the people who think in a positive way to all come together and oppose that system. If we are not going to do it, PW Botha will also be dangerous to whites. One of these days he is going to take power and all the whites will also be subjected to a military regime and that's why we need to stop him. Here and now."

Several suggestions for concrete action were raised during the conference. Dakar delegate and business consultant Christo Nel suggested business should be a starting point as it was "the only place where hundreds of thousands of South Africans meet on a daily basis, it is the only place where they are starting to negotiate with each other".

The pioneering Ned Gereformeerde Kerk priest Nico Smith, who lives in Pretoria's black township Mamelodi, said his church had begun a programme of introducing two black couples and two white couples to each other and suggesting they share a meal in their respective areas once a month. A total of 500 people throughout the country were now involved in the programme.

"Unless I see white liberal people climbing over the Berlin Wall and being part of black communities, sharing their lives, I will not believe all these conferences and theories will be of any benefit to South Africa," Smith said. "Let's start at grassroots level and prepare ourselves for a completely new South Africa."

## THE PRICE-TAG ON APARTHEID: R66 000 MILLION IN ONE YEAR

APARTHEID's price tag last year was more than R66 000-million, according to Professor Mike Savage, head of the University of Cape Town's sociology department.

Addressing the Five Freedoms Forum conference at the weekend, he said it was impossible to measure the cost of apartheid accurately. However, it was possible to indicate its magnitude.

Taking the gross domestic product, Savage said lost economic opportunities had severely undermined the country's rate of economic growth — "an undermining directly due to restrictive and racial legislation and international actions against apartheid".

He calculated lost economic growth due to apartheid policies to be about 2,5 percent a year. "Were apartheid not to exist, the economic growth rate, instead of hovering around one percent per year, would approximate that of other semi-developed countries and would be of the order of 3,6 percent per year."

In other terms, he added, the cost of lost economic opportunities attributable to apartheid in 1985 alone amounted to R8 000-million. Savage predicted the price would rise as the withdrawal of foreign investment escalated and further economic sanctions were imposed.

He said a second economic indicator of the cost of apartheid policy could be gleaned by focusing on the gross national product of South Africa and the output of the economy.

He used a leading businessman's conservative assumption that South Africa's GNP per capita would be some 50 percent higher without apartheid and its wasteful expenditures on segregation. He concluded that in 1986 alone apartheid cost South Africa over R66 000-million.

Thirdly, Savage said, direct rand expenditure on apartheid policies could be calculated.

"Using the 1985/6 budget I calculated on a conservative basis that direct expenditure on apartheid policies amounted to some R3 900-million, and that between 10 percent and 21 percent of the annual budget is directly devoted to financing the machinery of apartheid."

This means that about 12 cents of every rand spent by the state in the 1985/6 budget year went towards maintaining and enforcing segregation, imposing apartheid programmes and on policing and safeguarding the system.

"The critical issue facing South Africa is not how to lower the costs of apartheid domination but how to excise apartheid and use the human and economic resources it squanders to build a democratic, unified and equitable society," Savage argued.

He said the different categories through which the economic costs to South Africa could be measured included:

●Direct costs involved in implementing and maintaining apartheid programmes. These included supporting 10 "homeland" governments, providing duplicated services in health and education, carrying out forced removals from "white" areas, and implementing Group Areas legislation.

●Apartheid's indirect costs ranged from capital expenditures on buildings to administer its policy, transport systems to link the segregated territories, to expenditure on vehicles, machinery and communications used in implementing the system.

●Enforcement costs involved in applying and policing apartheid. "Police, courts, magistrates, prisons, officials and the Defence Force are all involved in greater and lesser degrees in enforcing the policy of apartheid." On the other hand, those who fall foul of apartheid laws must pay the cost in legal fees, fines and prison or detention.

●Lost opportunity costs arising from apartheid — including the cost of lost investment to South Africa and consequent lower rates of economic growth and "the cost of artificial limitations on the use of economic and human resources that result in the loss of potential skills and in foregone economic growth".

●Punitive costs to South Africa, resulting from the application of embargoes and sanctions. "These directly involve the loss of trade but also involve premiums South Africa has to pay to obtain key materials, such as oil, and the costs of stockpiling these materials and attempting to become self-sufficient in the production of them."


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(304A)

A DECADES-OLD RIFT BETWEEN WHITE LIBERALS AND RADICALS WAS BRIDGED LAST WEEK.

# An extraordinary range of people. An




THE managing director of a building ociety. Several radical youth lead- rs. Three members of parliament. JDF officials. Black Sash members. Trade unionists.

An extraordinary range of speakers ddressed a thousand-strong gather- ng of delegates from very different valks of life last week.

After three days of often heated dis- ussion, they arrived at an historic greement: to form a "broad-based ıtitiative" mobilising whites against partheid.

And delegates to the Five Freedoms orum at the University of the Wit- vatersrand also resolved to take the pirit of the conference back home ıd convene again in six months.

Speakers at the conference included ıe Permanent Building Society's D Bob Tucker, Independent par- ıamentarians Wynand Malan and Jan ın Eyck and Progressive Federal ırty member of parliament Peter astrow spoke alongside United emocratic Front, Congress of South frican Trade Union and South Afri- n Youth Congress leaders.

After three days of intensive, often ated discussion, delegates of all es and from all walks of life arrived a new common ground. The central al was clearly demarcated: to exert ough pressure on the government force it to the negotiating table.

The decades-old rift between liber- and more radical whites has cen- d primarily around strategy — al- though the groups also hold divergent positions on issues such as the post-apartheid economic structure and the question of violence in response to state repression.

Traditionally, liberals have chosen to work through parliament and other government structures to oppose apartheid and discrimination at its roots.

Whites further to the left of the spectrum have scorned these efforts in National Party-controlled forums and opted to work in extra-parliamentary organisations.

However, in the past three years of violent conflict between black resistors and state security forces, the divide between the two camps has blurred.

Liberals such as Molly Blackburn, the provincial councillor killed in a car crash at the end of 1985, used their public positions to assist black communities and were increasingly drawn into white and black extra-parliamentary activities.

Then at the beginning of 1986 Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert crossed camps. He announced parliament was an impotent forum for change, resigned his seat as MP and leader of the official opposition, left the PFP and formed the extra-parliamentary Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa).

The institute's first major initiative, the expedition to Dakar in July, further blurred the divisions between leftist and liberal. Included in the party of 60 main [illegible]-white mainly-Afrikaan[illegible]-speakin[illegible] South Africans who met the African National Congress in West Africa were liberal members of parliament and extra-parliamentary activists.

Last weekend's national consulta-

(394) B/dam 8/10/87

# Authors' plea to SA liberals to get their act together

**STANLEY UYS in London**

ONE MUST say this for South African liberals: they are optimists. Who else would choose to rise Phoenix-like from the ashes at a time like this when a state of emergency has all but snuffed out the values they hold dearest and when parliamentary elections have demonstrated that the last thing 82% of white voters want to save them from impending doom is liberalism?

Yet the liberals who assembled at Houw Hoek in the Cape from June 29 to July 2 last year have done just that, and they have produced a book now to mark the occasion.

The aim of their book* — 426 pages divided into five sections and subdivided further into 24 chapters — is to clarify the record on what liberals have actually done and advocated in SA, instead of leaving it to contemptuous critics to define it for them.

But it is more than just a record of liberalism's history and prospects. It is an absorbing if selective political history of SA which should be on every concerned South African's bookshelf.

Various definitions of liberalism are offered by the 24 authors, but there are few significant differences of opinion. Liberals are convinced, for example, that only a society with multiple centres of power can withstand the pressures for authoritarianism endemic in South African society.

In their excellent foreward, the editors suggest that to be "liberal" in SA is to demand limitation on the powers of government, holding it to strict adherence to the rule of law and demanding protection of minorities, individuals and non-governmental entitities like the Press.

And to be "democratic" is to insist unambiguously on a universal franchise exercised in free and open elections for the country's rulers and hence to insist on black preponderance in government.

By their nature, therefore, liberals essentially are mediators and conciliators who have positioned themselves as reasonable people in the ground between the two implacable extremes of Afrikaner and African nationalism — the middle of the road where all the accidents happen.

The Marxists vs liberals controversy, which has been thundering along for some 15 years now, is given considerable attention in the book.

It is too complex to be discussed here, but it is interesting to note Richard Elphick's admission that "Marxism bids fair to become the new orthodoxy in South African historiography".



☐ DUGARD ... warns of left

There is no "liberal school" to oppose Marxism, he says, because the commitments of liberals are too varied and their vision of history "too idiosyncratic for a homogeneous, non-Marxist vision to emerge from their efforts".

David Welsh agrees. None of the liberal historians, he says, approached SA's history with a framework nearly as comprehensive as Marxism. Yet according to Jeffrey Butler and Deryck Schreuder this is a virtue not a vice.

"The very lack of a rigid social theory, which implies an ideologically defined outcome sooner or later, is, potentially, liberal history's greatest strength — given the manifest failure of any social theory so far to be accurate in its predictions."

David Yudleman claims that much of the liberal analysis of the Fifties and Sixties was remarkably accurate, particularly its plea for a radical expansion of SA's internal market by upgrading black skills and wages, which should be seen as a harbinger of the current "inward industrialisation" policy.

Yudelman asserts that "the South African government, though not necessary the South African state or Afrikaner nationalists generally, has now adopted, in many essentials, the liberal position of 25 years ago".

This raises the interesting question discussed by several authors: whether the "chief ideological contender" against liberalism today is not Afrikaner nationalism, but Marxism.

John Dugard concurs: "The radical right is a well-known force: nearly 40 years of struggle have taught liberals to withstand its racism and repression and to resist the treachery of its rhetoric. The threat from the radical left is far more insidious and has clearly disturbed many liberals who have never wavered under attack from the right."

Dugard urges liberals not to be intimidated by radicals who portray any form of working within the system as "collaboration," or who ostracise those who participate in the debate over a constitutional blueprint; and he urges them further to reject "the equally absurd idea that the only constitutional model worthy of consideration is unfettered majority rule in a unitary state".

Elphick, too, says that liberals, always prone to self-criticism and guilt-feelings, should not be tempted into creating a history which is anti-West, anti-capitalist and even anti-liberal.

Some of the authors are openly bullish about liberalism's future in SA. One day, they believe, the country will have to find an answer that lies between repression and revolution, and that is where they will come in.

So far, even if they have been virtually wiped out as a movement, they have vindicated their prophetic role, they enjoy considerable representation in academe,



☐ SCHLEMMER ... optimism

business and the professions and their ideas are as vibrant as ever.

Hence the Houw Hoek revival.

A persistent theme of the book is the need for liberalism to revise itself, even radically. But how?

The eternal dilemma of the post-1948 white opposition has been to reconcile identification with the black cause with retaining influence over white voters. The PFP is being torn by this dilemma today.

Yudelman distinguishes two kinds of liberals: political liberals, who are primarily concerned with individual human rights and the immorality of race discrimination, and economic liberals, who are primarily concerned with economic freedoms, the primacy of markets and the necessary restriction of the economic role of the state.

Yudelman anticipates that while economic liberals will support those businessmen who want to prevent income redistribution, political liberals are likely to face an agonising dilemma: "They will be forced to make a choice between liberal democracy and democratic socialism, a choice they have always been able to avoid in the past."

Marxists will make the most of this dilemma, and several authors urge liberals to become more aggressive about their liberalism.

Liberals don't like revolutions — they fear the havoc it leaves in its wake. Yet how do they play their conciliating role in the polarised South African situation?

Just how do they respond to Heribert Adam's advice to form alliances with black nationalist organisations and trade unions, or to Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's impatient exhortations to them to make their choices?

Slabbert concludes that because of their commitment to humane values liberals really do not have much of a choice between freedom and stability; nevertheless, his chapter — the ultimate one in the book — imparts a pessimistic conclusion, whereas Lawrence Schlemmers's penultimate chapter, with its more overt optimism, probably is more representative of the liberal position.

Schlemmer sees the best prospect of democratisation in "a governing coalition between a white party and one or more other parties either black or non-racial".

In the short- to medium-term, as he sees it, there will be power-sharing rather than a fully open democratic process. The transition seems to call for a "grand coalition" at the executive level, a cabinet, "and perhaps in addition some form of federal council or upper chamber, in which all major parties, some of which inevitably will represent ethnic groups, are able to participate actively, if not on the basis of parity, at least in some other form of balance acceptable to minorities".

The nettle liberals are being asked to grasp, at least by many of the book's authors, is to break out of the thrall in which they are being held by left-wing radicalism.

They have learnt to cope with right-wing radicalism, but not yet with its counterpart on the left, which confuses and intimidates them — every independent move they make is met with the taunt that they are turning soft on apartheid.

But knowing the problem does not necessarily inform liberals on how to resolve it, and that is why the book urges them to produce a rigorous liberal theory applicable to South African conditions.

* *"Democratic Liberalism in South Africa. Its History and Prospects," edited by Jeffrey Butler, Richard Elphick and David Welsh (Wesleyan University Press, Middletown, Connecticut, and David Philip, Cape Town and Johannesburg).*

# Turbocharge turned nightmare

Political Staff

FIVE months ago, on the eve of the May 6 general election, the PFP held 25 of the 166 elected seats in the House of Assembly, and were optimistic that they would win between nine and 16 more at the polls.

The dream — the much-vaunted turbocharge — has turned into a nightmare and the party, after yesterday's defections, now holds just 16 seats.

The rot probably began with the resignation of Dr Van Zyl Slabbert at the end of the no-confidence debate in 1986.

There was a sense of euphoria in PFP ranks as it went into the election.

The late hours of May 6 saw the dream evaporate as one by one seats slid into the control of the National Party.

The alliance with the New Republic Party proved disastrous while the NP waged a slick campaign portraying the PFP as woefully weak on law and order.

Humbled and badly mauled, the PFP returned to Parliament with 19 MPs.

Gone were the MPs for Albany, Walmer and Wynberg in the Cape, Hillbrow, Edenvale and Bezuidenhout in the Transvaal and Maritzburg North and Maritzburg South in Natal.

Against this the party won Durban North and recaptured Bryanston, lost in an internecine blood-letting when Mr Horace van Rensburg resigned, lashing out at the party for its attitude to the ANC and supplying the National Party with a welter of ammunition for the election campaign.

Returning to Parliament on May 18, shorn of its role as the official opposition, the PFP manfully struggled to make its presence felt — once again the indomitable Mrs Helen Suzman was at the helm.

Then came the Dakar trip and another round of frightening internecine warfare.

The National Party didn't need to take up the cudgels, the PFP did it themselves.

And the huge gulf on the question of law and order between the likes of Mr Harry Schwarz on the one hand, and "Dakarites" Mr Peter Gastrow and Mr Pierre Cronje on the other, saw an unhealthy public bloodletting.

The dispute was eventually resolved — or more accurately papered over.

It wasn't, however, the end.

The left-wing MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, resigned on August 17 on the grounds that the party was losing political relevance with the people outside Parliament.

Yesterday the divisions, hardened by the visit to Dakar, burst into the open with the resignation of Mr Peter Gastrow, Mr Pierre Cronje and Mr Pieter Schoeman.

# Breweries man rebukes no-credibility programmes

**Corporate social responsibility programmes came under critical scrutiny at the Institute of Personnel Managers convention this week. By HILARY JOFFE**

COMPANIES spend hundreds of millions of rands on social responsibility programmes but these have lost credibility and support in the black community.

"CSR is implemented in such a way as to preserve and perpetuate the *status quo* by, for instance, supporting racially segregated schools, technikons and universities and developing racially segregated residential areas," SA Breweries Projects Officer Bhekokuhle Sibiya argued. "Under these conditions should one blame the black community for claiming corporate complicity with apartheid?"

He urged companies to base CSR on "the conversion and conviction of the top managers of the need for real involvement in community problems" rather than directing it into cosmetic measures designed to alleviate the "unacceptable face of capitalism".

He emphasised that companies should consider first their roles as employers, paying a living wage so that employees could afford nutritional food, education and housing.

Sibiya was particularly critical of the black advancement strategies of some companies: "Quite a few blacks in executive positions are relegated to personnel, sales and community affairs positions, to deal with their own kind, instead of being involved in the nuts and bolts of business." Blacks continued to be absent in core and meaningful management positions and "the face of corporate captains is still shamefully white", Sibiya said.

He urged business "to change from being the 'lukewarm defenders of the *status quo*' and to become active proponents of a non-racial democracy". It was imperative for business to be politically involved: "It is my plea that business should support, materially and otherwise, the real opposition which is figuratively speaking 'boxing from outside the ring'. Whereas companies should condemn real violence, they should support resistance", Sibiya said.

He urged companies to assist in giving people an economic and political stake but distinguished between real CSR and welfare: "Welfare is a short-term act of improvising which deals with symptoms, CSR is a long-term developmental process of solving the root causes of problems," Sibiya argued.



Bhekokuhle Sibiya

But industrial social worker Angela du Plessis did see welfare programmes as part of corporate social responsibility. She identified three 'levels' of corporate social responsibility and argued for "congruent" efforts at all three levels. The first was social responsibility as a function of the organisation's role as employer, such as assisting workers with personal problems or problems arising out of the nature of work. These need not be the paternalistic welfare programmes of the past if there was employee participation in social work decisions, she said.

The second level, she said, was social responsibility as a function of an organisation's role as a leading "citizen". This did not only mean giving away money: "Other examples include making company facilities available to community groups and sharing expertise."

The third level of social responsibility, she argued, was a function of the organisation's role in South Africa: "Industry and business are being called upon to assist in the breaking down of apartheid and the removal of injustices," she said.

Responding to Du Plessis, Anglo-Alpha's Andy Graham, who described himself as a line manager, told of how management in his company transformed a "sick organisation" into a successful one through upping wages, improving workplace facilities and health and safety, addressing problems employees had with transport and housing and instituting disciplinary and grievance procedures.

He also described how his company had learnt about participation and about asking communities what they wanted after a "near disaster" in one Cape Town area. The company was going to finance teacher training but discovered that the community wanted salaries for four teachers and some furniture for the school. "We could have imposed something that actually might have failed," he said.


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# Top MPs Progquit

Cape Times 8/10/87

3044

**By ANTHONY JOHNSON**
**Political Correspondent**

**THE embattled PFP was further shaken last night as three parliamentarians quit the party to link up with Independent MP Mr Wynand Malan and launch a new political movement.**

The defectors are the national chairman and MP for Durban Central, Mr Peter Gastrow, who has been tipped as a possible future leader of the party, the MP for Greytown, Mr Pierre Cronje, and President's Councillor Mr Pieter Schoeman.

At least six Nationalist MPs were also "seriously considering" defecting to the new political grouping — called the National Democratic Movement (NDM) — but got cold feet at the last moment.

In another surprise development, Dr Denis Worrall — who resigned as SA ambassador to London to spearhead the Independent Movement's May election drive, has not been included on the formal "leadership committee" of the NDM.

This immediately led to speculation in political circles that there could a falling-out within the Independent Movement itself over the role of the NDM in splitting further, fragmenting and weakening the PFP, which formed a loose alliance with the Independents during the election.

Dr Worrall declined to be drawn on the issue last night and said he would be issuing a statement on his position today.

However, it is clear that the "poaching" of PFP members could lead to a bitter struggle between the PFP and the NDM in the next election that could benefit their mutual political enemy, the National Party.

PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin said last night that he was "deeply concerned" that the defections would further divide opposition to the Nationalists and that the process of fundamental change from apartheid would be retarded.

Mr Eglin said he was "disappointed and surprised" by the resignations and conceded that the move amounted to a setback for the party.

The newly formed leadership committee of the NDM is to be headed by Mr Malan and will in-

To page 3

From page 1

## MPs quit

Cape Times 8/10/87

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clude the three PFP defectors and prominent figures in the Independent Movement including Dr Esther Lategan, Mr David de Villiers and Mr Jannie Momberg.

In announcing their resignation from the PFP, the rebel parliamentarians said they believed the PFP "can no longer be seen as a viable political force".

The three said the "essence" of their reasons for resigning concerned "a fundamental difference in respect of the role and strategies" to be play a meaningful role in South African politics.

"Working within the strict confines of Parliament and directing its effort almost entirely in terms of the style and vocabulary at a very narrow spectrum of the white electorate, has reduced the influence of the party to such an extent that it can no longer be seen as a viable political force.

"After intense discussions with leaders of the Independent Movement we are satisfied that we share the same ideals for a new South Africa and the route to get there.

"We are therefore pleased to announce that together with the leaders of the Independent Movement, a new political movement is now being launched."

A separate statement issued by NDM noted that the movement would be active in parliamentary as well as extra-parliamentary politics.

"Contrary to the rigidity and dogma of the political groupings in South Africa, the NDM strives to bridge and unite the historical and existing divides in our society."

Mr Malan said last night that it had become apparent that a real need existed in South Africa for "a new and different approach to the problems of the country" which entailed shying away from the "rigid and dogmatic approach of present political groupings".

● NDM backs rule of law — Page 4

# Malan team plans nationwide launch

AKGJ 8/10/87 30KA



**NEW MOVEMENT:** Members of the new National Democratic Movement at a Press conference today are, from left, Mr Pieter Schoeman, Mrs Sybelle Albrecht (liaison officer), Dr Esther Lategan, Mr Peter Gastrow, Mr Wynand Malan and Mr Pierre Cronje

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

# THE new National Democratic Movement is to launch a nationwide campaign at the end of the month to propagate its ideas.

**The chairman of the NDM's leadership committee, Mr Wynand Malan MP, said today there would be meetings in all the major centres in the country.**

There would also be a number of regional conferences early next year year.

But one leading member of the independent movement, Dr Denis Worrall, appears to have been left out in the cold.

He disclosed today that he was told only yesterday afternoon about the formation of the new group, and its plans.

Mr Malan and Dr Esther Lategan will start the NDM campaign with talks to closed meetings in Grahamstown and the Port Elizabeth area, while the two former Progressive Federal Party members of Parliament who have joined the NDM, Mr Peter Gastrow and Mr Pierre Cronje, will have meetings in Natal.

The resignation of Mr Gastrow and Mr Cronje, and former PFP President's Council member Mr Pieter Schoeman, has shocked the PFP caucus, according to caucus chairman Mr Ray Swart.

He said the party had taken the party completely by surprise and he could not understand the reasons for the break.

"Since it was only a few months ago that Mr Gastrow and Mr Cronje were elected as MPs and Mr Pieter Schoeman as a member of the President's Council, their action is incomprehensible. The party has not changed its principles and policies."

PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin said he had analysed their letters of resignation and believed that whatever they hoped to achieve in the field of reconciliation or fundamental change away from apartheid could have been achieved just as well within the framework of the "mission statement" the PFP had agreed to just a few weeks ago.

An emergency meeting of the PFP's parliamentary caucus was held last night and Mr Eglin was assured by the remaining MPs that they intended staying in the party.

There have been demands for the defectors to resign but they are not prepared to do this.

The defectors told Mr Eglin about their decision to leave the PFP only late yesterday afternoon — hours after Nationalist MPs — on the last day of the parliamentary session — appeared to know.

Nationalist propagandists are poised to exploit the fact that the PFP's "Dakarites" are now with the independents.

The three attended the Idasa conference with the ANC in Dakar.

## "No longer viable"

They defectors have made it clear that they object to the way the PFP is operating at present.

They said that by working within the strict confines of Parliament and directing its efforts almost entirely in terms of style and vocabulary to a very narrow spectrum of the white electorate, the PFP had reduced its influence to such an extent that it could no longer be seen as a viable political force.

The members of the new National Democratic Movement will sit in Parliament as a group with a caucus, but not as a formal political party at this stage.

Mr Malan said today that the independents had been negotiating with the PFP defectors for some weeks.

There appears to be at least some difference in emphasis between Mr Malan and Dr Worrall. Dr Worrall is not in the executive of the new movement.

While Mr Malan said today that the movement was not forming a political party "now" , Dr Worrall told a meeting in Somerset West on Tuesday night that a new party would be launched in the first quarter of next year.

He said he had some personal priorities — he was starting a law practice — and for some time he wanted to concentrate exclusively on the Helderberg constituency.

At a Press conference today Mr Malan said the movement stood for a new approach to politics. It wanted to bridge and unite existing elements.

It did not want to be a traditional party aiming to influence specific groups.

Although the concept would be much wider, it would also be in power politics and take part in the elections. It would consider taking part in local authority elections next year.

Black leaders had been told about the movement's aims and there had been a better reception than in some white circles.

Mr Malan denied that six Nationalist MPs had at one stage been ready to join the movement but had got cold feet.

Mr Gastrow explained that the three PFP men had seen Mr Eglin only late yesterday afternoon because he had not been available earlier in the day.

The announcement was not due yesterday but it was decided to make it after speculation started among politicians and journalists.

● **Review of Parliament — page 15.**

304A



Parliament

# NDM backs rule of law

**Political Staff**

THE NEW National Democratic Movement has committed itself to a negotiated future — free of discrimination — in its first broad policy statement released yesterday.

The movement's formation coincided with the resignation of three PFP parliamentarians to link up with the Independent MP, Mr Wynand Malan, and other prominent ex-Nationalists.

Mr Malan said in a press release that recent discussions across a broad political spectrum had revealed a need for a "new and different approach to the problems of the country".

The three PFP members shared this view and believed there was a need to get away from the "rigid and dogmatic approach of present political groupings".

"There must be equality of citizenship, as well as recognized human rights and freedoms for all the people of our country.

"While these freedoms should be guaranteed by the constitution, we believe that the rights of all South Africans to their language, religion and culture should also be guaranteed — but on the basis of freedom of association.

## Banned organizations

"We also believe that the quality of life of all South Africans should be enhanced, that private initiative should be recognized and that a fair distribution of the country's wealth needs to be attained."

These ideals could be achieved only through negotiation, without preconditions, with all who wished to participate — "including organizations presently banned and political leaders presently detained".

"We accept that circumstances may arise which may necessitate the exercise of special powers on the part of the state," said Mr Malan.

"However, such powers should only be available for a limited fixed period, with the closest possible adherence to the principles of the rule of law and the due process of law, and should in particular be subjected to monitoring and control by an independent judiciary to prevent abuse, hardship and the intensification of confrontation.

"We would like to see the freedom of the press and the media, and a free flow of information restored, so as to ensure that all South Africans are fully informed of the circumstances affecting our country and our destiny.

"We are convinced that the root causes of violence as a political instrument can only be addressed and counteracted through a purposeful process of negotiation."

The NDM therefore believed the state of emergency should be lifted as "a prerequisite for negotiations".

NATIONAL COUNCIL

# Stretching it

**Opposition** parties in parliament are trying to turn the proposed National Council (NC) into a National Convention, where a new constitution would be thrashed out by representatives of a far wider range of groups.

The first signs of the strategy came last week. Chris Heunis, chairman of the Standing Committee on Constitutional Affairs (SCCA) currently considering the NC Bill, said the committee has called for more submissions on the Bill — possibly including oral evidence — from interested groups.

The SCCA is due to meet again next month. If members manage to convince key leaders to give evidence, the committee may become the most important formal forum to debate change. If the debate does get going, it will be the start of a long process — the final draft of the NC Bill may not be seen for a year or more.

The SCCA is arguably parliament's most high-powered and important standing committee. Apart from Heunis, the 27 other members include Nat provincial leaders F W de Klerk (Transvaal), Kobie Coetsee (OFS) and Stoffel Botha (Natal); Education and Development Aid Minister Gerrit Viljoen; Heunis's deputy Stoffel van der Merwe; and party leaders Andries Treurnicht, Colin Eglin, Allan Hendrickse and Amichand Rajbansi.

Hendrickse has confirmed that he wants the ANC's Nelson Mandela, the Pan Africanist Congress's Zeph Mothopeng, and UDF leaders to give evidence. It's understood that submissions will also be requested from Mangosuthu Buthelezi (KwaZulu) and Enos Mabuza (KaNgwane), and possibly from Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and UDF patron Allan Boesak.

Government was keen to have the NC Bill passed this year as evidence that "reform" had not run out of steam. But the call for more evidence means that a major re-drafting of the Bill is possible. (It's already been re-worked after nearly a year of direct submissions to government from some black leaders.)

It seems that the Nat-dominated committee sees two advantages in getting more evidence:

☐ The possibility that wide consensus will be reached on the final product; and

☐ By delaying the formal establishment of the NC, government will be able to offer a more convincing reform package.

Although there's no sign that any of the leaders whose evidence may be requested is willing to give it, Heunis seems to accept that the NC will have to be more representative and more powerful than is now proposed. In terms of the present Bill, the NC is unlikely to be more than an advisory body.

Heunis says government is convinced that a new constitution must come about through negotiation. He says the NC is seen as a "means to an end," not "merely a goal in itself." ■

In a strangely scrappy session the Government came under attack from the right-wing official Opposition, which accused it of being too liberal, and picked up trouble in the House of Representatives, writes TOS WENTZEL, The Argus Political Correspondent.

# Forces in opposition

**THE session of Parliament, which ended yesterday, gave the Government its first taste of a rightwing official Opposition in the Assembly.**

The acrimonious exchanges between the Government and the Conservative Party throughout the session showed that it was an experience the National Party did not enjoy.

The Government also picked up trouble in the House of Representatives when Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse left the Cabinet.

In the process the Labour Party, although still involved in the "own affairs" part of government, became more of an opposition party.

At the same time a new official Opposition was formed in the House of Representatives by a group of breakaway Labour MPs, known as the Democratic Party.

There was something unreal about some of the political debates in the session starting with the no-confidence debate on which a lot of time was spent in fighting the May general election all over again.

## Under attack

While the National Party is still committed to many aspects of apartheid it came under attack from the new Opposition for being too liberal.

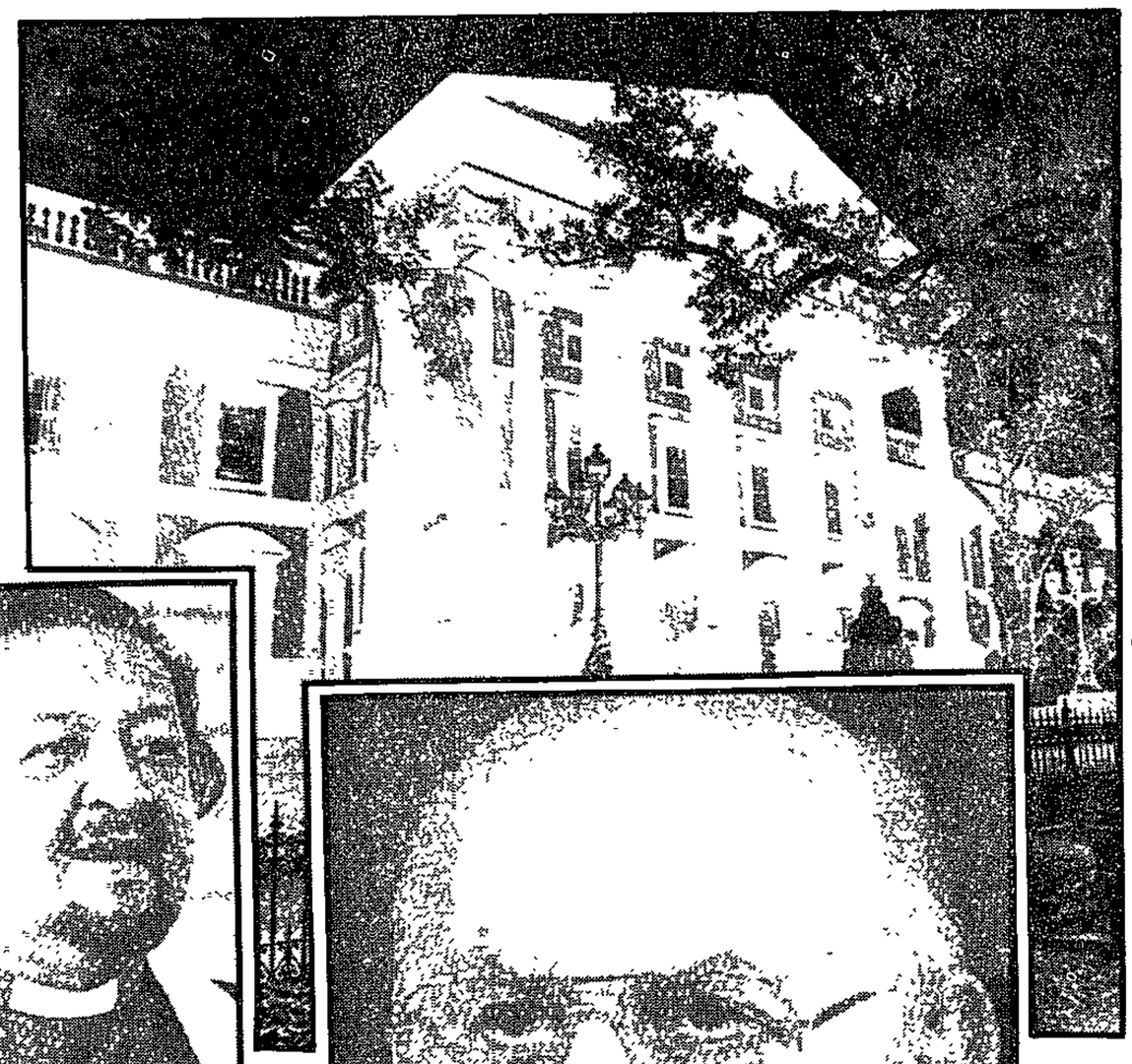
Throughout the session the CP continued with its political scare stories about "power sharing" under the National Party.

Under the thin veneer of promising a fair deal for all under its totally unrealistic partition policy the CP's essentially white racist approach came through all the time.

## Inauspicious start

Dr A P Treurnicht made an inauspicious start as Leader of the Opposition, contributing little of substance to debates on the burning issues facing the country.

Right at the end of the session its line of attack that the Government was now actively promoting integration was given a boost.





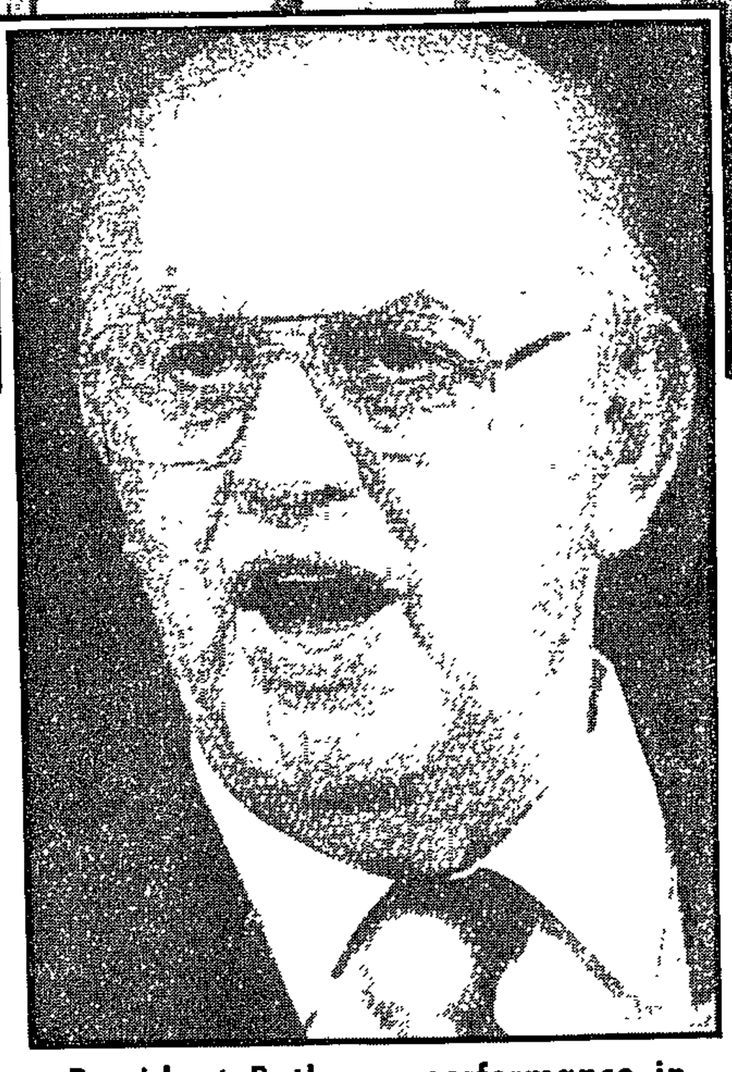
Rev Hendrickse . . . resigns from Cabinet.

This was when President Botha announced that the Government accepted a President's Council recommendation that there should be some mixed residential areas alongside segregated areas.

## Assurances

All Mr Botha's assurances that separate areas and schools were being maintained did not stop the CP from accusing the NP of having finally abandoned its old principles under pressure from liberals and humanists.

While Nationalist MPs recommitted themselves to the need for further reform they also stressed the need for the protection of minority rights and the retention of "own affairs".



President Botha. . . performance in House of Representatives a low point.

The National Party hammered away not only at the CP's partition policy but also at the CP's association with the ultra right-wing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

Some Nationalist MPs confessed to having the sinking feeling that, while they might have been winning the debates inside the debating chamber, they were losing the battle against the CP outside, especially in the Transvaal.



Colin Eglin . . . party demoralised after election setback.

Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, expressed the interesting view that, in spite of their squabbles, the NP and the CP were one in spirit and direction.

## PFP demoralised

Both had as their goal maximum self-determination but the NP had doubts about the practicality of this.

While it gamely tried to establish an initiative on the urgent need for real reform the PFP was somewhat demoralised by its election setback.



Jan van Eck . . . misgivings about party's policies.

It lost one of its MPs, Mr Jan van Eck, who had misgivings about the party's caucus becoming isolated from its grassroots support.

The Dakar conference cast its shadow over his defection as well as over the attendance of it by two PFP MPs and a member of the President's Council.

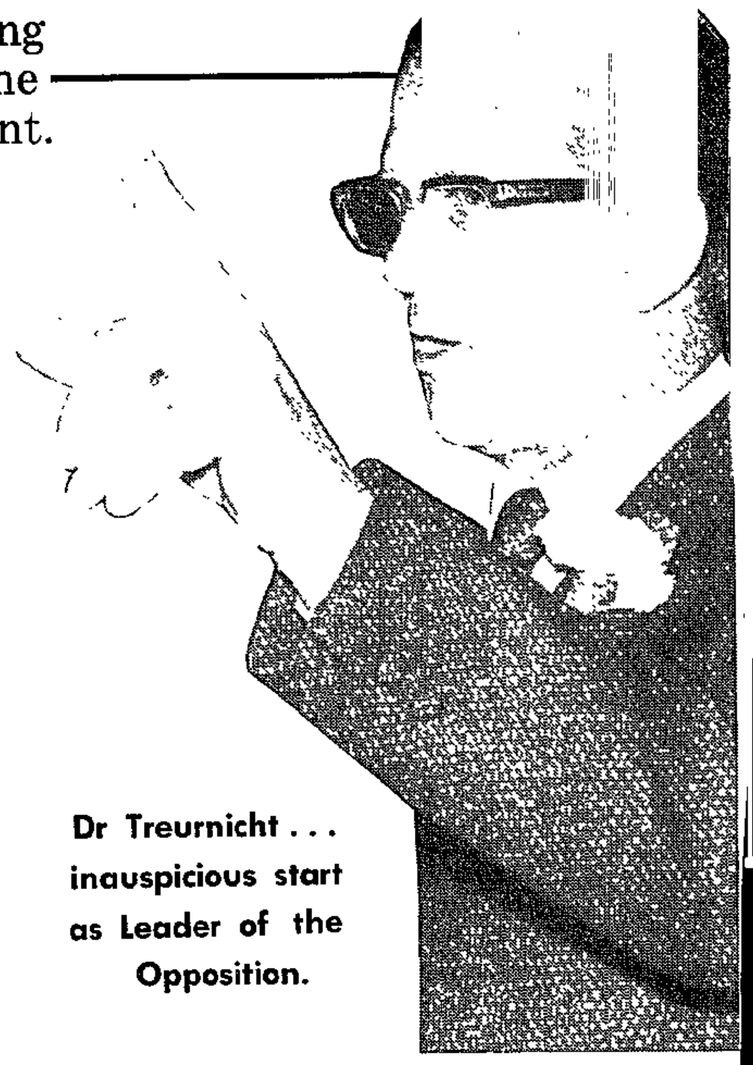
## Low point

The party was not against their members attending but they had to apologise for not having consulted the party timeously.

One of the low points of the session was President Botha's performance in the House of Representatives when he castigated coloured MPs for their "negativism" and maintained that the Afrikaner was being insulted by them without any gratitude being shown for positive steps and progress.

This was followed soon afterwards by Mr Hendrickse leaving the Cabinet on the issue of having elections for the Representatives and Delegates in 1989 but putting off elections for the Assembly until 1992.

Mr Hendrickse holds the whiphand in this. If he blocks the plan to have white elections only in 1992 the National Party will be in serious trouble if they [illegible] he CP in 1989.



Dr Treurnicht . . . inauspicious start as Leader of the Opposition.

Right at the end of the session the Labour Party made another gesture to show its more aggressive attitude when it queried changes in the rules and orders of Parliament which will make possible joint debates in next year's session of Parliament.

The Government also had difficuly in getting through some local government measures, among others one providing for racially separated rural councils.

## Bill held over

In the end, under pressure from the Labour Party and the PFP, the Bill providing for a consultative National Council was not introduced.

Instead it was held over to allow a parliamentary constitutional committee to hear representations.

After a strangely scrappy session the debate on constitutional reform will have to continue next year.

● The session ended with new drama with the defection of three PFP MPs — Mr Peter Gastrow, national chairman of the party, Mr Pierre Cronje, MP for Greytown and Mr Pieter Schoeman, a member of the President's Council — to link up with the new independent movement.

This has further reduced the numbers of the leftwing opposition.

CAPE TIMES 8/10/87

# Govt handling of Group Areas a sorry saga of deception



By DR ANDRIES TREURNICHT

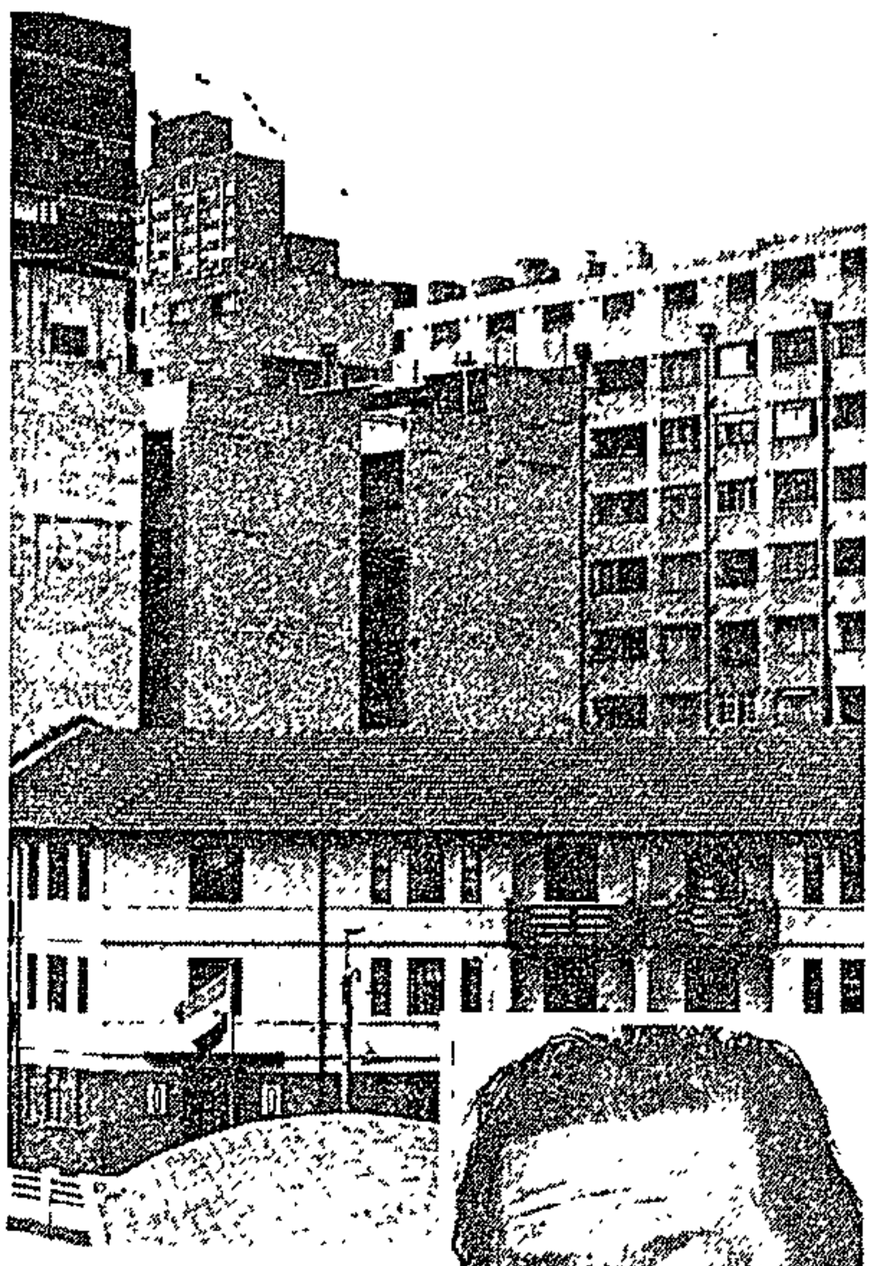
THE National Party's handling of the Group Areas Act is a sorry saga of deception, broken promises and intrigue.

Assurances were given in 1981 by Cabinet ministers that legislation would be introduced during the 1982 parliamentary session to, inter alia, close the loopholes which were allowing the Hillbrow situation to worsen.

From 1982 to 1986 various ministers made stentorian announcements that the Group Areas Act would be maintained and the State President has stated that it will not be abolished "while he is State President".

For very good reasons the Group Areas Act is a hot potato. One must decide whether South Africa is a society of individuals or communities. It is no use stating that all individuals are equal, but some are more equal than others; or claiming the right and freedom of association while at the same time fencing off those who "do not belong".

So much inconsistency and dishonesty permeates this debate. Being honest and consistent in matters of principle is at times confused with a lack of compassion and understanding; many believe that laws and regulations can never be reconciled with love and individual freedom ... they agree with Bentham that "law and government are necessary evils; the lesser there is, the better".





**ABOVE: Hillbrow ... "whites ultimately leave mixed areas, and this happened in Hillbrow, which was a strong PFP constituency".**
**RIGHT: "It is no wonder that the Rev Hendrickse has dug in his heels."**

Yet very few people intrinsically trust the concept of a non-racial society. The simple fact is that there is no such thing. The diversity of race, ethnicity and community is a patent reality. When these concepts are

National Party members who have proposed the controversial recommendations.

One recommendation is based on "the confirmation and protection of

reacting on those who "do not belong".

So much inconsistency and dishonesty permeates this debate. Being honest and consistent in matters of principle is at times confused with a lack of compassion and understanding; many believe that laws and regulations can never be reconciled with love and individual freedom ... they agree with Bentham that "law and government are necessary evils; the lesser there is, the better".





**ABOVE: Hillbrow ... "whites ultimately leave mixed areas, and this happened in Hillbrow, which was a strong PFP constituency".**
**RIGHT: "It is no wonder that the Rev Hendrickse has dug in his heels."**

Yet very few people intrinsically trust the concept of a non-racial society. The simple fact is that there is no such thing. The diversity of race, ethnicity and community is a patent reality. When these concepts are threatened, the need for protective regulations becomes real and urgent. The Group Areas Act was introduced for this very reason.

People do have a right to live with their own kind; surely this supersedes another's co-called right to interfere! If people were happy with multi-racialism, why has the Group Areas Act become such an issue for the National Party? To force disparate communities to live in the same areas, to share schools and governmental structures does not work. People do not like being dominated by other groups — the recent coup in Fiji is a perfect example of racial tyranny being usurped.

The dilemma facing the National Party is the loss of white support as a result of its indifference to white interests in certain residential areas. By its benign neglect, the NP has allowed large numbers of other race groups to settle in these areas, disrupting community life and causing friction and frustration and loss of property values. Whilst some observe that great hardship has been suffered by the non-whites involved in this debacle, no one seems to care about the hardships suffered by whites. After all, they were invaded, not the other way round!

## Political kite-flying

Whites ultimately leave mixed areas, and this happened in Hillbrow which was a strong PFP constituency. Liberal theory has now become a reality and this was evidenced by the move to the right of the voters, as well as the constituency having the lowest percentage poll in the Republic. Other PFP constituencies adjoining Hillbrow also moved right.

Grey areas? How is the government going to enforce and patrol a grey area to prevent it encroaching on adjoining white areas? The sheer weight of numbers will play havoc with this policy.

Local option? There is no option remaining for Hillbrow's residents, many of whom upped and left rather than live in a community which did not reflect their lifestyle.

Voters are apt to forget that this report, released only after the May 6 election, is none other than a National Party report given another name. It is National Party members who have proposed the controversial recommendations.

One recommendation is based on "the confirmation and protection of existing residential areas of the different population groups" and another contradicts by recommending "the establishment of procedures to change the status of existing residential areas, where justified by circumstances, to open areas according to local need and local choice."

That is nothing else but political kite-flying.

The report actually acknowledges the lack of government action in protecting certain areas. By turning a blind eye to the thousands of complaints received over the past five years (only four prosecutions in 1986) and by ignoring petitions, the government has actually refused to apply its own laws. In doing so, it has displayed a weakness which is now being exploited by the Rev Hendrickse to the detriment of all.

## Govt pleasing no one

The Group Areas Act is being used as a bargaining chip — people's futures and property investments are on the line because the government has been dishonest. Had they gone to the voters on an abolish-the-Group-Areas ticket, they would have lost an enormous amount of support. By parcelling out concessions in drips and drabs, they have pleased no one, least of all the coloureds and Indians with whom they promised to share power and to whom they have merely allocated power. It is no wonder that Rev Hendrickse has dug in his heels.

The Group Areas Act is debated at the end of the parliamentary session, a ruse to avoid protracted discussion. The same tactic was used when the new constitution was put before Parliament. Only a government that is no longer fit to govern would allow the denial of group rights and freedom; would allow illegal squatter camps to develop and then justify and legalize the illegal "reality".

The government is between the devil and the deep blue sea. It is allowing the white areas of South Africa to be lost in a bloodless conquest. At the same time, it has gained nothing in terms of credibility or white opinion or non-white participation or even economic growth. The Group Areas Act will surely be remembered as the National Party's Waterloo.

Worrall takes back seat after 'differences of opinion'

# PFP is rocked as three quit for 'new force'


Mr Peter Gastrow.


Mr Pierre Cronje.


Mr Pieter Schoeman.


Mr Wynand Malan.

**Three top members of the Progressive Federal Party resigned last night to join forces with Mr Wynand Malan and other Independent leaders in the formation of what they have termed a new political force.**

This latest body blow to the PFP took the party and its leader, Mr Colin Eglin, completely by surprise. An emergency caucus meeting was convened at 9 pm last night to discuss the crisis.

The three PFP defectors are its national chairman, Mr Peter Gastrow, the MP for Greytown, Mr Pierre Cronje, and PFP Member of the President's Council, Mr Pieter Schoeman.

All three recently attended the conference between Afrikaners and the ANC at Dakar.

**David Braun, Political Correspondent reports from Cape Town**

They have joined forces with the Independents to form a new political force which has called itself the National Democratic Movement (NDM).

The object of the NDM is to straddle racial and political lines inside and outside Parliament in order to bridge the divisions in South African society.

A formal leadership committee, headed by Mr Wynand Malan, has already been formed. Its other members are Mr Gastrow, Mr Cronje, Mr Schoeman, Mr Dawid de Villiers, the former chairman of Nasionale Pers, Dr Esther Lategan, the Indepednent candidate in Stellenbosch in the last election, and Mr Jannie Momberg, the well-known sports personality.

Dr Denis Worrall, the Independent candidate in Helderberg and former Ambassador in London, has taken a back seat in order to return to law practice and to concentrate on securing the Helderberg constituency in the next election.

Sources close to the Independents last night revealed, however, that there had been differences of opinion between Dr Worrall and the others, with the former Ambassador wanting a new party to be formed rather than a loose political movement.

Mr Malan said at a press conference early today it would not be possible for anyone to place the new movement anywhere in the political spectrum.

He appealed to politicians in all parties to join the "politics of process" by putting pressure on their leaders to become less rigid.

Mr Eglin said: "I am disappointed and surprised. In spite of the end-of-session caucus meetings that have taken place over the past few days nothing was said which would indicate that people were considering resigning from the PFP."

Mr Eglin said he was deeply concerned that as a result of their action the opposition to the Nationalists would become further divided and that the process of fundamental change from apartheid would be retarded.

He said he had analysed their letters of resignation carefully and he believed that whatever they hoped to achieve in the field of reconciliation or fundamental change away from apartheid could have been achieved just as well within the framework of the "Mission Statement" which the party had worked on and agreed to only a few weeks ago.

## Priority

"While I realise that people have to be at ease with themselves, I do not subscribe to the view that self-indulgence can be given priority over the team effort."

PFP MPs last night demanded that the two MPs who had quit the party resign their seats. They were particularly angry that Mr Gastrow, as the number two in the party, had been involved in intimate strategy planning sessions right up until yesterday.

The three have indicated, however, that they will not resign their seats.

A statement released by the caucus last night said the party had been shocked by the sudden resignations.

Members of the caucus had met regularly as a team and as recently as the past few days and there had been no indication from the members concerned that there were any current difficulties.

In announcing their resignations, the three said in a statement that working within the strict confines of Parliament and directing its effort almost entirely in terms of style and vocabulary at a very narrow spectrum of the white electorate had reduced the influence of the PFP to such an extent that it could no longer be seen as a viable political force.

See Page 11

# Worrall: change in US attitudes

**Daily Dispatch Reporter**

QUEENSTOWN — While the British have traditionally had a better perception of South Africa because of their long-standing ties with this country, this has not always been the case with the Americans.

This was said by the former ambassador to Australia and the United Kingdom and leader of the Independent movement, Dr Denis Worrall, at the official opening of the 127th Border Agricultural Society Show here yesterday.

"There has, however, recently been a noticeable improvement in their knowledge, understanding and attitude towards this country," he added.

It was understandable that views of South Africa in the United Kingdom and the United States would be determined by those particular countries' experience, he said.

The British had a long involvement in Africa and particularly in Southern Africa and they, therefore, had a context in terms of which they could interpret developments in South Africa.

"They, therefore, understand the problems of economic development, public administration and of achieving democracy in Africa and it is against this background knowledge that they interpret developments in Africa," Dr Worrall said.

The fact that they had strong, long-standing commercial connections with South Africa in the form of agriculture, trade and investment links, and that a high proportion of British people had family connections with South Africa, meant they had an interest in and high hopes for the country's well-being.

"Most Americans, by contrast, with the exception of their brief colonial flirtation with Liberia, had no experience of Africa and, therefore, tended to interpret the South African situation in terms of the American civil rights experience.

"It was a fact that there was also a relatively large black American lobby in the US Congress which had roots in Africa and which was a powerful influence in determining American attitudes to this country.

"Nothing like this lobby existed in the United Kingdom," he said.

"As a result, the American view of South Africa tended to be simplistic and somewhat superficial.

"Americans generally are inclined to believe it is a simple problem of black versus white and right versus wrong and feel it is their moral duty to help us solve the problem," Dr Worrall said.

He said that before his most recent trip to the United States from which he returned on Sunday, he had last visited America five years ago.

He was pleasantly surprised by the changes in attitudes to South Africa which he thought had occurred.

He was impressed by how quickly the Americans had developed an expertise regarding South Africa and how they "bristled" with ideas and constructive proposals for this country.

They still felt strongly about the moral dimension, but he sensed there was a better appreciation now than there had been five years ago of the complexity of the situation. While the momentum for divestment, to quote the Americans, is still running strongly, it has definitely fallen off and even in liberal American circles there is a feeling that sanctions have not worked.

"I believe something of this attitude is reflected in the speech which the Secretary of State, Mr George Schultz, made last week, in which he set out in a positive way certain constitutional values he felt could apply in South Africa.

"Mr Schultz said: 'Americans have every reason to make clear our visions and hopes for that country,' and also: 'I challenge South Africans to rise to the test of building a future which takes these ideas into account'." Dr Worrall concluded by saying that in his embattled embassy in Trafalgar Square he had never been more confident that South Africa had a great future.

"The important thing," he said, "is that we must get the political formula right."

# Nat defections to NDM denied

**Political Staff**

THE fledgling National Democratic Movement said yesterday morning that there was "no truth whatsoever" in reports that six National Party MPs were poised to join the movement.

The Movement went public on Wednesday when three defectors from the PFP, its national chairman and MP for Durban Central, Mr Peter Gastrow, the MP for Greytown, Mr Pierre Cronje, and PC member Mr Pieter Schoeman, resigned from the party — leaving their embattled former party with only 16 parliamentary seats and a major headache.

But it had already run into problems yesterday afternoon with the leader of the Movement, the Independent MP for Randburg, Mr Wynand Malan, seeming to be at odds with his Independent colleague, Dr Denis Worrall.

Mr Malan, at a press conference early yesterday, said there had been talks with other politicians, "but not for the purpose of joining us".

He said this was rather an attempt to sell "process politics" to them.

There were also plans to approach politicians in the other two houses of Parliament.

This little-known concept of "process politics", according to him, is an attempt to move away from the concept of an "old-style party" which is defined as left or right.

The key to the concept is that the "process of politics" is supreme.

"We are not just a party," he said at a press conference early yesterday, "it is a new approach to politics, a new dimension to South African politics intended to breach the divide between extra-parliamentary and parliamentary politics."

The aim of "process politics" will be to get people involved in talks and moving towards negotiations thereby "moving away from dogma, rigidity and ideology".

Mr Malan said he and his three new colleagues have as individuals been making contact with black political constituencies, and would be making announcements in the next few days.

"But, I would like to say now that we want to make contact and talk. The stupidity of the division (between black and white) must be removed.

"The ANC must also be drawn into process politics. They must be drawn into talks that would bring violence to an end."

## Only style differs, says Eglin

JOHANNESBURG. — PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin last night accused the leader of the newly-formed National Democratic Movement, Mr Wynand Malan, of "philosophically borrowing very heavily from the PFP".

In a debate between the two on an SABC-TV Network programme, Mr Eglin said that "only his style differs".

In return, Mr Malan said he had failed to communicate to Mr Eglin what he believed in.

Mr Malan said he had, even while still a member of the NP, consulted various politicians both in and out of Parliament for many years.

Mr Eglin said Mr Malan was "putting labels on other parties" and his movement would result in rearranging opposition politics.

"If all the new movement can do is rearrange and not add a new factor, from the National Party, it has nothing positive," Mr Eglin said.

He added that the PFP had played a pivotal role in establishing the independents, resulting in Mr Malan retaining his parliamentary seat.

Mr Malan said the MDM was not trying to become an "honest broker" in SA politics but wanted to act as a catalyst for negotiations.



**NEW PARTY** ... Members of the newly-formed National Democratic Movement at a meeting on Wednesday night. They are (from left) Mr Lang David de Villiers, SC, Mr Peter Gastrow, MP (Durban Central), Dr Esther Lategan, Mr Pierre Cronje, MP (Greytown) and Mr Wynand Malan, Independent (Randburg). Mr Pieter Schoeman, of the President's Council, was not present. Picture: OBED ZILWA

## Dakar not reason for split, says Gastrow

**Political Staff**

"I DO NOT see the Dakar tag as a burden," the former national chairman of the PFP, the MP for Durban Central, Mr Peter Gastrow, said yesterday at his first press appearance here as a member of the new National Democratic Movement (NDM)

Mr Gastrow said the Dakar issue within the PFP was not the initiating factor for talks with his new leader, the independent MP for Randburg, Mr Wynand Malan.

"Wynand and I have been in touch for many years and had talks."

Mr Malan denied the NDM was looking for support in the same constituency as the PFP.

He said the PFP's liberal position was "conservative" in terms of today's politics.

## Progs urged against haste

**Political Correspondent**

YOUNG PROGS were urged yesterday to "think deeply before making any hasty and possibly uninformed decisions", following the defection of three PFP parliamentarians to the newly formed National Democratic Movement.

The chairperson of the youth wing of the party, Ms Tonie Petra, said in a statement that Young Progs "note with deep regret" the resignation of the three.

## SA 'paradise for media'

JOHANNESBURG — South Africa had become a potential paradise for the media because of the high potential for conflict and drama brought about by reduced stability and cultural differences, the Deputy Minister of Information and of Constitutional Planning, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said yesterday.

Addressing The Star's centennial conference on "Conflict and the Press", he said the affinity of the media for conflict was a natural phenomenon, and that potential for conflict held the expectation of impending drama.

Speaking at the same conference, Mr Harvey Tyson, editor-in-chief of The Star, said the rule of law was the essential foundation to any freedom in any society, no matter how docile or how volatile, how united or divided the community might be.

Mr Tyson cautioned newspapers actively to avoid portraying black militants as bloodthirsty terrorists, prone to necklacing their black opponents, and white South Africans as being uncaring, evil racists.

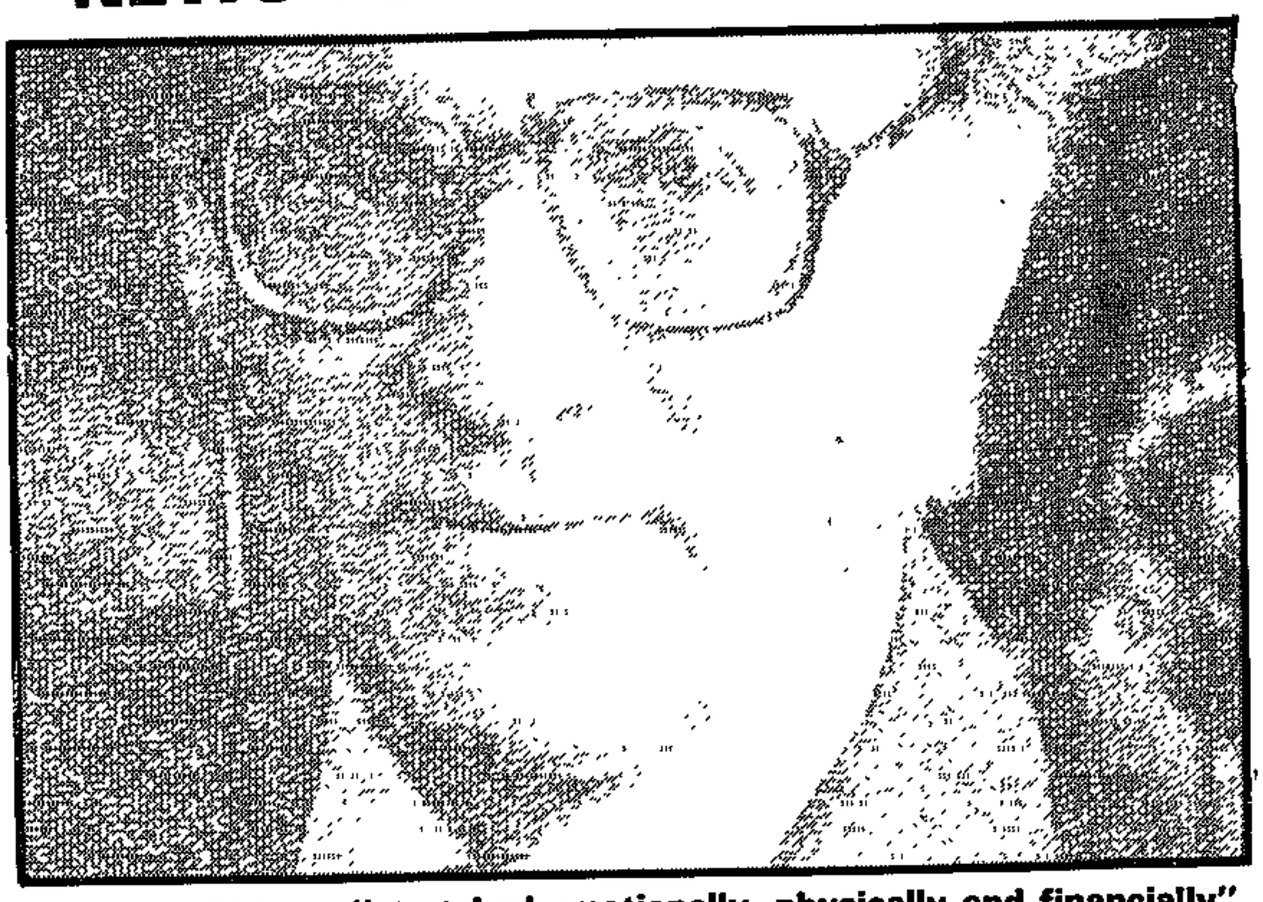
Such stereotypes, which opposing forces encouraged in any divided society, were often far from reality.

While there were some militants who fitted the bill, most had shown "astonishing tolerance and patience. And among the older ones goodwill remains".

He also said laws which were used more often in the 24 months after June 1976 were now smothered under reams of emergency regulations.

"We have reached a point where I cannot believe any individual, within government or without, knows how to handle the mare's nest of rules on a rational, efficient basis. The only certainty for newspapers is that, if they do nothing to upset the government, they will be safe.

"But we also live in the knowledge that there are so many regulations that, if anyone takes them literally, no real newspaper could publish a normal edition without facing prosecution. Several of us came to the conclusion some time ago, therefore, that the only way to conduct a proper newspaper today was to ignore the mare's nest, and do what you have to do." — Sapa



□ WORRALL . . . "stretched emotionally, physically and financially"

# Worrall is puzzled at being left out

**DOMINIQUE GILBERT**

FORMER SA ambassador turned champion of the Independent cause, Dr Denis Worrall, said yesterday he was emotionally drained and confused at being left out of the New Democratic Movement's (NDM) leadership.

When Wynand Malan announced the formation of the NDM this week, the movement's leadership included three defectors from the Progressive Federal Party but omitted Worrall.

Clearly upset at being left out, Worrall — who played the theme from "Chariots of Fire" during his Helderberg election campaign — told Business Day he had no wish to "hive off".

He said, however: "I've been going flat out since February. Given my disruptive return from London and the way I did it, and an intensive election campaign, I've been stretched emotionally, physically and financially.

"To quote Joseph Conrad, I've reached the shadow line."

## Committed

Worrall said he had been informed about the NDM exactly an hour before its formation was announced.

"I'm not on any kind of collision course with anybody and, in fact, I'd like Wynand to spell out how he sees the situation to the Helderberg voters. He's actually never spoken in the constituency," Worrall said.

He would remain committed to Helderberg, as he felt obligated towards the people who had given him the "emotional experience of a lifetime" during the election.

Worrall said it was not immodest to say Helderberg was "the spark" for the Independent movement during the election.

He disclosed there were "differences and unhappiness" within the Independent movement, but declined to elaborate.

## 'Confused'

He would only say he was personally "confused" about it, but "aware of a period of criticisms".

"Frankly, differences occur in any healthy, vibrant movement. I'm not attaching too much importance to that," he said.

It has been clear for some time that while Malan and his advisors have been edging away from statements on the formation a party, Worrall has held talks countrywide announcing that this would happen.

As recently as Tuesday night — when Worrall shared a Somerset West platform with Esther Lategan (who is now on the NDM leadership committee) — he conceded the movement had lost momentum but said it would launch a political party early next year.

Worrall yesterday issued a statement in which he invited Malan or Lategan to be present during a constituency committee meeting and announced that he did not wish to play a "high profile role in this situation".

In a reply statement, Malan welcomed Worrall's decision not to become involved in "the structuring of the movement on the national level" and said he would reschedule previous appointments to attend the Helderberg meeting.

Worrall voiced real concern over whether the NDM would be "recycling the opposition" in terms of denting the PFP rather than the NP, as the movement initially intended.

"This country has not the resources in the business community for both the PFP and the NDM to compete for funds and moral support," he said.

"It is important to stress that this country needs a new initiative. But there is not a lot of room for alternatives."

## Unchanged

His relationship with his campaign manager Jannie Momberg — who is now also on the leadership committee of the NDM — remained unchanged. Momberg would explain his position in due course, Worrall said.

"This whole thing is a source of enormous puzzlement. Overnight a new organisation is created.

"Given the objectives in the election to dent the NP and not the PFP, the line-up is not understandable.

"I suspect there is a certain amount of anger considering the major role the PFP played in the election."

No room for 'typical white politician'

# Malan does an axe job on Worrall

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B/day 9/10/87

FORMER SA ambassador Denis Worrall — side-lined by the New Democratic Movement (NDM) leadership — said yesterday he had been "stretched emotionally, physically and financially".

He was also "confused and puzzled" by the latest developments — of which he was informed only an hour before they were publicly announced.

However, NDM sources said Worrall had been left out of Independent Wynand Malan's NDM plans because he was a "typical white politician" who did not understand black politics and was not "trusted" by black politicians.

Outlining his position on the stated role of the NDM in terms of "bridging and uniting" extra-parliamentary and parliamentary politics, Malan said he had no intention of linking the NDM with any party in terms of an alliance.

However, the NDM wanted to "bridge the dividing line" across the total spectrum of politics from the CP to the UDF, Inkatha and Azapo with the aim of influencing them away from dogma, rigidity and ideology.

The UDF yesterday gave its "cautious approval" to the NDM and said that while the NDM had not yet announced its principles or strategies, the UDF hoped its role would be complementary to "that of the extra-parliamentary mass democratic movement led by the UDF".

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

UDF spokesman Azhar Cachalia said there were now "more possibilities" for discussion between the NDM and the UDF as a result of Worrall's omission from the NDM leadership which the UDF believed would have "straitjacketed" it.

He said there had been no consultation or formal discussions between Malan and the UDF on the NDM's formation, but conceded informal discussions between Malan and the UDF had uncovered more common ground than expected.

**See Comment, Page 8**
**Worrall interview, Page 9**

Cachalia said: "Our view is that any movement away from the narrow confines of traditional white party politics must be welcomed."

The NDM sources said it was hoped for "symbolic importance" that the Stellenbosch academics who broke away from the NP during the election would indicate their support for the NDM soon.

However, two of the prime movers in the Maties Revolt — Sampie Terreblanche and Willie Esterhuyse — have been out of the country and the third,

● To Page 2

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# Malan's axe job on Worrall

Julius Jeppe, said while he supported the Independents on broad issues he would not commit himself as a definite supporter until he has studied NDM principles.

Jeppe said: "If they swing to PFP, Westminster, individualistic, liberal ideals I will have my doubts."

Meanwhile, amid speculation of an imminent breakaway of a number of Nat MPs to the NDM, Albert Nothnagel, who is regarded as a verligte, yesterday said he had "absolutely no comment".

Nat MP Leon Wessels, also thought to be in the verligte camp, said, however, he had not been approached by the NDM and would definitely not consider joining it.

An apparently sour exchange of statements between Worrall and Malan through SAPA yesterday has resulted in Malan saying he would cancel prescheduled appointments to address a special meeting of Worrall supporters in Helderberg today.

● From Page 1

Malan said Worrall had been invited to stay on as a member of the NDM but had decided to take a low profile and involve himself in business.

Worrall said he would take his lead from the Helderberg committee to whom he felt obligated.

Malan said the NDM welcomed Worrall's decision to "devote more of his time to the constituency and not to become involved in the structuring of the movement on the national level".

Today's meeting would "clear up the confusion" surrounding Worrall's role in the NDM.

# A small step

**Major** "reforms" to parliamentary procedure, due to be introduced next year, will make SA's legislative process one of the most complicated in the world — but no more likely than the current tricameral system to obstruct Nationalist plans.

The changes, contained in a new set of Standing Rules and Orders, have been approved by the House of Assembly and the House of Delegates, and are expected to be passed with little opposition from the House of Representatives.

They essentially provide for joint debates, in which all 308 MPs can participate, in the assembly chamber now under construction alongside the existing parliamentary buildings.

It's likely that all "general affairs" issues (currently nearly all of parliament's legislative business) will be debated jointly. But in terms of a new "deferred voting" system (used in some European legislatures), voting will take place separately, back in the racially segregated chambers.

This means that the Nats (with only 133 seats) will remain invulnerable to the will of the majority of MPs. Even if the other two houses vote against a Nat Bill or motion during "deferred voting," support from the Nat majority in the assembly can ensure that it is referred to the President's Council for a decision (which is likely to reflect the Nat view).

The "deferred voting" system means that joint debates on a number of Bills or issues can take place consecutively. But final voting will only happen on a particular day, set aside exclusively for "consecutive" voting on the measures. This is being introduced to save time, according to parliament's chief whip, Alec van Breda.

The structure of the new system also means that a number of legislative or "consensus-seeking" sessions, on either "own" or "general" affairs, may be debated simultaneously in different forums in different parts of the country. At the moment this can happen only in the three different houses and in the standing committees.

Under the new system, debates on different issues can be going at the same time in the three houses, the joint debating chamber, in the four provincial standing committees (which may be open to the public) in the four provincial capitals, and in other standing committees (some of whose debates will be open to the public).

In the joint debating chamber, MPs will speak from a podium under the Speaker's chair, and not from their benches as they do now — which is likely to give an even more formal air to debates.

Probably the next most important change is the scrapping of the No Confidence motion by the Leader of the Opposition. It will be replaced by a week-long debate on the State President's speech at the opening of parliament (already dubbed the "Statement from the Throne" by Conservative Party MPs), when government policy will be spelt out.

Although the scope of the debate — in which all MPs will participate at a joint sitting — is likely to be as wide as the current No Confidence debates, there will be no formal motion by the Leader of the Opposition and no vote at the end.

Van Breda argues that not even the British parliament is opened any longer with a traditional No Confidence debate. Opposition parties, however, believe that its abolition will curtail their right to call government and individual ministers to account.

Progressive Federal Party leader Colin Eglin believes the new rules make serious inroads into the rights of opposition parties and individual MPs; place "vast regulatory powers" in the hands of the Nat-appointed chief whip of parliament (currently Van Breda); and provide for procedures "that are so cumbersome and involved that they will inevitably detract from the status of parliament as the supreme legislative body."

The Conservative Party's opposition is based on the belief that the changes are a further move by the NP to integrate government.

To the coloured and Indian houses, the joint debate move is seen as another small step away from discrimination. However, with the present government in power, they must realise that the next logical step — joint decision-making — is an impossibility.

Many opposition MPs already believe that the supremacy of parliament as a law-making body has been progressively undermined by the Nats, and that in many respects the institution has become little more than a rubber stamp for decisions taken by the executive inner circle at Tuynhuys.

The new system, they argue, could see a further erosion of whatever power they still have to call government to account, and to highlight the country's state of affairs.

# Worrall backers threaten to split with NDM

AR645 9/10/87 304A

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

A SERIOUS rift has developed in the ranks of the new National Democratic Movement, and there is a possibility that supporters of Dr Denis Worrall will break away.

One said today the possibility that a separate Independent Movement led by Dr Worrall would go it alone was "increasing by the minute".

Worral supporters are dissatisfied because he has been edged out of the NDM leadership.

Apparently other NDM leaders such as Mr Wynand Malan and Dr Esther Lategan suggested to him that he should have a lower profile and that he should concentrate on the Helderberg constituency.

After agreeing to this initially, Dr Worrall is now clearly unhappy.

**MEETING TODAY**

He has called a meeting of his constituency committee for this afternoon. Mr Malan will attend. Dr Worrall maintains that he was told about the formation of the new movement only on Wednesday afternoon.

Some prominent NDM supporters say, however, that he had been told earlier that a new movement was coming and that some PFP MPs might join.

Some Worrall supporters feel that the new movement has been politically "tainted" by the three prominent former PFP public representatives who have joined. They say potential Nationalist support will be dissipated by this.

It is now clear that there have been serious tensions between Dr Worrall, Mr Malan and Dr Lategan for some time.

**CLOSED MEETING**

While the others prefer the concept of a wider political movement, Dr Worrall is in favour of a political party as such. He said at a meeting this week that a new party would be formed early next year.

The formation of the NDM was announced the next day.

Mr Peter Gastrow, one of the former PFP MPs who have joined the NDM, said today that it would not be a major setback if Dr Worrall left the movement.

Mr Gastrow addressed a

*(Turn to page 2, col 1)*

# Worral backers threaten split

*(Continued from page 1)*

closed meeting in his Durban Central constitutency last night. He said today that he received a "mixed reception".

He said he differed from the PFP mainly on "strategy and style".

In Greytown 11 of the 15 members of the PFP's constituency committee decided last night to support the move by their member of Parliament, Mr Pierre Cronje, to the NDM.

They say they will also resign from the PFP.

**"LOST EDGE"**

Another former PFP member to defect to the NDM is Mrs Beverley Roos, the PFP candidate in Durbanville in the May election. She says she believes the PFP has "lost its cutting edge".

● Nationalist politicians are delighted about the tensions in the NDM.

Mr Con Botha MP, the National Party's chief information officer, said today the NDM had shot itself in both feet.

# Worrall 'left in the dar

# New party in c

(3044) CAPE TIMES 9/10/87

## By ANTHONY JOHNSON
## Political Correspondent

**THE new National Democratic Movement (NDM) ran into stormy weather less than 24 hours after its hasty launch, with divisions already emerging between Dr Denis Worrall and the leadership of the new body.**

A major question mark hangs over the political future of Dr Worrall, who gave up his ambassadorship in London to spearhead the independent movement's election campaign, but now appears to have been sidelined by the NDM.

A clearly peeved Dr Worrall yesterday said he had been left in the dark about the launching of the new political movement, which had occasioned "a great deal of confusion and concern" among members of the public associated with the independent movement.

Less than 24 hours before the NDM's unveiling, Dr Worrall told a meeting in Somerset West that his independent movement would launch a party early next year with structures in up to 100 constituencies.

Matters could come to a head this afternoon when Dr Worrall, a conspicuous absentee from the NDM leadership committee, consults with his constituency committee in Helderberg.

"I ask those constituency committees and invididual supporters of the (independent) movement, who have looked to me for a lead, please to be patient until then," Dr Worrall said in a statement.

Should the high-profile former ambassador and his supporters decide to fight his virtual exclusion from the NDM — already dubbed the No-Denis Movement — the stage could be set for a stormy passage for the fledgeling organization.

Defending the independent movement yesterday, Dr Worrall said: "The independent movement's goal in the May general election was to present a positive and constructive alternative to the National Party.

"We did this by presenting a vision of a successful and happy South Africa and of a concept of negotiation which works.

"Support for this point of view was dramatically demonstrated in the Helderberg constituency where we drew votes from members of all political parties and from both language groups."

**MORE REPORTS ON NDM,**
PAGE 4

NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan said yesterday that the organization planned to launch a nationwide campaign at the end of this month to promote its ideas.

The NDM did not plan to form a political party at this stage, but would promote the idea of "process politics", geared at getting divergent groups to talk and negotiate and thereby move away from "dogma, rigidity and ideology".

However, sources close to the NDM indicated yesterday that the growth potential of the new organization may face unforeseen obstacles among whites because its formation did not follow the preferred game plan.

According to one source, the sequence of events would have been the jettisoning of Dr Worrall, followed by the defection of a number of verligte Nationalist MPs, and only then the defection by PFP parliamentarians.

The plan apparently went awry when details started leaking out prematurely and the PFP members — all of them participants in the recent ANC Dakar safari — made their move.

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**DECLARING WAR** . . . Dr Denis Worrall at his press conference yesterday.

# Worrall declares war on new group

CAPE TIMES 10/10/87 304A

**By ANTHONY JOHNSON**
**Political Correspondent**

A DEFIANT Dr Denis Worrall last night declared war on Mr Wynand Malan's newly formed National Democratic Movement and resolved to go it alone after being "stabbed in the back" by his former colleagues in the Independent Movement.

The bust-up followed a crisis meeting in Somerset West between Dr Worrall's Helderberg constituency committee and two former close allies in the May 6 election, Mr Malan and Mr David de Villiers.

Dr Worrall's decision — unanimously backed by his constituency committee — to take his Independent Movement into head-to-head competition with the NDM has resulted in the second splintering of oppostion forces to the left of the government in 48 hours.

The former ambassador said he regretted the split "very deeply" as he did not believe there were any significant policy differences between the two movements, but said Mr Malan "seemed pretty emphatic that he could not co-operate with me".

● **Mixed reaction from PFP to moves by MPs — Page 2**

Asked if he had been stabbed in the back, Dr Worrall responded: "Some would say stabbed in the back, some elbowed out."

The reasons offered by the NDM for his "unacceptability" were twofold. First, he was given to understand that there were "unbridgeable differences" and, second, that the three PFP parliamentarians who defected to the NDM this week "felt they could not come across if I occupied a position of national importance".

Dr Worrall said his former colleagues had earlier agreed to launch a nation-wide independent party next year. These plans would probably go ahead in spite of yesterday's split.

Dr Worrall said his independent organization had received "a heck of a lot of reaction" from around the country following his axing and the defection of three PFP members to the "so-called" NDM.

He said it was "unquestionable" that the NDM would carry an "ANC and Dakarite taint".

"I think the doors are closed for the NDM — there are Nats who are very unhappy, but I don't think they will join the NDM."

He emphasized that the Independent Movement would continue to "avoid the image of being anti-Nationalist" and rather concentrate on being "anti government and anti-Nationalist leadership".

Earlier, the chairman of the Helderberg committee, Mr Jannie Momberg, said he had been included

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From page 1

## Worrall

as a member of the NDM leadership committee as a result of "pure misunderstanding" and he had subsequently decided to revoke his decision to serve on the body.

Mr Momberg went on to read a statement unanimously adopted by the Helderberg Independent committee which said it:

● "Deplores the shabby treatment of Dr Worrall by his election associates — particularly in the light of his personal contribution to the successes of the movement.

● "Regrets the formation of the NDM and rejects the autocratic way in which this was done, and consequently dismisses any suggestion that the NDM replaces the Independent Movement.

● "Urges all constituency committees and individual supporters throughout South Africa to ... continue to strive towards the goals and ideals of the (original) Independent Movement."

Reacting to Dr Worrall's claims last night, the NDM said the "fundamental differences" centered on Dr Worrall's idea of the movement as an "ordinary white party".

"Other" members (presumably Dr Lategan and Mr Malan) emphasized an inclusive non-racial national movement which would bridge the divide between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics.

While Dr Worrall insisted on the leadership of the movement and "acted accordingly", this factor was "an impediment" for other racial groups who shared a vision of national unity and a chance to become members or supporters of the movement.

The latest move was "regretted" but made it possible for the NDM to fulfil its chosen role, a spokesman said.

# Worrall will go it alone

## Malan, NDM 'optimistic'

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE and
ROBERT HOUWING, Political Staff

MR WYNAND MALAN'S National Democratic Movement is going ahead with its plans after yesterday's showdown during which Dr Denis Worrall broke away from his former political associates to go it alone.

Mr Malan said today that for the first time this year there was now "a feeling of unanimity of purpose" in the movement's leadership.

Meanwhile, Dr Worrall's chances of getting a political party off the ground on his own or of winning the Helderberg seat in the next parliamentary election have been rated as "nil".

One of the National Party's key men in this year's Helderberg election, who asked not to be named, said he had warned Dr Worrall earlier this year that he could end up in the political wilderness — just like others before him.

ment would go ahead as envisaged from the start — a non-racial movement which would seek to build bridges between interest groups inside and outside Parliament.

The movement would contest elections as a "second leg" to its activities of promoting "process politics" involving negotiations between different political constituencies. The aim would be to work towards "one nation, one South Africa and one patriotism".

Mr Malan said he believed that Dr Worrall would get some support, including the support of the majority of his committee in Helderberg.

"But by far the majority of our existing committees and their members support our concept of process politics," Mr Malan said.

### Rejected

The independent movement was in a state of disorder and this caused confusion among its supporters, the Nationalist said.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, who narrowly defeated Dr Worrall in Helderberg this year, declined to comment.

Dr Worrall could not be reached for comment.

But the chairman of the Grabouw branch of the independent movement, Mr Bert Ten Brink, issued a statement supporting Dr Worrall and rejecting the action taken by Mr Wynand Malan in forming the National Independent Movement.

Mr Malan said in an interview: "For the first time we find ourselves in a position where not one of the partners is doing his own thing.

"We were always running like an engine with one piston not only out of action but obstructing progress towards goals envisaged by the rest. In that sense we are now free, optimistic and motivated."

Mr Malan said the move-

CPPC Trends 10/10/87

# Mixed PFP reaction to MPs' moves

3044

DURBAN. — The Durban Central constituency committee of the Progressive Federal Party is "extremely critical" of Mr Peter Gastrow's resignation from the party, and his switch to the New Democratic Movement.

But 12 of the 15 members of the PFP's Greytown committee have aligned themselves with their breakaway MP, Mr Pierre Cronje, and decided to join the new movement.

This was announced yesterday by the Greytown committee chairman, Mr M C Calf. He and his wife are among the 12 who announced they would be resigning from the PFP and joining Mr Wynand Malan's organization.

"We have not deserted the PFP friends we have but are offering them an option," Mr Calf said.

"To do this effectively a movement needs support from a wider target market than that at which the PFP seems to be aiming," Mr Calf said.

However, Durban Central spokesman Miss J Cheesman said the committee "had met its MP privately last night".

The statement said: "Mr Gastrow gave a presentation of his views on his resignation and was vigorously questioned. The committee was particularly critical that Mr Gastrow had held no discussions with any member of his constituency before resigning.

"We call on Mr Gastrow to resign his seat and believe strongly that Durban Central will once again elect, as it did on May 6, a PFP Member of Parliament."

The Natal Coastal chairman of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Roger Burrows, yesterday described the resignation from the PFP of three of its top men — and Durban Central MP Mr Gastrow in particular — as "a great shock".

New Republic Party leader Mr Bill Sutton said all party members should take an active interest in the formation of branches of the National Democratic Movement.

The current situation in South Africa was not the fault of the ANC or the communist party, but the fault of the government and its failures over the years. — Sapa and Own Correspondent

304A

# THE MEN AND THE MUDDLE THAT ROCKED THE PROGS

By BRIAN POTTINGER

THIS week's rumpus on the left of the white parliamentary spectrum has left ordinary South Africans groping for an explanation for this sudden falling out of friends.

Distinctions in policy remain confused, as anybody who saw PFP leader Colin Eglin and Mr Wynand Malan joust on Network this week can testify. The minutiae of policy difference between Mr Malan and Dr Denis Worrall are even less obvious.

Who, then, are the personalities behind these still confusing political gambits.

The most high-profile one remains Dr Denis Worrall, former ambassador in London and an ambitious and articulate political figure rarely free of controversy.

A former National Party MP, he earned the enduring dislike of the PFP for his rumbustious form of politicking, particularly in the Gardens election of 1974, a fact which counted against him this week when he was dumped by Mr Malan in favour of PFP defectors.



As head of the Constitutional Committee of the President's Council, he disagreed with Minister of Constitutional Development Chris Heunis. And lost.

As Ambassador in London, he fell out with President Botha over his management style, the rejection of the KwaNatal Indaba by Pretoria and the handling of the Eminent Persons Group. Another defeat.

And now, as an independent, he has been sidelined by Mr Malan.

Mr COLIN EGLIN
Leadership of a fractured party

The reason: differences over tactics with Mr Malan and, more important, the view of the three PFP members who have joined Mr Malan's National Democratic Movement that Dr Worrall does not have the credibility in extra-parliamentary politics to broaden the base of the NDM. Again he has lost.

But those who would write off this ambitious man are wrong. Dr Worrall has created a "purified" independent grouping and, though admitting to emotional, physical and financial exhaustion, shows no sign of throwing in the towel.

Mr Malan, meanwhile, remains a different kettle of fish. A quiet, almost retiring 44-year-old former Nationalist, his espousal of unfashionably liberal views within the National Party caucus ensured he would never aspire to high position in the party or Government.

In January this year he left the National Party to become an independent and, together with Dr Worrall and Stellenbosch's Esther Lategan, entered the elections as an independent. He won in Randburg. The other two lost.



It was his almost touching faith in the solvent powers of talking together with a fairly tough line on law and order that most likely drew the rebel PFP MPs to his fold.

His weakness — and thus that of the movement he heads — is a decent sort of naïveté and lack of a strong leadership style.

Dr DENIS WORRALL
No stranger to controversy

The other key player, of course, remains Colin Eglin, leader of the PFP, a veteran of 29 years in Parliament and somebody who understands the disappointment of rejection: he was deposed in favour of Frederik van Zyl Slabbert.

In the past year he has returned to a leadership position, but of a fractured party. Within the space of 12 months he has seen his leader walk out claiming that parliamentary politics is irrelevant, two chairmen of his federal executive defect, two more members of the caucus cross over to the independents and a third into his own brand of independence based mainly on a fierce criticism of the security forces.

He has learnt to roll with the punches and will no doubt do the same with this one, though in quieter moments he must wonder if his party's gesture in standing back for the Independents in the last election was worth while.

Who, then, are the three PFP mavericks — the small chips in the bigger game?



Peter Hans Paul Gastrow, a 40-year-old former advocate, was elected in 1981 to Parliament and has distinguished himself mainly by his scholarly presentation of argument to Parliament.

He was deputised by the PFP to collate the eyewitness accounts of the Langa shootings in 1985. His version of events contradicted the police on virtually every material point and, though savagely criticised by the National Party, he was later largely vindicated by the Kannemeyer Commission of Inquiry.

Mr PETER GASTROW
Likely to play a major role in NDM

Mr Gastrow was one of the PFP members who, without the knowledge of their leader, accompanied the group to Dakar to meet the African National Congress. It is with some irony, then, that one of the reasons advanced by the rebel PFP members is over unhappiness with the party's stand on law and order

A quietly-spoken but tough-minded politician, Mr Gastrow is likely to play a major role in the NDM.

The other two musketeers are Pieter Schoeman and Pierre Cronje: the former a dominee who joined the PFP at the time of the Van Zyl Slabbert-inspired wave of dissidence among reformist Afrikanerdom and the latter a 45-year-old engineer from Greytown.

# Locked out!

Argus 12/10/87 30KA

## New bitterness in Independent groups' squabble

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

A TUSSLE over assets and locked offices today increased the bitterness of the squabble between the two independent splinter groups.

The Independent Movement under the leadership of Dr Denis Worrall maintains that the recently-formed National Democratic Movement (NDM) is a separate and distinct group and that assets, including offices, belong to the IM.

Dr Worrall today alleged that the NDM had during the night changed the lock of a suite of offices which the Independent Movement had hired at 10 Pepper Street in Cape Town.

He indicated that legal opinion was being obtained.

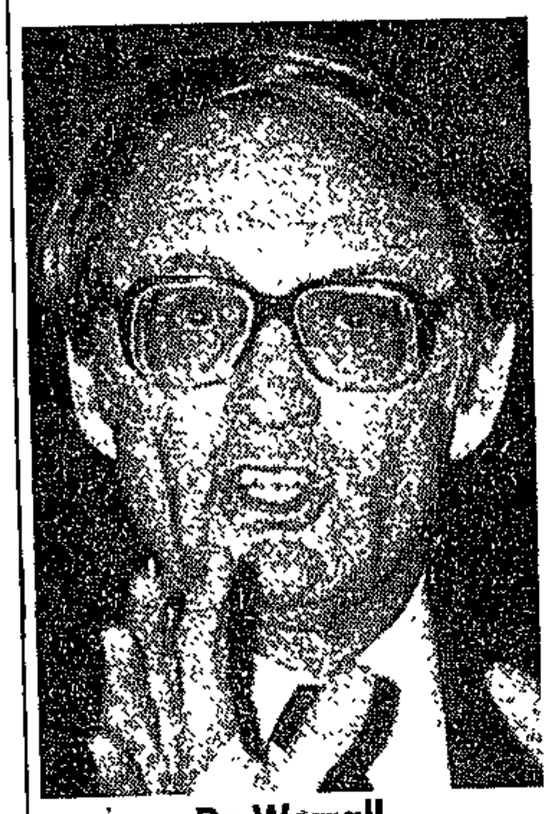
Mr Wynand Malan in turn said the lock of the office door had not been changed but the door had been locked by the NDM following a statement by the national coordinator of Dr Worrall's movement, Mr Chris Reader. This lay claim to the assets of the Independent Movement including the offices, telephone numbers and logo. The NDM was a new and separate organisation, he said.

Mr Malan said negotiations were going on with Dr Worrall.

The offices have been subleased from a computer firm in the Pepper Street building. There was no-one there today and behind the locked door the telephone rang incessantly. An employee of the lessor said the offices had been let to the Indepedent Movement.

Dr Worrall said a planned meeting of his supporters would definitely be held in the offies tonight. He said there had been "tremendous" support for his movement throughout the country. Tonight's meeting would be attended by key supporters from Peninsula, Northern suburbs and Boland constituencies.

The feeling among Worrall supporters today was that the movement wanted to be an alternative to the National Party, not to the Progressive Federal Party. They maintained that the NDM, led by Mr Wynand Malan, gave the impression of being the latter.



Dr Worrall



Mr Malan

### Obstructed

A spokesman for the NDM said today that it was also receiving positive responses from potential supporters but added that it did not at present intend becoming involved in a popularity contest with the Worrall supporters.

In a statement, the NDM said Dr Worrall's insistence on leading the indepedent movement had obstructed its growth and had damaged the ideal of a new South Africa.

The NDM has issued a "mission statement" in which it says its aim is to replace the era of apartheid with a democratic political order.

Meanwhile, weekend speculation that there was a "palace revolt" against the leadership of PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin was dismissed in party circles today.

And two Nationalist MPs today denied a weekend report that they had been on the point of defecting to Mr Malan.

Mr Andre van der Walt, MP for Bellville, said the report was "devoid of all truth". He said he had no need to negotiate with anyone.

Mr Sakkie Louw, MP for Newton Park, said he knew nothing about any possibility of him joining such a movement.

# NDM was 'obstructed' by Worrall

DR Denis Worrall's insistence on leading the Independent Movement obstucted its growth, and his actions in breaking agreements with the newly formed National Democratic Movement damaged the ideal of a new South Africa, the NDM said in a statement last night.

Responding to allegations by Dr Worrall on Friday, when the split between himself and those forming the NDM was made clear, the NDM said "fundamental" differences between them became apparent before this year.

"A firm decision that there should be a parting of the ways was communicated by letter to Dr Worrall about six weeks ago. Renewed efforts were made to bridge the differences. However, the dispute came to a head shortly before Dr Worrall left on an overseas visit a few weeks ago," said the NDM.

After his return, intensive discussions were held with Dr Worrall. As a result of these discussions, Dr Worrall decided not to break his ties with the movement, but to personally announce that he would no longer play an active role in the national leadership or in development programmes.

"He would, however, remain a committed member and firm supporter of the movement, and as such he would concentrate his efforts on the Helderberg constituency."

The NDM claimed that Dr Worrall broke all his agreements with the new party "within hours of making them".

One of these was that Mr Jannie Momberg, chairman of the Helderberg constituency committee, would be included in the leadership committee of the NDM into which the Independent Movement was incorporated, and that a specific clause would be added to the new movement's constitution.

"He (Dr Worrall) subsequently said that he felt it was not unfair to break these agreements since the agreements were not fair," said the NDM.

In spite of allegations to the contrary by Dr Worrall, the NDM said he was fully informed of discussions with other members of Parliament, including Mr Peter Gastrow, Mr Pierre Cronje and President's Councillor Mr Peter Schoeman.

"He in fact authorized his partners to conclude agreements with these MPs in his absence. He also agreed in principle that the name of the movement should be changed," said the NDM.

The new party said the differences in matters of principle between Dr Worrall and his partners centered on the primary role of the movement as an ordinary white political party with short-term political goals, as seen by Dr Worrall, as opposed to their ideal of an inclusive, non-racial national movement with long-term political goals.

While Dr Worrall insisted on leadership of the movement, and acted as if he was the leader, this became an obstructive factor in the movement's growth and development, especially for those in the white, coloured and black community who shared the ideal of national unity, and wanted to join or support the movement, said the NDM. — Sapa

# NDM wants new democracy

THE new National Democratic Movement said last night that its mission was to replace the era of apartheid with a democratic political order.

The organization said it was born of the need for a new approach in South African politics and to steer away from crisis and confrontation.

Releasing its official manifesto, the NDM claimed to be a non-racial political movement dedicated to the reconstruction of South African society into a single nation in an undivided country.

The party's beliefs included:

- That all South Africans should be treated as equals and have recognized human rights and civil freedoms;
- That the cultural diversity of South Africans was a national asset and individual groups could develop their own cultural traditions in a spirit of mutual respect, tolerance and conciliation;
- That South Africa had the natural and human resources to provide for all people and a fair distribution of the country's wealth and resources was needed;
- That the traditional style of political parties was divisive and had polarized South African society.

The party wanted to work for conciliation by setting up talks across the political spectrum. It would also operate within Parliament and outside.

"Where appropriate we will combine our efforts with the actions of other groups," it said. — Sapa

# Battle between Worrall and Malan hots up

3044

Cape Times 12/10/87

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE battle between former allies Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan hotted up last night, with the Worrall camp laying claim to the entire national membership and resources of the once-unified Independent Movement (IM).

Mr Malan's rival National Democratic Movement (NDM) immediately served notice that it would contest the claim, setting the scene for an all-out scramble for the spoils of the organization which broke up in a flurry of confusion and animosity last week.

The latest clash was sparked by a statement issued by the IM submitting that senior legal counsel had confirmed that Mr Malan's NDM was a "new, separate and distinct" organization and as such had no claim to the membership or resources of the "well-established" IM.

In addition, country-wide constituency committees, the offices, telephone numbers and logo were the property of the IM, the organization's national co-ordinator, Mr Chris Reader, claimed in a statement.

This view was contested by Mr Malan who, when asked about a potential conflict over the distribution of assests shared by the three independent candidates in the general election, responded: "There is no issue. Worrall has walked out."

Another NDM spokesman described the IM's claims as "too sordid for words — they are acting like animals".

But a member of the NDM's leadership committee, Mr David de Villiers, said that while the movement would "certainly" contest the claims, "I don't want to wage a war through the newspaper columns".

Mr De Villiers said the claims, which had been made without any prior consultation between the rival factions, had been confirmed by Dr Worrall.

A meeting between the two sides would be held today in a bid to settle the issue.

In his statement, Mr Reader also took a swipe at the NDM, arguing that while the IM's intention was not to harm the PFP, "the NDM has positioned itself in direct conflict with the PFP and in line with Idasa".

"It is therefore in no position to draw support from National Party-supporting circles."

Meanwhile, speculation mounted at the weekend that Mr Colin Eglin's position as leader of the PFP could be in question following the defection of three prominent members of his party to the NDM.

The PFP federal executive will meet in Cape Town today and it is understood that the leadership issue will come up for discussion.

The names of PFP MP for Green Point Mr Tian van der Merwe, former MP Dr Zac de Beer, and President's Councillor Mr Robin Carlisle were mentioned as possible contenders.

Asked by our Johannesburg correspondent to comment on speculation that he might be in the run for the top position, Mr Van der Merwe said: "The leadership of the PFP is not an issue at present."

He said he had "no comment" on reports in the Sunday Times that he had been approached by certain members of the caucus to consider the position.

Mr Carlisle said he was "definitely not running for leadership. I am not prepared to be nominated."

Mr De Beer could not be reached for comment, but was reported as saying he was not interested in becoming leader.

Mr Eglin was not available for comment last night.

● The PFP MPs who defected to the NDM, Mr Peter Gastrow (Durban Central) and Mr Pierre Cronje (Greytown) yesterday said they had no intention of resigning their seats.

● A member of the Simon's Town Independent Movement committee, Mr Raymond Sylvester, said he and other supporters "numbering at least 100" aligned themselves with Dr Worrall and not the newly established NDM.

● **Worrall obstructed NDM — Page 13**

# AWB 'NO' TO INDABA

## Blacks must keep their feet off our land — Terre'Blanche

**SOME 1 500 members of an extreme right-wing paramilitary group rallied on Saturday to call for an all-white nation and protest a proposal for a multiracial government in Natal.**

The Afrikanerweerstandbeweging (resistance movement) said local white residents had asked for help in opposing a plan that would make blacks eligible to serve in the Natal government.

"We are not racists and . . . we do not hate blacks," said Eugene Terre-Blanche, leader of the movement. "But we want to tell them to keep their feet off our land."

TerreBlanche, who arrived at the rally on horseback, received loud cheers as he denounced all forms of power sharing between whites and blacks.

"We do not know the word surrender, we will fight and we will struggle," he said. "If we do not fight, we will end up as the slaves of other people."

Group members, many wearing military-style uniforms and carrying pistols, sang, said prayers, and waved swastika-like banners at the four-hour ceremony.

The organisation is made up almost exclusively of Afrikaners.

The staunchly pro-apartheid group seeks the creation of a whites-only nation as part of South Africa. It rejects all concessions to blacks, and says the ruling Nationalist Party is capitulating to the nation's 26 million black majority.

Blacks are not eligible to be elected to the provincial government.

The National Government has separate chambers for whites, Indians and people of mixed-race, but not for blacks.

The ceremony was at the site of the Battle of Blood River, where Afrikaner settlers defeated Zulu warriors in 1838. The Afrikaners, who suffered considerable hardships on their "Great Trek" from the Cape Province, won a decisive victory over the Zulus and then began establishing permanent settlements in the region.

The Blood River site is marked by some 60 ox-drawn wagons that form a circle or "laager," the formation used by settlers to protect themselves when fighting against blacks.

The rally also marked Paul Kruger day in South Africa, a national holiday held in honour of the former President of what was then the Transvaal Republic. Kruger (1825 — 1904) heaed the Republic from 1883 until 1900. — Sapa-AP

• See Comment on Page 6.

# Personality clash splits independent movement

ARGUS 12/1987 (3044)

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE Independent Movement has become a political rocket which exploded on the ground before it could get properly launched.

Strife between the two leading figures, Mr Wynand Malan and Dr Denis Worrall, led to it splitting into the National Democratic Movement (NDM) under Mr Wynand Malan and a group under Dr Denis Worrall determined to carry on with the Independent Movement.

The National Party is delighted with the development. It believes that the chance of disgruntled Nationalists leaving the party to support the new movement is fading.

The chief information officer of the National Party, Mr Con Botha MP, crowed that the movement had shot itself in both feet.

At the end of last week it became clear that personality clashes as well as differences on policy approaches had caused an irreperable rift between Mr Malan and Dr Worrall.

There is a touch of self-importance in both men. Dr Worrall, especially, is not given to undue humility.

Tensions built up about who should be the leader and about whether it should be a political party propagating certain constitutional models or a broader political movement across colour lines, endeavouring to get dialogue and negotiations going without propagating firm models.

Dr Worrall was in favour of the movement becoming a political party. He felt, with considerable justification, that this was the practical approach that could draw Nationalist support. He felt that such a party should not be mainly anti-National Party but anti-Nationalist leadership. He showed in the Helderberg election that he could draw Nationalist support.

The Malan supporters were in favour of an entirely new approach with an all-encompassing political movement which could build bridges between the various race groups but would not propagate firm models.

They maintain that they found resistance among blacks to the idea of Dr Worrall being in the movement. As chairman of the President's Council he played a leading role in the drafting of the tricameral system.

## Low profile

The PFP MPs and its member of the President's Council who joined the NDM also had strong reservations about Dr Worrall being in the movement.

Dr Worrall at one stage maintained that he only heard about the NDM being announced and about the PFP members joining last Wednesday.

It has emerged, however, that he had previously been told that such moves were afoot and that he had agreed



Dr Denis Worrall

to keep a low profile and to concentrate on Helderberg.

He intially agreed to this and at his meeting in Somerset West he announced that he would concentrate on Helderberg. At the meeting, however, he annoyed the Malan camp by stating that a new political party would be launched in the first quarter of next year. After the announcement Mr Malan said the NDM would be a political movement and would not register as a political party.

Malan suppprters complain that Dr Worrall sometimes agreed to stand by consensus decisions but that he then often went his own way afterwards.

Worrall supporters complain in turn that, although he had shown that he was a popular politician who could draw Nationalist support he had been pushed aside to accommodate an agreement with the PFP supporters.

They also feel that the NDM was tainted by the presence of the PFP's three 'Dakarites'. All of them attended the Dakar meeting with the African National Congress.

They also feel that there is now little chance of the NDM drawing Nationalists and that all that has happened is that the PFP has been weakened..

"We want to be an alternative to the National Party, not to the PFP," one Worrall supporter said.

The confusion and uncertainty among Opposition voters have increased considerably in the past few days.

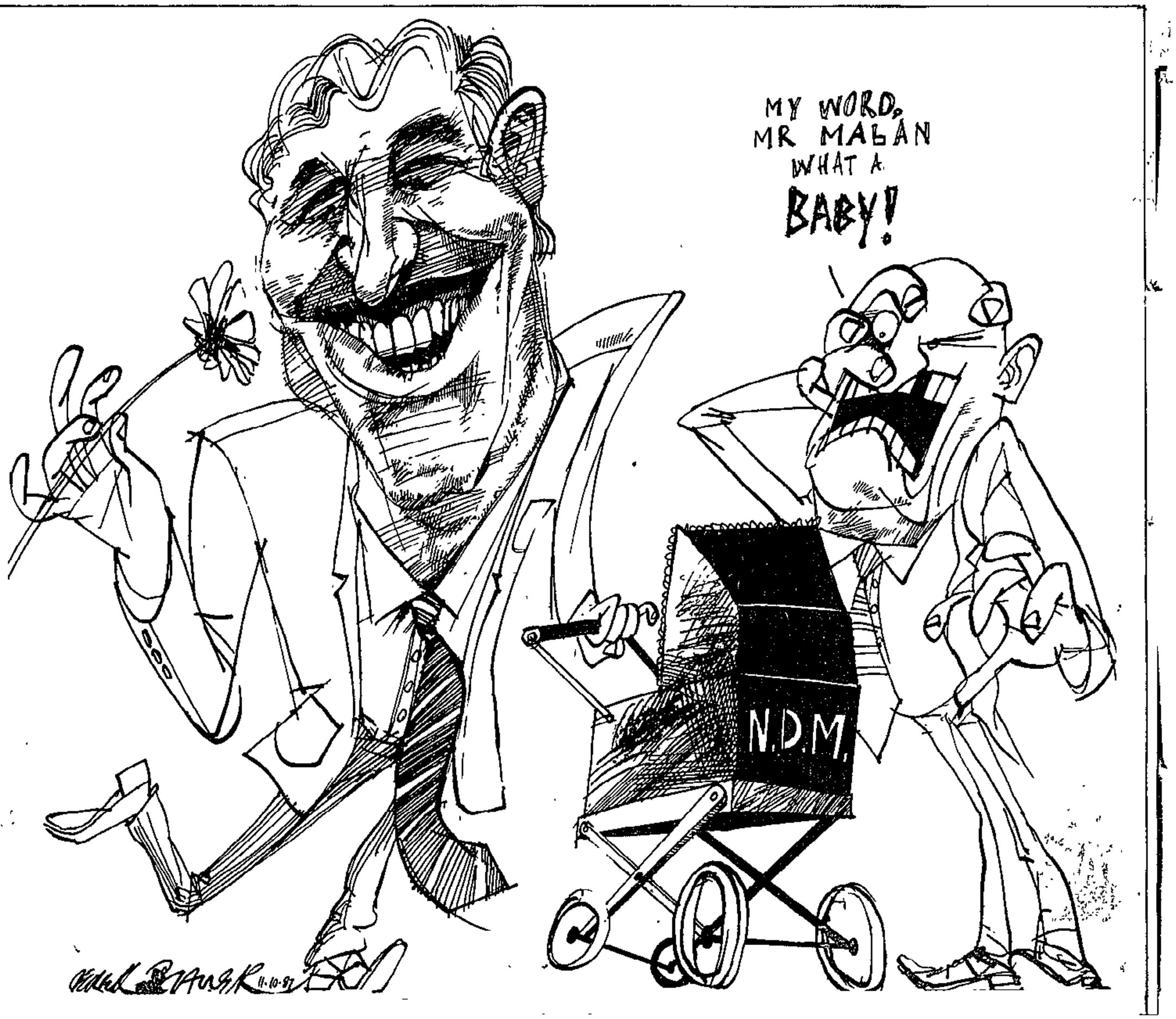
It is not clear where the two splinters can go from here.

## Popular

Dr Worrall is popular at a local level in Helderberg but it is another question whether his movement, eventually a political party, can draw worthwhile support in the rest of the country.

The NDM has been encouraged by the response among blacks to Dr Worrall's withdrawal from it.

One thing is certain: the Nationalist propaganda machine is building up for a massive onslaught. The squabbles among the independents have created a badly-needed diversion. It will go all-out to make the point that the National Party represents the only viable alternative to the right-wing and to the radical left-wing.


MY WORD, MR MABAN WHAT A BABY!
N.D.M.
11-10-87

(304A) B/day 12/10/87.



☐ MALAN . . . his conversion on economic policy is a major miracle

# Now Wynand has his very own Prog party

**KEN OWEN**

THE POOR Progs! They have been so battered by defections that they are in danger of forgetting their party is founded on an idea: the belief that peace and justice can be achieved only in a system which makes the free individual the touchstone of value.

Actually, the PFP has no need to be despondent. Its ideas are winning converts in the unlikeliest places, the latest triumph being the conversion of Wynand Malan and his fellow-members of the National Democratic Movement to a policy which, until recently, was the sole property of the PFP.

Malan himself has shifted light years since February when he drew a clear distinction between his people — "my mense" — and other South Africans, whom he saw as mere inhabitants. "All my endeavours in politics," he said, "were based on caring for my people and for my country, as well as for all the people who inhabit this country".

Now, a bare eight months later, he has signed a manifesto that says: "All South Africans should be treated as equals, without discrimination on the grounds of race, sex, language and religion."

In February he seemed to be thinking still in terms of groups, saying he shared the National Party's cardinal premise, a "universal franchise without domination". Now he accepts constitutional protection of the rights of individuals by an independent judiciary. That is as close as a man can come to supporting a bill of rights without actually saying so.

In February he supported the state of emergency and poured scorn on the rule of law. "The PFP," he told Parliament, "places so much emphasis on the rule of law that the impression is maintained that they are soft on security matters and see nothing good in the government's motives and conduct, but only see good in the forces of radicalism."

In fact, he thought the gap between peoples' (not people's) expectations and government's ability to meet those expectations "can only be bridged by the use of emergency regulations".

"To my mind, this is almost axiomatic," he said.

By October, his view was quite different. His group's manifesto recognises the need at times for the use of special powers, but adds: "However, such powers should only be available for a limited fixed period, with the closest possible adherence to the principles of the rule of law and the due process of law, and should in particular be subjected to monitoring and control by an independent judiciary."

At the same time, his views on violence — particularly the violence of the ANC — have loosened. In February he said: "Violence must be rejected and cannot be brought to the conference table. That includes the violence of the ANC." He did not even mention the possibility of freeing Nelson Mandela.

Now he says: "Negotiation must be open-ended and no person or organisation should be required to accept particular provisions before being admitted to the negotiating process . . . political leaders in detention and organisations presently banned who wish to participate in the negotiating process should be freed to do so."

The conversion of Malan to what has long been PFP policy — there is no longer any discernible difference between him and Helen Suzman on issues of political rights, or the ANC, or Nelson Mandela, or the rule of law — is a minor miracle of politics.

His conversion on economic policy is a major miracle. The left-leaning Afrikaner socialist has become, to put it bluntly, a free marketeer, almost a libertarian. The major plank of policy is that the economy should be de-regulated and that all restrictions on entry should be removed.

"The economic system should allow individual initiative and enterprise, but at the same time promote the fair participation of all South Africans in the creation and enjoyment of the prosperity of the country."

Those statements would, one imagines, win the applause of Leon Louw if not of the social democrat Harry Schwarz, or the do-gooding younger Progs.

Frankly, all this flies in the face of most expectations. It makes clowns of us pundits. Six months ago, nobody would have persuaded me that a group of Afrikaner politicians would end up shouldering Helen Suzman from the left on questions of civil liberties and to the right of Harry Schwarz on economic policy. Yet that is what, if the Malan manifesto is not a joke or a forgery, has happened.

The puzzle is to understand what keeps the Malan group and the PFP apart. In effect, Malan has succumbed, with all the zeal of a convert, to PFP policy, while refusing to submit to PFP leadership. The PFP leadership is entitled to feel rejected and to suspect that the problem is one of language, but it should not feel defeated. It has won the battle of ideas.

The difficulties lie ahead. Malan's group will necessarily be competing for PFP voters. The inclusion of the PFP defectors Peter Gastrow, Pierre Cronje and Pieter Schoeman in his ranks has already frightened off potential defectors from the National Party. Moreover, Malan's manifesto commits his group, as a matter of principle, to recruit members of other races, which will surely induce new strains on its policy.

If any of the Malanites are in Parliament after the next election, that will truly be a miracle.

For the remaining members of the PFP — at least they are down to the staunch old guard, survivors of the bitter Sixties who know the meaning of loyalty and whose courage has been well tested — there is no alternative but to hang on.

They still preserve us — despite the betrayals they have suffered in the past two years — from a dreadful fate: an election in which the only choice will be between the Nats and the CP.

## LETTERS

PO Box 1138
Jo'burg 2000

Dear Sir,
KOSTA BABICH's criticism (Business Day, September 25) of Mark Addelson's criticism of your rosy picture of decentralisation must also not go unanswered. I am presently doing a survey of this and am surprised at the inaccuracy of your supplement. Why does Babich think so much of a policy that helps "Nelspruit, Pietersburg, Newcastle and Kimberley to name a few" but does not help Middleburg, Ermelo, Standerton, etc?

Decentralisation is government's fob to a population that has unwillingly been transferred out of viable urban areas to non-viable rural areas which are presently being made non-viable urban areas. Billions of rands have been spent, and are being spent, in the wrong direction. There are success stories in this field, but they are not the ones Babich mentions. They are in Transkei (Butterworth), Ciskei (Dimbaza), QwaQwa (Phuthaditjhaba), KwaZulu (Isetebe and Ezakheni), Bophuthatswana (Garankuwa and Babelegi) and now Ekandustria near Bronkhorstspruit, but for the rest it is a joke.

Ekandustria is aimed at the denuding of the East Rand, which I'm sure is very popular amongst the many unemployed whites of the area, and Atlantis has worked wonders in the removal of the coloured community from Cape Town. This is a great scheme for new industry being created, such as the many factories run by our Chinese friends in QwaQwa, but my information is that a number of these are set up with incentives which, when stopped, will necessitate the closing of these factories. In theory, the scheme should work. In practice there's been a woeful showing after 33 years of effort on government's behalf and R6 000m to R7 000m of taxpayers' money.

**JAMES TUGMAN**
**Johannesburg**

# ‘He wanted to be the leader’

# W Orrall goes, ‘back a long way’

3044
SPW
12/10/87

**By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter**

The row between Mr Wynand Malan's newly formed National Democratic Movement and Dr Denis Worrall has marred the launch of the new organisation with its stated aim of developing a new approach to South African politics inside and outside Parliament.

Developments in white politics in the last week has left:

- The Progressive Federal Party divided and weaker. Observers say the sudden defection of PFP MPs Mr Peter Gastrow and Mr Pierre Cronje and President's Council member Mr Pieter Schoeman to the NDM was partly a result of weak leadership. This has fueled speculation that Mr Colin Eglin may be on his way out as leader.
- The two major "Indepedents" who fought the election on a joint platform at loggerheads. Mr Malan effectively dumped Dr Worrall to form the NDM — but Dr Worrall refused to bow out without a fight and made a series of bitter allegations at a press conference last Friday.

Last night the NDM issued a statement disputing the claims made by Dr Worrall that he had been "elbowed out" and that he had not been fully informed about the establishment of the new movement.

The NDM said 'fundamental" differences between them and Dr Worrall had become apparent before this year.

"A firm decision that there should be a parting of the ways was communicated by letter to Dr Worrall about six weeks ago. Renewed efforts were made to bridge the differences. However, the dispute came to a head shortly before Dr Worrall left on an overseas visit a few weeks ago," said the NDM.

"After his return, intensive discussions were held with Dr Worrall. As a result of these discussions Dr Worrall decided not to break his ties with the movement, but to personally announce that he would no longer play an active role in the national leadership or in development programmes.

"He would, however, remain a committed member and firm supporter of the movement, and as such he would concentrate his efforts on the Helderberg constituency."

## Differences

The NDM claimed that Dr Worrall broke all his agreements with the new party "within hours of making them".

"He (Dr Worrall) in fact authorised his partners to conclude agreements with these MPs in his absence.

"He also agreed in principle that the name of the movement should be changed," said the NDM.

The new party said the differences in matters of principle between Dr Worrall and his partners centred on the primary role of the movement as an ordinary white political party with short term political goals, as seen by Dr Worrall, as opposed to their ideal of an inclusive, non-racial national movement with long term political goals.

While Dr Worrall insisted on leadership of the movement, and acted as if he was the leader, this became an obstructive factor in the movement's growth and development, especially for those in the white, coloured and black communities who shared the ideal of national unity, and wanted to join or support the movement, said the NDM.

# Boland quarrels over Worrall

Cape Times 13/10/87 3064

By ANDREW DONALDSON

IN his home town of Somerset West, Dr Denis Worrall can do no wrong. But just up the road, in Stellenbosch, it's another story.

In Matieland they've known all along — or so they say — that the former ambassador to London is a political opportunist.

That's in the opposition camps, of course.

The smug faces and smirking "no comments" the Cape Times received while canvassing opinion in both towns yesterday was enough to portray National Party supporters' true feelings on the internecine bitchery between the National Democratic Movement and the Independent Movement.

But there was no doubt that Randburg Independent MP Mr Wynand Malan's new party had been a major disappointment for the Helderbergers, who once expressed so much hope for the movement that Dr Worrall had started with a flourish in the town earlier this year.

"I am a Worrall man," said Mr Allan Searle, a Somerwest West resident. "I think Wynand Malan has just set back the Independent Movement by quite some time."

"It's a pity these chaps are fighting," said Mr L Jansen, another local. "This country needs a proper opposition; I had a lot of hope when they started this (the IM) opposition."

"They're just buggering around," said Gordon's Bay resident Mr Fanie Henning. "It's just typical of South Africans. It's been the same thing since Van Riebeeck.

"I was a Worrall fan," Mr Henning added. "Maybe I should go back to the NP."

Over in Stellenbosch, where another Independent candidate, Dr Esther Lategan, unsuccesfully contested a seat in the May 6 white election, NDM could quite easily stand for the No Denis Movement.

"The fighting's very sad," said Mrs Edwina Baxter. "But I think that Dr Worrall has looked after his own interests since he came out as an independent.

"I just want to add that it's about time the left stood together now."

Another resident, who did not want to be identified, also accused Dr Worrall of opportunism.

"I have always been an independent and very much a Worrall fan, but I'm disappointed at him going for his own political fame," she said.

"The splintering is wrong; they should all stick together — it's the only way the left will work," she added.

This the right clearly realized.

But Mr G A Visagie said: "It's lekker . . . I'm a rightist. The more they fight, the more they weaken themselves."

Support growing for NDM

# Worrall and Malan agree to disagree

3 of A

B/day

13/10/87

ELSABÉ WESSELS

**AS Denis Worrall fought for his political life last night, extra-parliamentary movements including the UDF welcomed the formation of Wynand Malan's rival National Democratic Movement (NDM).**

Worrall and Malan last night settled disputes over the Independent movement's assets, but agreed to disagree politically. However, there was no indication the NDM had dropped its determination to push Worrall into political obscurity.

An NDM spokesman said last night 57 of 60 area committees set up by the Independent movement had indicated they would support the NDM, while only two, and part of a third, would support Worrall.

She said the NDM had received messages of support from NUM general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa and UDF co-president Archie Gumede.

Another extra-parliamantary body, the Five Freedoms Forum, had indicated it would allow the NDM to join.

The tug-of-war over assets owned by the Independents — a bank account deficit, an unused logo, a rented office and telephone numbers — was settled yesterday after a marathon meeting between the NDM, Worrall and supporters of the two sides. Threatened legal action by Worrall was averted after the parties reached agreement.

NDM adviser David de Villiers had on Sunday night ordered the NDM offices in Pepper Street, Cape Town, to be closed pending the outcome of yesterday's meetings.

Malan and Worrall said the two sides had come to an agreement that neither party would recognise the other as the successor to the Independent movement; that Worrall would be free to conduct his political activities under the name of the Independent movement; that the NDM would continue to operate the Pepper Street, Cape Town, offices and the bank account; and that area committees would be free to decide whom they would side with.

They said: "Despite the differences we believe we have a positive contribution

● To Page 2 ⇨

# Support grows for NDM

⇦ ● From Page 1

to make."

Both groups were to address their supporters at separate meetings in Cape Town last night. However, only the NDM went ahead with its meeting, which was closed.

Worrall and his supporters will meet tomorrow night.

While both sides yesterday agreed that "much damage had been done", the NDM said it had gained the upper hand in the fight.

Malan and Worrall were unavailable for comment at the time of going to press, but the NDM spokesman said Worrall had captured support from only three of the 60 area committees — Helderberg, Grabouw and Simon's Town. However, the support in Simon's Town was split.

Prominent Stellenbosch academic Sampie Terreblanche, who resigned with 27 other academics from the NP in February, also backed the NDM. Terreblanche, who is in London, confirmed his support in a telephone conversation with Esther Lategan.

Terreblance headed the political rebellion at Stellenbosch University which later drew support from 301 academics.

Gumede yesterday described the NDM as a people's organisation and said he had congratulated former PFP MP Pierre Cronje for joining it.

He said any movement committed to democracy and operating in the white constituency was welcome.

UDF national treasurer Azhar Cachalia has already indicated "cautious approval" for the movement.

It was claimed yesterday Ramaphosa had made "personal contact" with the NDM but a NUM spokesman could not confirm it.

It could not be established yesterday whether KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who voiced support for the Independents during the election, would take sides in the split. A spokesman for Buthelezi said no statement had been issued. She said Buthelezi had never voiced any specific personal support but had encouraged the movement for breaking away from the NP.

# Malan and Worrall in uneasy truce



**NO SHAKES ...** Dr Denis Worrall hands with arch-rival Mr Wynand ... "divorce" settlement between

**By ANTHONY JOHNSON**
**Political Correspondent**

**THE family feud between the two independent factions reached an uneasy truce last night after a battle between teams of lawyers representing Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan.**

The messy divorce followed a day of drama in which the Worrall camp accused the newly formed National Democratic Movement of using "Mafia tactics" in locking Dr Worrall out of "his" Cape Town office and the Malan faction criticizing the "sordid behaviour" of the Independent Movement in making a grab for the entire assets and membership of the once-unified movement

### Declined to shake hand

After the seven-and-a-half-hour legal tussle — during which the major adversaries remained closeted in separate offices for all but a few minutes — a grim-faced Dr Worrall emerged to say that there were "no winners and no losers" and that he was "satisfied" with the deal that had been hammered out.

However, the former SA Ambassador to London declined to shake the hand offered him by a smiling Mr Malan, saying: "Are we in the mood?"

Mr Malan said: "I'm happy it's all over because now we can do the things we set out to do."

Asked if they were happy with the division of the "family jewels", the two adversaries both responded in the affirmative.

However, it was clear last night that a no-holds-barred battle lay ahead in which the erstwhile allies would fight to wipe each other off the political map

In terms of the "divorce settlement" thrashed out by squad of lawyers representing the two camps:

- "Neither party recognizes any organization of the other to be the successor of the move-

**Boland quarrels over Worrall — Page 3**

To page 2

## UDF support for new movement

**Own Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG. — Extra-parliamentary movements, including the UDF, have welcomed the launch of Mr Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement.

An NDM spokesman said that among messages of support the NDM had received were those sent by National Union of Mineworkers general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and UDF co-president Mr Archie Gumede.

Another extra-parliamentary body, the Five Freedoms forum, had indicated it would allow the NDM to join, NDM spokesman Ms Sybelle Albrecht said.

Ms Albrecht claimed Dr Worrall had captured support from only three of the 60 area Independent Movement committees — Helderberg, Grabouw and Simon's Town.

Prominent Stellenbosch academic Prof Sampie Terreblanche, who resigned with 27 other academics from the National Party in February, was also backing the NDM.

Mr Gumede yesterday described the NDM as a people's organization and said he had congratulated former PFP MP Mr Pierre Cronje for joining.

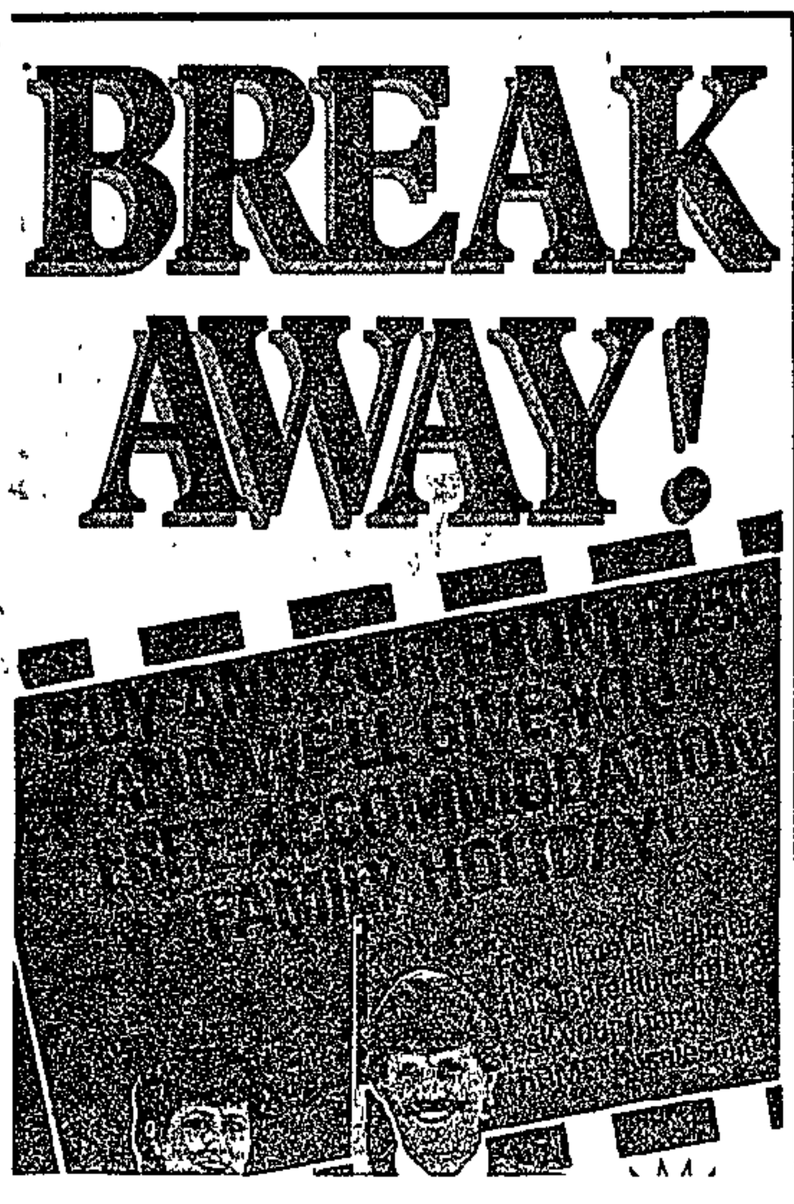
UDF national treasurer Mr Azhar Cachalia has already indicated "cautious approval".



Mr Cyril Ramaphosa



Prof Sampie Terreblanche




## Blue Train kreef fraud alleged

JOHANNESBURG. — A former South African Transport Services storeman, Mr Ronald James Barnes, appeared before a regional magistrate here yesterday charged with fraud involving nearly 2 500kg of crayfish he allegedly falsely signed out for use on the Blue Train.

Mr Barnes, 36, of Bernard Street, Roodepoort, is charged with further fraud counts involving smaller quantities of calamary, Springbok venison, cheese, ham and croissants. — Sapa

### BUSINESS BRIEF

| | |
|---|---|
| Gold (Ldn close) | $462,00 |
| Gold (NY close) | $461,95 |
| Rand | $0,4850/57 |
| FT index (close) | 1835,20 |
| BD 100 | 2458,70 |
| Dow Jones | 2471,44 |

## New meningitis scare for soccer

**Own Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG. — Authorities here admitted to hospital a Bosmont Chelsea member with suspected cerebral ... his team-mate Wayne Barlow, of ... died in Durban early yesterday from ...

The team was stopped outside the ... yesterday and redirected by authorities ... tein Hospital.

They all received preventive treat... discharged, except for the one ... player who, according to the city's medi... health, Professor Hilliard Hurwitz, com... headache.

Professor Hurwitz said last night that player was under observation and th... no feedback on his condition

The discharged team members have instructions to report immediately any symptoms of the disease.

This follows attempts by the Durban ... partment to trace all of Barlow's close ...

Barlow, 23, was admitted to Addingt... after complaining of a severe headache

Durban's deputy medical officer, ... Brown, said Barlow must have come in... with the disease early last week becaus... took five or six days for symptoms to d...

Sunday Times 13/10/87

# Govt role in SA's daily life is criticised



MR GABY Magomola ... African Bank.

**GOVERNMENT involvement in South Africa's daily affairs was "gluttonous and excessive," Mr Gaby Magomola, chief executive of African Bank said yesterday.**

Addressing the Steel and Engineering Federation of South Africa's annual meeting in Johannesburg, Mr Magomola said: "At one point it was quite ludicrous the amount of officialdom required to service and maintain a vigorous apartheid structure. This is changing though I suspect most of the officials are still on the payroll."

Mr Magomola said evidence elsewhere was that when governments changed, the structures remained intact. "As things stand now, this government will be leaving a most unhealthy legacy.

## The future

"We must make individuals accountable and responsible for their actions, and not allow the 'bottomless pit' of government to decide for us.

"The future is what each of us is prepared to make of it. Expanding markets, economics of scale, all present opportunities for us to tap into.

"The converse of this is that we languish into inactivity and apathy, numbed by a self-fulfilled prophesy — inertia."

Mr Magomola said the economic advancement of South Africa's blacks should not be deferred for the new society — the "post-apartheid era."

"The time for blacks' economic advancement is now . . . never have business opportunities been greater."

He stressed that the "wheels of progress" should be accelerated by creating more black-owned institutions and supporting those which existed.

"It is important that, despite the limitations, we must strive for a vibrant black modern economic sector which will comprise the growing small businesses and find ways of enlarging some of these small enterprises into larger ones," he concluded.
— Sapa

# GROUP AREAS ADS SLAMMED

**THE Government has been slammed for using "hundreds of thousands of Rands" of taxpayers money in full-range newspapers advertisements to propagate National Party policy on the Group Areas Act.**

**The Bureau for Information placed the advertisements in all major newspapers on Sunday and yesterday.**

Explaining that the Government's stand was that individual communities would have the choice whether to open their areas or keep them racially exclusive.

**SOWETAN Correspondent**

"It is completely unacceptable, morally and otherwise to use State funds for party-political purposes", Mr Tiaan van der Merwe, the Progressive Federal Party's spokesman on Group Areas said yesterday.

"It must be particularly offensive to the victims of the Group Areas Act that they as taxpayers are contributing to the cost of these advertisements.

"It must have cost hundreds of thousands of Rands to place them in so many newspapers.

"I found it particularly offensive that the advertisement says somewhere, "The choice is yours".

'This is a lie. The choice is in the first instance the State President's. If 99 percent of the people in an area want to open it up and only one percent want it closed, he can decide.

"And in most cases it won't be opened because he has a hang-up about this Act.

"This is PW's policy not even the National Party's policy. The content of this ad won't even satisfy the National Party caucus.

"It is an open secret that there is grave unhappiness in the caucus about the Government's response to the Group Areas Act."



PRESIDENT Botha . . . 'his choice'.

# UDF, NDM talks likely to 'clarify certain issues'

**Political Staff**

THE United Democratic Front is expected to hold talks with the new National Democratic Movement to "clarify certain issues" before anything more definite emerges than the "cautious welcome" with which the UDF has greeted the NDM.

Reports about messages of welcome and the relationship between the two organisations were clarified today by the UDF's national treasurer, Mr Azhar Cachalia, who said there could as yet be no "warm welcome" for the NDM as the movement's principles and strategies remained "woolly" and undefined.

"There are certain delicate issues we will need to discuss before we define our relationship to the NDM," Mr Cachalia said. Among these was the NDM's acceptance of preventive detention and confusing reports from some quarters that the NDM accepted the need for the state of emergency.

In a manifesto by the NDM late last week, the lifting of the state of emergency was set down as a "matter of great urgency and a pre-requisite for real and substantial progress through negotiation".

## OPEN TO TALKING

"We are definitely open to talking with the NDM, though," said Mr Cachalia, pointing out that UDF speakers had shared speaking platforms — at the recent Five Freedoms Forum in Johannesburg — with Mr Wynand Malan and Mr Peter Gastrow, leading figures in the NDM.

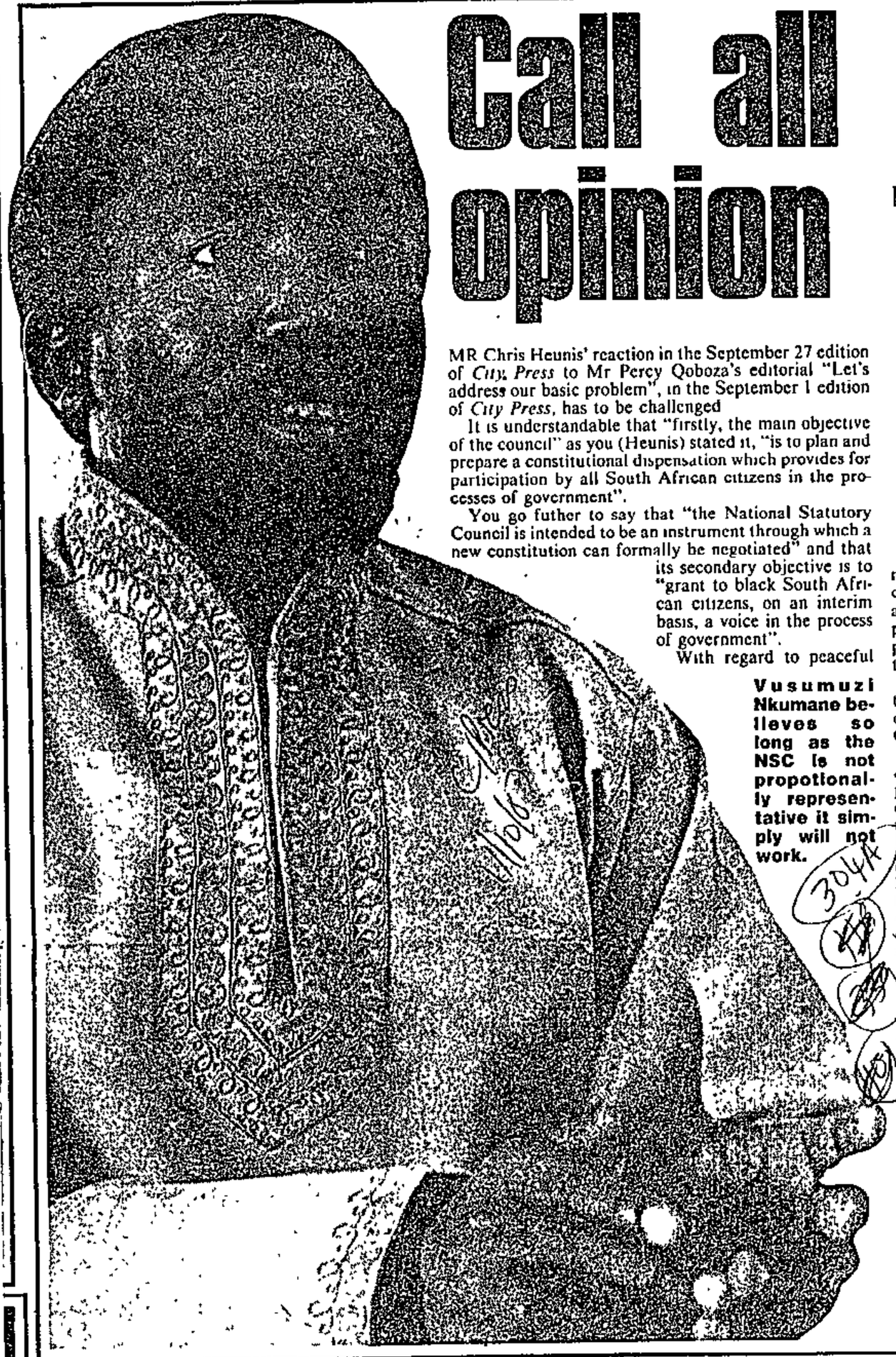
"What we do approve of is what seems to be a move away from traditional white politics," Mr Cachalia said.

"Unlike the Progressive Federal Party's narrow approach to white politics, the NDM seems prepared to look beyond Parliament.

"That recognition and acknowledgement of what we define as the important realities of South African politics we welcome."

He said that, like most groups, the UDF was taken by surprise with the NDM launch last Wednesday and at the time his reponse was that it was "an interesting development".

# Call all shades of opinion to the NSC



**Vusumuzi Nkumane believes so long as the NSC is not propotionally representative it simply will not work.**

MR Chris Heunis' reaction in the September 27 edition of *City Press* to Mr Percy Qoboza's editorial "Let's address our basic problem", in the September 1 edition of *City Press*, has to be challenged

It is understandable that "firstly, the main objective of the council" as you (Heunis) stated it, "is to plan and prepare a constitutional dispensation which provides for participation by all South African citizens in the processes of government".

You go futher to say that "the National Statutory Council is intended to be an instrument through which a new constitution can formally be negotiated" and that its secondary objective is to "grant to black South African citizens, on an interim basis, a voice in the process of government".

With regard to peaceful means of bringing about change in this country, these are good intensions in principle The problem lies in your program of implementing them

Basic to this problem is the premise upon which the concept of the National Council is based

It is a concept proposed by a government that is not representative of the majority of the citizens of this country

How do you "plan and prepare a constitutional dispensation which provides for participation by all South African citizens in the processes of government" when not all of these citizens are allowed democratic rights to vote and be voted for?

How do you hope to negotiate for a new constitution without the participation of the legitimate and historical leaders of the African majority?

Have you forgotten that you have not only banned their organisations but you have them behind bars as well and some are in exile?

Who do you want to negotiate with? When are you going to give them a chance to prove their leadership to all by allowing them the democratic rights I have just mentioned above?

In "granting black South Africans citizens, on an interim basis, a voice in the process of government", are you going to grant those leaders in detention the same voice?

Since you want the black leaders to participate in this "interim structure" towards a constitution that will be acceptable to all citizens of this country, are you going to release these leaders so that they may consider, with a mandate from their constituencies, whether to participate or not? Or perhaps to call for a better and meaningful transitional structure other than the said National Council?

Is it not better or preferable to talk of a Transitional Liberation National Council in which all parties concerned would be represented proportional to their constituencies?

We, the African people if this National Council is primarily intended for us, need socio-economic and political liberation

On the other hand, your national group needs to be liberated from fear of the black man – your historical "swart gevaar" In your last but one paragraph you do hint on this fear from your side

You need not fear us We do not fear you There is no kind of harm a human being can inflict on another one as terrible as the kind of harm your national group has inflicted on us for generations What more do we have to fear from you?

Nothing

We are already immune. Unban our organisations and allow us freedom of speech and we will free you from the fear you have of allowing one man, one vote Your problem is that you think you know us and yet you do not

And you will only know us when you talk to us

I agree with you, "the imperfect status quo cannot remain", but you cannot change it all by yourself or with leaders of your own choice

Be prepared to be a good listener and do not choose speakers, listen to whoever wants to speak to you Bad listeners have never made good leaders

You say the third objective of the council is to "further and protect sound relations among, and the human dignity, rights and freedoms of all South African citizens" This sounds good

At long last you have realised that we need sound relations among ourselves as human beings

To prove that you are sincere, release our leaders or make a statement of intent to that effect

You also say "considering the main objective of the council, the council by nature has to be an advisory body if we take the principles of democracy seriously"

Good enough, us African people do take democracy seriously and in our understanding it is a government of the people by the people and for the people, and the people refer to all the citizens of the country irrespective of colour of creed.

By this premise, therefore, it cannot be an advisory body to a government that represents a minority but rather an advisory body to the nation as a whole hence the need for proportional representation based on party interests Not Nine individuals representing no ideological constituencies.

The maxim of your democracy is agreeing to disagree, hence the multi-party system Why not invite more parties as you usually do during your elections?

On the other hand, ours is disagreeing to agree, that is, we are never satisfied in our indaba until we arrive at consensus over a point at issue

In this case the point at issue would be the transferring of power to the majority on a non-racial basis.

Granting "the black communities outside the self-governing territories the opportunity of directly electing their representatives to the National Council", thereby bypassing the political organisations they had long identified themselves with, is an attempt by your government to further divide and rule our people.

Therefore, we cannot accept any attempt to further divide us after you sucessfully divided us into so-called independent homelands and self-governing territories.

We are in no way "casting doubts on our commitment to the democratic process". I am merely saying that there

**Vusi Nkumane is a former Robben Island inmate. He spent a total of 12 years in prison (from 1963 to 1975) for his activities as a member of the banned Pan Africanist Congress. He has a BA degree in economics from Unisa and is presently teaching in Soweto. Nkumane is also an organiser of a cultural organisation, Siyakha.**

## City Press ADVICE

PO Box 57473, Springfield 2137.

**This column is for readers who need advice on work problems, problems with hire purchase, insurance or companies that cheat you, or on health or personal matters. Please send your letter to *City Press Advice*, PO Box 57473, Springfield 2137.**

**If you had written in the past and not had your letter published, please write again and we will reply.**

**Please include all the details we will need to investigate your problem – full names and address, names of companies or people you have a problem with, receipt numbers and copies of relevant correspondence.**

**Every week we will publish a selection of letters and if you do not want your name published with your letter, please say so and we will not use it.**

**Finally, we will answer all you letters personally.**

**Every letter to the Advice column will receive a personal answer through the post.**

☆ Dear Adviser,

**I have a problem with Southern Life Insurance. I was detained under the state of emergency in July 1986 and my salary as a teacher was stopped. I sent an attorney to Southern Life's offices to tell them I could not pay my premiums.**

**When I was released in April this year, I went to their Pietersburg offices to request a new stop order form to continue paying my policy, as I had been reinstated in my job.**

**They told me my policy had been cancelled. I really cannot afford to lose the money I have paid on my policy. They told me I would have to pay all the arrears at once to have my policy reinstated, but I can't possibly afford this after not being paid for six months. I wrote to the Johannesburg head office, but got no reply.**

**SL Phochana**
**Pietersburg**

Dear SL Phachana,

We spoke to Southern Life's head office in Johannesburg.

They said they had received correspondence from you, but had not been able to reinstate your policy because the law regulating the life insurance industry does not allow them to do so unless all the arrears are paid.

However, they now appreciate your problem and have suggested they should redate your contract by advancing the starting date by six months.

They will make your contract run from the first of July 1986, instead of the 1st of January This means you will not have to pay the arrears and you will not lose all the money you have paid so far.

We hope you approve of this arrangement. Southern Life will be writing to you to explain details of the changes

☆ Dear Adviser,

**My father passed away in March last year. He was a pensioner in Lebowa at the time of his death.**

**I applied for funeral benefits from the Lenyenye Magistrates' Office within two weeks of his death, but I have still received nothing.**

**People who applied after me have already received their money, but when I asked the magistrate's staff, they said my money was lost and they couldn't help me anymore.**

**Worried Son**
**Namakgale**

Dear Worried Son,

that you submitted your claim in time (within three months of death), he will take up your case and find out what happened to your money

Please go and see Mr Mogale and say you are the person referred to by *City Press*. Let us know what happens.

☆ Dear Adviser,

Please help us to get the money our children were promised by the Thaba 'Nchu Sun hotel

A group of young people, including my son, were recruited by the Thaba 'Nchu Sun to go for training as casino workers at the Mmabatho Sun hotel

They were promised they would be given R270 on arrival at Mmabatho. They had to pay for transport and accommodation costs.

After a week, 30 of them were given R70 each and told to go home.

We spent more than the hotel for this "training" – please help us get the transport money for them.

**Disgusted Mother**

'Nchu Sun, Mr Dave Haysom

He said that trainees were offered R10 a day as training allowance while they underwent an initial training trial at the Mmabatho Sun.

He said they were never promised R270, or any travelling expenses However, they were told that those who opted for permanent casino jobs would get R290 a month

He said that in addition to the R70 training allowance which your son and others who were selected for further training received at the end of the first week, they were given R20 to cover the costs of transport

They were given the R20 to enable them to go home then return to finish their training at a later date

☆ Dear Adviser,

**I am a guy of 23 and I have a problem which is turning me into an alcoholic. Five years ago my girlfriend had an affair with a much older man and had a child with him. He let her down and didn't take responsibility for the child.**

**I still love her and though I have tried to find someone else, I can't forget her. People think I am a fool to still want her, but I can't help it. What can I do?**

**Fool or Not**
**Hambanathi**

Dear Fool or Not,

This problem has been going on for a long time and is obviously causing you a lot of anxiety and pain.

It seems as if you have to decide on a few important things – does this woman love you, and want to live with you? If she does, then you have somewhere to start from.

You can discuss your feelings with her and work out a way of getting over your past problems If she doesn't, you must respect her feelings and try to forget her

If she accepts you, you have to work out whether you can live with the fact that she left you for this other man and that the whole community knows about it.

Maybe you could start again in another place, where you would not have to feel embarrassed? Why don't you try to talk your problems over with someone you respect and who knows both of you?

One thing for sure is that heavy drinking will not solve your problem.

If you need to talk to people about your drinking, you could get in touch with your local branch of Alcoholics Anonymous.

They have meetings every Thursday at 8pm in the

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Therefore, we cannot accept any attempt to further divide us after you sucessfully divided us into so-called independent homelands and self-governing territories.

We are in no way "casting doubts on our commitment to the democratic process". I am merely saying that there can be no democratic process taking place in a society that is oligarchic and racially aristocratic.

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They have meetings every Thursday at 8pm in the Gordon Mitchell Hall, Buffelsdale, Tongaat. If you can't go to a meeting, you can write to AA at PO Box 166, Tongaat 4400.

Good luck!

# 'Handshake was inappropriate'

Cape Times 14/10/87

30(A

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE Independent Movement leader, Dr Denis Worrall, yesterday denied that he and the National Democratic Movement leader, Mr Wynand Malan, had refused to shake hands with each other after their lawyers had thrashed out a "divorce" settlement.

Dr Worrall said yesterday he and Mr Malan now occupied very different positions on the political spectrum and were appealing to different voters.

Political journalists present when the settlement was announced heard Dr Worrall saying "are we in the mood?" as he declined to shake Mr Malan's proferred hand.

In a statement, Dr Worrall said the report that they had refused to shake hands was "not correct".

"In fact, we both felt it would be inappropriate to shake hands.

"Aside from the fact that I respect him deeply, I was as relieved as he was that we had achieved an amicable settlement of our differences.

"I am where I was during the course of the election campaign. I am offering a non-racial approach to our politics with which South Africans of all communities can identify and yet which at the same time presents a constructive alternative to traditional National Party supporters.

"Mr Malan, by contrast, is deep into extra-parliamentary politics."

# 'Politics of negotiation' about to make a bow

**The phase of pure 'refusal' is ending, says a political scientist. Jo-Anne Collinge reports.**

When the United Democratic Front was launched four years ago one of its patrons, Dr Allan Boesak, said it heralded an era of "politics of refusal".

Countless boycotts and stay-at-homes later — and after almost two years of emergency rule — we are emerging from the phase of pure "refusal" and entering the age of the "politics of negotiation", says Wits University political scientist Mr Mark Swilling.

"The politics of negotiation is going to become the focus of political conflict in the future. How a 'climate of negotiation' will be created will crucially affect the way the current stalemate is resolved," he writes in the latest issue of the monthly journal *Reality*.

"Whereas the black opposition movements are clearly prepared to negotiate under certain conditions, there is no reason to believe that the State is willing to reciprocate at this moment in time."

This claim rests on Mr Swilling's analysis of a see-saw battle between the "militarists" and the "reformers" in the Cabinet. He explains differences between the two groups in terms of their diagnoses of the roots of turmoil in the black community. "Whereas the militarists assume 'communist agitators' and 'socio-economic grievances' underlie black unrest, the reformers accept that the real cause concerns political rights," he says.



Mr Swilling

The reformers were to be found mostly in the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, as well as in the Manpower, Finance, and Foreign Affairs departments and in the National Party itself.

The names Mr Swilling mentions most frequently in the militarist camp are President Botha and Defence Minister Magnus Malan.

between what P W Botha and Malan were doing and what Heunis and his group were calling for. Whereas the former were referring to (black) 'city states' and independence for bantustans and defending the detention/imprisonment of political leaders, the latter were proceeding with the inclusion of black local authorities in RSCs, back-pedalling on independence, undoing influx control and supporting negotiations between senior government officials and UDF leaders in Port Elizabeth, Oudtshoorn, Worcester, Cradock and Uitenhage."

The final break between the militarists and the reformers came, Mr Swilling says, when the State Security Council decided to bomb the capitals of Frontline states and the EPG initiative collapsed.

"Significantly, whereas now P W Botha argues that the 'renunciation' of violence by the ANC is a precondition for talks, before the EPG collapsed the Government had conceded that the 'suspension' of violence would be sufficient," says Mr Swilling.

He argues that the EPG's indication that the ANC would agree to suspend violence made "P W Botha and the generals" realise that "the chips were now down and they had to make a choice".

The choice they made, says Mr Swilling, was the "Brazilian option". This involved a combination of measures: raids on supposed ANC bases; destruction of internal opposition by mass detentions; imposition of the Government's own structures in the form of RSCs; and renewed efforts to upgrade black townships.

The aim was to crush township protest, eliminate "alternative structures" and undermine ANC support so that, in a relatively short time, the State would recover its former position of strength. "Only after that, they argued, could negotiations be considered."

"There is no certainty that the reformers will regain the initiative within the State. The conflict remains intense."

Mr Swilling says the position on negotiation within the ranks of the liberation movement is much more definite.

Since the national state of emergency was declared in 1986 the mass-based, legal opposition may have lost much of its "capacity to strike direct blows against the State" but it has simultaneously consolidated its structures, Mr Swilling argues.

He says the strength of internal resistance to apartheid gives the ANC increased clout as it moves increasingly toward a stance of negotiation.

"The ANC is now more entrenched as 'the factor' in various international foreign policy formulations than ever before.

"More importantly, this entrenchment in Western foreign policy has led to the clarification and refinement of the ANC's commitment to a negotiated settlement and a decline in the influence of the 'armed seizure of power' position."

## Not unconditional

In addition, he argues, the vulnerable position of the Frontline states suggests that they are unwilling to "host an ANC that is locked into a full-frontal battle with the economic and military might of the South African State".

While the ANC might be prepared to negotiate, nobody in the extra-parliamentary opposition is suggesting that talks be held unconditionally. They speak of the creation of the "climate for negotiation" in which the State must meet certain demands.

"It remains to be seen how positions in the internal and external black movement will change in response to changes in State strategy if reformers gain the initiative," Mr Swilling concludes.

# 'Handshake was inappropriate'

Cape Times 14/2/87

30A

By BARRY STREEK
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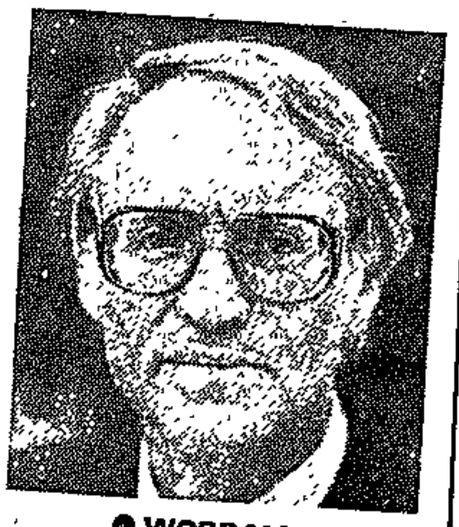
(3044)

15/10/87 B/day.

# Worrall digs in heels but has no plan



● WORRALL

ELSABÉ WESSELS

**DENIS WORRALL said yesterday he was a natural political animal and would not consider leaving politics — but confessed he had no immediate plan of action.**

A tired-sounding Worrall was unsure about his own political future and was not clear on how he would proceed in politics.

But the former South African ambassador and defeated Independent candidate confidently predicted in an interview with Business Day that if he were to stand in Helderberg tomorrow, he would do as well or better as he had in the May election.

Addressing the dramatic split from Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement (NDM), Worrall said there was no real conflict between him and Malan.

"I wish him well," he said.

Describing his Independent movement as an "organisation in embryo", Worrall said he still had his national co-ordinator Chris Reader and Helderberg committee chairman Jannie Momberg at his side.

He had no immediate plan of action and said he was looking at the situation.

"My plan of action will depend on the reaction I get from people in the days ahead," he said.

Discussing his political differences with the NDM, Worrall said he and Malan had pitched two very different political positions. Malan would be operating more in an extra-parliamentary field and was unlikely to make an impact on the ruling National Party in parliament, Worrall claimed.

He was still committed to the policy propagated by the Independents during the election. He believed in negotiation and said it was important to find a poltically acceptable alternative that would win votes from rank-and-file Nationalists.

Worrall compared the NDM's relevance to Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa) and said the NDM would only be able to challenge the PFP, not the NP.

"I respect the NDM's decision but I see a real need to find a viable constitutional alternative," he said.

# MP on poll fraud charge

Con Times
15/10/87

304A

**Own Correspondent**

**JOHANNESBURG. — Hillbrow's National Party MP, Mr Leon de Beer, his election agent and an electoral official appeared briefly in a Regional Court here yesterday in connection with allegations of electoral fraud.**

Mr De Beer, who took the Hillbrow constituency from sitting Progressive Federal Party MP Mr Alf Widman with a majority of 89 after an acrimonious campaign, appeared with his agent, Mr Chris Snyman, and Department of Home Affairs official Mr Adriaan Janse van Rensburg.

No charges were put to the three, and the hearing was postponed to January 29. Mr De Beer was released on R2 500 bail, Mr Snyman on R500 and Mr Van Rensburg on R1 500.

Confirming their arrest and subsequent court appearance, the Witwatersrand Attorney-General, Mr Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau, said investigations were still continuing and more arrests were expected.

He said Mr De Beer had been questioned for three days at John Vorster Square.

Allegations being investigated were several hundred suspected incidents of fraud and contraventions of the Electoral Act, including the changing of names on the voters' roll, the removal of names from the roll, voting on behalf of voters without their knowledge and consent, and changing voters' addresses to make them eligible for voting.

The PFP's Transvaal leader, Mr Douglas Gibson, last night said: "One wonders whether Mr De Beer will now resign his seat in Parliament."

It is believed the party handed a dossier to police some time ago and, with some support from the Conservative Party, assisted in the police investigation.

The Hillbrow election result was the subject of a court application in June, when the PFP successfully applied for a recount and an examination of all the ballot documents.

After the court-sanctioned recount, Mr De Beer's majority was increased by one vote to 90.

390- BRUSH

# Fighting left and right has Nats rolling

**Political Correspondent**

AMANZIMTOTI. — The petty in-fighting among the groups to the left of government had reached the point where "they are calling each other names which they never used against me", President P W Botha confessed yesterday to roars of laughter from his supporters.

Discussing the current "confusion" in the ranks of opposition forces, Mr Botha said he had read in the press that "P W must be smiling" at what he called "the rather fun actions" taken by the opposition politicians recently.

"Well, I was smiling before that already because I knew it was coming," he said to the huge mirth of delegates at the NP's Natal congress here.

Mr Botha said he did not wish to be "derogatory in my remarks" about the "small manoeuverings and party pettiness" of his opponents.

But "all these disclosures of the manoeuverings and in-fighting on the left and right are proof that you must govern this country on principles" rather than rely on personalities.

Mr Botha said there were now at least "four or five" groups fighting each other to the left of government and "three or four" to the right.

"Both to the left and the right (of the NP) it is confusion ... the whole opposition is confused and confounded.

"There is only one reason for it — they manoeuvre because of personalities and pettiness," Mr Botha said.



30KA

# P W Botha: Security is top priority

**By ANTHONY JOHNSON**
**Political Correspondent**

AMANZIMTOTI. — Security was South Africa's first priority and outranked political reform or development in importance, President P W Botha said yesterday.

Making a surprise visit to the National Party's Natal congress here, Mr Botha said to applause that the government would deal with questions facing the country "without sacrificing the security, sovereignty or stability" of South Africa.

"If you want to know from me where I place my priorities, the first priority is the security of the country," Mr Botha said.

### 'Democratic'

He went on to rank the "development of the country" second and "political reform" third.

Reform — which was "surely started by the National Party under my leadership" — should serve as a basis for the first two priorities, security and development.

Mr Botha dismissed critics who were "shouting" at his government and calling it names because of its failure to reform.

Turning to the Commonwealth Conference in Canada — "where they are busy making decisions on South Africa" — Mr Botha said many of the countries represented at the gathering were not in a position to compare their situation to South Africa in terms of health, social services and "with the democratic institutions we have in South Africa".

If South Africa was as bad as the world believed it to be, why were hundreds of thousands of people flocking across the Republic's border in search of food and health services, he asked.

The Commonwealth Conference should "leave it to us to solve our own problems" and concentrate instead on restoring orderly development and prosperity to South Africa's neighbouring states.

Commonwealth countries which claimed that it was entirely up to South Africa to resolve its own problems, nevertheless continued to try to pressurize the Republic, he said.

Mr Botha said it was important when considering the way the government handled difficulties facing the country, that not only the problems should be counted "but also our successes in overcoming these problems".

In other addresses at the congress:

● The Deputy-Minister of Defence, Mr Wynand Breytenbach, said the government rejected a call to make national service compulsory for coloured people, Indians and "selected urban blacks".

"The SADF foresees that the present system of voluntary service will continue," he said, describing the current system as "tremendously popular".

The number of volunteers of different races reporting annually was "more than the SADF can accommodate at this stage".

The number of service volunteers had risen by 236% between 1979 and 1984.

Mr Breytenbach said he foresaw that compulsory national service for coloured people and Indians should evolve in the same gradual fashion as had been the case with whites but "we cannot risk the effectiveness of our SADF by lowering the standards of the individual intakes".

● Mr Danie Steyn, Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology, announced in a reply that he was planning a national tourism indaba to which all sectors of the industry would be invited.

By the turn of the century tourism would be one of the most important industries in the world and probably also in South Africa, so the country had to plan ahead.

### Power

"It is clear there are grey areas in the co-ordination of tourism in the country," he told the congress.

● There were too many differences between black labour unions for them to form a black labour federation and attain the position of power labour held in Britain during the 70s, said the Minister of Manpower, Mr Pietie du Plessis.

He said the government was going to take a fresh look at legislation on intimidation. Black workers had started to accept the labour system and even radical trade unions had started to register but a problem that had emerged was the subsceptibility of blacks to intimidation.

"Many strikes would never have taken place if the intimidation factor had not been so strong."

## Stamps now part of flood relief plan

**Own Correspondent**

**AMANZIMTOTI. — The government has introduced a "stampaid" programme by which donations can be made to Natal flood relief through buying a 16c stamp with a 10c surcharge.**

**The scheme was revealed in Durban yesterday by President Botha when he made an aerial tour of the disaster area.**

**From early next month the special 16c cent stamps will be available from all post offices.**

**The stamps, which depict the Durban City Hall, will have the words '10c' and 'Natal Flood Disaster' printed on them, and will cost 26c. The extra 10c will go to flood relief.**

**The ordinary 16c stamps will also be available.**

OF SOUTH AFRICA

stone.



President Moi

# Kenya offers to host SA talks to solve conflict

ARGUS 15/10/87

From MICHAEL MORRIS
The Argus Foreign Service

VANCOUVER. — President Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya has offered his country as a venue for a meeting between South Africa's white and black nationalists.

President Arap Moi said at the Commonwealth summit in Vancouver yesterday that he hoped Pretoria would "see the sense" of negotiations.

He would put Kenya at the disposal of the parties to facilitate a conference between them.

## NEIGHBOURS

Meanwhile, President Botha has told the Commonwealth to look to the problems of neighbouring countries instead of interfering in South Africa, reports The Argus Political Staff.

Speaking at the Natal congress of the National Party, Mr Botha said he was not particularly interested in the Commonwealth conference.

"If we are so bad as they want the world to believe, how do they explain the hundreds of thousands of people who flock across our borders to look for food, health services and security?"

He suggested the conference should rather find methods to restore good order and prosperity in South Africa's neighbouring states.

In Vancouver, Britain is fighting sanctions proposals with the argument that market forces within South Africa will be far more effective as an agent of change than trade embargoes imposed abroad.

In what is seen as a major coup for South Africa's liberal business community, which can claim to have pioneered the arguments, Mrs Margaret Thatcher said yesterday: "Whatever is done from the outside (sanctions) may operate on the margins, but if you are looking for real change in South Africa, internal economic pressures are likely to have a greater effect."

While Britain stands firm against sanctions, the rest of the Commonwealth may go it alone and impose their own new measures.

Jamaica has proposed that all countries intensify financial bans refusing new loans, the rescheduling of old loans and new investment and that they order the withdrawal of existing investments.

Canada is still committed to intensifying sanctions pressure.

Frontline Commonwealth states have been effectively exempted from having to agree to impose sanctions.

The leaders have now left it to the foreign ministers of Britain, Canada, Australia, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Nigeria, Guyana and India to work out details of a new policy on Southern Africa — covering sanctions, aid and a possible diplomatic initiative.

At the United Nations in New York, Argentina, an elected member of the UN Security Council, has announced support for mandatory sanctions against South Africa during a debate on racism.

# The time is ripe to start clearing the nation's political logjam

POLITICAL schizophrenia, deceit and opportunism are accusations being flung at me by people stuck in the mind-set of white versus black power politics.

It stems from an attitude which believes that by playing games with election scores one can solve South Africa's problems. Seventeen seats in 1977, 26 seats in 1981 and 19 seats in 1987: in 10 years the enfranchised Left of the National Party has achieved very little on its own in influencing the future course of politics.

This is to some extent due to a lack of determined commitment and involvement by many of the enfranchised South Africans who would like to move away from white domination.

But more so it is due to a mistaken belief by white opposition politicians that they, on their own, can compete with the National Party in allaying the fears and feelings of insecurity among whites.



By
**PETER GASTROW**
MP for Durban Central

Only by becoming involved in the total politics of South Africa will the fears and suspicions across the divides be reduced. Only then will South Africans discover that they share basic aspirations on which a joint future can be built.

Whites can tell fellow whites to be confident about the future until the cows come home without it making much of an impression. Only by actual involvement and communication with the disenfranchised will white South Africans build up the confidence that, in spite of differences, we can construct a joint future.

That is why the logjam between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics has to disappear. That is why the National Democratic Movement (NDM) wants to come with a more open and pragmatic inclusive approach.

## Strife

Even if at a National Convention or Statutory Council political leaders succeed in negotiating a perfect new constitution, South Africa will remain strife-ridden if by then we have not gone through a process of finding each other across divides from grassroots up and if we have not started to appreciate that our differences can be simultaneously accommodated.

One cannot leave a party in instalments and thereby stretch out the agony. Some of my ex-colleagues in the PFP may stamp their feet and shout betrayal but they must realise that this will result in damage to their own cause.

I am married to a cause and not to an institution. The bitterness with which my step has been met by some suggests to me that the attractions of white politics are more important to them than the overall goal which we both strive towards.

## Embittered

I would suggest to them that if they continue along that line they stand the danger of becoming an embittered, inward-looking group like the old NRP. Obviously the PFP has a role to play and those who feel more comfortable in that party should continue. Lines of communication should also remain open.

I feel more at home in the NDM because there is a greater openness to other political groups and actors and a greater sense of purpose than in the PFP caucus.

By moving from the categorized politics of today into total politics the NDM has chosen a new and risky path.

It is a concept whose time has come.

ARGUS 15/10/87

# New democratic front welcome news — Gumede

By PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

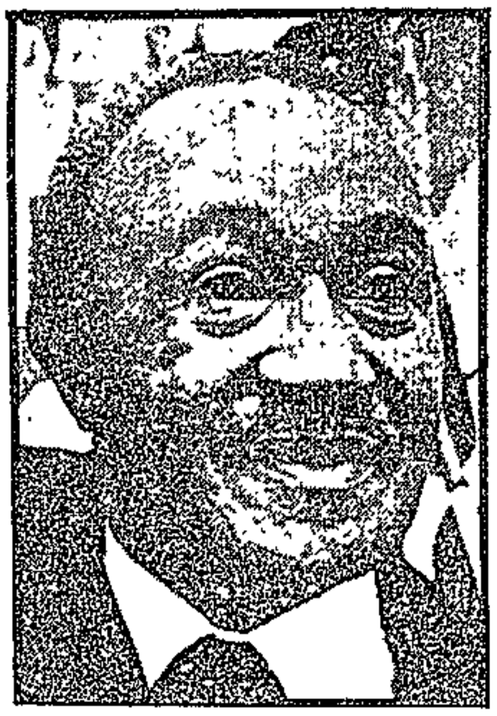
UNITED Democratic Front co-president Mr Archie Gumede has welcomed the formation of the National Democratic Movement (NDM) and hopes that it will eventually affiliate to the UDF.

Mr Gumede says that "any movement which is directed at encouraging the electorate to accept the principles of democracy and apply them, is welcome news."

He had passed on this message to the NDM. It was his personal view — "at this stage.

"But I don't think there will be any differences in the UDF about accepting an organisation with democratic principles," he added.

Though Mr Gumede has been slighty at odds with other members of the UDF before, UDF national treasurer Mr Azhar Cachalia, who is closer to mainstream opinion, has also expressed "cautious approval" for the NDM.



Mr Archie Gumede

He said the departure of Dr Denis Worrall from the NDM had opened up the possibilities for discussion and said that informal talks with NDM members "had uncovered more comon ground than expected."

Mr Gumede said he based his approval on no more than the fact that the NDM was based on democratic principles.

"How they propose to attain them I don't know."

Asked how he felt about the NDM's manifesto recognising "that cirmstances may arise which may necessitate the exercise of special powers on the part of the State," Mr Gumede said this was "understandable."

Asked why he did not lend approval to the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Gumede said the PFP had "nailed its colours to the qualified franchise, a highly qualified franchise.

"We don't think that once you create a privileged group, it will relinquish power voluntarily."

Mr Gumede explained that he was talking about the PFP policy of limiting the vote to people with certain property and educational qualifications. When told that the PFP had in fact abandoned this policy in 1978, Mr Gumede said: "Well, we don't think much about the PFP. It is for the Oppenheimers and the Helen Suzmans."

# The Prog split was no surprise. But the timing was

9-15/10/87 W/Mail

THE decision of the three Dakarite members of the Progressive Federal Party parliamentary caucus to quit the party was hardly a surprise — and the basic cause of the split had little to do with ideological differences.

But the timing of the move and the way it was done certainly was a surprise, both to the PFP and to political observers.

And their decision is a serious blow for the PFP — party leader Colin Eglin called it a "setback" — which before the May 6 election was confidently operating its "turbo-charging"

**Weekly Mail Reporter**

strategy believing it would not only win seats but would also enable it to become part of an alternative anti-apartheid government.

It had been generally expected that the three — Peter Gastrow, the party's national chairman and MP for Durban Central, Pierre Cronje, MP for Greytown, and Pieter Schoeman, a member of the President's Council and the PFP candidate in North Rand in the May 6 election — would move in the direction of Jan van Eck, the independent MP for Claremont who resigned from the PFP on August 17.

But they have moved in a different direction and in the process have made a significant shift on detention without trial, supporting its use in defined circumstances.

The split between the three Dakarites and the rest of the caucus began in the tense, and often heated, caucus meetings after they returned from the talks with the African National Congress.

The party leadership was infuriated by the fact that they had not discussed the matter beforehand and had not even notified Eglin who learned, second-hand, about their participation shortly before leaving for a holiday.

They argued that the party, which was badly bruised by its poor showing in the election, had paid a heavy price at the polls for its stand in regard to negotiations with the ANC and the Dakar summit, and its implications should have been discussed beforehand within the party.

They were also angry about the way the party leadership came to hear of their involvement.




**Out in the cold: Worrall**

The Dakarites defended their decision, pointing out that talking to the ANC was already party policy.

A compromise decision was taken but it was clear that the leadership, at the urging of its chief whip, John Malcomess, and the often controversial Harry Schwarz, had won.

It was believed in some circles that

●To PAGE 2

CA.

## Splintering Progs

●From PAGE 1

the three would resign then, and they would have done so if Van Eck, who wanted his decision to resign from the party to be separate from the three Dakarites, had not pre-empted them.

Signs that all was not well came early in September when Gastrow, in a strange speech, defended detention without trial.

It now seems clear that speech was made as a public signal to Wynand Malan and the Independent movement that they were talking the same language, ensuring that he could not be regarded as soft on security.

Apart from this shift, there is little difference between the political position of the new National Democratic Movement and the PFP.

Clearly, the NDM believes it will be more successful than the PFP, particularly because of its image, in winning *verligte* white votes and it will be able to become a home for dissident Nationalists.

Moreover, Malan's performance in parliament since the May 6 election as the representative of the new movement has been ineffective.

It is also clear that problems over the role and position of Dr Denis Worrall have arisen. The NDM has already been dubbed the No Denis Movement.

Quite how these problems with Worrall will be resolved is uncertain but it hardly augurs well for the new grouping that tensions over one of its star performers have already risen.

Reports that six National Party MPs are on the verge of joining the NDM have been dismissed by Malan.

HUNT LASCARIS TBWA 8706059

W/Mail 9-15/10/87

# Govt plans clamp on strike 'intimidation'

By David Braun

AMANZIMTOTI — The Government was reviewing legislation prohibiting intimidation to see how it could be tightened, Manpower Minister Mr Pietie du Plessis told the Natal National Party congress.

Responding to a resolution that the congress discuss the role of trade unionism in South Africa of the future, Mr du Plessis said he was aware of concern that unions could become as powerful as those in Britain in the 1970s — when they were in a position to cripple the economy.

But he stressed that since full trade union rights had been extended to blacks in 1979 there had been a growing acceptance, even on the part of radical unions, of the legal machinery to settle disputes.

If the 5 000 disputes solved by this machinery last year had not been settled in this way they could all have ended up in strikes.

Mr du Plessis said it was true that, in the absence of other political channels, trade unions were being used to give expression to political aspirations.

But this was not unique to black trade unions, as the entry of Mr Arrie Paulus (Conservative Party) and Mr Gert Beetge (Herstigte Nasionale Party) into politics had shown.

Mr du Plessis said the Government was keeping close tabs on unions and security police would move against union leaders endangering the security of the state.

Many of today's strikes were the result of intimidation, which was characteristic of the black community, he said. The Government was, therefore, looking "very seriously" at tightening up on legislation prohibiting intimidation.

Mr du Plessis predicted that black trade unions would never be able to unite in one organisation as there were too many divisions among them.

He said the National Union of Mineworkers had been weakened by its recent strike.

He acknowledged the level of strikes in South Africa was rising, but said that compared to other countries such as the Netherlands, Britain and the USA, South Africa had fewer strikes.

# Freedom Charter gains friends

BARRY STREEK

NATIONALIST views towards the Freedom Charter, adopted by the Congress of the People in 1955, have undergone a remarkable change recently.

The Freedom Charter, which used to be regarded by government spokesmen as communist-inspired, was banned until 1984.

Previous government attitudes towards the Charter were hardly surprising, because when it was adopted 32 years ago it was endorsed by the then legal ANC, the Congress of Democrats, the SA Indian Congress and the SA Coloured Peoples Congress.

Recently a number of anti-apartheid organisations, including the UDF and three major unions affiliated to the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) — the National Union of Mineworkers, the Food and Allied Workers Union and the National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa) — have adopted the Charter.

And the fact that the United Teachers Association of SA (Utasa) is to consider adopting the Charter as its bill of rights was interpreted in some sections of the Press as an indication of the possibility of teacher/State conflict.

However, it is not only within anti-apartheid organisations that the Charter is being reappraised. Minister of Defence Magnus Malan said in the House of Representatives this year: "It is an exceptionally significant document, as I want to tell Honourable Members today. Anybody who has not yet read it should do so."

A senior Nationalist MP, Dr Boy Geldenhuys, also took a conciliatory approach to the Charter. "When one looks at the Freedom Charter," he said during a Parliamentary debate, "one is struck by the fact that many of the demands have already been met.

"There is the following demand: 'All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country'. But surely that is what the present state of affairs is all about? And that is also case in regard to the National Council.

"They also demand the following: 'The police force and army shall be open to all races'. That, too, is already a reality. A further demand is: "All shall be free to travel without restriction. Pass laws shall be abolished'. That, too, is a reality.

"Then there is the demand that: 'All who work shall be free to form trade unions to make wage agreements with their employers'. And surely that, too, is already a reality?

"The South Africa of 1950 and the South Africa of 1987 are not, after all, one and the same. Yet, apart from the demands relating to the economy, which amount to flagrant socialism, many of these demands have already been met," Geldenhuys said.

What he and Malan reflect — and their views were echoed in other Nationalist speeches in Parliament after the May 6 election — is that government's view of the Charter has changed dramatically.

It is no longer seen as a subversive document in itself; and most of its political goals are broadly acceptable to government.

The problem, as people like Malan see it, is that the Charter is only the first phase. "The fact remains that this document is accepted as the final goal and people do not realise that is merely the point of departure," Malan said.

One of the realities was that neither the ANC nor the South African Communist Party (SACP) regarded "this freedom manifesto as the final document for the future of the Republic of SA; this document is a starting point".

"After this phase has been bridged, however, the manifesto will lose its power and the SACP programme will become operative," Malan said.

For Geldenhuys, many of the Charter's demands had been met, but the violence continued because the ANC was ideologically committed to violence as a method for bringing about change.

When the trade unions adopted the Charter they added an important qualification. They said they regarded it as the starting point — the "minimum demands for a democratic society," as Numsa president Daniel Dube put it.

Whatever the interpretation, whether from Malan or the unions and UDF, the Charter has clearly come of age. Given the significantly changed stance of government towards it, the Charter could even become the basis for real negotiation.

## 'In no position to serve Hillbrow voters'

# Accused MP must resign, says PFP

15/10/87

**The Progressive Federal Party has demanded the resignation of Hillbrow's National Party MP, Mr Leon de Beer, after his arrest yesterday in connection with allegations of electoral fraud.**

Mr Cecil Bass, PFP city councillor for Hillbrow, today called on Mr de Beer to reliquish the constituency and said: "Although he is deemed innocent until he is proved guilty, he will not be in a position to serve the voters of Hillbrow while fighting hundreds of charges in court."

Mr de Beer, his election agent and NP organiser Mr Chris Snyman, and an official of the Department of the Interior, Mr Adriaan Janse van Rensburg, appeared in a Johannesburg Regional Court late yesterday afternoon in connection with allegations of electoral fraud and contraventions of the Electoral Act.

The three men were not asked to plead and magistrate Mr T F Feldman granted Mr de Beer bail of R2 500, Mr Janse van Rensburg R1 500 and Mr Snyman R500. He ordered that the three accused not interfere in any way with State witnesses.

Mr Feldman also ordered them to appear in court again on January 29 next year.

Investigations into "substantial numbers" of allegations of electoral fraud — including the casting of false votes, the changing of names on the voters' roll, changing voters' addresses to make them eligible to vote in the Hillbrow constituency and the removal of names from the roll — were being conducted, the Attorney-General of the Witwatersrand, Mr Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau, told The Star today.

Mr von Lieres said allegations were reaching him daily and that all these would have to be investigated. He said a clearer picture of what the charge sheet would contain was expected in January when investigations would have been completed.

He added that investigations had reached such a stage that he was able to make a decision in principle to arraign the three men.

On May 6, Mr de Beer captured the Hillbrow seat for the National Party from the PFP's Alf Widman by 89 votes after four counts. Mr Widman held the seat for 10 years.



National Party MP Mr Leon de Beer . . . faces 139 counts.

## Falsified votes

A subsequent re-count, after a Supreme Court action in June instituted by the PFP, increased this majority to 90 — in spite of certain postal votes being found to have been falsified.

Today Mr Bass said that Mr de Beer and the National Party should give serious consideration to his position.

"It would be in the interests of Hillbrow if he stood down and a by-election were held to clear the air while the law takes its course," Mr Bass said.

He asked why Mr Pik Botha, the Johannesburg leader of the NP, and Mr F W de Klerk, the party's Transvaal leader, had not issued statements on the fact that one of their members of Parliament had been arested.

Mr Douglas Gibson, Transvaal leader of the PFP and Mr Alf Widman's attorney, declined to comment on the legal aspects of the case but said "on a political level a court case of this magnitude opens up interesting prospects".

Reliable sources indicate that the arrests follow a sustained three month effort by the PFP to investigate the matter.

Mr Gibson said the successful application by Mr Widman when he obtained an inspection order enabled a multitude of electoral documents to be inspected and photographed.

Mr de Beer's arrest is only the second time since 1910 that an MP has faced charges under the Electoral Act.

# Botha vows to fight the 'pens of poison'

AMANZIMTOTI — The Government was determined to prevent "revolutionary propaganda" despite the vociferous criticism it had taken for its recent actions against the media, Minister of Home Affairs Mr Stoffel Botha said yesterday.

The journalist with a poisoned pen contributed as much to the revolution as did the man with the gun, he said.

Press freedom was an important tenet of the democratic ideology to which the Government subscribed, but it could not be applied without qualification.

**ETHICS**

There was a distinct difference between the commercial press and the propaganda newsletters which appeared as subversive front material often financed by liberals far from South Africa, he said.

"There is also a clear distinction between the organised press, which at least has a code of ethics and decency, and the subversive and immature press that cannot tell the difference between criticism and abuse but are bent on fanning unrest and the taking of cheap swipes at all forms of authority.

## Euphoria over 'spectacular gains' in poll

# Nats blow their trumpet in Natal

**By David Braun**
**Political Correspondent**

AMANZIMTOTI — The Natal National Party (NP) congress wound up its two-day meeting yesterday in a triumphant mood after its "spectacular gains" in the election.

The euphoria was evident in the official congress brochure, which devoted pages to an analysis of the results with charts and tables to illustrate the articles.

Natal NP leader Mr Stoffel Botha, who was re-elected unopposed for another term as provincial head, made political capital of the May victories, which saw the NP take 14 of the 20 parliamentary seats in the election (10 in the previous election).

Most of the NP's success was due to the massive switching of allegiance from the New Republic Party (NRP) to the NP and evidence of it was the amount of English spoken at the congress.

President Botha dropped in on the congress unexpectedly after he had toured Natal's flood-damaged regions. His arrival caused much excitement and Mr Botha listened as motion after motion (a total of 13) was read extolling his virtues.

He could not resist revelling in the discomfort of his opponents on the left.

"I read in one of the opposition newspapers this morning that P W Botha must be smiling at the rather funny antics of his opponents," he said.

"Well, I was smiling before this already because I knew what was coming."

The president then took a swipe at the Commonwealth conference in Canada, effectively telling it to keep its nose out of South Africa's business.

The liveliest debate of the congress was probably the discussion on the "propaganda campaign conducted by the Natal kwaZulu Indaba office".

**RAW NERVES**

Clearly this big-spending campaign touched a few raw nerves.

Natal NP vice-chairman Mr George Bartlett wondered by what authority the Indaba committee had taken it upon itself to conduct its campaign, bearing in mind that there were 14 "democratically elected" members of Parliament sitting in the hall who were against the Indaba proposals".

For the rest, the congress debates meandered over a broad range of topics, including issues of particularly local interest such as vagrancy, Natal tourism, the condition of the N2 road and neighbourhood crime watches in the province.

Star 16/10/87

Star 304A 16/10/87

# CP confident it will recapture Standerton

The Argus 16/10/87
Correspondent 3 col 6"

JOHANNESBURG — The Conservative Party is confident of recapturing the Standerton seat following a Pretoria Supreme Court ruling that the result of the May 6 election in the constituency be overturned..

The ruling was made on grounds that Mr Jacobus Rosier de Ville, who won the seat with a majority of 1 000, was Standerton's deputy-sheriff at the time of the election.

A CP spokesman said yesterday it had been unanimously decided Mr de Ville would stand as the party's candidate in the by-election.

The CP welcomed the opportunity "to strengthen the party's already large support and to show its strength in the constituency".

He said Mr de Ville's actions were in good faith and he had not accepted a service contract in which the State would have to carry the costs.

Mr De Ville had resigned in June as deputy-sheriff.

Cape Times
16/10/87

# Mayfair reactionaries arrested at illegal demo

JOHANNESBURG. — Police last night arrested three white men, allegedly members of the ultra-right-wing Blanke Bevrydigingsbeweging (BBB — White Liberation Movement), after using teargas to disperse an illegal demonstration organized by the movement in Mayfair, a "mixed" suburb here.

A police spokesman said about 50 people were holding a placard demonstration in Railway Street, Mayfair, at 6.40pm.

"At 6.50pm the Brixton police station commander requested that the meeting disperse. About 30 refused."

Police then used teargas to disperse the remaining people and arrested three white men aged 40, 29 and 30.

# Police teargas white marchers in Mayfair

SNAPL
304ft
16/10/87

By Martin Challenor

Police used teargas against right-wing whites, including Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (BBB) supporters, who were marching through Mayfair, Johannesburg, last night to a meeting to protest at blacks moving into the suburb.

Three men were arrested and at least two BBB posters confiscated. Today police said the arrested men had been released.

About 30 people gathered in Grosvenor Park in Fourth Avenue at about 6.30 pm to hold an open-air meeting. Before the meeting began a reporter saw two white men attacking a black man sitting alone on a park bench.

One had a gun on his hip and the other a baton up his sleeve. They pinned the man against a tennis court and he left crying, clutching his face.

### 'WHITE MAN'S PARK'

The whites chased away other blacks in the park telling them to "stay out the white man's park".

Major Sam Kruger, station commander of the Brixton police, arrived and warned that the gathering was illegal.

While some of the crowd shouted insults at the police, Mr Allen McCabe, leader of the "Keep Mayfair White" group told the people to go to a nearby school hall.

In Railway Street, Major Kruger gave the group three minutes to disperse. He told residents to close their windows as teargas was to be used.

Newsmen smelt teargas, saw two men being arrested and saw police confiscate BBB posters.

About 80 people gathered in the hall and criticised the Government for not moving black people out of Mayfair.

### CRIME RATE

Police said dockets would be handed to the Attorney General for a decision whether to prosecute.

Professor Johan Schabort, leader of the BBB, said his organisation supported the residents' struggle to get the Indians out and was present to act against Actstop, which he said had threatened to break up the meeting.

Actstop is campaigning against the Group Areas Act.

Mr Faan Venter of the Boerestaat organisation said the crime rate in South Africa was a disgrace to the name of the State President, Mr P W Botha.

Mr McCabe said rich people in the northern suburbs were to blame for what was happening in Mayfair. "We do not want to challenge the police force but want to challenge the Government to make a decision that Mayfair is for white people. The other people must leave."

3048

16/10/87

PARTY CONGRE

# Govt 'to close loopholes for foreign funds'

AMANZIMTOTI — The Government was going to take steps to close loopholes and perhaps introduce new measures to control the flow of foreign funds to South African organisations involved in political actions, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, told the Natal National Party congress yesterday.

His replies to resolutions were read out on his behalf by Natal NP leader, Mr Stoffel Botha.

## STRICTER CONTROL

A congress resolution called for stricter control on foreign funding for political organisations. Speakers singled out for attention the Dakar safari, the United Democratic Front and the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa).

Mr Coetsee said a great expertise had been developed in circumventing legal restrictions. The Government would investigate loopholes and even consider new measures to tighten control. — Sapa.

3044

● See Page 4.

SMR

16/10/87

the IM in the May election, it will not work again. The novelty has passed. Voters want to know what Malan stands for; what his economic policies are; if he favours nationalising the mines and banks; his views on security laws, on military involvement in Angola, on foreign policy, on group rights, on talks with the ANC ...

What makes the NDM's lineup even more confusing is the defection of PFP MPs Peter Gastrow and Pierre Cronje, and President's Councillor Pieter Schoeman.

They were on the left wing of the PFP, and were at the centre of a caucus row because they went on Idasa's "Dakar safari" for talks with the ANC. For them to join the NDM is strange. In May, the IM carefully placed itself between the NP and the PFP, to attract votes from waverers in both parties. Logically, then, it appears that the three ex-Progs have leapt to the right (from the *left* end of their own party); or that Malan and Co have hurdled over the PFP and are now lefties. Malan responds by refusing to be positioned on the "linear scale." It's all very confusing — although personality clashes within the PFP may help explain the Prog defections.

Pinpointing the winners after this week's debacle is just about impossible. The PFP has split further — but has once again closed ranks and remains the strongest and most viable parliamentary grouping to the left of government. The NDM and IM are apparently in total confusion. The NP, although outwardly laughing at the dogfight on the left, is still unsure how much support it may lose to the NDM — or, for that matter, to a less "radical" PFP.

That leaves the Conservative Party (CP), which is set to benefit most from the shake up. In some seats (Benoni is an example), a five-way vote split could give the Right victory. The CP won nearly 3 000 votes in Benoni in May to the PFP's 3 700 and the Nats' 6 500. There are many similar seats.

Why the NDM saw fit to shatter further the meagre forces of liberal opposition to the Nats remains unclear. Its statements so far are confusing and contradictory. One PFP MP has suggested that Malan, after endorsing the Nat racist policies for 10 years as MP for Randburg, now has to "out-liberal the liberals" as a sort of penance for past "sins." It's as good a theory as any.

The reasons given so far for Malan not seeing eye-to-eye with the PFP (or with Worrall) in some cases misrepresent reality. In Worrall's case, it is still not clear who broke with whom. Charismatic and dynamic, there is no doubt that Worrall dominated the IM and stamped a particular brand on the movement — to the growing irritation of the dominant band of *oorbeligte* Afrikaners who saw things somewhat differently.

An accommodation was supposed to have been reached whereby Worrall would move out of the limelight, but not necessarily out of the movement. His supporters now say the Malan group knifed him by forming the NDM without his knowledge, while Malan's men say Worrall didn't keep his part of the bargain.

What happened is now irrelevant. The damage is done.

The NDM's quarrel with the PFP is equally confusing. The movement effectively rejects what it sees as the stereotyped Western liberalism espoused by the Progs, but then offers as an alternative the selfsame liberal values of "equality of citizenship ... recognition of human rights and freedoms for all ... freedom of association" and so on.

PFP MPs are also angry at what they see as the gross misrepresentation of the party's goals by the two turncoat MPs, Gastrow (former national chairman and MP for Durban Central) and Cronje (MP for Greytown). The two claim the PFP is "working within the strict confines of parliament and directing its effort almost entirely in terms of style and vocabulary at a very narrow spectrum of the white electorate." This has resulted in the party's being reduced to the level where it "can no longer be seen as a viable political force."

The PFP says Gastrow has effectively admitted his own failure in this regard. As a senior member of the party (and mentioned at one time as a possible future leader) one of his tasks was to build bridges to groups outside parliament. His former colleagues argue that if the party failed to do so — and they dispute this — Gastrow is as much to blame as anyone. Why he believes he can achieve extra-parliamentary penetration in the NDM when, by his own admission, he believes he failed to do so in the PFP, remains unclear, they say.

PFP MPs are also angry that for days, and possibly weeks, before he quit (having obviously already made up his mind to go), Gastrow remained a member of the PFP's highest caucus committees, including a strategy committee considering the extent of the IM's threat to the PFP.

Speculation that a group of "new Nats" may join the NDM has died, and a further crumbling of the left wing of the NP seems unlikely for some time.

According to sources in Cape Town, the willingness of some Nat MPs to join Malan was apparently based on a misunderstanding of precisely which Progs were about to split. Some Nats were under the impression that Prog rightwingers Harry Schwarz and Nic Olivier were the two MPs ready to move. On that basis, the Nats (Sakkie Louw, MP for Algoa, and Andre van der Walt of Bellville have been mentioned) were prepared to form a new movement centred between the PFP and the NP. When it emerged that leftwingers Gastrow and Cronje were the Prog rebels, the Nat dissidents quickly ducked back into the party shell.

Reports or cautious approval of the NDM from extra-parliamentary groupings, including the UDF and the National Union of Mineworkers, must be seen against the background of the new movement's broad ideals (shared, incidentally, by all groups to the left of the NP).

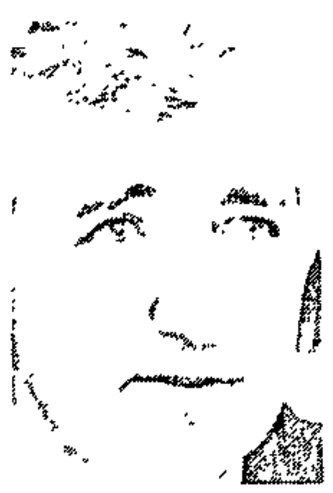
When the NDM's leaders start expounding the nitty-gritty detail of political policy (which they will need to do if they want to win public office with the support of white voters), they will be as exposed to close scrutiny as the parliamentary parties of which they are now so scornful.

And they may just find that support from the UDF, the NUM and the rest may disappear like mist before the rising sun. ■

INDEPENDENTS

# Rocky road ahead

**Has any** South African political organisation had a more ridiculous beginning than Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement (NDM)? Its birth was a tragicomedy of blunders — the movement will now battle to be forceful and relevant in South African politics.



**Malan**

As the *Sunday Times* noted, it must be some kind of record when a new political party splits even before it is formed.

A "divorce" settlement, thrashed out during nearly eight hours of negotiations between lawyers for Malan and the Independent Movement (IM) founder, Denis Worrall, did not resolve the dispute. It merely addressed the technicalities of "who gets what." Although the NDM appears to have carried most former IM supporters, including the bulk of the Stellenbosch academics, Worrall still has considerable backing and a bitter war of attrition is looming.



**Worrall**

How Malan plans to operate remains unclear. He rejects the "rigidity and dogma" of existing political groupings, and obviously wants to avoid nailing his political colours to the mast. Instead, he says, the NDM wants to "bridge and unite the historical and existing divides in our society" through both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary strategies.

He has thus far avoided detailed policy statements which would peg his movement onto the political "linear scale" (which he aims to span from end to end). He obviously hopes to win support for a broad ideal of peace, freedom and democracy (not to mention Mom and apple pie).

Although this approach was successful for



16/10/87 304A FIM

Financial Mail

EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY OPPOSITION

# Fission and frustration

**What do** the following have in common? Take a deep breath. Idasa, UDF, Azapo, Five Freedoms Forum, Detainees' Parents' Support Committee, End Conscription Campaign, Black Sash, AWB, Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging, Inkatha, Inyandza, Unity Movement, TIC, NIC, the Anti-PC Committee, ANC, PAC, SACP, Jews for Social Justice, Jodac, Lawyers for Human Rights, Actstop, Soyco, Labour Monitoring Group, Trac, Tag, Lurk ...

Well, all of them — from umbrella organisations like the UDF, to liberal pressure groups, to sponsors of guerrilla warfare — are "extra-parliamentary," to use a phrase much in vogue. The list, which takes in Left and Right, is endless: now we abruptly have Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement (NDM), another three-letter anti-apartheid group, with one foot in parliament, but seeking to reach out into that ill-defined, but immensely significant mass of the disaffected and unrepresented. And naturally there is still the vast array of black unions, with all their variety and complex affiliations.

One is, really, looking at a rash of organisations born out of historical forces and imperatives. Their ancestry can be traced to such movements as the Congress of the People, and even the Study Project on Christianity in an Apartheid Society (with which Denis Worrall was once associated).

Some began small — the Sash as a purely protest group of women against suppression of university freedom in the Fifties; now active in a wider spectrum of research and monitoring.

Others are far more ambitious — the United Democratic Front was launched to coordinate energies on the Left, specifically to smash the "Koornhof Bills" (on influx control) and the credibility of the tricameral parliament. Both aims were achieved, so now the UDF flounders ideologically, though its guiding light is the Freedom (or, if you are Black Consciousness orientated, the Kliptown) Charter. But it may yet seek to wield power by disrupting parliament through contesting seats in the next general election, whenever that may be.

The AWB, of course, seeks the restoration of the Boer republics. All it shares with others in the list, by way of aims, is huge antipathy to the P W Botha administration. But perhaps that is part of the point. Though the life of the current parliament is effectively limited by electoral volatility (we could see the CP as the next government), as it stands it is a hive of fears and gossip within certain inflexible parameters — parameters set by the horizon of the reformists. For them the geographical and racial bases of apartheid remain sacred, however much they erode.

The organisations, inevitably, have their voice, their press: not just the proliferation — if not commercial success — of the "alternative" (that is, leftwing) media, but of CP and AWB mouthpieces; and even local newspapers that reflect the varied and variable concerns of ethnic communities on issues such as Islamic purity, "overcrowding" in parks (that is, too many blacks), and teaching standards.



Worrall



Eglin



Malan

On the surface, such heterogeneity and fission should make government laugh. It isn't — it fears the Right in the next election, and cracks down stronger by the day on the Left and its media — indeed, the media as a whole. This may simply be a holding operation of a party about to rupture further and make a messy exit from history's stage. Sometimes it seems the NP's sole cohesive factor is the immense personal power, if not prestige, of the State President.

But that hope (or nightmare) will not be fulfilled soon.

This is where the extra-parliamentarians really come in. To *control* all those people and all that energy — what political bliss. When — not just if — the centre (that is, the Nationalists) fails to hold, and the edifice comes tumbling down, the various members of the list want to have in place physical and intellectual structures which can immediately be mobilised to sustain national leadership, Left or Right.

It won't be all that easy: the AWB and the Left cannot, given their current positions, cohabit. They would kill each other first.

That is why what may be called the thinking Left (an academic term, but one which includes Wynand Malan, Denis Worrall, Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Colin Eglin) is so assiduously seeking to cement its constituency. Unfortunately, the four elements represented by those names are — in their turn — hostile towards each other. They had better think matters through.

A coalition is in the nature of things a channelling of different political streams. Without it, the PFP, NDM, Worrallites and Idasa will expend so much time and energy in squabbles that the ultimate winners will not be them, but the NP or its revised version, the CP — or some worse possibility. Coalition means compromise; compromise should be the name of the game, not Waiting for Godot. ■

# Moderate 'collapse'

DURBAN — The "Alliance of Moderates" had collapsed, NRP leader Bill Sutton said yesterday.

He said as a result of the unexpected collapse of the Independent movement, reform-minded people had been disappointed throughout the country.

Sutton said: "SA cannot afford this sort of division. The principles of the Natal Indaba shine like a beacon in the gloom.

"These principles are a solid foundation about which reform-minded opposition to government can coalesce. This opposition includes white, black, coloured and Indian groups."

He said the NRP had called for a coalition across party and colour lines to prove to Afrikaner nationalists, of whatever stripe, that:

☐ The Group Areas Act and the Morganzon concept were a death-trap for whites;

☐ Parliament could be preserved and made legitimate by including blacks;

☐ Participation in joint political action by all groups was the only guarantee for whites that they would be part of the decision-making process in the future.

Sutton said: "The political wind will sift the chaff from the wheat in the new political situation.

"Party members should wait until the dust settles. They must swallow their disappointment and get on with propagating the Indaba message." — Sapa.

# De Beer case: MP refuses to quit seat

**The Argus Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Leon de Beer, the National Party MP for Hillbrow who was arrested on 139 counts of electoral fraud this week, has rejected Progressive Federal Party demands for his resignation.

The Home Affairs Department said today there were no plans to suspend Mr Adriaan Janse van Rensburg, the Government official who appeared in court with Mr de Beer, and his election agent, Mr Chris Snyman.

The three men were not asked to plead and magistrate Mr T F Feldman granted Mr de Beer R2 500 bail, Mr Janse van Rensburg R1 500 and Mr Snyman R500.

Mr Feldman ordered that they should not interfere with State witnesses and should appear in court again on January 29.

PFP city councillor Mr Cecil Bass called for Mr de Beer's resignation because he would be unable to serve the voters of Hillbrow while sorting out allegations of electoral fraud and contraventions of the Electoral Act.

Asked what steps were taken to prevent electoral fraud, a Home Affairs Department spokesman said several controls were written into the Electoral Act of 1979.

Provision was made for candidates to appoint agents to monitor the processes of an election and to be present at the election.

These agents acted as watchdogs for the candidates amd were usually seasoned political officials.

Parties were provided with monthly statements of all revisions to the population register.

One of the most important controls in the Electoral Act was that voters had to identify themselves before they were issued with voting papers.

Various officials also acted under the supervision of candidate's agents.

ARGUS 16/10/87 (304A)

# Nat congress steamrollered into accepting open areas plan

**Political Staff**

AMANZIMTOTI. — A reluctant National Party Natal congress has been virtually steamrollered into accepting Government proposals to allow open areas.

A motion accepting the guidelines was approved "unanimously' with a large proportion of the congress not voting.

But before the motion was put a number of speakers received ovations for questioning the opening of existing group areas.

Mrs I Alva-Wright, a Maritzburg delegate, wanted to know what would happen to a person who lived in a liberal area who did not want the area opened. She claimed that the police, who were already struggling, would be further burdened by open areas.

### VALUE OF PROPERTY

Former United Party MP Mr George Horquebie also queried how an open area would be decided, warning that property could lose value.

At the end of the debate party director of information, Mr Con Botha, tabled a motion asking for approval of the Government guidelines.

When deputy-chairman Mr George Bartlett, Deputy-Minister of Technology, asked who was in favour, many did not raise their hands.

No votes were cast against the motion.

Durban councillor Mr Gys Muller, however, asked how he could vote without studying the position properly.

After he sat down Mr Bartlett again asked if anyone was against the motion, but there was no response.

The Deputy-Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Piet Badenhorst, who handled the debate, said that although people of other races who moved into white group areas were breaking the law, there was little the Government could do.

He said illegal occupants could not be forced out because of a court ruling which said alternative accommodation had to be available.

But a major problem was the shortage of 500 000 houses for blacks and large shortages for coloured and Indians, while in many areas there was a surplus of white housing.

He appealed to local authorities to make more land available for development.

### THE "POISON PEN"

● The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, vowed that the Government was determined to prevent revolutionary propaganda in spite of the criticism for its recent actions against the media.

He told the congress that the revolutionary onslaught against South Africa was a team effort.

The journalist with a poison pen contributed just as much to the revolution as did the man with the gun or the bomb-thrower.

The Government would ensure that propaganda was not disseminated, particularly to impressionable people.

If this was not stopped it did not help to have a defence force and the police stopping terrorists.

Mr Botha was speaking on a resolution of the congress requesting the Government to take firm steps to prevent the Press from publishing subversive and inflammatory articles and propaganda.

He said the Government would not budge from the duty which it saw for itself.

Press freedom was an important tenet of democratic ideology to which the Government subscribed, but this could not be without qualification.

The Government challenged the "all or nothing' approach to the issue.

There was a distinct difference between the commercial Press and the propaganda newsletters which appeared as subversive front material often financed by liberals far from South Africa, he said.

# Teargas breaks up rightwing protest

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Police used teargas against a group of white rightwingers, including supporters of the Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (BBB), who were marching through Mayfair, Johannesburg, to a meeting to protest against blacks moving into the suburb.

Three men were arrested and at least two BBB posters were confiscated.

About 30 people gathered in Grosvenor Park in Fourth Avenue about 6.30pm yesterday to hold an open-air meeting. Before the meeting began a reporter saw two white men attacking a black man sitting alone on a park bench a few metres away.

Mr Leon Strydom, national organiser of the BBB, told newsmen that the organisation's members were "discriminating racists" and would "throw the Indians out of Mayfair".

Major Sam Kruger, station commander of the Brixton police, arrived and warned that the gathering was illegal.

Major Kruger repeatedly warned the crowd that if they "did not play the game" he would take strong action against them.

In Railway Street, Major Kruger gave the group three minutes to disperse. He told residents in the street to close their windows as teargas was to be used.

About 80 people then gathered in a school hall where speakers attacked the Government for not moving black people out of the suburb.

Police said that no-one was injured during the incidents. When about 30 of the demonstrators refused to disperse, police used a teargas canister on them. Three men, aged 40, 30 and 29, were arrested.

Cape Times 11/5/87

*"The opponents of the National Party, to its Left and to its Right, were for the first time eliminated as factors of any real significance in the politics of Natal."* — **Mr Stoffel Botha, Natal NP leader, on the May elections.**

# Two issues dominated Nats' Natal congress

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

TWO intricately related issues dominated the National Party's Natal provincial congress which played itself out in Amanzimtoti this week.

First, the Government's decisive electoral breakthrough in Natal — the last outpost of opposition control — after decades of stubborn resistance.

Second, the obsession with "security" among the increasingly diverse white groupings seeking shelter under the Nationalists' protective wing.

The collapse of white opposition in Natal on May 6 and the subsequent fragmentation of anti-Nat forces served as a handy and effective rallying cry by the party hierarchy at what was dubbed the "victory congress".

Speakers freely acknowledged that Natal has been a hard nut to crack for the Nationalists, who 22 years after sweeping to power in the 1948 general election had only managed to capture three of the 20 seats in the province.

This number jumped to 10 in 1970 and then to 14 in May this year. Since then, in-fighting on the Left has further weakened and divided the opposition. The seats score-card in Natal now looks like this: NP 14, PFP three, National Democratic Movement two, and NRP one.

After years of holding out as being the only province not dominated by the NP, the May elections saw more whites voting for the NP than all the other parties combined.

With the number of people backing the Government almost doubling since 1977, the NP managed to garner roughly 119 000 votes, the PFP 67 000, the NRP 23 000, the CP 21 000, the HNP 5 000, and independents 2 500.

With the 208 delegates basking in the victory which brought Natal into line with the other provinces, it was understandable that President Botha should want to make an unscheduled stop-over at the congress to share in the glory and listen to the 13 motions heaping praise on him for the "overwhelming victory" on May 6 and his "strong leadership".

The "small manoeuverings" and "party pettiness" had grown to such proportions among his opponents that "they are calling each other names that they never even used against me," Mr Botha said to the huge amusement of the party faithful.

But Mr Botha then went on to tell nodding delegates that the division and confusion reigning among his white political opponents was proof that serious business of running a country and ensuring security could only be entrusted to his party.

The NP's Natal leader, Mr Stoffel Botha, also made extensive use of the tactic of poking fun at squabbling opposition factions for the more serious political purpose of dismissing the policy positions adopted by the government's opponents.

There appeared to be a keen appreciation at the congress that the NP's election victory represented not just a leap in numerical support, but an actual qualitative shift in the party's support base.

Mr Stoffel Botha made special mention of the English-speakers in his welcoming message: "With the valued support of our English-speaking fellow Nationalists, we have now rid ourselves of the politically debilitating divisions which hampered us..."

And in an unprecedented development at a NP congress, the chairman at one point appealed to delegates to debate in English when dealing with the Natal Indaba issue because of its special importance.

A good index of the shifting political and cultural base of the NP were the large number of former enemies of the party at the 'Toti Civic Centre.

Indeed, there were so many "Ou Sappe" at the congress that one could legitimately be asked whether they had taken over the NP or the other way round.

Given the increasingly diverse membership of the party, the leadership worked hard at trying to promote an image of middle-of-the-road respectability for the party, free of the racist overtones that served as its hallmark for so long.

So Mr Botha, with a straight face, told delegates that "South Africa does not need the emotive, excessive, often-hurtful and racist style of the AWB" — as if these were anathema to the NP.

President Botha and his ministers reassured delegates that they had no intention of rushing into an era of rapid change. Like Frank Sinatra, they would do things their way — and in their own good time.

Reform, in any case, was only priority No 3, Mr P W Botha pointed out. Security was top of the list, followed by economic development.

These sentiments, unsurprisingly, were warmly endorsed by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

For his part, Mr Stoffel Botha attempted to counter the impatience of some for what he called "the quick fix simplistic approach to constitutional development" by quoting Anglo American's Mr Bobbby Godsell:

"Strategies for change in South Africa need to be framed in terms of years, perhaps even decades. Undoubtedly this is difficult and frustrating, but it is necessary if the change desired is to be both and improvement on the present and enduring over time."

The security issue cropped up in areas as diverse as vagrancy, attacks on the elderly, communication between farmers near the border, Group Areas, foreign funding, negotiation with "radical" groups, unions, the press and many others.

The public should brace itself for large doses of "balanced orderliness" (BO) — the latest government buzzword to explain what is going on on the reform front.

A 1989 election could send BO levels rocketing, especially in the populous Transvaal where the NP's chances of holding a "victory congress" after the next poll is a matter of growing uncertainty.

# Group Areas and neo-Nazis are serious threat to peace up North

Cape Times 17/10/87



**Political Survey**
**By GERALD SHAW**

THE latest turn of events in the North is disquieting, with a new kind of inter-racial violence threatening in and around public recreation areas and the neo-Nazi right emerging as a serious threat to the peace.

The new violence is directly linked to the Government's failure to act decisively on group areas, which threatens to promote defiance of the Group Areas Act, on the one hand, and racist agitation at the local level, on the other hand, promising to reach a crescendo as the nationwide municipal elections are held next year.

**The attempt to reform the group area system by stages rather than scrap the Act outright is creating a situation ripe for exploitation by radical left and radical right alike.**

By proposing machinery to enable any racist zealot to create a hoo-ha about group areas at the local level, as is already happening in mixed areas such as Mayfair, Johannesburg, the Botha government has set back reform by a decade.

The politicization of municipal elections is now inevitable, providing a marvellous platform for right-wing racist agitation and freezing a process of residential integration which was taking place naturally and, for the most part, remarkably peacefully.

The group area system, with its mass removals, as in District Six, and associated horrors, provides a pretty typical example of the grandiose social engineering which loses sight of the individual and brings with it great suffering and disruption.

There is no way such a system can be reformed effectively but by outright abolition, even if this is painful to some vested interests who have gained as a result of its application Any change in the economic environment harms some vested interest, anyway, and those affected have little choice but to adjust.

**As the Botha administration is not prepared to abolish the Group Areas Act, it might even have been better to continue as in the last few years with law enforcement officers turning a blind eye to developments as in Hillbrow where natural market forces are steadily breaking down the racial barriers. But such a ploy would undermine respect for law and is likewise unacceptable in principle.**

Naturally there are difficulties and problem areas in such a process. But it is better to rely on market forces to counteract the distortions of racist social engineering than to erect a huge new bureaucratic system to monitor and restrict the unravelling of barriers. At the highest level of the residential property market, where people occupy huge properties and command large incomes, there are no real difficulties about the scrapping of racial zoning laws

But problems may well arise in the rather more densely occupied residential areas, like the done-up Chelsea-type developments which grew out of the humble cottage homes vacated by group areas victims in the Southern Suburbs of the Cape Peninsula, for example.

If anyone is proposing to re-open such areas, it will not be difficult for racist zealots to whip up the fears of the present (white) occupants that their property values will revert to their original levels if there is no longer a racial barrier on occupation.

Who knows what would happen in the property market if racial zoning went by the board? The volume of business done would increase greatly, no doubt, as there would be thousands of well-heeled buyers newly in the market who had previously had little scope in home-buying, having been racially disqualified from going into "white" areas where a much greater choice is available.

The trend would probably vary from area to area. But given the uncertainties, are they not preferable to what seems inevitable now, as the whole group areas issue is politicized at the white local level and effective reform becomes virtually impossible.

Once again the Nationalist government has opted against freedom and a free market in favour of central control.

Surely the best answer is to leave people to get on with it, throwing off the shackles of a restrictive and insulting system, but applying the ordinary law of the land very strictly indeed again street hooliganism — whether practised by the radical left or the radical right.

In the north, the police are going to have their work cut out in keeping the peace between frustrated and embittered township youths, and occasionally murderous thugs, rowdily asserting themselves in public recreation areas ... and the Nazi-style armed bands of white hooligans which are now also making their appearance on the streets looking to mix it with the aforesaid young blacks.



**SALUTE TO THE PAST:** A South African Nazi sympathiser gives the salute at a recent memorial service in Pretoria to honour Rudolph Hess.

**Is it fair to the police that they should have to face the consequences of political blundering?**

It is not only that great opportunity has been lost in hanging on to the Group Areas Act The reformist process has actually been set back because the old blind-eye policy has given way to furious assertions from on high that the law will be enforced to the letter

It must be concluded that the far-right has got President Botha on the run and, as he gives way to pressure rather than provide inspiring leadership in the other direction, the rightward trend in the white electorate will grow apace.

It is as well to know the worst — so that political energies may be applied where they can do most good. The failure of the so-called independents to get their act together may not be altogether a bad thing if it prevents unrealistic hopes of imminent change from gaining hold.

The May whites-only election dampened such hopes and now the failure of the independent movement to get off the ground has clinched the matter.

Until there is a new constitution which makes government really accountable to the entire electorate — and not just to the whites — there is scant prospect of improvement.

**The strongest possible representation in parliament of reform-minded democrats should be sought, of course, but no one should imagine that the Nats or the far-right can be beaten as the constitution now stands.**

So the role of those who want to work as peacemakers outside Parliament is just as relevant as parliamentary politics.

In seeking to combine the two, Mr Wynand Malan may be on the best track, notwithstanding the floundering of the independents in recent days.



The PFP's Mr HARRY SCHWARZ
... personality clash with Dakarites



Planning Minister CHRIS HEUNIS
... within an ace of losing Helderberg



The NDM's Mr WYNAND MALAN
... hard to tell between him and PFP



State President Mr P W BOTHA
... no major policy shift when he goes



The Independents' Dr DENIS WORRALL
... gunning at the NP leadership

# IM, PFP, NDM — now who is who?

**"The Scots (originally Irish, but by now Scotch) were at this time inha biting Ireland, having driven the Irish (Picts) out of Scotland; while the Picts (originally Scots) were now Irish (living in brackets) and verce v isa. It is essential to keep these distinctions in mind (and visa verce)."**

By PATRICK CULL
Political Correspondent

THE authors of that definitive history *1066 and All That*, W C Sellar and R J Yeatman, penned this description of the situation in the Middle Ages — but it is equally apt as far as what is happening in parliamentary circles to the left of the National Party at present.

Currently, there are four groups to the left of the NP which are committed to winning seats in Parliament.

Probably closest to the NP is the Independent Movement, now led solely by Dr Denis Worrall, former South African Ambassador to Britain who returned earlier this year to launch the IM and come within 39 votes of winning Helderberg from Mr Chris Heunis.

A key line in Worrall's approach is that it is not the NP that must be viewed as the enemy but its current leadership.

He sees the IM as a broad-based movement — there are plans to form a party in the first quarter of next year — drawing its support from both English and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans.

And, as Worrall points out, this was proved in Helderberg and Randburg in the May 6 general election.

More important, however, is that the IM aims to draw away NP support, and Worrall contends that this is just what happened on May 6 in the three constituencies contested by the Independents.

At the same time the IM is committed to talks with credible black leaders in order to hammer out a new constitutional dispensation for South Africa, but does not include the ANC for as long as this organisation continues to espouse violence.

Closest to the IM is what remains of the New Republic Party.

Badly mauled along with the PFP in the general election, it now has just one MP in Mr Ralph Hardingham (Mooi River) and in many ways seems more involved with finding a suitable partner for the nuptial couch than selling a political philosophy.

Worrall and the IM are hard at work in Natal and a union between the two seems fairly likely, particularly as the NRP has neither the financial nor the human resources to go into another election.

Philosophically, it is hard to distinguish between the PFP and Mr Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement which clawed its way unceremoniously into the political world last week.

Both groups want the NP removed from power — not merely the leadership.

(It is not that easy to understand just how Worrall distinguishes between the two and there is scant indication that there will be any dramatic shift in policy should State President Mr P W Botha retire.)

The NDM criticises the PFP on the grounds of style, stating that it is now far more committed and addresses itself increasingly to whites.

In addition the NDM would see itself as having a stronger image on law and order and defence.

As a result, the NDM will not become a party and will try and win seats in Parliament while at the same time forging links with extra-Parliamentary groups such as the UDF, which has already given a cautious nod to its existence.

Just how this differs from PFP policy is anyone's guess.

The PFP is committed to winning seats in Parliament because it is at the seat of power that it believes change must come about, while at the same time through organisations within its ranks such as Operation Real South Africa (Orsa) not only maintaining links with those outside Parliament but also acting as a watchdog for the disenfranchised.

And, while it is accepted that in the eyes of many white South Africans that PFP policy on law and order and defence is weak, with three "Dakarites" in their ranks, does the NDM hoped to be viewed differently?

Rather, one is left with the overriding impression that what really lay behind the latest split in PFP ranks was a clash of personalities, much of it centring around the MP for Yeoville, Mr Harry Schwarz.

Given the possibility of an election in 1989, none of the present three NDM MPs can have any real chance of being returned if the vote is split by the presence of another "anti-apartheid" candidate.

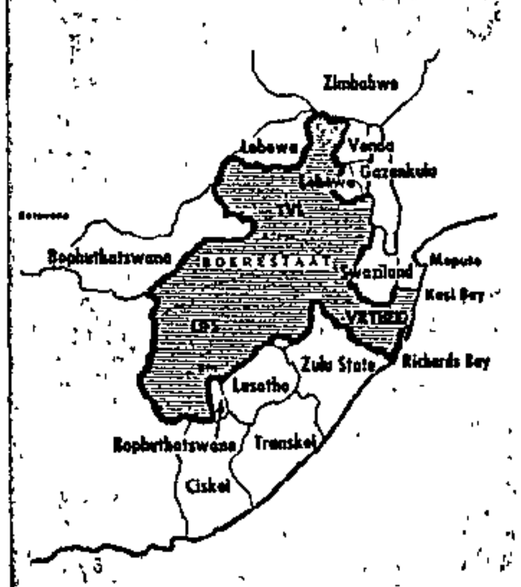
And, if they insist on contesting seats currently held by the PFP, the sole winner will be the National Party.

Ultimately, if he can extricate himself from that awful debacle when he and the other Independents parted company last week, the man who could gain is Dr Worrall.

He certainly must be the most attractive proposition for those members of the NP caucus who wish to leave.

Robert van Tonder spells out his plans for Afrikaners of the far right

# 'Boers' to ask UN's help




BOERESTAAT: Borders of a dream.



BOER CHAMPION: Mr Robert van Tonder

MARTIN CHALLENOR

An organisation demanding that the borders of South Africa be redrawn to allow for a separate Boer state has petitioned the United Nations for support.

About a million people and all major Afrikaans organisations supported the idea of an independent Boer state, the leader of the movement, Mr Robert van Tonder said yesterday.

The Boerestaat organisation wants to argue their case before the Security Council of the UN, or the General Assembly, or a committee.

A representative handed the petition for the restoration of land "forcibly subjugated by Britain in 1902" to Secretary General Dr Peres De Quellar in New York yesterday.

The organisation is also anticipating arguing its case before the World Court.

Mr van Tonder said the Boer nation was slowly dying in South Africa in the climate of "South Aricanism" and in the face of cultural and business domination by Britain and America. The present political structure in South Africa could simply not work, Mr van Tonder said, and could only result in discrimination and domination.

Boers — meaning the descendants of people who trekked from the Cape Colony — had the right to exist as a separate nation joined by their language, culture, traditions and history, Mr van Tonder said.

Sharing the platform with him at an international press launch yesterday were Mr Faan Venter, a Johnnesburg businessman; Mrs Martie Hertzog, widow of former HNP leader Dr Albert Hertzog; Mr Koos Truter, who has been rallying English-speaking conservatives, and Mr Ben Steenkamp, an East Rand banker.

Their Boer state would stretch from the Natal coast north of Richards Bay to the western Free State, and include most of the Transvaal. This was British territory until the Boers were beaten by the British in 1902.

"We are claiming only what is ours, nothing more and nothing less," he said.

The tendency in the world today was towards recognising separate national entities, Mr van Tonder said, but State President Mr P W Botha had closed the door to the idea in South Africa.

## Durban lifts water curbs

DURBAN — All water restrictions imposed in Durban after the recent floods that damaged all the water aqueducts leading to the city's reservoirs have been lifted.

The assistant city engineer for water affairs, Mr Neil Macleod, said yesterday this would apply with immediate effect as all the reservoirs were now full.

## Rescuers get close to girl in well

# She calls out to her Mommy — and sings of Winnie the Pooh

MIDLAND (Texas) — Rescue was near for 18-month-old Jessica McClure, trapped for two days in a well shaft, police said yesterday. And an engineer who poked his head through a hole in the shaft said she looked OK.

"We expect to bring her out any time now," said police Sergeant Jeff Haile. "Making sure we get her out safely is our main concern." But he wouldn't estimate when the child would be brought up.

Earlier rescuers had enlarged a hole in the shaft so an engineer could stick his head in and get a glimpse of Jessica.

"She was able to move and she looked like she's OK," Police Chief Richard Czech said of tiny Jessica, who has been stuck 6,7 m underground in the well.

Workers inserted two industrial balloons below Jessica to keep her from slipping farther down the well. A metal rod inserted across the shaft earlier remains in place, officials said.

Workers, boring through rock so hard that it dulled diamond-tipped drills, have about 17 to 20 cm to chip through as they try to cut a 50 cm diameter hole to remove the frightened child.

Haile said the child had been crying for her mother, and is no longer singing nursery rhymes as she was on Thursday.

Breaching the shaft yesterday was a great morale booster for the workers who had been trying to reach Jessica for nearly two days, said another policeman.

"Every man who goes down in there now knows that we're just a short time away."

Workers in the 50 cm-wide tunnel used hand-held 13,5 kg jackhammers to drill upwards at a 45-degree angle toward the girl. The breakthrough came under floodlights, amid the din of drills and generators.

Reba McClure, the girl's 17-year-old mother, periodically yelled down to her daughter, drawing cries of "Mommy". Between naps, the child also hummed and sang verses from "Winnie the Pooh".

Fire Chief James Roberts said doctors assured him that a toddler in Jessica's condition could survive easily up to four days without serious dehydration or other ill effects.

The girl's 18-year-old father, Chip McClure said: "With the Lord's help and your prayers, we know that little girl is going to make it."

The child fell into the narrow well on Wednesday morning as she played behind a home that her mother and aunt use as a day care centre.

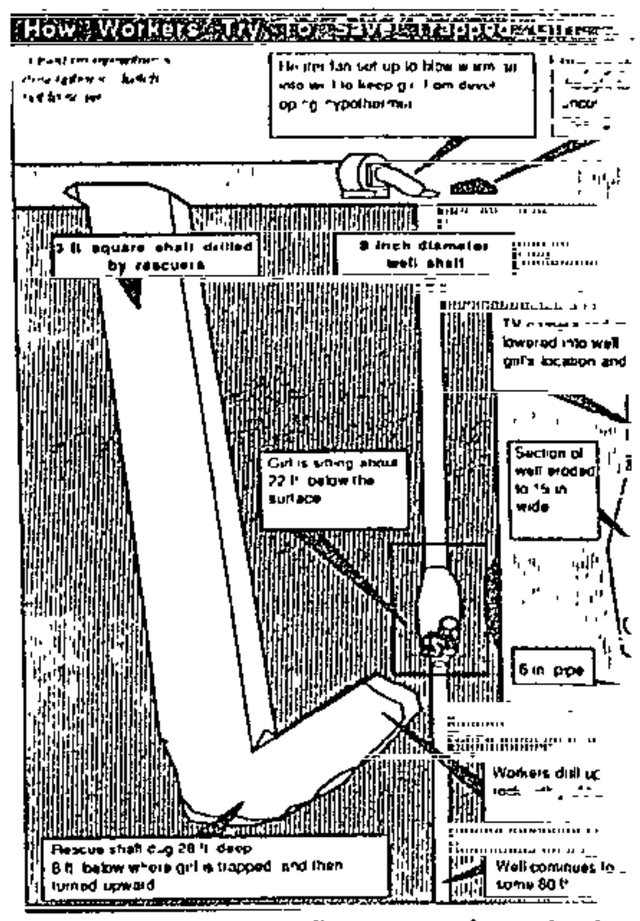
The 20-cm opening had been covered with a rock or flower pot, said Haile. The well widens underground and then narrows to 15,25 cm where Jessica landed.

Oxygen was pumped to the girl and rescuers working under floodlights used hot-air blowers to keep the girl warm.

No food or drink was lowered to her because of fear that trying to collect it might cause her to slip farther into the well, said Dr Chip Klunick, an emergency physician at the scene. — Sapa-AP.



LOOKING FOR HELP: Reba Gayle mother of 18-month-old




24-HOURS: Graphic illustrates where Jessica in the abandoned well in Midland, T...

# Two Worrall groups switch over to NDM

**Political Correspondent**

THE Independent Movement's (IM) continuation committees in Durbanville and De Kuilen have decided to switch their allegiance to Mr Wynand Malan's rival National Democratic Movement (NDM).

The step was taken because the committees believed that "the formation of a movement aimed mainly at one group — as envisaged by the IM — does not ally with the goal of establishing a non-racial democracy in an undivided South Africa".

The two IM committees had accordingly decided to link up with the NDM, which aims to be active over the entire political spectrum both inside and outside Parliament, according to a statement issued last night.

The decision was taken after members of the committees attended meetings by both Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Malan.

The statement said that both the IM and the NDM acknowledged that all separate structures should be removed, that democracy should be restored in an undivided South Africa and that a new dispensation should emerge from a process of negotiation.

However, the understanding of the committees was that the IM wished to operate chiefly in the white political terrain in the House of Assembly.

Cape Times

17/10/87

# Nats suspend Hillbrow MP

30CA

JOHANNESBURG. — The National Party executive committee and the NP management of the Hillbrow constituency yesterday suspended the membership of Mr Leon de Beer and Mr C P Snyman "with immediate effect".

Mr De Beer, who is MP for Hillbrow, took the constituency from sitting Progressive Federal Party MP Mr Alf Widman in the May election with a majority of less than 90 votes.

He and his helper, Mr Snyman, and another man, appeared in a Johannesburg Regional Court on Wednesday in connection with allegations of electoral fraud.

At the NP's headquarters yesterday the party executive and Hillbrow constituency management announced that the two men had been suspended pending the results of investigations against them.

Mr Snyman is not an office-bearer of the party.

A statement issued to reporters said: "At conclusion of the trial following the investigation of the charges against them and on investigation, which the executive committee will conduct personally, a decision regarding their membership will be reached.

"The effect of this decision will be that the participation of Mr De Beer and Mr Snyman in NP activities such as the congress, head council, the regional committee etc will be suspended pending the outcome of such investigation.

"The NP wishes that the due process of law takes it course before any decision is reached.

"The suspension which has been imposed is a temporary measure in order to make this possible, but at the same time the NP wishes to emphasize that at all times the provisions of the law must be strictly adhered to."

Mr De Beer and Mr Snyman were not available for comment. — Sapa

## FLEUR DE VILLIERS
### View from London



ONCE upon a time there was a political movement (party is too strong a word) with an identity crisis.

It knew what it was not — it wasn't any of the other parties — but it was not terribly certain what it was.

And so it compromised and made a virtue of its duality. Where other parties had one leader, it had two. But its confusion remained, for the two could not agree on which of the other parties they were most against.

But they hid their differences and smiled for the cameras and they fought first one party and then the other.

Which was a pity, because if they had decided on their prime target they would not have won this time around, but they most certainly would have changed, perhaps forever and certainly for good, the pattern of politics in the country.

Instead, today, rather than dividing their enemies, they are dividing themselves.

Dark deeds have been done, bitter words exchanged and the leader who obviously wants to be master in his own opposition house has turned on the other (who would prefer one day to lead a government) and hijacked the party from beneath his feet.

And so where there was once one party (or rather one movement) today there are two. And the sterile politics which haunt the country and hobble its political thought, seem certain to continue into the next decade.

It is an unpleasant story of gross betrayal and petty ambition. But this, after all, is politics, where such things are not to be wondered at and where careful strategic planning, the keeping of promises and the sinking of personal differences for the common weal are frequently invoked but seldom practised.

But what is the significance of this sorry tale?

After the break-up of the Alliance, the triumph of David Steel's ambition and the potential loss of David Owen's talents, South Africans can sympathise with, but not share, the anger and sense of betrayal of SDP supporters who have seen their hopes thwarted and their party destroyed by people who would rather change the opposition than change the country.

□□□

Following the ludicrous events in South Africa of the last few days, however, their sympathy should have a somewhat keener edge.

Political farce is not peculiar to the British. And even if the two events are not precisely analogous, they are close enough to have been scripted by the same hand.

It was obvious from the start to everyone except David Steel and his Simon Pure and sandalled followers that the Alliance's only hope of changing British politics was to knock a weak and politically *passe* Labour Party out of contention and thus position itself as the main opposition party and the real threat to the Tories in 1992.

In South Africa, however, Afrikaner academics, businessmen, yuppies, students and housewives did not flock to the Independents' banner because they believed they would destroy the PFP, or (forsooth) because they were seeking alliances with the extra-parliamentary forces, but because they believed (nay, they were promised) that they would challenge the Government.

Mr Malan can correct me if I am wrong, but it was this promise — real or implied — which surely persuaded Colin Eglin to risk the wrath of his party and give Mr Malan a free ride in Randburg.

As Wynand, far from wooing a single dissident Nat to his cause, scoops up a few dissident Progs instead and, woolly-minded head held high, rides nobly into the extra-parliamentary wilderness in the tracks of Van Zyl Slabbert, Mr Eglin must be ruminating on that old South African expression: stank vir dank.

But Colin is an old enough hand not to be brought low by ingratitude and betrayal. He has been there before and he will doubtless once again pick up himself and his leaner, but arguably fitter, party and soldier on.

It is, however, doubtful whether the Stellenbosch academics who bravely parted with the Establishment, the businessmen who parted with hard cash or the voters who parted with their votes all because they believed Mr Malan and Dr Lategan meant something they obviously didn't, will (or should) be so forgiving.

Mr Malan, of course, will take some comfort in the fact that Mr Ramaphosa thinks he is doing the right thing.

But Mr Ramaphosa, unfortunately, won't have the vote in any meaningful way while the Government remains in power and is committed to policies supported by a majority of those who do have the vote.

It should not need repeating: South Africa is in trouble not because of bad opposition but because of bad government. Ergo, the real task of non-Nationalist politicians is not to silence the liberal opposition, but to change an illiberal Government.

It can do so either by splitting the National Party or by frightening it enough to change its ways. The Stellenbosch academics frightened the government. Dr Denis Worrall frightened the government. In his new guise and with his new allies, Mr Malan is about as frightening as a dassie.

But if Mr Malan and Co have welched on the voters, the job they were asked to do remains: the creation of a movement between the PFP and government which will attract known dissidents within Nationalist ranks and, together in a broad Opposition church with the PFP, prod, goad, challenge and frighten the Government into negotiating a policy in which Mr Malan's extra-parliamentary friends and admirers can represent themselves.

That is going to be a lot tougher — and a lot less silly than trying to kick Dr Worrall into political oblivion (although that will probably prove as difficult as David Steel's efforts to remove the equally redoubtable David Owen).

And perhaps Dr Worrall, himself, is the man to do it. As Dr Owen observed in that other political farce, someone has to live up to his promises.

**The real task of non-Nationalist politicians is not to silence the liberal opposition, but to change an illiberal Government**

# WHITHER REFORM POLITICS?

**THE reform alliance which entered the May elections with such high hopes is all but washed up. Three members of the Progressive Federal Party have deserted to Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement, while Malan and former comrade-at-arms Denis Worrall are at each other's throats. The Sunday Times asked the three main players in last week's drama to answer one simple question . . .**



## Time of decision for SA

**By DENIS WORRALL**

ECONOMICALLY and socially, South Africa is somewhere between apartheid and the end of apartheid.

But the tragedy of our politics is that we do not have a credible alternative to a bad Government lacking in creative leadership, vision and credibility.

Therefore the most important task facing opposition politicians is to get the negotiation process going; to give a sense of hope to both black and white South Africans.

This I believe can partly be done by spelling out the major constitutional choices before South Africa and so raising the level of debate, creating a neutral starting point for negotiation, and allaying the understandable and real anxieties which many whites have.

The second task is to support the KwaNatal Indaba. This is the most important political initiative going.

It is an "area of moderation", and as a process and a product it sets an example for the best for the country. I believe it will work.

Also important is that the opposition should resist the growth in South Africa of a third world political culture.

The Government's attitude toward the media, state security, universities and toward the international community reeks of the authoritarianism which characterises so many third world political systems.

In this regard, the PFP commands respect and Colin Eglin knows that if the Independent Movement does continue it would not consciously be at the cost of his party.

The Independent Movement which emerged from the election could have provided an alternative to the Government. It was positioned to do so. It was filling a clear gap in the political spectrum.

It is now history that in the May election Esther Lategan, Wynand Malan and I won Afrikaans-speaking and traditional National Party support for nothing less than a commitment to end apartheid, start open-ended negotiations involving all South Africans, and build a nonracial future.

After the events of the last 10 days I am exactly where I was in the election.

Although they no doubt continue to be politically relevant, and I wish them well, Lategan and Malan have positioned themselves elsewhere.

I suspect they have lost their Afrikaner support. How they distinguish themselves from Idasa remains to be seen, and my guess is that when they do engage in parliamentary politics it will be in competition with the PFP.

The gap which the Independent candidates saw in the election, and which the Independent Movement was intended to fill, remains.

There is nobody else who can act as a genuine catalyst on the National Party or provide a home for defecting Nationalists.

But this, obviously, will need lots of moral support and money and more time and energy than one person has to give.



## Politics of the long haul

**By COLIN EGLIN**

HOW the Nats must be laughing!

The concept of an Independent Movement attracting verligte Nationalists into a resurgent opposition force has been shattered — not by the Nationalists, but by the impulsive and inept manoeuvring of the leaders of the movement themselves.

Added to this, the deceitful manner in which the three PFP members defected to the National Democratic Movement is likely to sour inter-opposition relationships for some time to come.

So much for the immediate past. What of the future?

Can anything be salvaged from the wreck of a strategy that, until recently, held so much potential?

I believe it can.

But not if people in opposition play to hidden agendas, or engage in grandstanding or one-upmanship, or look for quick fixes, or elevate their own pet strategies to matters of principle

Like it or not, we in South Africa are in the politics of the long haul.

And that long haul will be even longer unless South Africans who share the same basic philosophy and who have the same general vision of a nonracial and truly democratic South Africa of the future are prepared to try to fashion strategies that can reinforce rather than undercut one another.

The PFP is prepared to do this.

The PFP is committed to cooperation with others — whether inside or outside Parliament — who share its philosophy, its vision and its commitment to non-violent change.

In addition, the PFP is committed to engage and interact with others in order to reduce the level of violence and raise the prospect of negotiation.

But one thing the PFP is not prepared to do:

It is not prepared to compromise on the basic values and principles on which it was founded.

This is not because the PFP is being precocious. It is because, while recognising that others may differ, the PFP believes that these democratic liberal values and principles provide our country with the best basis for peace and the best opportunity for fulfilling the aspirations of our people.

In its recent mission statement the PFP spelled out its vision for the future. It spelled out its mission, its tactical objectives, its role, both inside and outside Parliament. It spelled out its commitment to negotiation as the essential process for resolving conflict in our country.

The PFP's mission statement is more than a party political document. It provides a framework for action and a basis for co-operation between those South Africans who are committed to working for a South Africa where government and society renounce apartheid and respect the fundamental human rights and the dignity of the citizens of our country.

The PFP has never shirked its responsibility in the long haul of the past years. It will not shirk its responsibility in the long haul of the future.

It will be tragedy for all South Africans if the Nats continue to laugh — while our beloved country continues to cry.



## How we see the rules

**By WYNAND MALAN**

THERE are certain rules to be followed for reform politics to qualify as such, although we prefer the concept of process politics or negotiation politics.

The rules are:

● Politics must be inclusive of all South Africa. All the participants of the future South Africa must be involved right from the beginning.

If the objective is to bridge and unite parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics, the organisations on the two sides of the divide should become involved in each other's politics in terms of strategies decided by themselves.

● The process must be organic, not prescriptive or regulated by the Government, or any other political grouping. There should not even be a forum. It should start with talks among the various political groupings.

● People in political organisations and not the Government should be the negotiators. The Government's role should only be to give effect to accords as they develop, as they are reached.

● Constitutional models should not be the focus, but the needs of the various political groupings. These needs include those for security in a physical sense, a better and more equitable sharing in material wellbeing, the desire to continue to be an Afrikaner or a Zulu, a Christian or a Muslim, or whatever else.

● Not only the common values such as one country, one nation and one patriotism should be developed, but also the simultaneous conciliation of different needs and values.

● The Government, to really stimulate the process, and having dropped their approach to formal structures put up by themselves, should adopt integrative strategies concerning security and the negotiation process.

The state of emergency should be lifted. Political leaders in prison or detained should be released. Political organisations should be unbanned and people allowed without restriction to organise politically.

The special powers available to the Government should be put under the control of the courts and annually reviewed by Parliament.

The Government should act against violence. All security action should aim at assisting the politics of negotiation and further the aim of achieving the overriding goal of one nation with one patriotism.

The NDM will continue to involve itself in politics over the whole political spectrum. We will target, on the one side, organisations to move them away from dogma, away from rigidity and towards flexibility in their approaches representing the need of their supporters, as opposed to campaigning for a one-sided constitutional "solution".

The NDM will further target individuals, developing its own power base to compete in and fight elections.

# I am not a Nationalist at heart: Hillbrow MP



Leon de Beer . . . would have gone to Dakar

**MR LEON de Beer, the MP for Hillbrow who has been suspended by the National Party pending the outcome of a fraud case, now claims he was "never a Nat at heart".**

**He says he would have loved to have gone on the controversial Dakar mission to meet the ANC.**

"At the University of the Free State I was campus organiser for the Progs," Mr de Beer said yesterday. "I was one of the left-wingers on the SRC.

"I stood in the election on a Nat ticket because, at that stage, the party was still committed to sharing power with blacks and I was optimistic over the changes that were being implemented.

"But over the last few months I have become disillusioned because I am still committed to the full sharing of power."

**By DE WET POTGIETER**

The former policeman admitted his leftwing views and his love of "quoting radical sayings of Nelson Mandela" might have led to his transfer from the Security Police branch at John Vorster Square to a clerical post at the Parkview police station.

Until he left the police force before the general election this year, Constable de Beer, who holds an honours degree in political science, was a clerk whose job it was to prepare exhibits for court cases.

Two of his campaign organisers, former Selous Scouts from Zimbabwe, have disappeared since the police began their investigations into allegations of electoral fraud.

"Hillbrow is a controversial place and now it has a controversial MP," said Mr de Beer.

"We are taking the lead here in Hillbrow and we are now in the position the rest of South Africa will only be in 10 years' time."

Mr de Beer says he is pleased he is no longer obliged to toe the official party line.

"We are unique in Hillbrow, so we have to find unique solutions to our situation."

He added: "I would've loved to have gone to Dakar with my fellow South Africans to meet with the ANC."

Mr de Beer's trial is scheduled for January 29.

# PFP begins 'long haul'

By BRIAN POTTINGER

A BATTERED PFP yesterday began further steps in what party leader Colin Eglin called "the politics of the long haul" with a sometimes fractious Transvaal Provincial Congress — the first of four such congresses.

Security, economic policy and relations with extra-parliamentary groups dominated the discussion and led to sharply differing opinions.

The congress examined the party's attitude to the security forces on the one hand, and extra-parliamentary groups on the other.

An early focus for the debate was a controversial motion that called on the congress to condemn certain economic clauses in the Freedom Charter — founding document of the ANC and UDF.

Central to the debate was the Charter's proposal that industries be nationalised and land redistributed.

The motion was opposed by Mr Roger Hulley, MP for Constantia, and Helen Suzman, of Houghton.

They warned that the Freedom Charter had a powerful political significance for extra-parliamentary groups.

The PFP's chief parliamentary spokesman on finance, Mr Harry Schwarz, challenged the congress on its response to the resolution, asking if it would have been as hesitant to condemn economic aspects of AWB or CP policy.

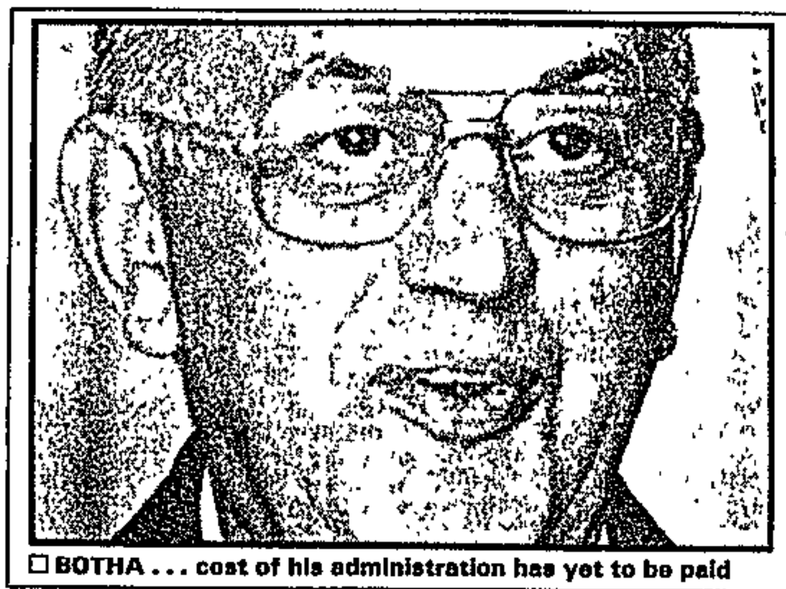
A compromise resolution was accepted which made no reference to the Freedom Charter, but reaffirmed the party's confidence in its declared policy of "economic democracy".

Mr Colin Eglin told the congress in his opening speech that the PFP remained vigorous, aggressive and principled.

"Our role is more important than ever before ... not just because of the confusion created by the Independents and the defectors from the PFP, but because of the chronic inability of the Nationalist Government to solve any of the key problems facing this country."

Mr Brian Goodall, former PFP MP for Edenvale, urged the party to adopt a security position which accepted that the party should try to win over those in the ANC prepared to negotiate but also accepted that those committed to violent change should be opposed and destroyed.

30th Sunday 19/10/87



☐ BOTHA . . . cost of his administration has yet to be paid

# From PW's Winter Palace, the view is still serene

KEN OWEN

PRESIDENT BOTHA presides over the worst administration this country has known since Paul Kruger's officials spent their time devising ways for an honest official to get a slice of every passing *konsessie*.

Businessmen are saying quite openly that they no longer fear revolution; they fear that economic mismanagement will make revolution unnecessary.

Their concerns are understandable. Just drive to Irene and look at the severe austerity — the poignant starkness — in which Jan Smuts lived. Compare that with President Botha's Winter Palace in Cape Town — behind security as tight as the Kremlin's, it combines the opulence of Versailles with the taste of any neo-classical facade on any stately home in South Carolina.

The Summer Palace in Pretoria is more elegant, dating from a time when South African governments were less ostentatiously consumptive — if that's not an unbearable pun — than today's R170 000-a-year mandarins.

The drive to Irene takes one past a new building intended as the headquarters of Secosaf. In case you don't know Secosaf, it is a machine for the rapid transfer of hard-earned cash from people earning less than R170 000 a year to Bantustan leaders who tuck away the odd million here and there.

Not that the odd bit of, shall we say? Krugerian behaviour in Venda or Bisho would be noticed in the floods of cash going down official drains. The SATS losses — actual and potential — of wellnigh R4bn has been mentioned in this space before; it does make an impression, because SATS lost more wealth in about a year than some African countries could produce in the same period. You could probably buy Burkina Faso for that price.

All this wild spending is supposed to "create jobs". The trouble is that the number of jobs has been going down steadily while the spending has been going up. Not as fast, of course — it's a good deal harder to destroy a job than to spend a penny.

Spending has, of course, become simpler than it used to be. Eva Peron is supposed to have squandered the wealth of Argentina after firing the accountants. We have not fired the accountants but we have fired the actuaries, and many of our officials do have the same view of finance as the lovely Eva: so long as it's coming in, who cares where it comes from or how long it will last?

To put some grace into grey bureaucratic lives, we have constructed a culture palace in Pretoria with a stage said to rival the Bolshoi's, and then we built another in Bloemfontein that may well be the envy of the Kennedy Centre. Man, have we got culture! (all we need is singers, poor Mimi Coertse can't hold up the show forever)

Meanwhile, fiddling, almost all of it legal, has become part of "the South African way of life," like sunny skies and Delta motor cars. The Transvaal Education Department has been fiddling matric results for years. We had all guessed it from the proliferation of "distinctions," but the defunct Sunday Express actually proved that matric was a racket, and there was some thought at the time that the TED might be cleaned up.

Fat hope! By now, it turns out, a TED matric is about as good as one from Bantu Education. Soon the English universities will be compelled to include English matriculants in their remedial education courses, along with the deprived kids of the townships, just to give them an even break at passing first year BA.

As for history, it has long been described quite truthfully as consisting of selected fictions, in the Transvaal schools the distinction between history and fiction has all but vanished. Neither tells of the corruption in the old Transvaal republic. The only way to tell them apart is from the spelling: Transvaal historians don't need to spell.

These are trivial complaints. I cite them merely as straws in the wind, examples of the *zeitgeist*, the spirit of the times. One might as well cite some of the things the courts say about policemen, or compare the learning of the chief censor, Stoffel Botha, with that of Jannie Hofmeyr, or observe that 15 years ago a room at the Carlton Hotel — then brand new — cost R14 a night.

It all serves to give us the flavour of our times, although none of it conveys the full extent of retrogression under Botha Imperator. For that, one must turn to the dry statistics:

From 1946 to 1950, South Africa's manufacturing output increased by 9,1% a year; from 1960 to 1965, after Sharpeville and the flight of currency and all those disasters had slowed us down, manufacturing output grew by 9,9% a year.

Trouble came after 1970, when the price of gold began to soar, tenfold and more; it corrupted, first, President Diederichs, who confused the national output of gold with his own resources and died in disgrace, a bankrupt. Then it corrupted the nation. Government began to spend as though it owned the country. When Owen Horwood began to protest, President Botha hired as Finance Minister the guy who can't say no. Barend du Plessis is not as pretty as Eva Peron, but he achieves much the same purpose.

The great wealth-creating South African capitalist machine has been wrecked by excessive and unproductive expenditure, by crippling taxes, by rampant inflation, by gross mismanagement and not a little, shall we say, by "fiddling".

From 1980 to 1985, under President Botha — before the Rubicon speech started another capital flight — manufacturing output declined by 1,2% a year. And since then things have gone downhill. The external debt went from R12,6bn to R60,1bn, or from 20% to 50% of all the wealth we produce in this country in a year. We began to loot the future, to steal from our children.

Smart businessmen and many professionals have baled out; more are planning to do so. The rest of the nation ekes out dwindling income, cutting back its expenditures and lowering its standard of living to compensate for rising taxes and rising inflation.

The Jameson raid, and British pressure, saved the corrupt and inefficient Kruger administration from Joubert, the Lusaka raid, and sanctions, saved President Botha. We rally behind our leaders, and get the leaders we deserve.

Kruger fled abroad, bequeathing his people half a century of suffering and deprivation, the cost of Botha's administration has yet to be paid. Meanwhile, the view from the Winter Palace is serene and orderly, a vista of wine and roses.

# Slabbert deserves some credit

**LETTERS**

PO Box 11138
Johannesburg 2000

Dear Sir,
I DO not presume to defend Dr Van Zyl Slabbert against the snide remarks which appear almost daily about him in your editorials. However uncharacteristic, it would be refreshing if Business Day could bring itself to give him credit for having the courage of his convictions and making his own decisions, no matter how unpopular with less far-sighted people than he. Whether he can achieve more outside Parliament towards reaching a negotiated peaceful solution to SA's problems than as a leader of the Opposition has still to be proved. Personally, I have no doubt about it and predict that Business Day will have to eat its words yet again.

**E L KEMPE**
**Bedfordview**

☐☐☐☐

Dear Sir,
IN YOUR edition of Tuesday, October 13, you reported on the newly-launched National Democratic Movement. One part of the story said that the NDM had received support from the Five Freedoms Forum. I wish to point out that this is erroneous. We were not consulted by the NDM, either before or after its launch, and as an organisation we have not taken a stance on the NDM or its policies. At first glance, we seem to have some things in common with them and we differ on others, notably security.

**DAVID WEBSTER**
**(spokesman)**
**Johannesburg**

# Nats losing to far right?

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Voters' support for white political parties has swung wildly this year, a Mark en Meningopnames poll commissioned by the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper Rapport found.

Key features of the poll show that support for the ruling National Party (NP) has taken a knock, the Conservative Party's electoral strength has improved and support for the PFP has been overtaken by the Independent movement.

Assuming all parties stood in all constituencies, the poll found:

- Support for the NP had declined from 49,4% in February to 44,1% in August;
- The CP increased their support from 15,2% in February to 22,1% in August (the market researchers said support for the party had not increased since the May general election, however);
- The Independents cranked up their support from a mere 3,7% in February to a significant 11,9% in August (although the effect of recent dissension among members of the movement was not included in the poll);
- The PFP's support waned from 19,4% to 10,4% over the period; and
- Both the HNP and NRP lost ground — the latter lost nearly half of its negligible support.

Rapport said that in the history of the poll there had seldom been so significant a shift in support for different parties.

The market research also showed that a significant number of Anglican and NG Kerk churchgoers were dissatisfied — predominantly with the politicization of their churches.

# Black views mixed on sanctions, Dakar

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## POLL 1:

MOST South African blacks support economic sanctions, though a majority were reluctant to back sanctions if it meant increased unemployment, a nationwide has revealed.

The survey, released at the weekend, was conducted by the independent Community Agency for Social Enquiry and designed and supervised by sociologist Mark Orkin. It included respondents from metropolitan, small town and rural areas. The so-called "Independent states" were also included.

Of 800 respondents interviewed, 67 percent supported sanctions, while 26 percent opposed sanctions fearing that economic growth would be slowed. Six percent were non-committal.

Twenty-one percent backed sanctions as a means of forcing the Government to hand over power, while 46 percent believed sanctions must be applied until the Government stops the state of emergency, frees political prisoners, unbans political movements and abandons apartheid.

The questionnaire also named the leaders and groups that support each view.

In the pro-sanction group were the Progressive Federal Party and big business, and homeland leaders like Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, while the African National Congress and Pan African Congress were in the group supporting unconditional sanctions.

The United Democratic Front, the Congress of SA Trade Unions and Archbishop Desmond Tutu were in the group that sees sanctions as a way of pressuring the Government until "it provides the conditions for democracy."

Asked if they still supported sanctions if it meant job loss, 60 percent of the respondents said they were afraid to risk unemployment, while 26 percent were prepared to see some, but not many blacks lose their jobs as a result of sanctions. Fourteen percent stood by their "hard-line" sanction position whatever the unemployment costs.

Amongst blacks, 27,9 percent believed the Government had gained the greatest advantage from the Dakar meeting while 25,8 percent believed the ANC had gained most from the talks.

The statistics obtained from the survey showed that blacks were less inclined to ascribe negative characteristics to the ANC than whites.

Mr Frank le Roux, CP MP for Brakpan, rejected the poll as "unscientific."

"It's the usual story, that we have reached our ceiling. But at least they do show we have grown, which they did not say before the elections.

"The results of the election proved the February poll wrong.

"I think our support is more than 22. Also they give our support among Afrikaners as 26 percent. I would say it is more like 50 percent."

Mr Ken Andrew, MP for Gardens and chairman of the Progressive Federal Party's federal executive, said the poll had been done in the worst time for the PFP, just after the controversy about the attendance of three PFP representatives at the Dakar talks with the ANC.

The Independents were now in "disarray" and the PFP may have picked up support from them.

"The results are not all that surprising given the PFP's disappointing show in the elections and the relatively good showing by the Independents.

"I think the PFP has now bottomed out and should soon be a few points above the Independents."

Case found that opinion on this issue had not changed since a similar survey on disinvestment conducted two years ago.

Demand for sanctions was strongest in the big cities, where only 14 percent opposed economic embargo. Here 52 percent favoured conditional sanctions, while 29 percent demanded unconditional sanctions.

Nationwide, 24 percent supported Nelson Mandela or the ANC, 11 percent supported Chief Buthelezi or Inkatha, 10 percent supported the PW Botha or other government figures, seven percent supported UDF or other pro-sanctions groupings, while six percent supported Archbishop Tutu.

The survey that 55,8 percent of blacks believed the ANC was strongly committed to democracy while only 5,1 percent of whites believed this.

More than 90 percent of whites believed the ANC was strongly committed to violence whereas only 39,1 percent of blacks held this view.

## POLL 2:

THE Dakar talks had been a propaganda victory for the ANC according to more than half of whites interviewed in a Human Sciences Research Council survey.

The HSRC survey was carried out telephonically between July 27 and August 3 this year among 1 142 whites and 547 blacks.

It found that 58,4 percent of white Afrikaans speaking people believed the ANC had scored a propaganda victory while 37,5 percent of English speaking whites felt the same.

More than half of whites interviewed (52,4 percent) believed the Dakar meeting had not enhanced the ANC's prestige in the eyes of the world.

## POLL 3:

THE Conservative Party has rejected as "unscientific" a national opinion poll which shows they have over 22 percent of white voters' support — up from 15,2 percent in February.

The CP feels its support is much higher than that.

The usually-reliable poll conducted by Mark and Menings Opnemers in August, shows a drop in support for the National Party since February from 49,4 percent to 44,1 percent.

The Progressive Federal Party's support took a sharp dive from 19,4 to 10,4 percent.

The Independents, meanwhile, rocketted from 3,7 to 11,9 percent, to top the PFP.

But party leaders said that the position had changed since August, mainly because of the split in the Independents.

The poll was commissioned by an Afrikaans Sunday newspaper which concluded that there had been little growth in CP support since the election, when it had reached its high point.

It said most of the seven percent growth in support for the CP had been between the last poll in February and the May elections.

CNW Trips

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londay, October 19,. 1987 ★

## PFP regional congress

# Display of unity, commitment to 'long haul' politics

**Own Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG. — A concerted display of unity, to overcome the "harrowing experiences" of an election lost and shock party defections, marked the Progressive Federal Party Transvaal provincial congress on Saturday.

Sharp differences between the "left" and "right" in the party surfaced in frank debates on economic policy and security, but there was a firm commitment to go back to basic principles to win the trust of tha public.

Concluding the day-long meeting at Hunters' Rest, PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin underlined the party's commitment to get in touch with grassroots politics, to address politics outside of Parliament and to be "relevant in the wider South African community".

While whites had legislative power, blacks were increasingly becoming the "natural power structure", Mr Eglin said.

"Unless we have a clear perception and image what the PFP is all about we will find we will get nowhere — neither in Parliament nor extra-parliamentary."

During his opening address, Mr Eglin referred to the "rough passages" the party had suffered, but warned against quick fixes and one-upmanship. He said the party was committed to the "politics of the long haul".

"The long haul will be even longer unless South Africans who share the same basic philosophy and who have the same general vision of a non-racial and truly democratic SA of the future are prepared to try to fashion strategies that can reinforce rather than undercut one another," Mr Eglin said.

He highlighted the government's unwilligness to grasp the nettle of the Group Areas Act by not even "accepting the recommendations of its own Nationalist-dominated President's Council.

"The government's slow slide away from democracy has developed into a head-long lurch towards authoritarianism," Mr Eglin said, with special reference to the emergency regulations, recent threats to trade unions, muzzling of the press and the assault on the freedom of universities.

To an increasing extent South Africans were leading their lives with "big brother in the form of a petulant, dominant government machine brooding over them", Mr Eglin concluded.

● Sapa reports that Mr Douglas Gibson was unanimously re-elected Transvaal leader of the PFP at the congress.

Mr Harry Schwarz, MP for Yeoville, was nominated, but withdrew because he said he had not discussed the matter with the chairman and that it would be discourteous of him to make himself available for the post without doing so.

# PFP betrayed — Eglin



Mr Colin Eglin

**JOHANNESBURG. — The Progressive Federal Party leader, Mr Colin Eglin, launched a bitter attack on National Democratic Movement leader Mr Wynand Malan at the PFP's Transvaal provincial congress at the weekend.**

**He referred to statements by Mr Malan in a newspaper interview in which Mr Malan criticized the party's "Western liberal tradition" and its commitment to "the individual as the touchstone of value in society".**

**"We are not ashamed of these values, which include such concepts as the rule of law, civil liberty, the independence of the judiciary and a multi-party democracy," Mr Eglin said.**

**Referring to PFP defectors Mr Peter Gastrow and Mr Pierre Cronjé, Mr Eglin said they not only defected from the PFP but also "betrayed the principles on which they were elected to power".**

# Hillbrow election fraud claim: Police search for fourth man

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Police are searching for a fourth man in connection with the alleged electoral fraud which last week resulted in Mr Leon de Beer, 28, the suspended Nationalist MP for Hillbrow, and two others appearing in a Johannesburg court.

A Witwatersrand police spokesman confirmed last night that detectives of the John Vorster Square Commercial Branch were looking for a man who worked for Mr de Beer during the May election period.

It is believed that the man may be in hiding, possibly at Sun City in Bophutatswana.

"We would like to question him in connection with allegations of electoral fraud," said the spokesman.

However, a warrant had not yet been issued for the man's arrest.

In another move concerning alleged electoral fraud the Progressive Federal Party last week announced that it would check for possible election fraud all the seats the party lost marginally in May.

It said it had firm evidence of election abuses in another four constituencies — one in Natal, two in the Transvaal and one in the Cape.

The Consefvative Party also claims that it was the victim of voting fraud in a number of Transvaal constituencies.

Mr de Beer and his election agent, Mr Chris Snyman, were suspended last week from the National Party pending the outcome of the court case, which apparently involves hundreds of contraventions of the Electoral Act.

**OUT ON BAIL**

Mr Snyman, Mr de Beer and Mr Adriaan Janse van Rensburg, an official of the Department of Home Affairs, were released on bail of R500, R2 500 and R1 500 respectively.

The arrests and court appearances follow allegations by Mr Alf Widman, the former PFP MP for Hillbrow, who handed a dossier of alleged irregularities to police after a Supreme Court order to recount votes cast in the election.

Mr de Beer captured the Hillbrow seat for the National Party from Mr Widman by 89 votes after four counts on May 6. Mr Widman had held the seat for 10 years.

A subsequent re-count following Supreme Court action in June by the PFP increased this majority to 90 in spite of certain postal votes being found to have been falsified.

## Loan for Nigeria

LAGOS. — The European Economic Community has approved a R2-billion loan to Nigeria for a variety of development projects. The loan was approved because of the volume of trade between Nigeria and the EC. — Sapa-AP.

## Protesters held

Cape Times
19/10/89 304A

# PFP to wrap up vote-rig probes

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE PFP hopes to wrap up investigations into vote-rigging during the May 6 poll in four more constituencies by the end of next week, following disclosures of alleged electoral fraud in the National Party's Hillbrow campaign.

The PFP's national director, Mr Neil Ross, said yesterday that party investigations into Bezuidenhout and Wynberg were already complete. Progress had been made in the Edenvale investigation.

The PFP lost the three seats — and Hillbrow — to the National Party in the last election.

In addition, a Natal team is investigating the election result in Umhlanga, which the New Republic Party lost to the NP.

Meanwhile, Mr De Beer — who has been suspended by his party pending an investigation against him — appears to have given up hope of being accepted back into the Nationalist fold.

At the weekend he said he was "never a Nat at heart". A former PFP campus organizer and policeman, he was quoted as saying: "I stood for election on a Nat ticket because, at hat stage, the party was ill committed to shar- g power with blacks d I was optimistic over changes that were ng implemented. But over the past few ths I have become lusioned." Mr De B 's fraud trial is scheduled for January 29, a week before MPs are due to return to Parliament.

However, the Hillbrow MP — who was released on R2 500 bail last week — will lose his seat if he is convicted of fraud and sentenced to 12 months' or more imprisonment without option of a fine.

# PFP commits itself to 'economic democracy'

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter



Mrs Helen Suzman ... PFP MP for Houghton.

The Transvaal congress of the PFP decided at the weekend to avoid controversy by refraining from officially condemning the socialistic principles of the Freedom Charter — but delegates made no secret of their aversion to it.

The subject was raised when delegates debated a resolution which recognised that the "Freedom Charter has great meaning for many people", but rejected the economic aspects as conflicting with free enterprise.

CONSERVATIVE

The tone of the congress was generally conservative — but several senior PFP members cautioned against adopting a resolution which specifically rejected aspects of the Freedom Charter — a document which has the backing of the UDF and ANC.

Veteran MP for Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman said. "It is a big mistake to get involved in whether the Freedom Charter is in line with us or not . We could just as well take National Party policy and detail our objections to it."

The issue aroused a strong debate. A few speakers felt the PFP should not be afraid to attack the document, but the majority were opposed to this.

It was clear that most delegates were concerned about seeming "insensitive" to the document, rather than opposing the spirit of the resolution.

Mr Harry Schwarz, MP for Yeoville and spokesman for Finance, said the congress was in a "Catch 22" situation. The media would "headline" that the PFP had either rejected or accepted the Freedom Charter.

"The document is 30 years out of date, But it's wrong to say the PFP cannot criticise it because it comes from blacks," he said.

SHARED WEALTH

The congress finally accepted an alternative resolution which made no mention of the Freedom Charter, but which affirmed the party's commitment to its policy of "economic democracy". According to the resolution, the party favoured a free enterprise system in which all could take part and in which wealth could be shared more equally by promoting schemes such as share ownership by workers.

## Transvaal congress proves party's determination

# PFP is set to work for its vision of SA

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

RUSTENBURG — The first of this year's series of Progressive Federal Party (PFP) provincial congresses demonstrated that in spite of recent serious setbacks, the party is as determined as it has ever been to work for its vision of South Africa.

Far from the gloomy forecasts of a despondent, demoralised and divided congress, the PFP Transvaal gathering at a holiday resort outside Rustenburg was conducted in a relaxed and often jovial manner.

The congress, attended by about 300 delegates and observers, demonstrated convincingly that there is:

- Continued enthusiastic support and loyalty for Mr Colin Eglin as leader
- No "north-south" power struggle, but a remarkable degee of unity among the various ideological factions
- No regret about the departure of Messrs van Eck, Gastrow, Cronje and Schoeman, who are regarded either as cranks, opportunists or political adolescents, and
- No question of the PFP abandoning any of its principles.

There were some interesting undercurrents by way of the usual ideological and personality rivalries, and at one point one of these surfaced briefly when it seemed as if Mr Harry Schwarz was going to challenge Mr Douglas Gibson for the position of the Transvaal chairmanship.



Mr Harry Schwarz criticised head office.



Tvl chairman Mr Douglas Gibson

Any other differences displayed were primarily the result of the fact that the PFP is the only political party in South Africa which allows genuine free debate among its members in public, thus making varying approaches more obvious.

It is difficult to imagine any other party, for example, allowing a frontbencher like Mr Harry Schwarz to sharply criticise the way the party's head office managed the election.

The point was taken seriously by the leadership and Mr Eglin promised a revamped head office team with particular attention being paid to improving communications.

This year, the Transvaal congress experimented with a new form of debate by breaking up the congress into about two dozen small groups so that every person could have the opportunity to be involved in intensive discussion on critical issues

The group discussions were closed to the media, but each group's findings were noted and read in front of the press afterwards

The results indicated a remarkable consensus on where the party had gone wrong in the last general election. Almost everyone agreed the party was perceived to be too soft on security issues.

It was also notable that every single group insisted the party should stay firmly wedded to the principle of rule of law in its approach to security issues, including the lone group chaired by Mr Harry Schwarz which supported by majority vote, the retention of the state of emergency until the current situation improved

However, there was a wide range of opinions on the matter of the party's approach to the African National Congress with some groups supporting negotiations with it, others wanting to divide it into sections for different approaches, and others wanting nothing to do with it.



Mr Colin Eglin ... continued enthusiastic support and loyalty for him as leader.

However, Mr Eglin announced that the party's security policy was being reviewed by a special committee under the chairmanship of Mrs Helen Suzman.

The idea, Mr Eglin and Mrs Suzman said afterwards, was not to change the policy but rather to investigate how it could be more crisply defined in terms that would leave the public in no doubt about where the PFP stood on this critical issue — a repackaging exercise.

Great big

# Face to face

30LA 9/10/87

# Worrall and Malan are set for head-on clash in Cape today



Dr DENIS WORRALL



Mr WYNAND MALAN

**By KIN BENTLEY**

**INDEPENDENTS Mr Wynand Malan and Dr Denis Worrall looked headed for a stormy meeting this afternoon over the formation of the National Democratic Movement (NDM).**

This emerged from an interview Mr Malan gave the Evening Post today.

The NDM was formed on Wednesday with Mr Malan as one of its leaders. Dr Worrall, another prominent Independent, was mysteriously excluded.

Mr Malan cancelled an early engagement in Port Elizabeth today to meet Dr Worrall, but will be addressing a public meeting in the city tonight.

He indicated that he did not expect the encounter with Dr Worrall to go all that smoothly.

Speaking from his office in Parliament today, Mr Malan confirmed that he would be attending the meeting of Dr Worrall's Helderberg committee in Somerset West, to which both he and Dr Esther Lategan were invited in a Press statement released by Dr Worrall yesterday.

However, Mr Malan did not seem very optimistic that their differences would be resolved

Stressing that he did not want to "get into public squabbles" when asked how Dr Worrall had been ommitted from the leadership of the NDM at its launch, Mr Malan said Dr Worrall's statement yesterday, in which he claimed he only heard about the formation of the NDM on Wednesday, "really was a surprise".

He added: "He had a public meeting where he announced his decision not be become involved."

Mr Malan said he phoned Dr Worrall's office after the statement was released and was told Dr Worrall was unavailable.

"We've been having discussions with Dr Worrall over the past five or six weeks," he said.

Mr Malan said Dr Worrall had announced that he did not want to play a leadership role, but since then it looked as if he had had "flak" from his committee members.

Indicating that things might not go too smoothly this afternoon, Mr Malan said he did not think a joint statement would be released. He would probably issue his own.

When asked if personal differences might jeopardise the whole movement, Mr Malan said: "If it were only personal differences, it would be fine."

He declined to go into the differences, but they seem to centre on the strategy which the movement will adopts, such as when and if a political party should be formed.

The NDM leadership includes "Dakarites" Mr Pieter Gastrow, Mr Pierre Cronje and Mr Pieter Schoeman, who resigned from the PFP this week.

Others in the NDM leadership are Dr Lategan — who Mr Malan said would be visiting Grahamstown today and would not attend the meeting with Dr Worrall — Mr Jan Momberg and Mr David de Villiers.

Dr Lategan appeared on a platform with Dr Worrall in Somerset West on Wednesday, at which Dr Worrall announced that a new party was to be formed. Mr Momberg is chairman of Dr Worrall's Helderberg committee.

● Mr Malan was scheduled to hold a Press conference in Port Elizabeth at 5.30pm today, but said this had been cancelled. He would, however, still address a meeting organised by Youth for South Africa in the PE City Hall tonight.

# Fresh moves afoot to unify two independent groups

**Political Correspondent**

SUPPORTERS of the two independent groups are to assess their positions against the background of calls to the two to try to unite.

Mr Keith Gurney, vice-chairman of the Simon's Town constituency committee of the original independent movement, said today he had had a steady stream of telephone calls from people voicing favourable response to an advertisement he placed in Weekend Argus.

The advertisement challenged Dr Denis Worrall, leader of the Independent Movement, and Mr Wynand Malan, leader of the National Democratic Movement, to settle their differences and to get a unified independent movement going.

He called on constituency committees, supporters and financiers to refuse to support anything other than a unified movement.

Mr Gurney said that, besides the large number of telephone calls at the weekend, he expected to receive written responses.

Some believed that the leadership question could be solved by having a steering committee instead of a single leader.

Attempts may be made to get Dr Worrall and Mr Malan together at the same meeting in the belief that a compromise would have to be found.

Tonight Dr Worrall's Helderberg constituency committee is meeting in Somerset West.

Dr Esther Lategan's committee members and other supporters are holding a closed meeting in Stellenbosch.

Dr Worrall and his constituency chairman, Mr Jannie Momberg, indicated today that they were "very much in a listening mood" and that they wanted to be guided by their supporters about future actions.

Dr Lategan said that all those with a common purpose would try to cooperate again some time ahead. This covered a very wide spectrum.

CAPE Times 19/10/81

# Botha 'refused MP visit'

PORT ELIZABETH. — Relations between State President, Mr P W Botha, and the Labour Party plunged to a new low at the weekend with the revelation that Mr Botha had refused permission for Health and Welfare Minister Mr Chris April to travel overseas unless he did so at his own expense.

The disclosure by Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse, at the LP's South Cape congress, follows a threat by Mr. Botha in August to "forbid" Mr April to travel overseas the next time he wanted to go.

The heated row in the House of Representatives between Mr Botha and the Labour Party led to the resignation of Mr Hendrickse from the cabinet.

Mr Hendrickse told the congress that he had been approached by Mr April who wanted to travel to Israel and West Germany to investigate health centres there.

He said he had agreed with the request and had recommended to Mr Botha that the visit go ahead.

Mr Botha, however, turned down the request for economic reasons and because there were enough local experts.

If Mr April wanted to go, he added, he would have to do so at his own expense.

# PFP's role now more important than ever

**An edited version of the opening speech by the PFP leader, Mr Colin Eglin, at the party's Transvaal congress at Rustenburg at the weekend.**

There has been a rough passage for the Progressive Federal Party since the last Transvaal congress three years ago. We have had the election, by-elections and resignations from the party. Yet, in spite of it all, the PFP remains vigorous, aggressive and principled.

There is concrete evidence of a deep commitment of PFP members, not only on the principles in which they believe, but to this country and its people. Few people are as aware as I am of the tremendous work that is being done by PFP members around the country.

Of course, given the need of bringing of people together, we have not done enough. Yet I can say with pride that, in spite of having fought a tough and exhausting general election, the PFP during the past 18 months has devoted more time and more energy, more money and more of its resources to this important bridge-building task than ever before in the party's history.

## Important events

This is why I am particularly resentful that Mr Peter Gastrow, having defected from the party, is now denigrating the work of his former colleagues.

During the past few weeks there have been further important events impinging on the PFP and the opposition in general.

On the positive side there has been the formulation of the PFP's Mission Statement and the PFP by-election win over the Nationalists and Mr Wynand Malan's Independents in Randburg.

But offsetting these positive developments has been the shattering of the "Independent Movement" and the defection of two PFP MPs and one PFP President Councillor. How the Nats and Mr Botha must be laughing at this latest development.

The concept of an Independent Movement attracting verligte Natonalists into a resurgent opposition force has been shattered — not by Mr Botha and the Nationalists, but by the impulsive and inept manoeuvring of the leaders of the movement themselves.

Added to this, the deceitful manner in which the three PFP members defected to to the NDM is likely to sour inter-opposition relationships for some time to come.

The question is whether anything can be salvaged from the wreck of a strategy that, until recently, seemed to hold so much potential?

Yes it can. But not if people in opposition play to hidden agendas, or engage in grandstanding or one-upmanship, or look for quick fixes, or elevate their own pet or confused strategies to matters of principle.

Like it or not, we in South Africa are in the politics of the long haul. And that long haul will be even longer unless South Africans who share the same basic philosophy and who have the same general vision of a nonracial and truly democratic South Africa of the future are prepared to try to fashion strategies that can reinforce rather than undercut one another.

The PFP has shown by its behaviour in the past it is prepared to do this. For the PFP is committed to co-operation with others — whether inside or outside Parliament — who share its philosophy and its vision and its commitment to non-violent change.

But let me say to you and to the rest of the country one thing the PFP is not prepared to do: it is not prepared to compromise on the basic values and principles on which it is founded.

This is not because the PFP is being precious. It is because the PFP believes that these democratic liberal values and principles provide our country with the best basis for peace and with the best opportunity for fulfilling the aspirations of our people.

That is why the PFP recently produced its Mission Statement, to spell out its vision of the future, its tactical objectives, its role both inside and outside Parliament, and its commitment to negotiation as the essential process for resolving conflict in our society.

Our Mission Statement is more than a party document. It is a framework for action and a basis for co-operation between those South Africans who are committed to working for a South Africa where government and society renounces apartheid and respects the fundamental human rights and the dignity of the citizens of our country.

## No quick stunts

Whatever its weaknesses and strengths, the PFP has never shirked its responsibility in the long haul of past years. It will not shirk its responsibility in the long haul of the future.

The PFP will continue to provide a viable, credible, principled vehicle for those opponents of apartheid who genuinely believe in the freedom and the dignity of the individual South African.

Whatever happens about us — the winds may blow and the sea may rush at us — we will not be sidetracked into quick stunts and quick fixes.

Our role is more important than ever before, not just because of the confusion created by the Independents and the defectors from the PFP, but because of the chronic inability of the Nationalist Government to solve any of the key problems facing this country.



Eglin . . . no shirking.

As the Government is less and less able to resolve the problems, its slow slide away from democracy has developed into a headlong lurch towards authoritarianism.

To an ever-increasing extent South Africans are leading their lives with "Big Brother", in the form of a petulant, dominant government, brooding over their daily lives.

That is why I say look at our track record, our commitment to civil liberties and to a nonracial society, then you will understand when I say South Africa needs a vigorous, principled opposition and that we are going to provide it.

# ESOPS more than just a fable on the table in US planning for SA

Cape Times 20/1/87

**Washington Letter**
**by SIMON BARBER**

BLACK empowerment is the fashionable phrase among serious students of the South African dilemma, made so by the recently disempowered assistant Secretary of State for international organizations, Dr Alan Keyes. What makes it particularly attractive is its pregnant vagueness and its suggestion of gradualism

Serious people as opposed to, say, Congressmen Ron Dellums or Howard Wolpe, chairman of the House Africa sub-committee, avoid the blunter formulations "black power" and "majority rule" because they have a certain unsophisticated immediacy and happen to be what is actually being talked about.

**It is the height of rudeness among these students to call a spade a spade when there are so many periphrases available.**

The fact of the matter remains that somebody in South Africa is at some point going to have to cede a considerable quantity of their own power if there is ever to be a reasonable solution. Since the white elite as a whole seems in no hurry to do this, let alone all at once, the question is which sector shall start the ball rolling

Who, in other words, is going to do the empowering?

The Left, which sees government as the source of everything, good and bad, naturally tends to believe the answer is government

Accordingly, applying a calculus of pain which history has yet to demonstrate obtains in the case of Afrikanerdom, it demands that Pretoria be squeezed into surrender so that a new, all-encompassing state (ie the Left itself) may emerge from the ashes

The Right, with its inherent tendency to dislike and therefore belittle the role of the state, looks elsewhere. Some believe the marketplace, by some magic of its own, will painlessly pull the rabbit from the hat if only allowed to operate free from outside interference.

**Others of a more populist bent contend that to do the trick the marketplace needs to undergo a radical transformation.**

This latter group we may call the capitalist revolutionaries. They hold that to solve South Africa's problems business, not the Government, must be the first to begin relinquishing power and that when that happens all else will follow because forces will be unleashed that the State will be powerless to obstruct

Chief among these theorists, in America at any rate, is Norman Kurland managing director of Equity Expansion International, president of the Washington-based Centre for Economic and Social Justice and deputy chairman of the grandiloquently titled Presidential Taskforce on Project Economic Justice

Kurland's thing is employee stock ownership plans, ESOPS for short. Project Economic Justice is a congressionally approved attempt to encourage the development of ESOPS throughout the Third World, beginning in Central America.

The goal is to demolish Marx's central tenet — the abolition of private property — by proselytising the infinitely more democratic ideal of mass individual ownership of property and the means of production

In a 1985 memorandum to the then National Security Council Africa specialist Phil Ringdahl, Kurland laid out in detail how his doctrine, the "third alternative to traditional capitalism and traditional socialism", might be applied to South Africa

**The mining industry and the National Union of Mineworkers would be the "beach-head".**

"The owners of all South African gold, diamond, uranium and other mining companies would be encouraged to offer their workers a 'new labour deal' which would include as a first step the right to buy 20 to 30% of all common stock and the right to share in corporate profits and control.

"Credit for such employee equity could be supplied externally through IMF or World Bank loans or from private foreign sources or it could be supplied through a variety of internal credit sources.

"With the co-operation of the Government, tax and labour laws might have to be reformed along American lines to accommodate such a buyout."

A quick parenthesis of explanation since 1973 US law has promoted the formation of ESOPS by making both the principal and interest on loans to finance employee equity purchases tax-deductible

In conventional borrowing, only the interest is fully deductible This makes ESOPS highly attractive to managements because the plans are in effect a source of cheap capital

Not surprisingly, there have been abuses Some companies have exploited ESOPS to fight takeover bids and have forced employees to buy non-voting equity. The result has been that workers have found themselves "owning" but not controlling unprofitable and debt-ridden concerns The majority of such cases have occurred when employee representatives were not sufficiently involved in the ESOP's creation

Back to Kurland and SA.

"The ESOP should be structured to guarantee individual as opposed to "collective" ownership and control of corporate equity The union itself should own no shares and no bloc voting should be permitted, to minimize the politicization of economic decisions.

"The Mineworkers' Union should be offered the leading role in negotiating on behalf of rank-and-file workers the terms of the "new labour deal" but union leaders would have to agree in advance to a democratic process and an open dialogue in the structuring and approval of the new ownership participation programme

"As an incentive to union officials, the union should be permitted to institute a "dues check-off" (deduction) on all private property benefits (ie monthly and annual cash bonuses tied to profits, shares of stock, dividend incomes) it negotiates for its members.

"This access to a growing ownership system pie would supplement union revenues coming from wage system check-offs.

"The union should be guaranteed access to financial information needed to evaluate the purchase price. It should also be able to protect the onwership interests of their members by gaining access to data on executive incentives and other privileged financial information, as long as such data is disclosed in ways that do not impair any company's capacity to compete fairly in the global market"

Though employee stock ownership is already being mooted by Anglo and others, Kurland's proposition is considerably more radical than anything so far placed on the table — but then he isn't aiming to please 44 Main Street.

**He is not suggesting that the mining companies offer some co-optive version of the above but that Cyril Ramaphosa demand it.**

Now of course it is easy to pick holes, gaping ones, in Kurland's specifics. He does not pretend to be an expert on SA and there are those who will dismiss him as just another foreign meddler trying to dictate solutions from afar but his underlying philosophy is worth more than passing consideration, especially because it is not far divorced from the American mainstream

As applied to Central America, it has been endorsed across a spectrum spanning passionately anti-Contra democrats such as former Congressman Mike Barnes to such vehement Reagan revolutionaries as former White House communications director Patrick Buchanan (the side of the scale to which Kurland himself is closest).

The argument is very simple and ought to be self-evident in South Africa most of all: property is power, its absence is powerlessness Therefore if they are to be empowered black South Africans should seek to own the means of production individually and not allow it to be vested in the hands of a narrow oligopoly or a state — the alternatives on offer from the Government and what it considers its main opposition.

Here is a passage from the report on the president's Taskforce on Project Economic Justice submitted to the White House last October As Cosatu and Numsa weigh the kind of political economy they would like to see replace the present status quo, they could do worse than to ponder it

*"The banning of private capital inevitably leads to totalitarianism. Under collectivism, the State is the only owner and the only employer. Thus, all power associated with the ownership of wealth producing enterprises and other modern means of production flow into the hands of a tiny, non-accountable bureaucratic elite. Consequently, everyone's income and each person's dignity depends on the will of those who run the State*

*"Liberty, free enterprise and republican self-government can only succeed where power is widely distributed And since in any nation social and political power flow from economic power, wealth and property should be widely diffused among those who comprise a nation The best route to economic justice lies through the widespread ownership of property, including productive capital"*



**CYRIL RAMAPHOSA:** He should demand share ownership.



**HOWARD WOLPE:** Chairman of House Africa sub-committee.

# Soviet praise for Dakar Afrikaners

2/6/87 Star 304A

**The Star Bureau**

WASHINGTON — An official Soviet commentator has heaped praise on the Afrikaner delegation that went to Dakar to meet the African National Congress.

"Already rightwing extremists have accused the delegation of high treason. This, of course, is nonsense," the commentator, Mr Eugin Fristov, said in Radio Moscow's Afrikaans-language broadcast to South Africa.

"Any person working for a better society in South Africa is a patriot," Mr Fristov said.

"One must admit that these are courageous people and hope that they will remain so."

Moscow's international broadcasts, including the English, Afrikaans and Zulu transmissions to South Africa, are monitored in Washington.

Because Moscow's radio and television services are under tight government control, commentaries on them are seen as official expressions of opinion.

In recent months, there has been a notable increase in the number of programmes devoted to South and southern Africa. At least two of them dealt with the Dakar meeting. The miners' strike is a major topic.

In the latest broadcast this week, the Soviets decried the South African Goverment's opposition to the Dakar meeting, claiming that in the opinion of many South Africans, it was important in seeking new relationships between whites and the main "liberation organisation".

In an earlier commentary, Fristov dipped into Russian literature to praise the 50 Afrikaners who went to Dakar.

He quoted a poem by Russian poet Aleksandr Pushkin in honour of fellow aristocrats who had revolted against the Tsar:

*Deep in the mines of Siberia, never lose hope.*
*Your good work and your high ideals will never be shattered.*
*The prison walls will fall and freedom will meet you at the door.*
*When you meet your brother, he will present you with gifts.*

These words had a relevance in South Africa now.

"We have in mind the bravery of the Afrikaner delegation.

"These people have to be brave not only to criticise apartheid but also to fight it," he said.

ARGUS 21/10/87 / 30 X4

CITY/NATIONA

# Gastrow faces the rage of ex-party pals

**The Argus Correspondent**

DURBAN. — The new National Democratic Movement held its first public meeting here and weathered several stormy clashes with irate Progressive Federal Party stalwarts.

The prime target for PFP rage was the former party chairman, Mr Peter Gastrow, the main speaker reporting back to his Durban Central constituency. Also on the platform were NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan, Stellenbosch's Dr Esther Lategan and former senior PFP members Mr Pierre Cronje and Mr Pieter Schoeman.

It was a far cry from the normally sedate Durban PFP meetings, although a significant section of the 200-strong crowd at St Thomas Hall appeared to support the new movement.

At one stage Mr Gastrow's former campaign treasurer, Mr Charles Botha, asked him if he "could live with himself" after winning the seat on PFP funds. Mr Gastrow replied that he was "wedded to a goal and not an institution".

Mr Gastrow said he understood PFP anger, but believed the party was too ideologically rigid to be a major catalyst in bringing South Africans together.

## Ambiguous

Mr Pierre Cronje said he had also left the PFP because of its often ambiguous approach.

Outlining the NDM credo, Mr Malan said the movement intended to make contact with all parts of the political spectrum in and outside Parliament. Instead of emphasising confrontation, it would seek common ground.

● The Argus Political Correspondent reports that attempts to get the two independent splinter groups together are to continue even though the split appears to be irrevocable for the present.

Supporters of the Independent Movement and the National Democratic Movement remain hopeful that the two sides can be brought together or that at least a loose working arrangement can come about.

Mr Keith Gurney, a constituency vice-chairman of the original independent movement, said he was still receiving a stream of reaction to a weekend call for attempts to get the groups together.

The NDM has started a series of public meetings to explain its approach. The Durban meeting was the first.

Tonight Mr Malan will speak in his Randburg constituency and next Tuesday night there will be a meeting in the Botha Hall in Merriman Street, Stellenbosch, starting at 8am.

It will be addressed by Dr Lategan, Mr Malan, Mr Gastrow, Mr Cronje, Mr Schoeman and Mr D P de Villiers.

# Hard to walk middle road

**The Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa) has not had an easy passage into the Western Cape.**

**Since opening their local offices in July, they have battled to get projects off the ground.**

**They have discovered that many individuals and progressive organisations harboured suspicions about Idasa's role and intentions.**

**But, Idasa Western Cape director Thaabit Albertus and organiser Pro Jack told RYLAND FISHER, these suspicions were mainly due to ignorance.**

THE Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa) is discovering the hard way that it is difficult to walk the middleground in South African politics.

They found disfavour with right-wing elements over the recent Dakar initiative in which they brought a group of Afrikaners face to face with an ANC delegation.

But the Dakar trip did not mean automatic acceptance by progressive groups for the brainchild of former PFP leaders Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine. Especially in the Western Cape.

Since they opened their Western Cape office in July, Idasa has had difficulty in getting projects off the ground, regional director Thaabit Albertus and organiser Pro Jack admitted to SOUTH.

"We have found many people harbour suspicions about Idasa. We have to dispel this first before we can start playing our role as a bridge-builder in South African politics," Albertus said.

"Since we opened our Western Cape office on July 1, we have been doing groundwork. We feel it's important to lay a basis with the democratic movement before starting projects.

"We are consulting with a cross-section of structures about the role we should play in the region. We feel it is important to keep in contact with these organisations.

"We are a facilitating agent. We have to move between the democratic movement and those outside of this movement.

## Strategies

"Once we have spoken to people about our strategies and they understand our role, we would be able to get off the ground.

"We have had a slow start. So far we have only had two projects in the Western Cape. We recently had a tour of the townships for a group of whites and blacks. The next day we took a group of students on a tour of the townships. In both cases our emphasis was on interaction.

"Unless we have links with the democratic movement, we can't continue.

"We have made progress in our consultations. We have discovered that much of the suspicion is as a result of ignorance. It disappears once we explain our role," Albertus said.

He said he was aware of the questions people had about Idasa's role in relation to organisations like the United Democratic Front.

"In the Western Cape we have not really become involved in projects yet. In the Eastern Cape it may be different.

## Townships

"Our policy is not to work at grassroots level in the townships. We don't want to get bogged down in black politics. As we are a facilitating agent, it is important for us not be thrown into a specific camp because it could result in us being alienated.

"Our target group is whites, but we have to involve members of the democratic movement. We have to put whites in touch with progressive blacks. It may seem like we are involving ourselves in black politics, but we are not.

Albertus dismissed claims that Idasa had poached former UDF activists. Idasa organiser Jack, a former Robben Islander, has been named in this regard.

"People who are employed by Idasa have a free choice. We don't ask them to severe ties with other organisations. We are not a political organisation.

"In terms of our policy of being bridge-builders, it is necessary for us to employ people of all races to help us reach all groups," Albertus said.

Jack also dismissed the allegations against Idasa.

"I don't believe Idasa has been poaching members of community organisations because Idasa is not involved in the political arena. There is a need for progressive-minded people to be involved in structures like Idasa. Through the involvement of such people, Idasa would have to develop into a nonracial democratic organisation.

"Some of the people who have problems with Idasa are those who feel that everything that happens should go through them first. In some structures, if one is too critical and asks too many questions, one is alienated," Jack said.



Idasa leader Dr Alex Boraine with Francis Meli, editor of the ANC mouthpiece Sechaba, at a press conference in Dakar

Albertus said Idasa was still laying the foundation of their work in the white community.

"We have not done much, but we have projects lined up until the end of the year. We hope to get predominantly white groups to interact with people in the democratic movement."

He said Idasa's main target group was "anybody who has not yet joined the democratic movement".

"It is a wide group and takes in just about everybody outside parliament who have not made up their minds where they stand. I suppose one could say our target is confused whites who have not identified with or joined the democratic movement," he said.

Jack added: "It is mainly the white electorate. But there are also people in the community who are not considered to be progressive.

"We have been approached to try to bring those people closer to progressive organisations so they can at least have a meeting point. Here one can refer to teachers' organisations with different political positions, but a common interest in education.

## No links

"The important point is that Idasa has no formal links with structures associated with the government, like parliament and community councillors. But if a member of a political party wants to talk to us in his personal capacity we are prepared to listen and discuss," Jack said.

Albertus said they would not aim specifically at Afrikaans or English-speaking whites and have not identified any particular area or region to concentrate on.

"It is difficult to prioritise areas or groups. We are not area orientated. We rally people around our projects and their interests," he said.

Jack said many whites had common views about organisations like the UDF and the situation in the townships—because they were bombarded with propaganda by the SABC.

"There exist fears among English and Afrikaans-speaking youths. They need to be made aware that South Africa belongs to all who live in it," said.

Albertus said Idasa did not believe in making up people's minds for them.

"We only want to make them aware of the South African reality. For example, we want them to accept the concepts of nonracialism and democracy.

"We take them to the entry point of the democratic movement. They have to decide for themselves where they want to go from there. We are definitely not a recruiting organisation."

Jack said Idasa was not "bridging the gap just for the sake of it".

"We are working towards a nonracial democratic South Africa. Idasa has accepted the principle of nonracialism. We hope people will strive for it and we will use all the methods at our disposal towards this realisation. Whites have to understand they are part of the problem and have to be part of the solution."

Albertus and Jack dismissed accusations that Idasa had links with big business and wanted to divert the struggle.

"We have heard these rumours. We are not supported by big business. There were allegations that we were funded by the Anglo-American group. This is not so. Eighty percent of our funding comes from overseas and 20 percent is local. We are definitely not a front for big business," Albertus said.

Jack added: "It is a sad thing for people to say. They should come to us to find out. We have nothing to hide about who is funding us.

"Even if we had lots of money, we would not be able to influence the struggle. We can't change the views of the majority of the people about the ANC, or the fact that most people are suffering and want to be free."

Albertus continued. "Idasa does not have the power to divert the struggle. Idasa acts to promote nonracialism. We can bring whites into struggle and broaden the base."

Jack said it was not Idasa's style to impose ideas or programmes on people.

## Structure

"We let people decide on programmes themselves. Idasa can't derail or divert the struggle. Idasa can't build houses or do away with compounds. We can't do away with the fact that almost all the people in the townships talk about the ANC.

"We don't have to wait until SA is free to start engaging people from different races. People will have to sit down and sort our their problems in a round table situation. We are only trying to make people aware of the nonracial, democratic alternative.

"We realise that no-one in South Africa can compete against the real leaders of the people. Our job is merely to prepare people for a post-apartheid society."

On Idasa's structure and membership, Albertus said "We are not an organisation, but an institution. We consist only of the people who are employed by Idasa. If we aquire members it will place us in direct opposition to other organisations. It will exclude people who are members of other organisations.

## Redirect funds

"We have considered associate membership but it will be for fiscal reasons only and won't mean those people will become active in the organisation.

Albertus laughed off claims that Idasa officials were extremely highly paid.

"Some people even claim that we redirect funds from other projects. It is absolutely false. Our budgets are drawn up taking into account people's salaries and sponsorship is sought on that basis.

He attacked people who questioned the commitment and sincerity of Idasa directors, Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Boraine, who not too long ago were part of the tricameral system.

"People are in a constant state of development. What many see as sudden change may not be so. They functioned in parliament long and came to realise that they have to get out.

"People are free to change. They realised that the forces for change are outside parliament and based on that they decided to pull out," he said.

Asked if they saw Idasa still being around in a post-apartheid South Africa, Jack said: "We are involved in a changing situation and our role may have changed by then."

Albertus said. "We don't have blueprint solution. If we had, we would have been in competition with others."

Asked about Idasa's position on violence, Jack said. "Like all other concerned South Africans, we don't believe in violence. We are playing a facilitating role to try to minimise violence."

# Tax changes on the way, PW tells big business

**The Argus Correspondent**

PRETORIA. — President Botha today said the Government was determined to press ahead with reforming and restructuring the tax system.

Tax reform as part of the Government's economic strategy had an important and indispensable part to play in the reform process, he told South Africa's business leaders in opening the fourth State President's economic conference in Pretoria.

Opening the conference, which was otherwise closed to the media, Mr Botha said taxation and the tax system affected practically every inhabitant of the country.

"That is why we have decided to invite the widest representation that space and manageability will allow to this important conference on the report of the Margo Commission," Mr Botha said.

**THIRD WORLD**

"In our multi-cultural country we also have to consider the interests of the First World component and of the Third World component."

Mr Botha said it was the Government's task to reconcile the divergent reactions to the Margo report as far as possible, so that a tax system could be implemented that would be fair and balanced and so restore and strengthen confidence, and which would best serve the interests of the country and its economy.

Mr Botha said today's discussions could also make a significant contribution towards the implementation of the Government's long-term strategy regarding inflation.

News in Brief

Cape Times 22/10/87 (3KA)

# Lebowa head rejects NC

JOHANNESBURG — Lebowa's new Chief Minister Mr Mgoboya Ramodike yesterday appealed to other homeland leaders not to take part in the South African government's National Council. Mr Ramodike, a campaigner against homeland independence, was yesterday voted successor to Chief Minister Mr Cedric Phatudi.

Cape Times 22/10/87 (6 250)

# 100 000 for anti-SA march

LONDON. — About 100 000 people are expected to march through London this weekend in a mass demonstration supporting sanctions against South Africa. Speakers at the demonstration, organized by the Anti-Apartheid Movement, will include Swapo president, Mr Sam Njoma, and the head of the ANC's international section, Mr Johnston Makatini.

# Govt has put reform on backburner — Suzman

By Colleen Ryan,
Political Reporter

22/10/87

The Government had not introduced a single reform during the last session of Parliament and this was adding impetus to the demands for further punitive measures against South Africa, Progressive Federal Party MP for Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman, said last night.

Addressing a report-back meeting in Houghton, Mrs Suzman said 1987 should have been used by the Government "as a blocking mechanism against further punitive measures by the United States, the Commonwealth and the ECC countries.

### AVOID A TRAUMATIC FUTURE

"It is my firm conviction that in 1988, the year of the Presidential election, the Democrats and Republicans will vie with each other in proposing further measures against South Africa."

Mrs Suzman said it was suicidal for South Africa not to take the necessary steps "to avoid a traumatic future" by abolishing apartheid and returning to the rule of law.

These steps should be taken, not just to satisfy world demands and restore the country to its "rightful place in the Western community of nations", but "also they should be taken to achieve the aim of a just society, of a non-racial democracy and of a peaceful and prosperous future".

Referring to the recent House of Assembly election, she said there were three main reasons for the PFP's "extremely disappointing" results.

"Firstly, the Government's very skilful use of propaganda against the PFP, claiming that we were 'soft on security, law and order and soft on the ANC and communism'."

The second reason was the election alliance with the New Republic Party did not work because it was not honoured at "grassroots level".

"There was a decided swing of NRP grassroot support to the National Party," she said.

The third factor was the loss of student support. "I find it hard to forgive the radicals on the campuses of Wits University and the University of Cape Town, Rhodes and the Natal Universities, who certainly played a part — particularly at Wits and UCT — in our losing seats.

"Their campaigns, maintaining that the election was 'a fraud and a farce', I believe, gives the lie to their later contention that they in no way called for a boycott of the elections. If they did not do so explicitly, they certainly did so implicitly.

"I may sound bitter about this, but perhaps you should remember that I have been battling away since 1959, and to see the party which reached the heights that it did in 1981, being now on the other side of the hill, the downside, is heartbreaking."

Referring to recent resignations of senior PFP members, she said: "To defect in order to pursue 'process politics', whatever that may mean, is inexcusable ... They have forgotten the meaning of the word loyalty."

She said reform was definitely on the backburner during the last session of Parliament.

### CREATED A FRANKENSTEIN

The Government had frightened voters to such an extent that former National Party supporters had been attracted to the Conservative Party. "They have created a Frankenstein which they one day might not be able to control. There are now 18 additional marginal seats which could be won by the CP."

Mrs Suzman said South Africa had proceeded "far down the slippery path away from the protection of the rule of law, from the protection of habeas corpus and due process".

She added: "We will certainly emphasise our total rejection of violence, irrespective of whence it comes — be it the police or the township activists or the ANC."

30kA

# Rift too great to heal, says Malan

**Political Staff**

NATIONAL Democratic Movement leader Mr Wynand Malan says his differences with Dr Denis Worrall are too fundamental to be reconciled.

Mr Malan and Dr Worrall captured the imagination of the white electorate earlier this year when they launched the Independent Movement as a new force in South African politics.

They parted ways last month when Mr Malan joined three defectors from the Progressive Federal Party to form the NDM.

Mr Malan told a public meeting of the new movement in the Randburg constituency last night that he and Dr Worrall had found it difficult to put together a joint manifesto for the election in the first place.

In fact, two different election campaigns had been run, although the public had not known that, he said.

Dr Worrall had wanted to concentrate on white politics "while we took the other side, which was to become involved in the total spectrum of politics", he said.

Mr Malan said he still did not understand why Dr Worrall had not stuck to the agreement he made with the NDM, which was that he would concentrate on his constituency.

**DOGMA**

Earlier in his speech, Mr Malan said the PFP hecklers at the NDM public meeting in Durban on Tuesday night had demonstrated they were more rigid in their dogma than the Nationalists were.

"In a sense, the Nationalists are more flexible because they have power but they don't know what to do with it," he said.

Mr Malan said the NDM was a new dimension in South African politics.

He believed there was already a balance of power in the country. Resistance to the State could not be destroyed while the forces of the State could not be negated.

There would be no easy victory for either side because it was a question of who was prepared to lose the most in order to win.



Mr Wynand Malan

# Tamils form suicide squads in Jaffna battle

COLOMBO. — Tamil guerrillas have raised suicide squads to try to hold back Indian troops pushing into their stronghold of Jaffna in northern Sri Lanka, according to a Sri Lankan journalist just back from the embattled city.

He quoted Mahattaya deputy leader of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), as saying that about 500 LTTE fighters had volunteered to form kamikaze squads for missions against Indian troops and armour in the final phases of the battle for Jaffna.

The journalist said he spent two weeks in Jaffna and was there when the Indians launched their offensive against the port city on October 10.

**BATTLE STRATEGY**

He quoted Mahattaya as saying the Tigers' battle strategy was divided into four phases — direct face-to-face clashes, allowing Indians to advance so as to hit them from behind, mounting suicide missions and going underground to resume operations elsewhere.

Mahattaya said the battle for Jaffna was now in its second phase.

Military analysts said suicide teams with bombs strapped to their bodies could slow down the Indian advance to allow main LTTE units to melt away. — Sapa-Reuter.

304A

## THE ECONOMY

# Business meets the boss. But not to talk politics

**The enthusiastic build-ups which preceded other 'summit' meetings between business and PW Botha are missing. But then, no one's expecting any great revelations**

STATE president PW Botha's summit meeting with business leaders next Thursday hasn't been characterized by the hype of his previous three summits.

And it's being presented as a technical rather than a political forum.

The president apparently doesn't intend to give business much opportunity to comment on the government's political policies. He wants to talk about tax.

On the agenda, according to the president's office, is "discussion of the prospects of new tax structures following the publication of the Margo report".

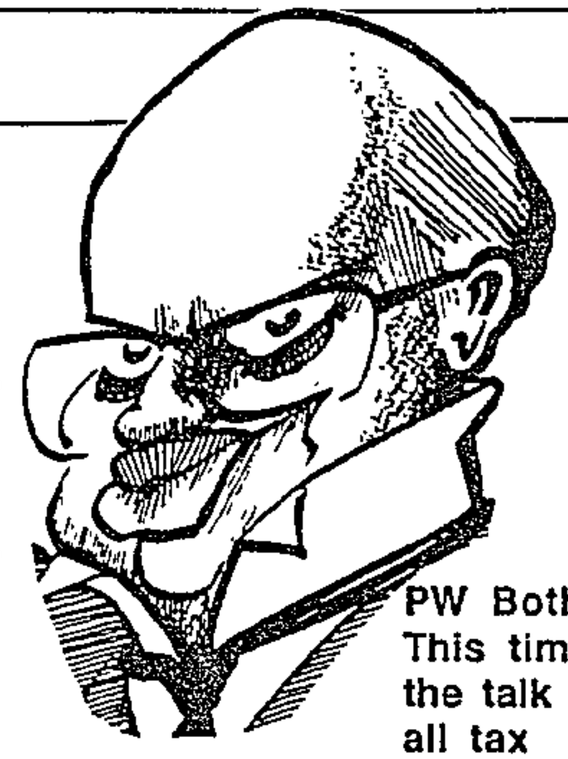
Two hundred people have been invited to the meeting, to be held at the presidential guest house in Pretoria.

And this time around the participants may not be as high profile as at previous summits. Many companies will be sending their finance and tax experts rather than their chairmen and chief executives.

The idea of this economic summit elicited only a lukewarm response from business people when Botha announced it in his budget vote in parliament in August.

The annual conferences of two of the major employer organisations, Assocom and the SA Agricultural Union, clash with next week's meeting.

Like the 1979, 1981 and 1986 economic summits, the meeting is a public relations exercise on Botha's part, aimed at demonstrating the government is prepared to listen to business and at gaining business co-operation with government economic policies.



PW Botha: This time, the talk is all tax

The business leaders who have attended previous summits have not, on the whole, used these to level strong criticism against government's policies.

The business people who went to the first summit at Johannesburg's Carlton Hotel in 1979 were flattered to have been asked to a meeting which was described by a hopeful Harry Oppenheimer as marking "a new relationship between government and private enterprise".

By the second summit, at Cape Town's Good Hope Centre in 1981, many were disillusioned with the slow pace of the reform package Botha had sold them in 1979. But political criticism was muted and polite.

By 1986 businessmen might have been expected to come out with louder criticism: the economy which had been booming in 1981 was now clearly in a serious crisis, the intervening period had been characterised by mass scale political uprisings in the townships, increased disinvestment pressure and sanctions, two States of Emergency and overt anti-apartheid statements and actions of some business leaders in 1985 and early 1986.

But criticism was muted at last year's conference, too, at least in part because the event was carefully planned to avoid it.

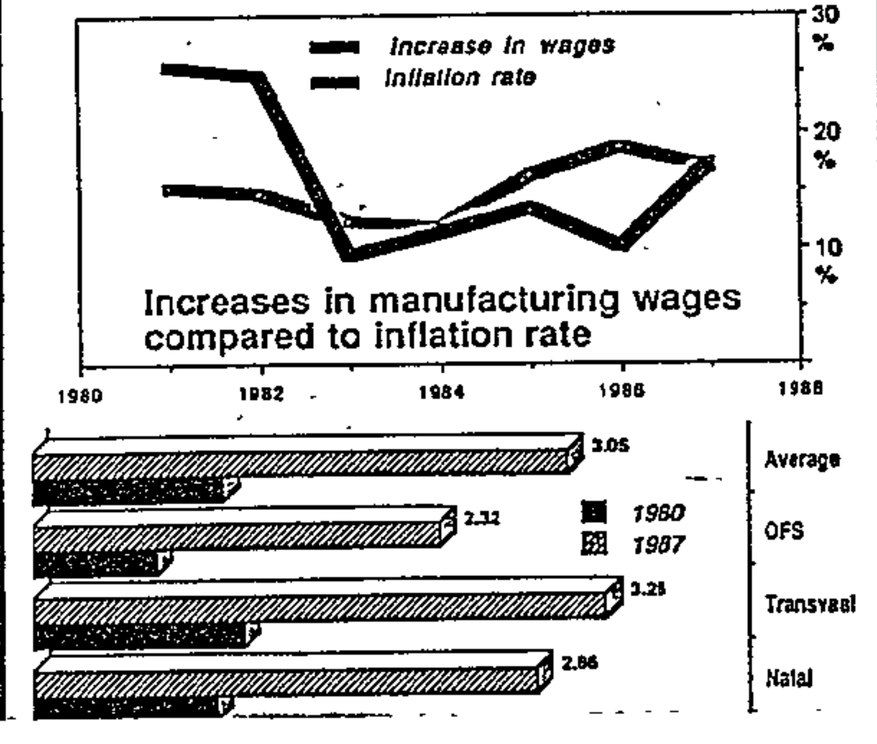
Two hundred attended the 1986 summit compared with 600 in 1981. And the agenda for last November's summit was set beforehand, with no overt reference to politics. Instead, discussion centred around two documents, one a long-term economic plan drawn up by the state president's Economic Advisory Committee, the other on privatisation.

It's clearly intended that this year's conference should have an even narrower focus. But debate could well be more heated than in the past. The Margo Commission report has elicited strong responses from business — the detailed critique by Assocom published this week is one example. And Thursday's summit is likely to see much lobbying by different business interest groups.

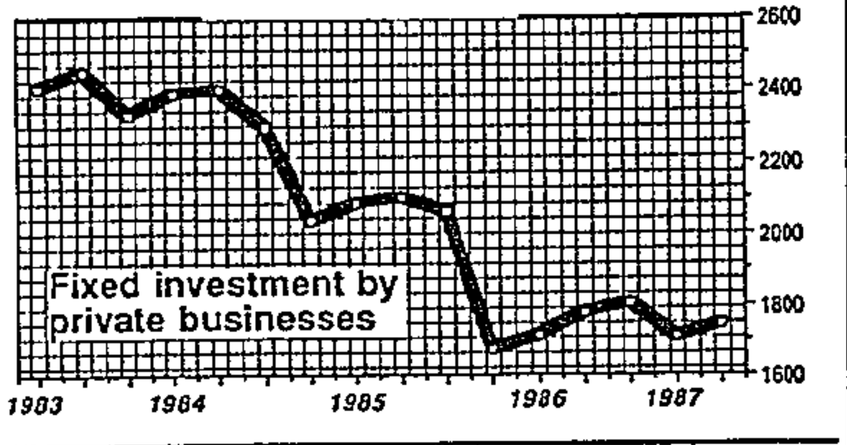
● Assocom's annual congress in East London next week will be officially opened by Minister of National Education FW De Klerk. Issues on the agenda include the government white paper on privatisation and the Margo Commission report.

## BUSINESS BAROMETER

### GENERAL INDICATORS




**result total fixed investment in the economy continued to decline, as the first graph shows. However, real fixed capital investment by the private sector improved slightly in the second quarter, after falling in the first,**




### FINANCIAL INDICATORS

Johannesburg Stock Exchange Indices

# Talking big business with PW

ARGUS 23/10/82

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THE PRESIDENCY



By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

IT was President Botha's fourth meeting with businessmen in Pretoria this week since he became Head of State in 1978.

Mr Botha pointed out this week that it had always been the policy of his Government to place relations between the Government and the private sector on a sound footing and to create a climate of mutual confidence without which a healthy economy was not possible.

Gone are the days, especially under Dr Verwoerd, when there was distrust and virtual enmity between certain sectors of the business world and the then Government and also long gone are the days, especially in the Thirties and the Forties, when some Nationalist propagandists referred to big business as the "Hoggenheimers" intent on exploiting the Afrikaner.

At the same time many businessmen have remained wary about being co-opted completely onto a Government development strategy.

Mr Botha started putting some of them at their ease at the first meeting, the Carlton conference in November 1979, when he sounded the death-knell to the socio-economic constrictions of old-style apartheid. His critics can point out that this new direction has developed rather slowly but some constructive things have flown from these meetings.

From the first meeting came the Small Business Development Corporation and later the Development Bank of Southern Africa.

At the second meeting, in Cape Town in November 1981, Mr Botha asked businessmen to accept that the Government was serious in its endeavours to secure effective political participation for all South Africans.

The more active participation of businessmen in economic development, especially in regional development, was raised at this meeting.

The third meeting, in Pretoria, dealt with two main topics — privatisation and a new economic strategy.

Mr Botha then said that the new economic strategy was aimed at further extending the economic sector against the background of continued constitutional and socio-economic reform.

These conferences have never come to any firm conclusions and they were not really meant to do so.

As Mr Botha pointed out this week, tax reform as part of the Government's economic strategy had an important role to play in the entire reform process.

He also pointed out that such a far-reaching subject as reform and restructuring of the tax system would lead to divergent points of view and conflicting interests.

It will be the Government's task to reconcile the divergent points of view.

The latest conference was the most specialised one in that it dealt only with the restructured tax system proposals of the Margo Commission and it took place shortly after the rejection of major aspects of the proposals by Assocom.

It has become clear that it is going to be very difficult getting to some generally acceptable final concept of the Margo recommendations.

● Meanwhile an opinion poll has shown what Mr Botha probably knew this all along.

From February to August this year the Conservative Party's support has grown considerably — from 15,2 percent of the white electorate to 22,1 while the National Party's support has gone down from 49,4 percent to 44,1.

By August the Independent movement was showing support from 11,9 percent of the electorate while the Progressive Federal Party was down to 10,4.

The company who ran the poll maintains that the CP reached its peak in the May general election and that it has not shown any noticeable growth since then.

In the case of the Independents the picture may have changed considerably since the split. Many potential supporters of the Independent movement and the National Democratic Movement may well drift back to the National Party or just lose all interest.

No wonder this situation is said to be causing Mr Botha some amusement.

23/10/87

criticism was more restrained. There are still two main targets — the Indaba education proposals, and its marketing campaign.

Criticism of education proposals is based on a distortion of Indaba intentions to make facilities equal. Nat critics claim this is set to happen within one year, and will lead to massive disruptive, to the disadvantage of white children. The Indaba has frequently refuted the allegation — its campaign is a long-term one, and has the same objective as government. But the inaccurate criticism continues.

The second target of Nat critics is the Indaba marketing campaign, regarded as a glossy propaganda exercise which will unfairly influence public opinion.

Indaba's response, outlined by Peter Mansfield, is that the proposals are complex and need detailed presentation. The communications campaign aims to present the details in digestible form. If public opinion is ever tested in a provincial referendum, people will need to know what they are voting about.

Mansfield is reluctant to quote budget figures, but says he believes the government has spent more money communicating its position on Group Areas than Indaba has on newspaper advertisements. Until there's a formal response from government on the Indaba proposals for the administration of KwaNatal, Indaba will continue to inform as broad an audience as possible.

"Our impression," says Mansfield, "is that, once Heunis has received the province's reply to our proposals, he will hold discussions with Indaba participants. Our immediate goal is discussion, and we hope it would lead to a referendum to test our proposals."

Significantly, Mansfield adds that despite the "mischievous" efforts of some critics, Indaba is amenable to discussing variations of its proposals with government. "We have indicated that we are happy to meet with government to seek consensus ... Our attitude is non-confrontational and seeks to accommodate any concerns that government may have."

INDABA

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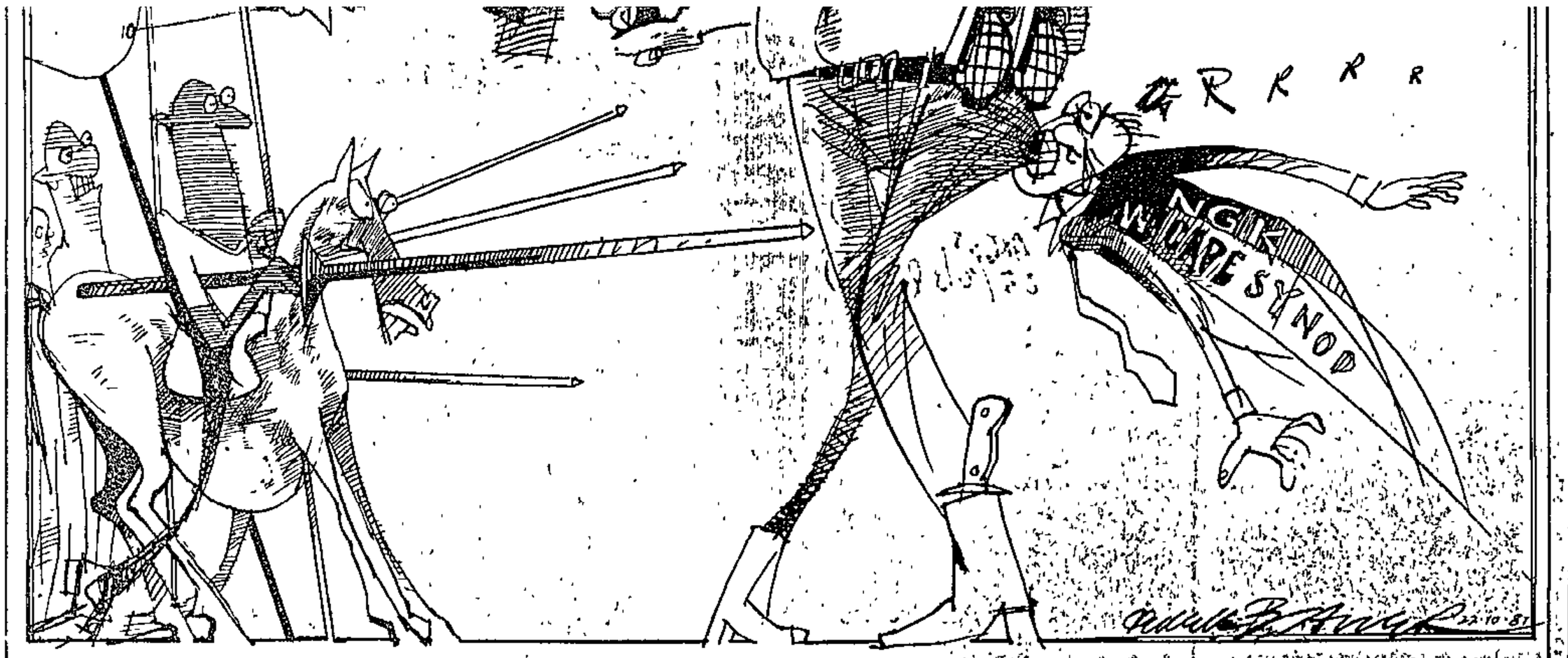
## A bit more subtle

**The Indaba** has again come under fire from the National Party — but this time, at the NP Natal congress in Amanzimtoti, the




An historic gathering in Johannesburg recently saw an unlikely cross-section of people united in their singular opposition to apartheid. It was resolved that this "spark of unity" be carried back to the different regions of South Africa and at a meeting this Sunday, the Western Cape will be challenged to fan that spark into a brighter flame, reports DALE LAUTENBACH of the Political Staff.

ARGUS 23/10/87

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# A 'spark of unity'

THE Western Cape is invited to test new territory this Sunday at a political meeting planned to extend tentative feelers across the divide between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics.

A group of Capetonians who attended the recent Five Freedoms Forum in Johannesburg have planned a report back meeting in similar spirit to the weekend-long Johannesburg gathering which was heralded as historic for the remarkable cross-section of people who shared one platform under its banner.

The crucial question was put to the Johannesburg meeting by Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) in his opening address.

Are the goals which unite us more important than the issues which divide us, he asked, the answer to which, in spirit and enthusiasm at least, was a resounding "yes" by the end of the weekend.

It was a "yes" in spirit because no one there was naive enough to believe that this sort of idealism could ever be enough. None of the very different constituencies represented changed their principles or positions to accommodate anyone else: the United Democratic Front remained vehemently against parliamentary participation and the MPs attending weren't about to resign their seats and join "the struggle".

But that a joint enemy — apartheid — was recognised, introduced a new and tentative idea that there might be co-operation and that the details of strategy and end goals which have been so divisive across the broad spectrum of opposition to the National Party government might indeed be over-arched.

To this end the Cape Town delegates have planned the report back which begins at 10am on Sunday in the Leslie Building on the main campus of the University of Cape Town.

## Messengers

They stress that they attended the Johannesburg forum, no more, no less. They are messengers perhaps and what they bring to Cape Town is not a formulation or even a suggestion that there be a Five Freedoms of sorts here. Sensitive to established organisations in the Western Cape the group is at pains not to tread on toes.

The Cape Town group hope to involve the same breadth of representation as was achieved on the Johannesburg platform and from UDF groupings to the newly formed National Democratic Movement and the PFP, they have all been invited to Sunday's gathering.

In Johannesburg, speakers ranged from the "parliamentary camp" with Wynand Malan, Jan van Eck, Peter Gastrow and Progressive Federal Party representatives to the so-called "extra-parliamentary forces" with UDF heavyweights, speakers from UDF affiliates and unionists.

## Solidarity

Some voices from big business were heard there too and the church identified with the initiative through the rousing exhortation for solidarity at the end of the three-day affair from the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches.

The Five Freedoms Forum had the theme "Whites in a Changing South Africa" and its specific strategy was to challenge whites — if they were to call themselves democrats and if they believed in a non-racial future — to define their role in changing the status quo.

Parliament was traditionally the political "home" for white South Africans but there were many, it was felt, who had rejected (or severely doubted) Parliament's ability to bring about a just dispensation and were now "homeless".

Most were out of touch with the "national democratic struggle" which was providing a platform for political expression in the black community and were daunted perhaps by the leap from the parliamentary tradition slap bang into the UDF or the like.

## Criticisms

Speakers at the original forum criticised each other sharply but found a common ground too where co-operation might be explored. The message from the UDF and from other extra-parliamentary speakers was that whites indeed had a role in establishing a non-racial future and were welcome if they accepted this challenge.

The parliamentary representatives faced stiff opposition to their participation but where accepted by the degree to which they recognised the vital importance of political activity outside their own traditions.

The meeting on Sunday will begin with a report back on the Johannesburg forum after which people attending will be invited to gather in smaller groups to discuss a number of questions, importantly that one put by Dr Slabbert: do we have a common goal which is more important than the issues which divide us.

The meeting is open to all.

# Jelly doesn't tear



**The recent disruption on the left may favour the Conservative Party. CP leader Andries Treurnicht is optimistic about rightwing growth.**

***FM*: How do the developments left-of-centre affect the CP?**

**Treurnicht:** The NP's move to the left has caused confusion among leftwing parties, since the NP has, to a large extent, taken over their policies and strategies. And with growing uncertainty on the left, more people are looking to the right. As problems with the present dispensation increase, people find the CP's suggestions more acceptable.

**How would the CP do in a 1989 election?**

If there were to be an election now, I believe we'd increase our seats by 50%. I do not want to predict figures for 1989, but we are increasingly gaining support. And events such as the violence at Ellis Park, and government's slack attitude on the Group Areas Act (GAA), continuously play into our hands.

Indications are that CP support in Cape Town and Natal is growing. In the Free State, where we had the highest percentage of votes without winning a seat, we need only a 10% increase in votes to win over the province.

**Do you predict further schisms within the NP?**

As Prime Minister B J Vorster once said: "Jelly doesn't tear." But I do not believe Wynand Malan is the last to break off — he has many more soulmates within the NP. However, I am not optimistic about more defections within parliament from the NP to us.

**Where does the CP draw boundaries for its partition policy?**

The NP, many years ago, set a good example by not drawing boundaries too soon. It will not be politically clever to reveal too much too early about where a party is moving. You have to take things step by step.

Of course some boundaries are already set, such as the Transkei and other independent states, and the self-governed states — although those are still fluid.

Other areas which clearly belong to non-whites — including those created by the GAA — can be regarded as boundaries.

**How do you plan to finance this policy of partition?**

We will support the other groups to the best of our ability and help them to become autonomous. But we will not overtax our own people. We do not believe that such new states should start on the same level as our developed states. It is a healthy principle that people must crawl before they walk.

**How would you ensure that mixed areas such as Hillbrow become "white" again?**

First of all we'd apply the GAA and influx control. Then we'd start buying out property to ensure the area regains its original character. If it used to be white, it must become white again.

**Would that not lead to increased violence?**

One can expect that people will be unhappy, but government is now creating — on a large scale — unhappiness in the other direction. We have already seen street fights in Mayfair and other areas — a direct result of declining to apply the GAA.

**Do you then believe government is too soft on security?**

Our criticism against government is that it was too soft when it had to take the necessary steps to prevent large groups of non-whites from entering white areas. By abolishing influx control it chopped off its own hands. You have to decide whether a park or other facility is in a white area, and limit the use thereof to the inhabitants of that area.

**Where do you agree and differ from the Afrikaanse Weerstandsbeweging (AWB)?**

We agree that we need a white *vaderland* with its own white government. Most members of the AWB are also members of the CP. I do not want to comment on our differences before I have studied their new policy document — one which the Hervormde Kerk has accepted without great difficulty.

**The AWB is regarded by many as the militant wing of the CP...**

No. We have discussed violence with members of the AWB, and they have assured us that they do not regard violence as a political method, nor will they try to take over law and order. Furthermore, they assured us they have no plans to become involved in politics — although I do believe they are already moving in the political sphere.

Their recent statements about a "holy war" must be seen against the background that *if* SA's law and order collapses, *then* the AWB will save what can still be saved.

**Don't you regard Eugene Terre'Blanche as a threat to your leadership?**

He does have strong support within his own organisation, but the CP is an established party in rightwing politics.



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# PFP not being honest — defector

**Own Correspondent**

DURBAN. — Leaders of the Progressive Federal Party were "not being honest" if they said they were taken by surprise when three senior PFP members defected to Mr Wynand Malan's new National Democratic Movement (NDM).

This was said last night by Mr Pieter Schoeman, a member of the President's Council and a former member of the PFP, at a report-back meeting in Hillcrest, which is in the constituency of the MP for Greytown, Mr Pierre Cronje.

In reply to a question on the defection of himself, Mr Cronje and Mr Peter Gastrow, MP for Durban Central, Mr Schoeman said: "If the leadership of the PFP say they were taken by surprise by our resignation they are certainly not being honest . . . we had numerous discussions with the (PFP) caucus . . . I told Colin Eglin that the three of us were unhappy."

He believed, instead, that the PFP caucus had shown "an inability to accommodate the concern we were trying to express".

Speaking at the same meeting, Mr Wynand Malan said he believed the NDM had brought a new dimension to politics.

The confrontational "follow my leader" approach would not work, and would ultimately lead to the destruction of one or other of the opposing parties.

ARGUS 30 KA

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# SADF staff can belong to the AB — Malan

By PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

MEMBERS of the SA Defence Force are also allowed to be members of the secret organisation, the Afrikaner Broederbond (AB), the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan has said.

In a written reply to questions asked in Parliament, General Malan said SADF members could belong to the AB because it was a "non-violent cultural movement of which the aims and ideals are not in conflict with any laws of the country."

General Malan was also asked by Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, indirectly-elected Conservative Party MP, if the AB called for an oath of allegiance by members to the AB itself and to fellow members.

"If so what are the implications regarding special treatment for fellow members or conflict of interests concerning allegiances sworn to as members of the Defence Force?"

General Malan replied that the secret organisation did not demand such an oath.

For more details he referred Mr Derby-Lewis to the report of the Commission of Inquiry into Secret Organisations of October 1964 in which D H Botha, of the Appellate Division, "replied in full" to the questions.

The Botha Commission provoked great controversy at the time because it broke completely with South African tradition by holding its inquiry in camera and by presenting its conclusions without reference to the secret evidence.

It absolved the AB of any of the charges laid against it in its terms of reference — but many critics said its terms of reference had been badly framed.

However Judge Botha did say that the AB required a "solemn pledge" from its members that they would not divulge their own membership — except in really urgent circumstances — and never the membership of others.

One of the judge's terms of reference was to find out if the AB was "guilty of nepotism or interference with appointments and promotions in the Public Service, the Defence Force or the Police Service so that persons are appointed or promoted for reasons other than merit."

Judge Botha said that he did hear evidence supporting this type of accusation, but rejected it.

Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, the Prime Minister who commissioned the Botha report and himself a Broeder, said in Bloemfontein in 1943 that "the Afrikaner Broederbond must gain control of everything it can lay its hands on in every walk of life in South Africa."

# The Progs get set to bite back at the 'wimps'

By PATRICK LAURENCE

A FURIOUS spat is looming between the Progressive Federal Party and Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement.

An angry and hurt PFP leader Colin Eglin gave notice of the quarrel to come at the PFP Transvaal Congress last weekend.

Admitting that he was resentful at the defection of his former chairman, Peter Gastrow, to the NDM, Eglin described the manner in which Gastrow and two PFP members — Pierre Cronje, MP for Greytown, and Pieter Schoeman, of the President's Council — defected to Malan as deceitful.

Veteran MP Helen Suzman contemptuously labelled the defectors "wimps".

Responding to Malan's characterisation of all existing political parties as "dogmatic and rigid", Eglin riposted that Malan's stance was "remarkably arrogant" for a man of his apparent humility.

In the approach to the May 6 general election, Eglin saw Malan and his then ally and co-independent candidate, Denis Worrall, as "catalysts" who could trigger mass defection of National Party rank-and-file to a loose *verligtge*. anti-NP alliance.

Malan and Worrall have since quarrelled and veered away, both from one another and from the PFP, prompting Eglin to accuse them of "impulsive and inept manoeuvring" and of providing comfort and amusement to President PW Botha.

An opinion poll published in *Rapport* last weekend identified the independent movement as a potential force to be reackoned with in the arena of white parliamentary politics before Malan and Worrall fell out.

The poll showed that between February and August support for independents in the white electorate grew threefold from 3,7 to 11,9 percent.

During the same period support for the ruling National Party dropped from 49,4 to 44,1 percent. At the same time PFP support declined even more sharply from 19,4 to 10,4 percent. In contrast during the same time span Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party gained support, picking up from 15,2 to 22,0 percent.

These trends identified the independent movement before the Malan-Worrall squable as a threat to both the NP and the PFP.

Leaving aside the African National Congress insurgency and the challenge from the mainstream extra-parliamentary opposition, there now appears to be no threat to the NP from its Left. The main danger is from the Right, with some observers even giving the CP a chance of winning the next election.

On the opposite flank, a fight to death is in the offing between the PFP, the NDM and Worrall's Independent Movement (he salvaged the name for himself in a settlement with Malan). At stake is the right to exclusive occupation of the shrinking parliamentary niche on Botha's Left.

In preparing itself for the battle to come the PFP resolved at its Transvaal congress to eliminate what Suzman called the "confusion in the public mind" on where it stands on national security.

The PFP was, of course, savaged by the NP in the May election, the NP having projected the PFP as "soft on security" and won over traditional PFP supporters as well as most remaining stalwarts of the moribund New Republic Party.

Former PFP MP Brian Goodall, who was defeated on May 6, presented a position paper at the Transvaal congress, which argued for a twofold [illegible] the ANC: its hard-

core pro-armed struggle protagonists should be dealt with militarily by the security forces but the bulk of its supporters should be drawn into negotiation.

After discussion behind closed doors a security committee headed by Suzman was appointed to re-examine PFP policy on security. Suzman, however, assured the *Weekly Mail* that the Rule of Law and the right to peaceful political dissent would be upheld as guiding principles in the pending re-appraisal.

An attempt by delegates from Germiston to persuade the congress to formally reject parts of the Freedom Charter was defeated.

Instead the congress unanimously re-affirmed its commitment to "economic democracy," which, Suzman explained, meant rejection of nationalisation and endorsement of maximum participation in a free enterprize economy for all.

That may have been rejection of the offending clauses of the Freedom Charter by another name. The Charter calls for restoration of national wealth to "the people" and transfer of mineral wealth, banks and monoply industry to "ownership of the people".

FRONTLINE

# 'Normal' democracy is out

**DENNIS BECKET, editor of *Frontline* magazine, takes a critical look at South Africa after apartheid. This series on democracy is sponsored by the National Endowment for Democracy in Washington.**



**South Africa's problem: Whites seek security, blacks seek liberation.**

THE South African problem is extremely simple. It contains two fundamentals – whites seek security and blacks seek liberation.

Since these two quests are assumed to be mutually incompatible, much effort is put into devising half-and-half formulae.

All these formulae revolve around some attempt to protect the minority from the brunt of black citizenship. All of them suffer from the same basic flaw.

They assume that the quest for liberation can be checked before it reaches fulfilment, which is on a par with assuming that water can be stopped from flowing before it reaches its basin.

The core black demand is for full citizenship in South Africa. When blacks and whites go to the same polling booth to choose the government of South Africa on the same roll and from the same range of candidates, liberation will have unequivocally been achieved.

Anything short of this and the political framework will remain under assault.

Participation per se is a cause of contention. Some black forces denounce participation as collaborating with the evasion of majority rule, and the focus of dispute continues to be about the system and by violent methods, instead of within the system and by debate and election.

Those black forces which do participate, do so with the aim of using the system to force further changes upon the system.

There remains a core "black cause", which is the removal of the remaining impediments to full South Africanhood.

White people continue to fight a rearguard battle, perceiving their salvation as being dependent on whatever constitutional mechanism is preserving them from further black access to power.

In the case of the canton system, as proposed by Louw and Kendall, blacks are required to foreshorten the goal of equal access to South Africa and settle instead for equal access to one two-hundredth of South Africa.

In addition, whites are required to abandon their vast fear of black rule over a united South Africa in favour of assent to black rule over a fragmented one.

Their solace is to be the fragmentation, and a constitution which protects them from the inevitable pressure (deriving from psychological as well as economic factors) to re-integrate South Africa into a whole entity.

This approach undervalues both of the central features of South African society the violent reluctance of the white power-holders to entrust their destiny to black mercies, and the imperative for blacks to seek undiluted citizenship of their country.

Does this then mean there can be nothing but war?

No, it means we have to look a good deal harder. We have to establish a democratic society which is so convincingly democratic that there is no room for complaint either that the majority is being sold short or that the minority is being sacrificed.

"Normal", or Western, democracy is out. Whites believe it means an undemocratic end ("Look at the rest of Africa.") and their own subjection to impotence.

"Lesser" democracy is futile – and all systems of "group" and geographic separation are "lesser" in the South African context even if they have worked in different situations. This leaves us with the prospect of more democracy.

Not unnaturally, this comes across at first sight as far-fetched. How can a society set out to move from a very unsound basis to a very sound basis without passing through gradually increasing degrees of partial soundness along the way?

However, precisely the reason we are bogged down in the morass is that partial soundness is, in our circumstances, illusory.

Whites see the spectre of black domination looming at the end of the line and, therefore, confine "reforms" to what preserves the essence of minority rule. Blacks see through the conjuring tricks and sleight-of-hand and continue to resent the framework.

Thus, if we are to truly break the logjam, we have to fulfil two requirements.

First, nervous people – white and black – must be satisfied that universal franchise does not mean their ruin. They must be released from the belief that change is all a slippery slope to oblivion. Moreover, their faith must rest on something considerably stronger than a constitution or paper guarantee which purports to restrain the will of the majority.

Second, liberation must be complete – one person, one vote, one country, with no residue of the right of the minority aspirations.

If there is any such residue then the political foundation remains embattled, whether or not groups are racially defined and whether or not individual leaders may, for the time being, assent to participate within the constitutional system.

How do we reconcile these requirements? By adding to democracy. I put the following propositions:

- If society is thoroughly encompassed in a comprehensive web of democratic institutions, the needs of both liberation and security are met. Both are met by the fact of democracy.
- No established form of democracy is full enough to satisfy both the fears of the current rulers and the aspirations of the disenfranchised.
- South Africa's need, thus, is to take democracy to a new stage – a stage beyond that which was needed to satisfy the lesser schisms of calmer countries in earlier times.

On these three points I am vehement. On all else, including the avenues by which we might seek to enhance democracy, I merely put forward tentative suggestions, such as:

Why, in principle, should a village or precinct not be able to make large and far-reaching decisions over its own affairs, provided that these decisions are acceptable to the broader society?

Is it necessary that such powers as local or regional authorities do exercise, be sacrosanct? Is it not more democratic that the nation as a whole should be able to require particular parts to comply with the democratic will of the national majority?

I believe that around these two themes lies the prospect of developing a democracy which meets South Africa's need.

The principle on which I would envisage the political process being based is that small communities, even tiny communities such as suburbs, can exercise this control in such a way as to cause offense to the greater society.

By this principle I and my neighbors become the firstline custodians of our neighborhood's fate. We have our own small elected council – a miniscule speck in the eye of the state, but a brick in the nationwide edifice of power.

We have a good deal of power over our own affairs. We are not limited to control of dog-catching or parking tickets. We can decide what we like – in the knowledge that we are but a few thousand in a nation of 30-million.

We are not only residents of a neighborhood or suburb, we are also residents of a broader district or town.

Here, there is another power-wielding council, another brick in the wall of order. We are jointly encompassed with a wider range of people in a second democratic unit.

The same principle applies – the district can make its own decisions. If it steps beyond the "normal" borders of local powers, it does not simply get stuck down as acting ultra vires. But if its conduct in any field causes offense to the broader society, it too is suspectible to interference from the broader society.

**The neighborhood and the district**

At this level I am ensnared in two spheres of democratic interaction, the neighborhood and the district.

If my district objects to something my neighborhood is doing, it puts pressure on the neighborhood to stop it. The pressure is expressed in the district council, where representatives from my neighborhood council serve and where there are doubtless members who espouse the district's argument.

If cajoling and arguing fail to bring about a settlement, then my district can apply its greater resources to put pressure on my neighborhood. It can prejudice the neighborhood in terms of resource allocation, for instance.

Depending on how great a grievance my neighborhood's behavior causes in the district, how dedicated to its course my neighborhood is, and how much disruption the dispute is causing all round, the outcome is determined.

If my neighborhood council is so intransigent that its course starts to inconvience my life, I communicate disaffection to my representative, or apply my vote to changing the council.

If I consider my district to be causing unnecessary waves, and jeopardising my own equanimity, by attempting to bring into line some other neighborhood whose conduct does not, in fact, disturb me, I express disapproval in my capacity as an enfranchised citizen of the district.

That is the principle. To cut it short, here I ask you to envisage an entire society constructed on that principle.

As neighborhood relates to the district, so does the district to the region, the region to the nation. We have a society thick with democracy.

And what have we achieved? For a start, there is no argument about whether liberation has arrived. Power has indeed gone to the people – more fully even than "the people" demand.

The majority can do what the majority wants. All that is required is that the majority truly is the majority. "Majority will" is not expressed by a single crass choice, where 30-million people compress all their social and economic psychological aspirations into a single X against the name of one of two or three contending parties, and it is not manisfested by the decree of a Minister.

It is expressed by a continuing and comprehensive process of interaction in a multiplicity of sites, and is manisfested by the aggregate of innumerable elections and alliances and rivalries among a myraid of groups.

Wherein all this is the security of minorities. There is no constitutional "minority protection" and there are no naive promises that this or that avenue will not be adopted.

There is something far more solid – the assurance that decisions are arrived at through the fullness of democratic interaction.

I have set out here but the barest bones of a principle in which I believe.

It is not an easy principle to argue. For one, it does not have any convenient handle to latch on to.

People ask: "Where has such a thing worked?" and the answer is, "Nowhere has such a thing ever been instituted."

But nowhere, either, has there appeared a society even remotely comparable to South Africa.

In South Africa, almost all white people believe that equal citizenship in an undivided country is "the end". The suggestion that it is, in fact, the beginning of stability meets the same response from white South Africans in 1987 as the suggestion that the world was round met from Europeans in 1587.

My argument also meets with a good deal of scepticism from blacks, partly because of the misconception that here is yet another variation of the well-worn fragmentation theme, partly because the logic of the principle I propose does not abolish racial discrimination as a starting point.

To this last I reply first: The fact of democracy disposes of oppression, and if the democratic will should leave undisturbed some features of unoppressive racism – an Afrikaans or Muslim or Zulu community wanting to keep its culture alive in its school, or a black urban community protecting local business from white competition, so be it. Democracy rules.

Second: South Africa's racism is overwhelmingly the child of insecurity and will dwindle naturally – and only – once the insecurity is removed.

Third: Anyone who expects South Africa's whites to drop their racial paranoia as a starting point is thinking of a different South Africa to the one I see around me.

Despite these difficulties, and innumerable vexed and as yet inchoate elements of the argument, I maintain that the principle of reconciling security with liberation through the entrenchment of democracy contains the seeds of surmounting the mighty ill which is wrecking South Africa.

To date, I have not come across any other principle which contains those seeds.

# Move to unite groups opposed to apartheid

Political Staff

A MOVE to unite organisations opposed to apartheid and to mobilise the support of white South Africans in search of a non-racial democracy was supported by about 200 people at a gathering at the University of Cape Town.

Progressive Federal Party member Mr Tian van der Merwe said yesterday."If this meeting has done nothing more than achieve just the beginning of co-operation and goodwill between organisations and individuals opposed to apartheid, then it has indeed achieved something."

A broad cross-section of people from different constituencies in the white community attended a report back meeting yesterday of the Five Freedoms Forum held in Johannesburg recently.

The meeting was attended by people ranging from Claremont MP, Mr Jan van Eck, members of the PFP and the National Democratic Movement to individuals from organisations like Nusas, the End Conscription Campaign, the Black Sash and the United Democratic Front.

A message to the Cape Town meeting from UDF National Treasurer Mr Azhar Cachalia called on whites to "break decisively with apartheid" and to seek "innovative ways and means of fighting against it.

## COMMON GOAL

"It is imperative that the struggle for a non-racial democratic South Africa must involve black and white," said Mr Cachalia. "The UDF extends its warmest greetings to the participants of this conference today."

The gathering supported a resolution at the end of the day agreeing that the common goal of ending apartheid and establishing a non-racial, democratic South Africa was a stronger commitment than any divisive differences among them.

3644



# Impact of '88 elections

**Elections, both general and municipal, scheduled for next year have fired up campaigners at a time when white politics, a recent opinion poll has confirmed, are more fluid than they have ever been, reports DAVID BRAUN of the Political Staff**

Dateline: PRETORIA

T least one critically important general election white politics next year, l possibly two, will have a ımatic impact on the fue political development of ıth Africa.

The scheduled poll is the tionwide municipal elecns in October, held in every y, town and village on the ne day.

The possible second poll is ther general election for House of Assembly, if the te President, Mr P W Boı, decides to dissolve the ole of Parliament earlier ın he would otherwise be liged to in 1989.

## Incentive

Mr Botha would have a werful incentive to do this he Labour Party continued to obstruct Government-desired legislation in the 1988 session of Parliament, and indeed there have already been ominous rumbles from within the National Party indicating that the presidential patience is wearing thin in this regard.

Whenever the Assembly elections are held, the various political groupings competing for the support of the white electorate are already in a frenzied campaign.

Yet white politics, a recent opinion poll has confirmed, are more fluid than they have ever been.

One might say they are all at sea, with waves crashing in different directions.

If a parliamentary election were to be held right now the results could be substantially different from those of the general election less than six months ago.

It is against this background that the major political movements are sizing each other up.

## Block Govt

At stake in the local government elections is more than the political control of the town councils.

If the Conservative Party, as it is determined to do, wrests control of a majority of the country's town councils it would be in a powerful position to block the Government on a variety of fronts, to say nothing of the important psychological advantage such a victory would provide in the scramble for parliamentary power.

The Government has placed so much store by devolving power to the local authorities in the administration of own affairs, that CP control of this segment of authority could be seriously debilitating to the smooth administration of the country.

The local authorities, for example, are in a good position to wreck the regional services councils or to thwart plans to desegregate residential suburbs.

It is with this in mind, Government sources have indicated, that extra powers are to be given to the State President to override intransigent local authorities when it comes to certain matters such as opening at least one residential suburb for use by all race groups in every major town.

Such is the uncertainty even in the Government's mind as to how successful the CP is going to be in future polls.

## Unpredictable

The Conservative Party factor remains one of the most unpredictable variables in South African politics, with opinion divided as to whether the party has already reached its zenith or whether it still has some way to go.

The fight for control of the local authorities is not only crucial for the CP and the NP, but also for the Progressive Federal Party and the Independents (in their various forms).

The Progressive Federal Party has reached a turning point in its history where, if it does not demonstrate it is able to at least consolidate its electoral support, and preferably increase that support, it will be on the same slippery slide to oblivion that was the fate of the New Republic Party.

But the chances are that the PFP will consolidate and even grow at the polls.

For one thing, in spite of the electoral setbacks in the last general election, the party did hold on to a solid core of more than a quarter million votes. These were people who voted PFP in spite of National Party smears that it was synonomous with the ANC.

Secondly, the recent defections from the party, all from its left-wing, and including the "Dakarites", have left the PFP with a more centrist image — not exactly an impediment in an electorate which is likely to remain in a conservative mood for some time to come.

## Major reasons

Thirdly, the PFP has correctly identified the major reason why voters defected from it to the National Party in the May election as its perceived "softness" on security and the vagueness of what the country which it needs to retain if it is to show that it is winning the battle of persuading the public that it has a clear alternative and a role to play.

The next Parliamentary elections, be they next year, in 1989 or in 1992 (when Mr P W Botha would like to have them postponed to) will be the true test for the PFP.

A fourth point in the PFP's favour, and conversely against the Independents, is the extraordinary tactics of the Wynand Malan group in joining forces with the PFP Dakarites while dumping Dr Denis Worrall.

## Concern

The most senior leaders of the National Party had expressed concern for some months before this move that the one thing they feared more than the CP was the loss of Nationalist support to the Independents.

Dr Worrall, in spite of a reputation for arrogance verging on illusions of grandeur, was considered to be a devastating opponent who ap[illegible] to legions of "enlight-

PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin summed up the party's dilemma and the solution recently when he told the party's Transvaal congress: "We have got to discover ourselves then we have to be true to ourselves. Once the electorate knows who we are and what we stand for, exciting possibilities become available to us."

This did not imply any changes to the PFP's long-standing principles, but rather a sharpening of the terms they are defined in and clarity on where the party stands with regard to positions on both its right and its left.

It would be unrealistic to project that the PFP could capture any additional town councils next year, but it does have a sizeable number of municipal seats around the

Now Nationalists snigger when they talk about the Independents.

Certain PFP members are also smiling.

### Question mark

At one stroke, Mr Wynand Malan has managed to transfer ideological baggage from the PFP to his own movement, at the price of that movement's most charismatic star.

It is difficult to see how Mr Malan can make progress under these circumstances.

A large question mark therefore hangs over the influence of the Independents in future elections, and the consequences such influence would have for both the National Party and the PFP.

Nat MPs also likely to join the NDM

# Body blow for PFP as 3 top men quit

(304A) B/day

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

THE PFP was yesterday dealt a severe body blow when three of its senior members — including the party's national chairman — resigned to join the newly formed National Democratic Movement under Independent MP Wynand Malan.

An undisclosed number of Nat MPs were due to join the NDM yesterday but, according to sources, failed to do so because of the unexpected early disclosure of the PFP defections.

However, the Nat defections are thought to be imminent.

The PFP members are national chairman and MP Peter Gastrow, MP Pierre Cronje and the PFP member on the President's Council Pieter Schoeman, all of whom recently travelled to Dakar with a predominantly Afrikaner group for talks with the ANC.

They join the leadership of Malan's NDM.

The NDM, which has grown out of the independent movement, has curiously excluded Denis Worrall, a prime mover in the NP breakaway, from its leadership.



● CRONJE



● SCHOEMAN

The NDM leadership committee, however, includes Worrall's election agent in the Helderberg constituency, Jannie Momberg.

● See comment Page 6

Former Nasionale Pers chairman David de Villers, Dr Esther Lategan, Gastrow, Cronje, Schoeman and Momberg are all full and equal members of the leadership committee.

The PFP, which lost its position as Official Opposition in the recent general election, now holds 16 seats plus one nominated seat in Parliament.

PFP MP Jan van Eck resigned from the party after the election to become an independent and yesterday said he had no intention of joining the NDM.

Announcing in a Press statement that they had joined the "new force in SA politics", the three former PFP members said they had left the party because of "a fundamental difference in respect of the role and strategies to be followed in order to play a meaningful role in the politics of SA at the present and in the future".

Worrall, who could not be reached at the time of going to Press, announced at a meeting in Somerset West with Lategan on Tuesday night that while he would remain a member of the movement he intended to take a "low-profile role" in it.

He announced at the meeting he intended to establish himself professionally and would continue to be politically

● To Page 2

(304A)

# Body blow for PFP

active in the Helderberg constituency.

Reluctant to elaborate on the statement issued by the three former PFP members because they intended to hold a Press conference today, Gastrow said the NDM would operate as a political party although it had not formally become one.

Asked whether the NDM was likely to become a party of "verligte Afrikaners", Gastrow said: "I'm not an Afrikaner nor English. I'm a South African with a German background."

On the possibility that Nat MPs would join the NDM Malan said: "We are having discussions in general terms of politics of the future with people of all parties."

In his statement, Malan said contrary to the rigidity and dogma of political groupings in SA, the NDM would strive to bridge historical and existing divides in society.

The three former PFP members all subscribed to "exactly the same principles" as the independent movement did and this had been borne out, for example, by Gastrow's stand on the principle of the state of emergency during the recent

● From Page 1

law and order debate in Parliament, Malan said.

The NDM believed the present state of emergency should be lifted as a matter of urgency and as a prerequisite for negotiation, political peace and economic prosperity.

In their statement the three said the PFP could "no longer be seen as a viable political force".

Working within the strict confines of Parliament and directing its effort almost entirely in terms of style and vocabulary at a very narrow spectrum of the white electorate had reduced the influence of the PFP to such an extent that it was no longer a viable force.

"After intense discussion with leaders of the independent movement we are satisfied that we share the same ideals for a new SA and the route to get there," they said.

Schoeman, who fought Malan in the 1981 Randburg by-election, is likely to remain in the President's Council and to stand for future elections on the NDM ticket.

ay hold the key for the next general election (3 of 4)

# olitics in melting pot

26/10/87 STAR

## Municipal polls m White p

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

At least one crucially important white election next year, and possibly two, will have a dramatic impact on developments in South Africa.

The first poll will be the nationwide municipal elections in October — to be held in every city, town and village.

The possible second poll is another general election for the House of Assembly — if President P W Botha decides to dissolve Parliament earlier than 1989, when it would then become obligatory.

Mr Botha would have a powerful incentive to do this if the Labour Party continues to obstruct Government-desired legislation in the 1988 session of Parliament, and indeed there have already been ominous rumbles from within the National Party indicating that the presidential patience is wearing thin.

Whenever the Assembly elections are held, the various political groupings competing for the support of the white electorate are already in a frenzied campaign. Yet white politics, a recent opinion poll has confirmed, are more fluid than they have ever been.

If a parliamentary election were to be held right now, the results could be substantially different from those of the general election less than six months ago.

### Political control

It is against this background that the major political movements are sizing up each other.

At stake in the local government elections is more than the political control of town councils.

If the Conservative Party, as it is determined to do, wrests control of most of the town councils, it would be in a powerful position to block the Government on many fronts, to say nothing of the important psychological advantage such a victory would give it.

The Government has placed so much store on this, by devolving power to the local authorities in the administration of own affairs, that CP control of this segment of authority could be seriously debilitating to the smooth administration of the country.

The local authorities, for example, are in a good position to wreck the regional services councils, or to thwart plans to desegregate residential suburbs.

### Most unpredictable

It is with this in mind, Government sources have indicated, that extra powers are to be given to the President to override intransigent local authorities when it comes to matters such as opening at least one residential suburb for use by all race groups in every major town.

The Government is uncertain how successful the CP will be in future polls. The CP factor remains one of the most unpredictable variables in politics, with opinion divided as to whether the party has already reached its zenith, or still has some way to go.

Control of local authorities is not only crucial for the CP and NP, but also for the Progressive Federal Party and the Independents.

The PFP has reached a turning point in its history where, if it does not demonstrate it is able to at least consolidate its electoral support, and preferably increase it, it will be on the same slippery slide to oblivion that was the fate of the New Republic Party.

But the chances are that the PFP will consolidate and even grow at the polls.

For one thing, in spite of the electoral setbacks in the last election, the party did hold on to more than 250 000 votes. These were people who voted PFP despite NP smears that it was synonomous with the ANC.

Secondly, the recent defections from the party, all from its left wing, and including the "Dakarites", have left the PFP with a more centrist image — not exactly an impediment in an electorate which is likely to remain in a conservative mood for some time to come.

Thirdly, the PFP has correctly identified the major reason why voters defected from it to the NP in the May election as its perceived "softness" on security and the vagueness of what the party actually stands for.

### PFP dilemma

PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin summed up the party's dilemma and the solution recently when he told the Transvaal Congress: "We have got to discover ourselves, then we have to be true to ourselves. Once the electorate knows who we are and what we stand for, exciting possibilities become available."

It would be unrealistic to expect that the PFP could capture any additional town councils next year, but it does have a sizeable number of municipal seats around the country which it needs to retain if it is to show that it is winning the battle of persuading the public that it has a clear alternative and a role to play.

The next parliamentary elections — be they next year, in 1989, or in 1992 (the year Mr Botha would like to have them postponed to) — will be the true test for the PFP.

A fourth point in the PFP's favour, and against the Independents, is the extraordinary tactics of the Wynand Malan group in joining forces with the *PFP Dakarites while dumping* Dr Denis Worrall.

The most senior leaders of the NP had expressed concern for some months before this move that the one thing they feared more than the CP was the loss of Nationalist support to the Independents.

Dr Worrall, despite a reputation for arrogance verging on delusions of grandeur, was considered to be a devastating opponent who appealed to legions of "enlightened Nationalists".

Now Nationalists snigger when they talk about the Independents. Certain PFP leaders are also smiling.

# Voters confused by disarray in politics to the left of Govt

By Colleen Ryan
Political Reporter

**White Parliamentary politics to the left of the Government is in disarray — and the average voter has been confused and bewildered by events since the May 6 election.**

**In contrast, the right-wing Conservative Party has an aura of strength and confidence and its voters have a clear idea of where the party stands and how it wants to proceed.**

**The CP is having none of the problems the left is having on the issue of extra-parliamentary activities. Right-wing groups which operate outside Parliament, such as the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) and the Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (BBB), merely bolster right-wing sentiment.**

**The same cannot be said of white politicians in the opposing camp.**

**Randburg MP Mr Wynand Malan recently took away three talented PFP members on the very issue of the PFP's inability to get involved in politics outside Parliament.**

**For the same reason he broke with Dr Denis Worrall, risking, and indeed probably losing, the support of many whites who admired Dr Worrall's urbane style of politicking.**

**If the present situation prevailed in another election, whites to the left of the Government would have to choose between:**

- **A PFP which acknowledges it has an image problem.**
- **Mr Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement, with his talk of "process politics", which confuses the average person.**
- **Dr Denis Worrall's Indepedent Movement which has lost much support with the departure of Mr Malan and Mrs Esther Lategaan.**
- **The New Republic Party which, if not dead, is in its last throes.**
- **Throwing in their lot with the United Democratic Front through organisations such as the Five Freedoms Forum, which has called on whites to become actively involved in opposing apartheid outside Parliament and for the creation of a non-racial democracy.**

**For those who believe in Parliament, the choice will probably come down to one between the PFP and the NDM.**

**The PFP says it is determined to fight back and to clearly present its policies of non-racialism, a federal structure of government, commitment to the rule of law and to a free enterprise economy.**

**But it has several problems to tackle. Its leader, Mr Colin Eglin, lacks charisma, and leadership is still a problem.**

**SIGNIFICANT NUMBERS OF WHITES**

**It also has to convince significant numbers of whites that they can "safely" vote for a party which promises a national convention *to negotiate a new constitution with blacks.***

**It also remains to be seen whether the NDM can attract support from black and whites.**

**NDM founder member and President's Councillor, Mr Pieter Schoeman, said he would aim his pitch at former NP supporters who realised the Government had hit a dead-end.**

**Even if the NDM managed to gain support, it could face a crisis when black groups demand not only talks, but commitment. Will the NDM be able to back extra-parliamentary campaigns, launched for example by the UDF and Cosatu, and still maintain white support?**

**And if the NDM does not want to risk losing white support and continues merely to debate, for how long will black organisations be willing to talk to them?**

**But a more urgent problem is the need to stop the blood-letting between white parties committed to fighting apartheid.**

**If they want to survive, the major figures and parties will have to meet to try to work out a common strategy.**

# A VOTE FOR ALL ULTIMATE GOAL

**BLACKS should be given the right to vote and be allowed to make decisions on laws that affect their lives, Mr Moses Chikane, former Transvaal secretary of the UDF said in the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday.**

Cross-examined by Mr BP Jacobs SC, for the State, Mr Chikane said one man one vote in South Africa was the "ultimate goal" which would bring about everlasting peace in the country.

Asked if blacks would agree to be included in a fourth chamber of parliament, Mr Chikane told the court: "We don't want it because it will be based on apartheid."

## Struggle

Major decisions in the present tricameral parliament, he said, were in the hands of a white parliament.

Mr Chikane said the struggle waged by blacks in this country was for equality and the dismantling of apartheid. He called on the Government to scrap all education departments "based on the colour of a person" and replace them with one system of education for all.

## Break

Mr Chikane and 18 others who include senior members of the UDF, Azapo, Azanyu and the Vaal Civic Association, have pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice van Dijkhorst, who is sitting with an assessor to charges of murder, treason, subversion and terrorism.

The trial resumed yesterday after a two-week break.

Mr Jacobs put it to Mr Chikane yesterday that the UDF wanted to destroy the existing

**By MONK NKOMO**

education system in black areas and take over control of schools and replace the syllabus. Mr Chikane denied the allegations and said UDF policy was to oppose apartheid.

Mr Chikane denied that the UDF wanted the Government to hand over power and stressed that the UDF wanted a government that was based on the will of the people. "We want to vote and elect a capable prime minister — black or white," he said.

Mr Chikane added: "We want a right to vote and decide on laws that govern our lives. All facets of apartheid laws which include bantustans and the Group Areas Act must be abolished. People will continue to protest unless apartheid is scrapped."

## 'Man uneasy over gun'

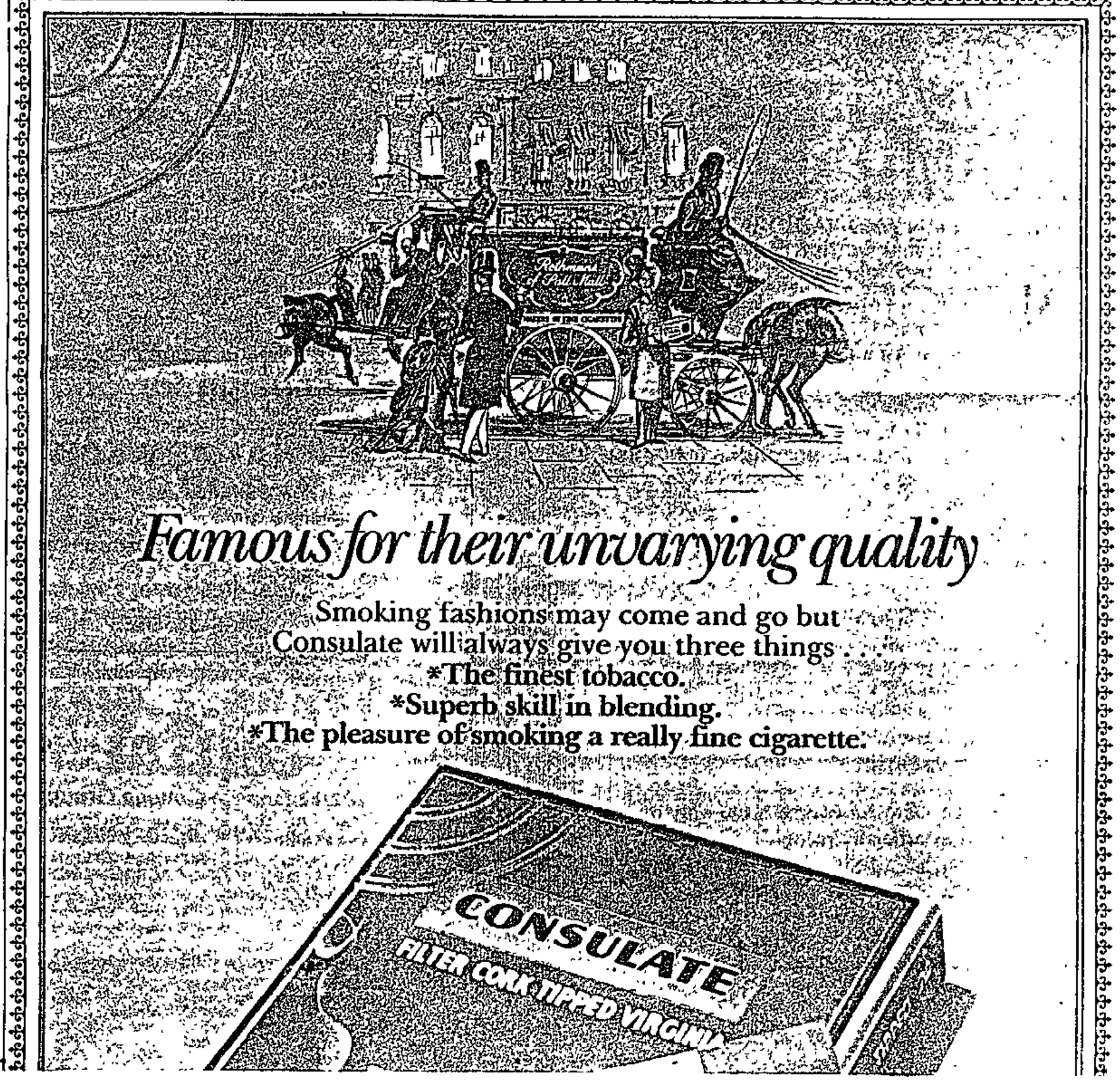
**A WHITE man who allegedly crippled a Winterveldt resident yesterday admitted in the Pretoria Supreme Court that the man suing him for more than R800 000 was possibly the person who he shot three years ago.**

Mr John Frederick Gouws (27), made this admission before Mr Justice Hartzenberg. He was being cross-examined by Mr Dikgang Moseneke, who appeared for Mr Simon Mdakane (30).

Mr Gouws told the court that his wife woke him from his sleep and told him that someone had entered the house. He said he was attracted by the light which shone from his parents' bedroom.

"I saw two men, one of whom was busy searching a drawer. I asked them what they were looking for.

Mr Gouws said that five months after the shooting incident, he cancelled his firearm licence as he wanted to sell the weapon he had used. This was because it was the first time he had shot someone and keeping the same firearm did not make him feel at ease.



# Call to forge links with anti-apartheid groups

**Political Correspondent**

THE forging of links between the Progressive Federal Party and other groups opposed to apartheid is one of the resolutions to be discussed at the Cape congress of the party in Grahamstown on Friday and Saturday.

A resolution from the party's youth movement says that the recent initiative taken at the Five Freedoms forum in Johannesburg represented an important step in uniting forces opposed to apartheid.

A resolution from the Grahamstown branch of the party calls on the party leadership and all extra-parliamentary organisations dedicated to non-racial democracy to eliminate obstacles to co-operation.

A Helderberg resolution asks the party to reaffirm its commitment to "the liberal centre".

The King William's Town branch calls for a "federation alliance" which can provide a rallying point for all who share the fundamental values of the party.

A Green Point resolution asks the PFP to recommit itself to the policy of seeking contact with all other relevant political movements including those banned by the Government.

This contact must be pursued in the interests of a negotiated solution in spite of the "vicious and lying propaganda attacks" aimed at the PFP in the election campaign.

In a Groote Schuur resolution, the party is urged to continue opposing the strategies and policies of other movements where they conflict with PFP policies and objectives.

In a number of resolutions on security matters, the increasing militarisation in South Africa is deplored and the party is asked to continue with its commitment to end conscription.

After the way in which the party was damaged by Nationalist exploitation of its security image, it is asked to take steps to emphasise that the party had the only policy which could provide long-term security for individuals and cultural groups.

# Fedhasa to fight discrimination

By AUDREY D'ANGELO
Financial Editor

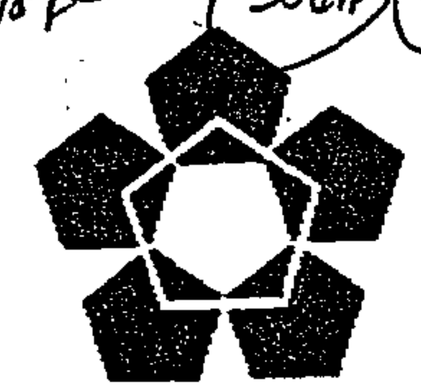
THE Federated Hotels, Liquor and Catering Association (Fedhasa) will launch a nationwide campaign to rid the country of all racial discrimination, its president, Mike Kovensky, announced yesterday.

Warning that large numbers of small family hotels are facing ruin, Kovensky said at the Western Cape regional conference of Fedhasa that hoteliers could not develop the vast potential black and coloured market while there was legislation preventing their guests from using amenities in the surrounding area.

"It is a self-defeating exercise to attract guests to a resort where they find they cannot use the beaches," he pointed out.

Kovensky said SA had about R5 billion invested in hotels, of which R3 billion worth was now at risk.

If this investment were lost, it would be a disaster beside which the damage done by the Natal floods would be negligible.



By the turn of the century it would cost about R5 billion to replace the lost hotels.

But, apart from that, a whole labour-intensive industry with the capacity to become the biggest in the country and provide many jobs would have been lost.

Earlier in the meeting Attie de Vries, economics professor at the Stellenbosch University Graduate School of Business, had pointed out the decline in numbers of hotel guests and said that the wage gap between whites and other races was narrowing.

De Vries advised the hotel industry not to wait for the government to make changes but to set its own house in order and do all it could to attract guests of other races.

Kovensky said Fedhasa had been giving this advice to members for several years and hoteliers had done all they could. The hotels were open and welcoming to all races.

After the meeting he said it was not for business reasons alone that Fedhasa intended to lobby other organizations for support in asking the government to repeal legislation preventing all races from using all amenities.

A lot of people felt such legislation was wrong, but they did nothing about it.

**Financial Staff**

LOCAL hotels are doing good business but have not yet raised prices to a level at which they could make reasonable profits, the Cape regional chairman of the Federated Hotels, Liquor and Catering Association (Fedhasa), Jos Kahn, said yesterday.

Interviewed at Fedhasa's Western Cape regional conference, Kahn said the industry was reviving after the recession and bookings from

# 'Education key to business success'

**Financial Staff**

BUSINESSES employing well-educated people are the most likely to succeed and the hotel and catering industry must compete with others to attract graduates and matriculants, the MD of Fedics, David Wigley, said yesterday.

Speaking at the Western Cape regional conference of the Federated Hotels, Restaurant and Catering Association (Fedhasa), at the Arthurs Seat Hotel, Sea Point, Wigley said: "At the end of the day, a business will be a success to the degree to which it employs educated, literate, staff irrespective of whether they are selling beds or liquor."

A high educational standard was one of the reasons Japan was now "the winning nation".

About 90% of its population completed high school and its illiteracy rate was less than 1% compared with 13% in the US. In SA, only 50% of the total population passed matric.

Wigley said Fedics insisted on all its employees having Standard 6 and in a year or two it would raise this to Standard 8 for all new employees.

"People must believe that if they spend time and money to be educated, they will be rewarded."

# Eglin to study China's development

ARGUS 27/10/87

By David Braun, Political Staff

THE departure today of Progressive Federal Party (PFP)leader Mr Colin Eglin for a three-week tour of the Far East, including an historic official visit to the People's Republic of China, is but the latest of a series of trips since the 1970s which has taken him to places few South Africans may go.

Mr Eglin has always believed it is important that he should see for himself what the 'other side' has to say, while at the same time giving an objective and balanced account of the South African situation.

His position in South African politics as a veteran campaigner against apartheid has given him an entree into countries of the world that few South African Parliamentarians have had in modern times.

In the 1970s, right at the height of the realisation that South Africa's future position in the world community depended largely on its relations with Africa, Mr Eglin pulled off a six-day African safari which took him to Senegal, Ghana, Kenya, Tanzania, Malawi and Zambia.

Since then he has travelled to another 10 African countries, frequently being received by heads of state.

These visits have included Nigeria and Zaire in what he has described as 'a fairly intensive round trying to come to terms with Africa'.

Elsewhere in the world, Mr Eglin's travels have taken him right through the Americas, Europe, the Middle East and Australasia.

His contacts in these countries include the prime ministers of Australia and New Zealand, the current prime ministers of Turkey and Portugal, and numerous foreign ministers from Israel to Brazil.

His message has always included that sanctions are counter-productive to black advancement and the dismantling of apartheid.

Mr Eglin said on the eve of his departure for Beijing (Peking) that the Far East could not be ignored in the global context.

"Just as South Africa is a fascinating mix of third world and first world, so is China. Their problem, like ours, is how to bring the two components together in a creative and stable entity.

"China is a country that has both high-tech nuclear capability and millions of peasant farmers.

"Just its age and culture alone makes it fascinating. It is in the midst of being in a state of evolution, so it will be fascinating to visit it at this time,' Mr Eglin said.

# PFP group on historic visit to Red China

**Political Staff**

PROGRESSIVE Federal Party leader Mr Colin Eglin today became the first South African parliamentary leader to head an official delegation to Red China.

Mr Eglin is being accompanied by Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP front-bencher and South Africa's longest-serving parliamentarian, and Mr James Selfe, the party's deputy director of research.

The PFP delegation has been invited officially by Beijing (Peking), through the Chinese Association for International Understanding.

The two-week trip is the result of feelers put out by Mr Eglin more than three years ago as part of a programme to develop contacts around the world.

Mr Eglin said before leaving today the mission was important because of China's growing significance and the development of the Far East.

"We hope to increase our knowledge of China. We will be focusing on the way the Chinese deal with their socio-economic problems.

"These include urbanisation, low-cost mass housing, rural development, health, social welfare and education programmes."

● See page 17.

ather 2, Women 15, Letters 16, Finance 20-21, Racing 22, Sport 23-24, TV programmes Page

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# Rightist teachers propagating 'revolution', says Nat

**Political Staff**

RIGHT-WING teachers and principals were blatantly propagating a climate in schools for a "white revolution" and takeover, National Party MP Mr Albert Nothnagel said yesterday.

"The right-wing radical spirit and attitude of many educators and school committees at schools has reached danger point and it is extremely harmful to the education of our children," he said in a statement.

The allegations compiled by Mr Nothnagel arose from pupil and parent protests after a retired clergyman made "extremely racist and confrontationalist" remarks to a Std 9 class at Hoërskool Hendrik Verwoerd.

He has compiled a memorandum, which is to be submitted to the Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly, Mr Piet Clase, on the alleged right-wing activities.

Mr Nothnagel said the actions included a principal driving to school with an Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging sticker on his car, a teacher at another school doing the same, and the right-wing cultural organization Die Afrikaner Volkswag being allowed to present a book prize.

"There are too many people in education and other state organs who are talking increasingly challengingly of 'taking over' ...

"Our schools must be institutions where our children are weaned of racial prejudice and hate. Even, and in fact particularly, the racism which they apparently learn from their parents and some political leaders and activists," Mr Nothnagel said.

NRGWS 28/10/87

# We don't want to figh say independent leade

**Political Correspondent**

**THE National Democratic Movement and Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Movement did not want to fight each other and were in contact about this problem, according to Dr Esther Lategan.**

She spoke last night in Stellenbosch at an NDM meeting attended by about 100 people.

At the meeting misgivings were expressed from the floor about the way in which the split in the independent movement had occurred and the way followers of the movement had heard about it.

One member of the audience said the perception among followers was that decisions about who should go along with the movement had been taken by a group who had appointed themselves as leaders.

## Common aims

It now appeared as if there could not be any reconciliation between Dr Worrall and the others. He wanted the assurance that this would not be the NDM's leadership style in future.

Dr Lategan said the NDM was in communication with the supporters of the Independent Movement in Helderberg about preventing the two groups fighting. The two groups had common aims and did not want to oppose each other at a local level.

Mr Wynand Malan, leader of the NDM, expressed regret about the split and said there was no doubt it had led to confusion and had cost the movement public support.

It was a process that would have to sort itself out, but in the meantime the important thing was that a clear message should be spread by the NDM.

What had happened could not have been handled in a different way. A proper structure was being prepared for the NDM, which wanted to be guided by the feelings of its followers. He was confident that support for the movement was again picking up.

He sketched the differences which had developed between Dr Worrall, who stood for a movement mainly in white politics, and others who wanted an all-encompassing movement.

In the election the two groups had fought different campaigns. Dr Worrall had changed his mind after agreeing to a compromise by which he would, to a large extent, go his own way.

Mr Malan paid tribute to Dr Worrall as a talented man who had already contributed to making white politics more fluid and who could continue to contribute.

South African society was becoming more polarised and conflict was increasing, he added.

The NDM's aim was to move away from this conflict, to achieve some reconciliation across this conflict by starting at grassroots level among communities.

The movement would also be active in Parliament.

Mr Malan said the "stupid and simple" divisions between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics should be eliminated.

# PW's 'pleasant surprise' for an old political foe

**Mr Harry Oppenheimer (right), former chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, celebrates his 79th birthday today. In an interview with Frederick Cleary to mark the occasion, he struck an optimistic note.**



resident Botha should be commend- for the changes he has initiated ing his leadership of South Africa, ys Mr Oppenheimer. The most re- arkable thing is that a man with background should have had the urage to bring them about in the st place.

Mr Oppenheimer, who has known Botha for nearly four decades, xpressed remarkable optimism for his country's future, much of which epends upon the leadership of the an who has been his political oppo- ent for so many years.

"I think he has done more than I ver dreamt he would have achieved. only hope he has not got bogged own."

He added: "When I first entered arliament in 1948 — the same time resident Botha entered the House he made an impression as a very able, angry, rather vicious backbench debater. I must say, the idea of him coming a statesman never entered y mind. When he became Presi- ent, I was rather apprehensive. I did ot know him then, and I really do not know him now.

## Big changes

"However, while sometimes he seems to lose his temper, and he does not get on with things as I would like to see them, I believe that a fel- low who comes from his background as the National Party organiser, gets rid of the pass laws and accepts the permanence of the black population in the urban areas, so that they can have security and tenure, so that they bor- row money from building societies to build houses, is to be commended.

"These are big changes. I only hope that he is going to have the courage to go on with the things which have to flow from the policies in which he is involved.

"But although I am optimistic about President Botha going on with social and economic reform, in spite of what he says, I am a bit doubtful as to whether he really going to have the courage or the will to share power politically in a meaningful way. That is a vital.

"Maybe he will. He has certainly given us surprises in the past. I hope we will get that pleasant surprise in the future".

Although both men had been dominant figures in South African public life for so many years, Mr Oppenheimer admitted that, as the nation's leading industrialist, he had rarely met Mr Botha after the latter had been elected Prime Minister and then President.

He agreed that something was wrong in our society for this to occur, especially when it was borne in mind that foreign political leaders such as the American President and the British Prime Minister see their leading businessmen on a regular basis.

"Of course, I did talk to Mr Botha when we were in Parliament together," said Mr Oppenheimer. "But my first meeting of a significant nature with him was at that Carlton Conference he had with businessmen at the end of 1979.

"The President will see me now (in retirement) and he has seen me occasionally and has been extremely kind and pleasant. But it was not so very long ago when he found it very disagreeable to sit down at the same table for lunch with people who diagreed with him. My policies have not been policies which have commended themselves to this government.

"Even now, South Africa is not an as open a society as it should be, but in the past this divergence went very deep indeed".

During the interview covering many aspects of his business and political life — much of which was published in The Sunday Star last weekend — Mr Oppenheimer also gave his views on other political leaders he has known in his life:

● **Field Marshal Smuts.**

"I knew him slightly. He happened to be giving a lecture at Oxford at the time of my 21st birthday party, and he kindly came along and gave a nice speech.

"Then, once in Parliament, when he was Leader of the Opposition, I had the courage to say to him that the United Party should be more precise about what it was going to do about black/white relationships. Everybody knew this was the most important in South Africa, but we had not got much of a policy on the matter.

"He said the first priority was to make one nation of white South Africans, English and Afrikaans-speaking. Until that could be done it was very difficult to handle the question of black/white relationships satisfactorily. There was a lot in that, except that history does not stand still."

● **Dr Hendrik Verwoerd.**

"He was extraordinarily clever. I went to see him frequently in connection with housing for black mineworkers. He would talk most civilly, but be most determined about his point of view and nothing would move him.

"I must add that, in spite of all his brilliance, he was, to my mind, so rigid in his point of view it reflected someone who was not quite sane.

"He was always exceptionally logical, but as he started with the wrong data, the only way to reach a proper conclusion then is to be illogical. This was something he was not able to see."

● **Mr John Vorster.**

"I found him a most disagreeable character."

● **Mrs Margaret Thatcher.**

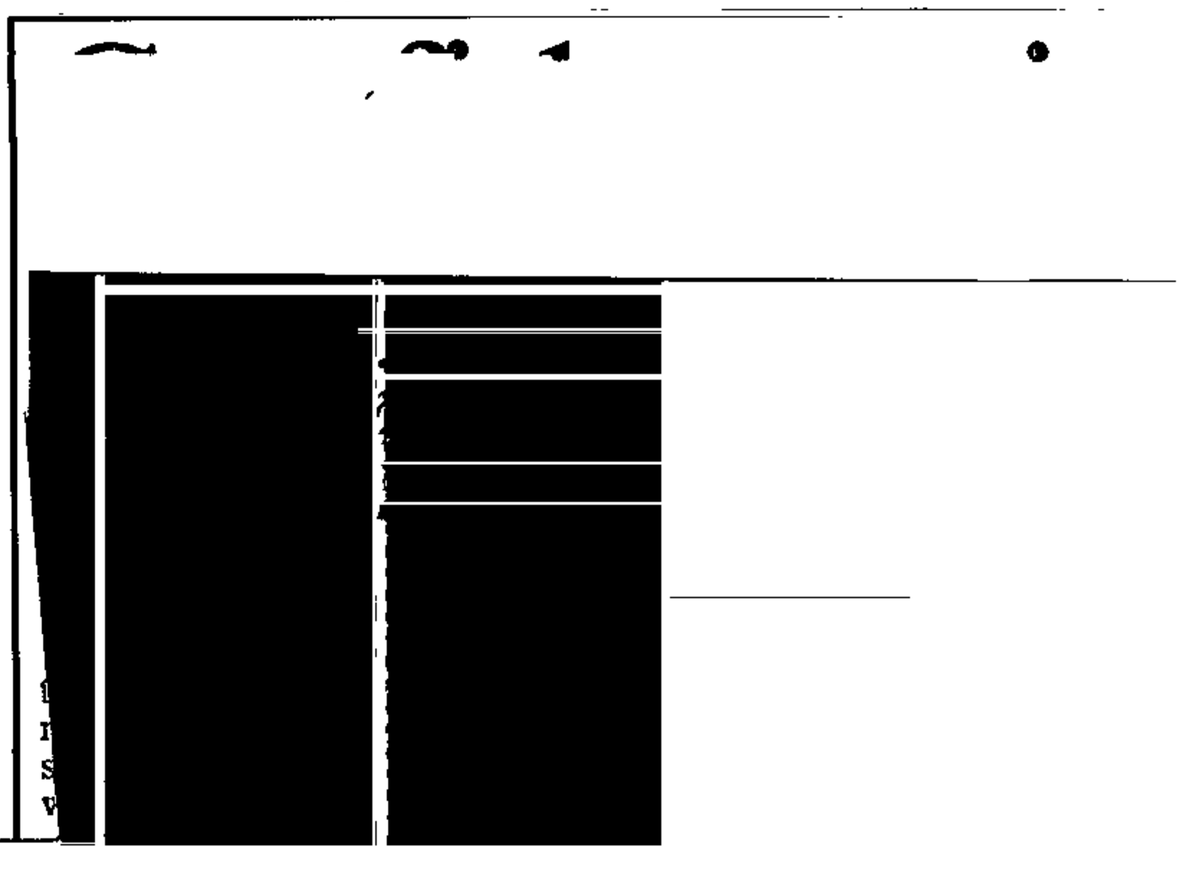
"I have had two talks with her, once before she became Prime Minister, when she was Leader of the Opposition. Then I saw her again about 18 months or two years ago. I had a long conversation with her, with our talk naturally centering on South African affairs. I thought she was extremely knowledgeable and well-informed and very agreeable to talk to.

"I was told she had a habit of expressing her very determined views and was not interested in anything the other person might have to say. I did not experience that at all.

"Certainly she had views, which she expressed very well and powerfully, but she listened as well as talked. How do I rate her? She has made history, hasn't she — very much so".

● **President Lyndon Johnson.**

"I met him several times. He gave me the impression of being a tough man of power. There was more to him than refinement about his conversation. I think he was rather a great men. He was unlucky to be involved in the Vietnam war".



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# The age of conquest has got to be undone

**ALAN PATON**



☐ PATON . . . the great plan of apartheid is falling to pieces about our ears

THE self-righteous people of the outside world think that white South Africans are a wicked lot, and that their society and its economy should be destroyed so that Utopia can be built.

Well, I've lived in this society for 84 years and I can say that some of the finest people in the world are members of it. I can also say that without exception these are people who have used and are using their lives and their gifts to make this a more just country.

We live in a very beautiful and a very strange and in many ways a very sad country. Its future is at the moment unpredictable. The great plan of racial separation in every department of the country's life, the great plan of apartheid or separate development or whatever you like to call it, so eloquently stated by Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, is falling to pieces about our ears.

We must not blame all our troubles on the National Party, because our troubles didn't begin on May 26, 1948. They began on April 6, 1652 — the day that Jan van Riebeeck and his three ships landed in Table Bay.

Where do we stand now? We are going into a world where conquest has to be undone. Why does it have to be undone? I shall mention briefly three reasons.

The first is that after 300 years the black people of SA, largely through their children, have said to the whites: "You can't do this to us any more." They are no longer going to behave like conquered people.

When did they say this? Well, you can't fix a date, but if you do want to fix a date, it is June 16, 1976 — the day when Hector Petersen, aged 13 years, was shot dead by police in Soweto.

A second reason is that the outside world demands it more and more forcibly. I do not believe that the outside world always acts with wisdom. I do not believe you persuade a government to behave better by threatening it with punitive measures.

These self-righteous people abroad, and I mean particularly the Americans, think they can fix a date by which SA will have done away with apartheid completely, but they forget that they themselves only did away with apartheid when the Supreme Court ordered them to do so.

Lucky country, to have a Constitution and a Bill of Rights and a powerful Supreme Court to uphold and enforce them.

Those of us in SA who work for a more just order of society don't have such weapons to help us. We have to struggle on without them.

My most serious criticism of these self-righteous Americans is that they don't seem to know that there are any decent white South Africans.

They ought to go down on their knees every day and give thanks for their Constitution and their Bill of Rights and their Supreme Court.

A third and last reason why the age of conquest is coming to its end is because more and more white South Africans realise that this is so — that their privileged position of conquerors and rulers has to be given up, and that the alternative to giving them up is to go back to the times of the Frontier Wars.

What does the future hold? There are, I think, three possibilities.

The first is armed revolution, which the prophets of doom say is coming. I don't think it is.

Those who may want to wage revolution have neither the money nor the arms. They would be fighting the most powerful army in Africa. A revolution could succeed only if there were armed intervention from abroad, and in view of the present relations between the super powers, I do not think that is likely.

The second possibility is one that we all fear, and that is the continuance of the unrest and hatred that has disfigured our national life on and off for the last 11 years — the declaration of states of emergency and an endemic ungovernability. May God save us from that.

The third possibility — and the one that I think most likely — is that we have entered an evolutionary period, which will always be difficult and will often be painful — Christina Rossetti's road that winds uphill all the way. It is, in fact, the period of the undoing of conquest.

Be prepared for the uphill road. You will sometimes think that the road will never come to an end.

Those who take the problems of life and the world too much to heart should beware of doing that. It is good to care for the life and happiness of others, but care for your own good, too. Your life wasn't given to you to be spent in suffering. It was given to be enjoyed.

It is good to fight injustice, but don't become obsessed by it, for such obsession — indeed, any obsession — will eat away your life. I know because I've seen it happen.

It is my hope that the young people are going to stay in the country into which they were born, and are going to travel Christina Rossetti's road.

Looking at it dispassionately, they are under no obligation to stay here. If it were a moral responsibility to stay in the country of one's birth, there would never have been a United States of America, or a Canada, or an Australia. There would never have been any Afrikaners.

When young people come to ask me what they should do, I tell them they must decide for themselves — that when I was their age I would have known that I must decide such a question myself. I want to quote some words I wrote 22 years ago.

If someone were to ask me: "What would you and your wife do if you had young children?" I would answer: "We would have two choices — to stay here and to give our children a father and a mother who put some things even above their children's safety and happiness, or to leave and to give them a father and mother who put their children's safety and happiness above all else."

Which would I choose? They are both good courses, are they not? I hope I would choose the first.

To those who want to stay, whether out of love or duty or just plain cussedness, I direct these few words:

Stand firm by what you believe; do not tax yourself beyond endurance, yet calculate clearly and coldly how much endurance you have; don't waste your breath and corrupt your character by cursing your rulers and the SABC; don't become obsessed by them; keep your friendships alive and warm, especially those with people of other races; beware of melancholy and resist it actively if it assails you; and give thanks for the courage of others in this fear-ridden country.

☐ Excerpts from an address given recently at Michaelhouse.

NATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL

# Reform a key issue at NP's Cape congress

**Political Correspondent**

REFORM measures in the constitutional and other areas will be the key issues to be discussed at this year's Cape congress of the National Party.

President Botha will open the congress in the Goodwood Civic Centre on the evening of November 9. The other sessions of the congress, on November 10 and 11, will be held in the Sea Point Civic Centre.

A number of resolutions deal with black participation in the legislative process and the proposed National Council.

A resolution from Helderberg, the constituency of the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, asks the Government to proceed speedily to develop the process of participation of all races and nations.

A resolution from the De Kuilen constituency proposes an inquiry into the possibility of extending the present system of one vote for each voter to a maximum multiple vote based on educational, income and property qualifications.

A number of resolutions deal with group areas.

The Nationalist district council of the Algoa constituency asks for the reaffirmation of the principle of own residential areas for communities but also proposes that the declaration of open areas for all races must be considered.

## Group Areas

Another resolution asks for the retention of the Group Areas Act and own residential areas and schools.

Nationalist branches in the Tygerberg constituency propose that parliamentary voters in a specific area must be allowed to take part in a referendum on the retention or not of the group character of their area and that the authorities must then be bound by this decision.

A number of resolutions ask for a discussion on unlawful squatting and influx control and the Government is also asked to give attention to the increasing number of strikes, especially those politically inspired.



Picture.: PETER STANFORD, The Argus.

**JUST LIKE THE REAL THING:** A fire and emergency evacuation exercise was held at the Parow Preparatory School with the Fire Brigade and Peninsula Metro rescue unit. "Injured" children are treated by teacher Miss Miriam Kielblock, left, and a member of the ambulance unit. The children are Charlene Stuart, left, and Cheryl Johnson, both aged eight.

# Claims of MI5 involvement in ANC kidnap plot persist

**The Argus Foreign Service**

**LONDON. — Allegations are persisting that Britain's secret services were involved with at least one of the three men in the alleged plot to kidnap ANC leaders in London.**

**The case has been dropped amid political controversy, with the Labour Party saying it is not satisfied with the answers given in Parliament about allegations of British collusion.**

### FACING DEPORTATION

**Lawyers representing the men — at first charged, then released — are continuing to claim on their clients' behalf that British intelligence was somehow involved.**

**Viggo Oerbak, alias Frank Larsen, 53, who faces deportation to Norway, has claimed that his involvement with the British secret service is an embarrassment to Westminster.**

**Lawyer Mr Benjamin Conlon said at a Press conference yesterday: "There are considerable concerns for his safety and even the possibility that he will be deported prior to the notified date."**

**Mr Conlon released a statement on Mr Oerbak's behalf. He said his client had been a Rhodesian secret serviceman responsible for setting up the "Rhodesian psychological research assistance unit".**

**He was approached by the British Government during that time and asked to work for MI5. He had later seen Sir Michael Hanley, the director of MI5.**

**"It is because of this knowledge that it is necessary for him to be deported as his presence continues to be an embarrassment," Mr Conlon said.**

# Nat govt negotiation is co-option — NDM

**Staff Reporter**

THE government saw negotiation with other race groups as nothing more than co-option, while the real battleground of South African politics lay outside Parliament, about 100 people attending the National Democratic Movement's first public meeting were told last night.

Mr Pierre Cronje, former PFP MP for Greytown, said that most parliamentary debate now centred on reaction to extra-parliamentary events and anyone who thought they could influence the future through parliamentary debate was "living in a fool's paradise".

The aim of the NDM was to reconcile black and white politics by creating a climate for negotiation, he told the Stellenbosch meeting.

"Whites must be able to say to blacks that we understand your struggle to simply be worthy people in the land of your birth."

Mr Peter Schoeman, a former President's Council member, said analysis of the government's actions and how the National Party understood negotiation would reveal attempts to co-opt other racial groups.

"We have to break through and resolve the dichotomy of parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics."

TELL YOUR FRIENDS

# Indaba breakthrough hopes

MRGI 28/10/87 3064

By David Braun
Political Staff

THE Government and the Natal/kwaZulu Indaba have signalled they are ready to renegotiate proposals which could eventually give full legal status to a new constitutional dispensation for the region.

In what is being regarded as a breakthrough in the thinking of both sides, successful negotiations between the Government and the Indaba could be of important significance for any eventual constitutional arrangements for the country as a whole.

The breakthrough is largely due to the personal efforts of Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Mr Chris Heunis and the Chief Minister of kwaZulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

It is significant in that the Government, which refused to take part in the original Indaba and has since been largely critical of its proposals, now wants to take part in negotiation on new proposals.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, co-convenor of the Indaba, said the fact that the Indaba was seeking to communicate full detils about the proposals did not mean that it regarded them as non-negotiable.

Dr Dhlomo said: "Indeed we wish to make it clear that we are looking forward to discussing them with Government.

"We are also willing to consider suggested modifications to the proposals from critics at the other end of the political spectrum."

Dr Dhlomo said the Indaba had clearly signalled its intention to be constructive in negotiation with Government.

"We look forward to and anticipate a similar attitude on the part of the Government,' he said.

In an interview this week Mr Heunis said he welcomed Dr Dhlomo's statement that the Indaba was prepared to negotiate on its proposals.

He said: "But I must explain that the Indaba concept was initiated originally by the kwaZulu Government and the Natal Provincial Administration. I indicated when the proposals were handed to me that I would obtain the view of the kwaZulu Government and the Natal Provincial Administration.

"Naturally the Government would be prepared to negotiate with anybody on solutions to our regional and national problems.'

# INDABA BEGINS TO END NATAL WARS



MINISTER Vlok

## Cabinet Minister Vlok meets Inkatha leader



Chief Buthelezi

**PEACE talks between the two main warring factions in Maritzburg's townships could begin within the next week.**

By MZIKAYISE EDOM

The Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce, three major churches and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, are behind the peace talks.

The chamber of commerce has appointed a mediation committee to try and bring peace in the area.

A top level meeting between Mr Vlok and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and leader of Inkatha, was held at Ulundi on Tuesday to stop the violence in the area.

The Anglican, Catholic and Methodist churches, have appointed the Reverend Athol Jennings, director of the Buleka Trust, to bring about reconciliation and to stop the killing and bloodshed in the Maritzburg "civil war" between supporters of Inkatha and the United Democratic Front.

Fifty-two people have died and another 324 arrested since the fights started about a month ago.

Brigadier Leon Mellet, a spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order has confirmed that the meeting between Mr Vlok and Chief Buthelezi took place.

He said: "Two main measures are to be taken to resolve the problem."

### Police

He said a major reenforcement of the police in the area and an extension of the joint management centre to deal with the issue in the longer term, will be introduced.

The management centre was established to clamp down firmly on unrest while upgrading the quality of life of township residents.

The manager of the chamber, Mr Paul van Uytrecht, said: "There seems to be no doubt at leadership level that people from the various parties are serious about sitting down together to discuss means of ending the violence."

Both UDF president, Mr Archie Gumede, and members of Inkatha such as Mr Musa Zondi and Mr Mtwe Mafole, have said the talks already held at community level had been "very useful".

Meanwhile the funeral of 10-year-old S'khumbuzo Shezi, beheaded by unknown men last week, was held without incident on Tuesday afternoon.

Journalists and photographers from the *Natal Witness* were warned to leave the scene of the funeral as they were prohibited from attending in terms of the emergency regulations.

INDUSTRY, CERTAIN

Heilbron, Estcourt and smith,

Bloemhof, Vrede,

# Dangerous trend emerging in SA, says Dr Worrall

30/10/87

PORT EDWARD — A dangerous fatalism was emerging in South Africa, with blacks beginning to believe that perhaps violence was inevitable and whites coming to the conclusion that the problems in this country were insuperable, Dr Dennis Worrall said at the Wild Coast Sun hotel in Transkei yesterday.

The Independent Movement leader told the annual congress of the Building Industries Federation that many white South Africans, even though they recognised that apartheid had to go, were slipping into that reliance on the military which characterised white Rhodesians after UDI.

"Our black South Africans, most of whom don't want violence, are reluctantly coming to accept that perhaps violence is inevitable, perhaps the youngsters are right," he said.

"Neither of these attitudes is conducive to peaceful answers and both attitudes are mistaken.

"There is nothing inevitable about the future of South Africa.

"We do not have to go the road of civil war and we are not hostages of some blind fate," Dr Worrall said.

He pointed out that every individual in South Africa — particularly people in leadership positions — could do something to stabilise the situation in South Africa and improve the country's prospects.

"For this, we need vision — a clear sense that there are answers at the end of the tunnel," he said.

Dr Worrall said the reason there was little vision in current politics was that it was dominated by the belief that South Africa was facing a "total onslaught", both in military and in political terms.

"Our politics have become the politics of survival and there is little room in the resulting climate for idealism, hope or creative leadership," he said.

● See Page 12

NATAL INDABA

# The stealth factor

**Government** is "reforming by stealth" because it refuses to fall again into a boycott trap. This rules out a Natal referendum to test public attitudes to the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba.

This persuasive argument comes from Natal University political science professor Mervyn Frost.

At a weekend seminar, Frost argued that critics of the National Party mistakenly believe it no longer pursues a coherent policy programme, and has resorted to ad hoc decision-making. On the contrary, he said, government retains a clear and sophisticated vision, which bitter experience with the tricameral elections has taught should be pursued with stealth.

The approach demands that institutions should be established which can deliver the goods — such as water, electricity, sewerage and roads — and moral and popular legitimacy will follow. The process is thus no longer aimed at broadening democracy through new representative institutions, but at creating "multiracial power-sharing executive structures at all levels of government."

The analysis undoubtedly casts a shadow over the Indaba's hopes of organising a referendum, and raises doubts about the value of its marketing campaign to prepare public opinion.

But it simultaneously raises hopes that government may not oppose the joint administration of KwaNatal — so long as it is introduced by sleight of hand. Public polls notwithstanding, the Indaba's confidence that a majority of Natalians will support it in a referendum might be misplaced.

More damaging to the Indaba's prospects was the argument of Natal economist Jill Nattrass that, "come the revolution," the Indaba would simply not be able to deliver on its economic promises. This would lead to a cycle of disillusionment and opposition.

Assuming a 5% rate of growth in Gross Geographic Product (GGP), expenditure on education, for example, would have to rise by 36,7% annually until 1995 to achieve parity, said Nattrass. At 2% GGP growth, education expenditure would have to rise by 50% per annum.

Suggestions that privatisation of the harbour might provide capital, or that the boost to confidence in a province administered by the Indaba would attract investments, are "fatuous," she said. A trend towards social democracy, with significantly higher tax rates, presents the only possible solution, she argued.

Nattrass scoffed at the suggestion that high taxes necessarily drive off investors. And, despite international experience to the contrary, she dismissed the notion that "low taxes correlated with high economic growth." In any case, she does not believe that lower tax rates are a realistic policy option for the Indaba.

Indaba director Dawid van Wyk told delegates he remained encouraged by public reception of the Indaba's constitutional proposals for the administration of Natal. The government's formal stance was that it was awaiting the Natal Provincial Administration's (NPA) view before responding officially.

Judging from Van Wyk's comments and those of other Indaba officials and sympathisers, there is growing support for the notion that the NPA and KwaZulu Legislative Authority may reopen the debates that led to the Indaba. This time around, with government's blessing.

Intriguingly, the vehicle for such discussions — the Joint Executive Authority (see page 60) — will hold its inaugural meeting next week.

So whereas prospects for a referendum and the introduction of the Indaba proposals as they stand appear bleak, all may not be lost.

# SOUTH AFRICAN GOVT. AND POLITICS

1987

NOV. — DEC.

# NF vows to abort Council

**The National Forum recently resolved in its mini-summit to reject the proposed National Statutory Council Bill and called it a fallacy. The NF has also committed itself to engage in a national campaign against the Bill in an effort to render it a failure as they did with the tricameral Parliament of 1984. KHULU SIBIYA reports.**

A NATIONAL campaign – on the same large scale as that undertaken against the Koornhof Bills in 1984 – against the National Statutory Council Bill is high on the National Forum agenda.

This emerged from a mini-summit held by the National Forum and its constituent organisations in Johannesburg recently.

It was felt that the much talked about fourth chamber of Parliament may become a reality just like the tricameral Parliament.

"We, therefore, need to act now to render that chamber a failure as we did with the tricameral Parliament in 1984," said the general-secretary of the National Forum, Lusiba Ntloko.

"The South African government is well aware of the demands of the oppressed and exploited people of this country. The government is hanging on to power by whatever means possible including, among others, the state of emergency," said Ntloko.



National Forum secretary Lusiba Ntloko.

Ntloko said that, according to Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis, "the Council is intended to be the instrument through which a new constitution can be formally negotiated by the representative leaders of our communities" and that it is to "grant to black South African citizens on an interim basis a voice in the process of governing".

The Minister went on to say that the third objective of the council was to "further and protect sound relations among, and the human dignity, rights, and freedoms of all South African citizens".

Ntloko said, given the above, one could conclude that there was no serious attempt at all on the part of the government to address itself to the grievances and demands of black people.

"The government should know very clearly that sound relations, human dignity, rights and freedoms of all citizens do not need an NSC to exist.

"In fact, these freedoms do not exist at all and, therefore there is no need to protect them.

"There can never be peace or sound relations in any society if there is no justice and equality," said Ntloko.

He said the South Africa government had to establish justice and equality among all its citizens before there could be any talk of furthering and protecting anything.

"To black people this would be to further their oppression and exploitation, and the untold and unlimited plunder of their souls – which is all they have left.

"The formula for any interim measure towards our true liberation can never be drawn up by our oppressors and exploiters.

"We have to draft it on our own or, at the least, do it jointly as equal participants and not have it imposed upon us.

"We believe that no right-thinking person can participate in this proposed Council, especially after having seen the way Rev Allan Hendrickse was humiliated by State President PW Botha in Parliament this year," said Ntloko.

Any person who considered participating in the NSC needed to consider all the these facts as well as the following:

- The tricameral Parliament failed to block or uplift the state of emergency and many of the repressive measures applied by the government.
- Coloureds and Indians in Parliament have no representative status at all (as was evidenced by the extremely low election poll), and neither do the "community councils" throughout the country.
- The detention of children.

"It is on this basis that the National Forum is gearing itself to engage in a national campaign to oppose the NSC, as it did with the 1984 tri-cameral elections, and successfully too," said Ntloko.

He said the National Forum recognised, as a stated policy, the fact that "power belongs to the working people" and that blacks could, therefore, only negotiate the mechanisms of transferring that power to the working people which "will have to be transferred to them at the end of the road".

NEWS

## NOTHNAGEL STICKS TO GUNS ON ACCUSATION OF RIGHTWING ACTIVITY

# Politics in the classroom

by ROBERT HOUWING, Weekend Argus Reporter

THE outspoken Nationalist MP for Innesdal, Mr Albert Nothnagel, says he will not be intimidated in his bid to have rightwing teaching activity in Transvaal classrooms stamped out.

A political storm in Afrikaner circles has arisen over Mr Nothnagel's presentation of a memorandum documenting alleged "rightwing politicking" by certain teachers and principals to the Minister of Education and Culture in the Assembly, Mr Piet Clase.

Mr Nothnagel, chairman of the parliamentary standing committee for domestic affairs and State administration, has been bitterly attacked for his stance by the leader of the Afrikaner Volkswag, Professor Carel Boshoff, the Transvaalse Onderwysersvereniging and Federal Teachers' Council.

**"Intimidation"**

Professor Boshoff said that if Mr Nothnagel and his "party policy" could no longer present a vision for the future and the National Party's youth left as a result, he should not take it out on the teaching profession.

The teachers' organisations accused Mr Nothnagel of "suspicion-mongering" and "objectionable" action.

But Mr Nothnagel has stuck to his guns, accusing them of trying to intimidate him on a matter of public interest.

He is trying to play down his own stance on the issue, saying that he felt duty-bound to bring to Mr Clase's attention complaints he received from parents, pupils and, in some instances, teachers He did not make specific recommendations to the Minister.

"This matter concerns the future of our country — not the position of an individual MP or anything to do with Government policy," he said in an interview this week.

Specific cases in Mr Nothnagel's memorandum include an incident at Hendrik Verwoerd High School a fortnight ago in which a retired rightwing clergyman allegedly made racist statements before a Standard 9 class in the presence of the headmaster.

He also lists the case of a headmaster who allegedly has an Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) sticker on his car, and a school where the Afrikaner Volkswag was allowed to present a book prize

A parent also recounted to him an incident in which his child who arrived with a picture of President Botha as part of a history assignment was told by a teacher: "Take this rubbish out of my class."

Mr Nothnagel says he is not involved in a general attack on teachers or their profession. He has highest regard for the bulk of teachers in South Africa but not those who "misuse classrooms to propagate a climate for a white revolution".

"These ideas belong to yesteryear. Our schools must be institutions where our children are weaned of racial prejudice and hatred," he said.

"I'm not interested in a South Africa with more Menlo Park High or Hendrik Verwoerd High-type incidents.

"It's of vital public interest that both rightwing and leftwing activities be exposed at every opportunity"

Mr Nothnagel believes that teachers' organisations in the Transvaal, through their response to his memorandum, could be trying to protect people they know have acted unprofessionally

"They create an atmosphere in which no teacher, parent or pupil can feel safe in exposing wrongs which may occur."

**Caused stir**

Mr Nothnagel, 48, is considered one of the most liberal thinkers in the National Party.

He caused a stir early this year by saying that no lasting solution which did not involve the African National Congress was possible in South Africa.

There was speculation before the general election that he would cross the floor to the cause of Mr Wynand Malan and Dr Denis Worrall but he has subsequently re-dedicated his support for the National Party.

# Clase warns teachers on politicking

The Argus Correspondent

**PRETORIA. — Teachers have been warned by the Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly, Mr Piet Clase, not to misuse education for "their own party political ends".**

**Mr Clase was reacting to a memorandum sent to him by the National Party MP for Innesdal, Mr Albert Nothnagel, in which right-wing activity in Pretoria schools was highlighted — especially incidents at the Hendrik Verwoerd Hoerskool where Standard 9 pupils were subjected to "extremely racist and confrontationist" remarks in a youth preparedness class.**



**Mr Piet Clase**

**The Hendrik Verwoerd incident was being investigated by the Transvaal Education Department and was "sub judice", according to Mr Clase. "It is not possible to comment on these aspects at this stage".**

**Mr Clase said it was stated policy of his department that education might not be misused for party political ends.**

**"Where teachers exercise their civic rights in this regard, policy dictates that it will be done in a way that is never detrimental to schools or education."**

**He said any substantiated complaint was dealt with "in accordance with recognised procedures and the requirements of the particular laws and ordinances".**

GPG Times 30/10/87 3044

# NP men 'jealous of popular Pik'

**Political Correspondent**

MR PIK BOTHA'S National Party colleagues are "jealous" of his public popularity which they see as "a threat to themselves", according to the news-analysis magazine, Inside South Africa.

Although the majority of whites want the Foreign Minister to succeed Mr P W Botha as President, "he (Pik Botha) is not popular within the cabinet or the NP caucus as a whole," the magazine speculates in its latest edition.

Cabinet ministers, NP parliamentarians and senior civil servants outside the Department of Foreign Affairs "clearly find his style uncomfortable to live with.

"There is an element of the maverick in him which does not conform to the Afrikaner political tradition of building a regional power base while standing in line waiting to be noticed."

A companion feature to the cover story ranks Mr F W de Klerk as the favourite in the presidential stakes.

The party's Transvaal leader is described as the "natural choice for NP moderates and right-wingers. Bland, self-assured, a wily politician who is able to turn opposition weaknesses to NP advantage".

Mr Chris Heunis is labelled a "complicated thinker with a tendency to waffle, which could tell against him". Dr Gerrit Viljoen is "the dark horse", General Magnus Malan "the hawk" and Mr Pik Botha "the wild card".

CAPE Times 30/10/87 20 CA

# The Tuynhuys Stakes

**Political Correspondent ANTHONY JOHNSON finds the State President's heir apparent — but other contenders are in the political wings**

MR F W DE KLERK is currently the clear front-runner in the presidential stakes to succeed Mr P W Botha.

This is the consensus view of the leaders of white opposition parties in Parliament and political observers who have been watching senior Nationalist ministers jockeying for position in the "Tuynhuys Stakes" during the past year.

However, they emphasize that the prospects of candidates can fluctuate rapidly in the volatile political environment and that the eventual winner will depend to an important degree on both when and how President Botha goes.

Rank outsiders could rise to serious contention if Mr Botha decides to hang on to the reins for, say, another four years.

And the situation could become extremely fluid if a bid is made to pressure Mr Botha into retirement, or even unseat him, as this could spark faction fighting within the National Party, boosting the chances of a compromise candidate.



Mr P W Botha



Mr F W de Klerk

The non-Nationalist politician probably best placed to assess the leadership tussle is Mr Wynand Malan, the leader of the National Democratic Movement, and a member of the ruling party until his defection earlier this year.

Mr Malan, while stressing his unwillingness to reflect on the character of any of his former colleagues or break caucus confidences, was prepared to state categorically: "F W de Klerk is the crown prince for now and the immediate future."

But he quickly adds: "I don't take any optimism from short-term possibilities. Almost everyone aspires to the top job. Political circumstances can change in a very short time and this may bring others to the position of favourite. Anything is possible."

Mr Malan, who declined to be drawn on the prospects of any of the other candidates, does not believe that President Botha will be stepping down soon anyway — "so the debate on his successor is theoretical".

Another former Nationalist, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, also believes the timing of Mr Botha's decision to "vacate the chair" is likely to play a pivotal role in who ends up as the next President and consequently how the country is likely to change under the new leader's stewardship.

But on the question of timing, former Transvaal NP leader notes: "I think he (P W Botha) is unpredictable and that worries his colleagues more than it worries us (the CP).

Turning to the NP's current Transvaal leader, Dr Treurnicht chalks up a plus for Mr De Klerk because of his ability to "appear more conservative" than his rivals, but immediately adds that Mr De Klerk is in fact locked into the NP's "power-sharing" strategy so "he'll have to make a right about-turn if things could possibly end up differently under his guidance than under that of the other (confavoured political son, has waned dramatically since then.

Mr Eglin: "I don't rate Chris as a contender any longer — his near defeat at the polls (against Dr Denis Worrall) and his problems in the tricameral Parliament (in piloting through crucial legislation) have had a very negative impact."

Political observers canvassed in Parliament also pointed to Mr Heunis's failure to deliver significant breakthroughs on the negotiation front, with most popular black leaders of substance dismissing the government's proposed National Council as nothing more than a "[illegible]".

Mr Eglin is more upbeat about the Foreign Minister's prospects, saying he is "in with a chance", especially if Mr P W Botha is "pushed out" and many of the Cape Nationalist MPs go against Mr De Klerk.

Were the colourful former U N ambassador to become President, Mr Eglin believes that he is "likely to show more thrustful vigour — whether he is right or wrong on an issue — than his rivals".

Political observers believe that despite his popularity among the white electorate, Mr Botha does not devote enough effort to promoting his candidacy within his own party.

Among the front-runners in the presidential stakes, Mr Eglin believes that the former academic, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, is likely to "show the most class" as President.

## Broederbond

He would be "better equipped to deal with the process of negotiation and reconciliation" than most of his rivals but Mr Eglin has doubts about Dr Viljoen's ability to marshal the support he needs within the NP caucus to catapult him to the top.

However, political observers believe the former Broederbond head has a fair chance of slipping in through the back door as a compromise candidate, particularly if the rivalry and infighting between the other candidates looks like getting out of hand.

Apparently the only [illegible] and peaceful future since he believes this minister will be predisposed to following the "militarist route" in resolving the country's problems.

Dr Treurnicht concedes that under General Malan issues would increasingly be addressed from within a "total onslaught" mindset. He emphasizes that the general "... still has to convince us of his ability to formulate an acceptable philosophy."

However, political observers have been struck by the licence General Malan has been given to range broadly on policy issues in parliamentary debates and public speeches — perhaps a case of being able to say what he likes because Mr P W Botha likes what he says.

Another Nationalist minister who, despite his current junior status, is being mentioned in political circles as a possible serious candidate a few years down the track is Mr Barend du Plessis.

According to Dr Treurnicht: "He has made rather quick progress in the cabinet ranks and I don't deny his abilities, but at the moment I think the competition will be a bit strong."

The CP leader allows that Mr Du Plessis may be the most capable person within government ranks to handle the finance portfolio, "but if he is to be a leader of the future he must still grow into such a role and develop the ability to unite people behind him".

Mr Eglin also feels that the Minister of Finance does not yet [illegible] out in

tenders).

## In-fighting

PFP leader Mr Colin Eglin is convinced that Mr De Klerk, the chairman of the white Minister's Council and Minister of National Education, is the strongest contender for the presidential mantle. "He is better at constituency politics — he has more understanding of ballot box politics than his rivals. He also shows the most political nous."

But Mr Eglin cautions that Mr De Klerk's chances will be influenced by "how P W leaves the scene". A quiet, voluntary retirement would favour Mr De Klerk but if Mr Botha is levered out of his position, provincial in-fighting could throw up some wild cards in the battle for the presidency.

Political observers note that Mr De Klerk's position as leader of the NP in the most populous province automatically improves his chances — unless, of course, the CP gives the NP a hiding in the Transvaal at the next poll.

But they are agreed that the odds on Mr De Klerk have shortened markedly over the past six months. He has shrewdly and methodically outmanoeuvred his rivals, or simply watched them tripping over their own feet.

Mr De Klerk's chief rival until six months ago was widely considered to be Mr Chris Heunis, to whom Mr Botha handed the Cape leadership of the party at last year's provincial congress in East London.

But the political star of Mr Heunis, at the time regarded as Mr Botha's

This was driven home when Mr Heunis was replaced by the smooth-talking Dr Stoffel van der Merwe as the government's chief negotiator with blacks after the election.

## 'So vague'

Dr Treurnicht does not believe Mr Heunis is leadership material at the presidential level or someone with the ability to communicate a sense of unity and purpose.

Mr Heunis, he felt, was "so vague" about certain concepts.

Another candidate in the running, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha — who has the backing of 54% of the white public to succeed Mr P W Botha, compared with 3% for Mr De Klerk and 1% for Mr Heunis — is not given much of a chance by Dr Treurnicht.

The Leader of the Opposition says: "As a president he may be very pragmatic but a man who visualizes a black president along the road eventually excludes himself."

However, the surprise election of the "verligte" Mr Botha could come as a blessing in disguise for the Conservative Party because "it would mean a faster loss of support (for the NP) from the more-or-less conservative part of the white electorate".

Viljoen has largely managed to keep his nose clean while other senior ministers have been jockeying for position and this could prove decisive when it comes to the crunch.

## Outsider

Dr Treurnicht says he has problems with Dr Viljoen because, while he is known as an academic, "he has made a complete ideological somersault" in the past 10 years by moving from support for a separate coloured homeland to "the new political idiom". The "conceptual leap", he believes, is too great for an academic who prides himself on a logical approach.

Increasingly mentioned in political circles as a prominent outsider in the leadership tussle is Defence Minister General Magnus Malan. His chances are seen as particularly good in the event of a coup or the establishment of a military government in South Africa.

As Mr Eglin observes: "As the military component becomes increasingly more important in South Africa, Magnus Malan controls more levers of power."

However, the PFP leader regards General Malan as offering the least prospect of a

the party to challenge for the top spot.

Time, it would appear, is the critical variable. For only P W Botha himself knows when he plans to go to pasture.

Meanwhile, the pretenders to the throne continue to jostle for the best position at the starting gates.

O/E Argus
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304A

# Suzman to turn 70 — on China's Great Wall

by DAVID BRAUN
Weekend Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Senior parliamentarian Mrs Helen Suzman will celebrate her 70th birthday next week with a walk on the wall — the Great Wall of China that is.

Mrs Suzman will be in the People's Republic of China on a two-week official visit with Progressive Federal Party leader Mr Colin Eglin.

Mr Eglin has arranged with their hosts that they do something special for Mrs Suzman's birthday, like a visit to the world's largest man-made structure, the Great Wall.

Before she flew out of South Africa this week Mrs Suzman politely declined a request to be interviewed about her birthday.

## "Still life in the old girl"

"What's all the fuss about? There's still life in the old girl yet," she said.

Next Saturday she will join the ranks of septuagenarian statesmen who include President Reagan of America and South Africa's President Botha.

In China, a perennial gerontocracy, she will no doubt be considered still wet behind the ears.

Mrs Suzman is the senior parliamentarian not by virtue of her age but because she is the longest-serving MP.

Exactly half her 70 years have been devoted to her parliamentary career. Recently she held her 35th annual report-back meeting in her constituency, Houghton.

During those 35 years she has won the respect and affection of thousands of people in South Africa and all over the world, as the dozen honorary doctorates and many decorations and awards conferred upon her have testified.

## Champion of under-privileged

An outspoken champion of the under-privileged and oppressed, Mrs Suzman has also never flinched from what she sees as her duty to speak out against sanctions and disinvestment.

She has never shied away from speaking out on issues and voicing opinions she knows to be right.

In South Africa this has meant walking a sometimes bitterly lonely path, such as when she served for 13 years as the sole Progressive Party MP.

She endured verbal abuse and endless meals alone in her office, because of the tradition that political parties do not sit at the same dining tables in Parliament.

And in recent times, when opposing sanctions has in certain circles been seen as synonomous with support for apartheid, she has been ridiculed and abused on university campuses at home and abroad.

From Parliament's opposition benches Mrs Suzman has watched five Nationalist prime ministers rule South Africa since 1948. Mr Botha has, of course, since become the country's first executive president but still takes part in parliamentary debates.

Mrs Suzman has described herself over the years as being a "persistent nagger" in trying to improve the conditions of political detainees.

# Party resolves to work with other groups

GRAHAMSTOWN — The Cape congress of the Progressive Federal Party resolved over the weekend to work "constructively" with other groups opposed to apartheid and to seek contact with all other political movements, including banned groups.

It also said the recent Five Freedoms Forum meeting in Johannesburg was "an important step in uniting opposition forces to apartheid".

A number of resolutions to promote links with other anti-apartheid groups were adopted.

It also decided that "negotiation initiatives, such as the Dakar Mission, should receive the full support and backing of the party" and that it should give urgent attention to a programme of action promoting initiatives of this sort.

It also passed a resolution, proposed by the Green Point constituency, to seek "contact with all other political movements relevant to South Africa, including those banned by the government."

It was decided to pursue "this contact with vigour in the interests of a negotiated solution despite the vicious and lying propaganda attacks aimed at the PFP during the last election."

The MP for Green Point, Mr Tian van der Merwe, said a distinction had to be drawn between organisations the PFP sought co-operation with and when it talked to organisations such as the ANC.

The fact that the PFP believed in talking to such groups had resulted in "one of the most vicious propaganda attacks against us ever seen."

Although the PFP would be abused by the government and its supporters, "I believe we have to recommit ourselves to this spirit of engagement irrespective of the attacks on us.

"We have to say again that we will seek contact with everyone with links to South Africa, even if it makes us temporarily unpopular," he said.

The PFP's national youth leader, Miss Toni Petra, said opposition groups would be playing into the hands of the government by "nitpicking" at each other.

"We must unite, not squabble. Even if we are unable to unite South Africa, we must unite the left.

"We need to work with everyone on the left of the government," Miss Petra said.

# Opposition fragmented but fighting — Hulley

**Daily Dispatch Correspondent**

**GRAHAMSTOWN — The anti-apartheid opposition had never been in such a state of fragmentation but he would continue fighting for whatever reformist unity was still possible, the Cape leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Roger Hulley, said over the weekend.**

As a matter of principle, he remained committed to dedicate his best efforts to try to forge "a united electoral force to oppose apartheid at the polls," he said when he opened the PFP's Cape congress in Grahamstown.

Mr Hulley, who was unanimously re-elected Cape leader, said the party had to show that the option of a negotiated non-racial democracy remained possible.

If the party did not show South Africa there was this option, "a viable centre that can oppose the government effectively and gain support to dismantle apartheid. if we ultimately cannot do that, we will hand our country to the proponents of civil war, and future generations can curse us with justification."

He also sharply criticised "the new pretenders to the opposition scene, those impulsive and inept wreckers and dreamers, the National Democratic Movement (NDM)."

He was shocked and appalled at the defections from the PFP which lead to the formation of the NDM.

This had "succeeded in abandoning a promising and substantial constituency capable of capturing seats in favour of a small and unproven one operating competitively in parallel with that of the PFP.

"In the process they have sown complete confusion and set back the cause of united opposition to apartheid by a number of years," he said

The NDM position was also riddled with inconsistecies.

"They claim to be trying to attract NP reformist dissidents, and yet they have been actively trying to recruit further supporters of PFP — with any notable success I must add — and without being able to show any gains at all from Nat ranks.

"Far from attacting new Nat dissidents, their first step was to ditch the most prominent one they already had in the form of Denis Worrall!

"I regret to say it, but it seems to me that unless they can offer sound and convicing reasons of principle for the launching the NDM in competition with the PFP, they will have a lot to answer for for dividing the opposition at such a critical time in our history."

Mr Hulley also said: "It is hard to imagine a more difficult and disheartening time to be a loyal and active member of the PFP.

"In spite of our travail, this party has remained principled, and has stood firm with a deep commitment for the tried and tested values of freedom.

"There is as much, if not a greater need, to continue the roles of Parliamentary watchdog and constitutional pathfinder towards a better, safer democratic future.

# PFP slam protection given to SAP

**Daily Dispatch Correspondent**

GRAHAMSTOWN — The Cape congress of the Progressive Federal Party has condemned the "unwarranted protection" given to the police in terms of the State of Emergency regulations.

The actions of the police as demonstrated in a number of recent court cases after people were shot were criticised at the congress over the weekend.

But the congress formally acknowledged that there were many members of the police force who were merely doing their job.

It called on the government to take steps "to instruct police to exercise restraint, especially in the use of firearms and to be made aware that their job is to preserve life and protect property, and not to administer summary punishment, which is the task of the courts of law".

The PFP's constituency chairman in Constantia, Mr Charles Grover, who moved the resolution, said there was "overwhelming evidence" in recent court cases of the police shooting people.

This had been shown in the case involving the deputy news editor of the Cape Times, Mr Tony Weaver, and the case involving the former disrict commandant of the police and the former head of the riot squad in Bellville.

The Minister of Law and Order had also settled 51 civil claims, totalling R1,3 million, arising out of unlawful shooting incidents.

"The Minister is paying for those cases with our money.

"The reason why he does not want it to go to court is because he does not want the evidence to come out," Mr Grover said.

# Militarisation of SA under fire

**Daily Dispatch Correspondent**

GRAHAMSTOWN — The PFP Cape congress has approved a resolution, proposed by the Green Point constituency, which deplored the increasing militarisation of South Africa through the system of school cadets, compulsory conscription and revolutionary rhetoric.

It particularly deplored "the semi-permanent presence of troops in the townships, the vast military infrastructure with the consequent creation of vested interests in South Africa and SWA/Namibia and the complete blurring in the roles of the SADF Force and the SAP.

It also deplored "the disproportionate influence of the SADF over internal and sub-regional political policy, and the reckless propaganda used by government to justify actions and to promote its political fortunes."

The congress called for the termination of military conscription in favour of a non-racial professional army.

The PFP's candidate in Simon's Town in the May 6 election, Mr John Scott, said the increasing politicisation of the SADF had been demonstrated in a recent statement by the head of the navy, Admiral Glen Syndercombe.

He said the politicisation of the defence force had resulted in senior officers closely identifying with government policies.

Mr Scott, who proposed two resolutions deploring the increasing militarisation, said the politicisation of the defence force had been illustrated in a recent editorial by Admiral Syndecombe in SA Navy News

Admiral Syndecombe had written: "It is alleged the Republic of South Africa is destabilising its neighbours. That's a good one."

Mr Scott said this statement bore no relation to South Africa's support of Unita and Renamo, which if they were operating inside South Africa would be regarded as terrorist groups.

"Yet the head of the navy says destabilisation is just not on.

"Serving officers are becoming ideologically identified with the ruling party," he said.

The perpetuation of the myth of total onslaught was critical to the increasing militarisation of South Africa and the politicisation of the defence force.

The militarisation of South Africa was being promoted by the joint management system and the use of troops in the townships.

"The troops in the townships are part of the apparatus of oppression.

"White civilians are being used to suppress blacks.

"There are now very few white males in South Africa who are not under some form of military discipline," Mr Scott said.

He also said the only way of curbing this trend would be to have a system of government based on the consent of all people. This would ensure the defence force was loyal to all of the population.

The Star

# Whom they wish to destroy . . .

FOR A COUNTRY that prides itself on a sophisticated autocracy, South Africa shows disturbing signs of stupidity. Or is it incipient madness?

The prevailing view seems to be that, while it would be naive to maintain the values which our forebears died for, the State can preserve the outward trappings of Western civilisation by governing in secret. The implication is that, for survival, South Africa must tolerate some totalitarianism.

Totalitarianism? How else can you describe a state in which neither the elected representatives nor even the appointed Cabinet have a deciding vote on war or peace? Even the Government's most faithful media member, *Die Burger*, has questioned its right to fight set-piece army battles across our border, without telling — let alone asking — its supporters.

Militarism is only one of several totalitarian tendencies, but it is potentially the most dangerous. The public unaccountability of those who plan "strikes" could ultimately destroy everything they hope to defend, including the free enterprise system.

If only a third of the evidence of South African invasions and incursions into weak neighbouring states is true, our nation will have a chilling amount to answer for — a debt beyond the imagining of the "gung ho" boys who plan aggression.

It is no use relying on the responsible, professional soldiers who control our armed forces. They do not take the decisions to kill our neighbours; they carry out the orders of secret committees.

It is no use believing that the select inner groups who secretly commit us to warfare "know best". By nature and structure they are "one-eyed". Their distorted view is even more clouded because they act without responsibility to Parliament.

It is no use dismissing South African subversive activities abroad as "necessary dirty tricks, used by every nation". Dirty tricks, like dirty habits, need to be controlled. Parliament has no control whatever.

Fashionable cynicism is one thing. Sheer stupidity another. South Africa's on-and-off military destabilisation of our neighbours is seen — by every judgment outside of the inner group which practises it — as highly dangerous. It could prove fatal. Think of that next time you think of several million people dying of starvation across our border.

# Resolve to foster links with anti-govt groups

**Political Staff**

GRAHAMSTOWN. — The Cape Congress of the Progressive Federal Party resolved at the weekend to work "constructively" with other groups opposed to apartheid and to seek contact with all other political movements, including banned groups.

It also said the recent Five Freedoms Forum meeting in Johannesburg was "an important step in uniting opposition forces to apartheid".

A number of resolutions to promote links with other anti-apartheid groups were adopted at the congress.

It also decided that "negotiation initiatives, such as the Dakar Mission, should receive the full support and backing of the party" and that it should give urgent attention to a programme of action promoting initiatives of this sort.

It also passed a resolution, proposed by the Green Point constituency, to seek "contact with all other political movements relevant to South Africa, including those banned by government" and decided to pursue "this contact with vigour in the interests of a negotiated solution despite the vicious and lying propaganda attacks aimed at the PFP during the last election".

## Distinction

The MP for Green Point, Mr Tian van der Merwe, said a distinction had to be drawn between organizations the PFP sought cooperation with and when it talked to organizations such as the ANC, PAC and CP.

The fact that the PFP believed in talking to these groups had resulted in "one of the most vicious propaganda attacks against us ever seen in South Africa".

Although the PFP would be abused by the government and its supporters, "I believe we have to recommit ourselves to this spirit of engagement irrespective of the attacks on us.

"We have to say again that we will seek contact with everyone with links to South Africa, even if it makes us temporarily unpopular.

"Then let us attempt to persuade the public that this is the only way to a peaceful future.

"Maybe we will be able to pave the way for a spineless government," Mr Van der Merwe said.

The PFP's national youth leader, Ms Toni Petra, said opposition groups would be playing into the hands of the government by "nitpicking" at each other.

"We must unite, not squabble. Even if we are unable to unite South Africa, we must unite the left.

"We need to work with everyone on the left of the government," Ms Petra said.

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# No thought to disturb the Summer Palace

**KEN OWEN**

THE LEARNED around President Botha are working hard to ensure that nothing — no loose bit of information, no rude poster, no original thought — can disturb the serenity of the Summer Palace from which the Great Man surveys the world at his feet.

President Botha and his party have always been sensitive to the noise of dissent, and they find the random thoughts that emanate from the English universities a constant provocation, rather as the Kremlin found the thoughts of Alexandr Solzhenitsyn to be a provocation.

Not, I hasten to say, that we are to be compared with the Soviets. There, brilliant minds end up in mental hospitals; here, they go to the Union Buildings. You must admit there is a difference.

Our methods of ridding the country of brilliant men are actually very different from the Soviet Union's. I remember that John Vorster got rid of Dr Bill Hoffenberg, one of the greatest medical minds ever to grace UCT, simply by issuing a banning order.

The reason was never given, but it was speculated at that time that Vorster disliked the Hoffenberg's because Mrs Hoffenberg, one of those bleeding-heart liberals, became active in an organisation called Kupugani — it's still around, I think — which tried to feed poor people.

Vorster was not a man to tolerate interference with poverty. Anyway, he banned Hoffenberg and the family emigrated to Britain, taking with them the medical knowledge, the skill, the dedication to learning which might otherwise have been used to reduce the ignorance of a generation of medical students at UCT.

I seem to recall that Vorster said: "Good riddance," but he may have been speaking of somebody else. He was getting rid of a lot of irritating great minds at that time.

Times have changed, though. Vorster's methods were pretty crude and President Botha knows from personal experience how difficult it is to engage a great mind without adequate preparation. His motto, I'm told, is: "Set a thief to catch a thief".



☐ DU PLESSIS . . . wonders

That is why Andries Engelbrecht has been appointed to spot revolutions in the newspapers; he is an expert in motivational communication, which gives him an advantage. Engelbrecht's boss, chief censor Stoffel Botha, is also a man of education. His colleagues call him Learned Stoffel because he reads difficult books by Hanna Arendt, all about revolution and totalitarianism. The State President is said to rely on him.

Another clever young man in Cabinet is Barend du Plessis, who has had experience in running his own business — it foundered soon after he left — and therefore knows how to raise public service salaries even when the tax base is shrinking. Young Barend does wonders with numbers.

Not many people realise that more than three out of every five Afrikaners now work for some kind of government or semi-government outfit. Gone are the days of the independent farmer, with his rifle, his horse and his dog, freely riding the veld. Today we are dealing with a nation of clerks, who depend on government for everything, and you certainly need a very fine spender like Du Plessis to take care of them; not even farmers are so expensive.

President Botha's office — the cockpit of the nation, so to speak — is actually run by the country's most educated prison officer, a man who has five degrees. The army is run by a man who came top of his class in an American training course. The National Intelligence Service is headed by a young professor who has read not only Von Clausewitz but even Sun Tsu, the great Chinese expert on warfare.



☐ DE KLERK . . .pay-for-play

That's the sort of man our State President is — he takes learning very seriously. You can see it in the pattern of his appointments.

For the delicate task of subjugating the English universities, perhaps the country's last repository of great minds outside the employ of the State and the mental hospitals, he has chosen Education Minister F W de Klerk, a lawyer who graduated *cum laude* from Potchefstroom.

There is no better specimen in Cabinet of the modern generation of learned functionary that De Klerk. He is smooth, subtle, amiable, and he knows the power of temptation that lies in money.

De Klerk has offered to give the universities money if they obey him, and threatened to take it away from them if they defy him. The universities have decided to defy him. Professor Robert Charlton, a man so honest that he will not even condone the gift of a stethoscope to a medical student, has already said he will resign as deputy vice-chancellor (or vice-chancellor) if De Klerk goes through with his threat.

Other chancellors will no doubt follow; so will deans, and professors, and junior lecturers. To do otherwise would reduce them to the same shameful status occupied by faculty at institutions of learning (if that is a proper description for them) which they despise; and while even brilliant men and women can do shameful things, not many can do those things in public. They will in the end tell De Klerk where to put his money — in Potchefstroom, perhaps.

It is fair to assume that De Klerk — such an educated man with an LL.B. degree *cum laude* and all — foresaw the likelihood that his decrees would be defied. He certainly knew what he was doing when he offered pay-for-play to some of the country's finest and proudest minds, as though they were whores, but I can't follow his thinking. It's too clever for me.

Perhaps he will put the defiant vice-chancellors in jail, or send clever men from Bloemfontein and Potchefstroom to run the English universities. Just as they now run the bush colleges. Perhaps he thinks it's time more people studied motivational communication like Engelbrecht, or read Hannah Arendt like Educated Stoffel. Who knows? He's a very clever man.

Meanwhile, however, the Great Man himself sits serenely in his Summer Palace, undisturbed by thought or protest, his world a vista of wine and roses.



Mrs Sally Hutchings with her son at Jan Smuts airport before leaving.

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# Deportation of tomato-tosser a 'petulant over-reaction'

Argus 2/4/87

Political Correspondent

OPPOSITION leaders today dismissed as "over-reaction" and "comic opera" the decision to deport a woman who threw two tomatoes at the feet of President Botha.

They said Mr Botha should realise that he is not only the Head of State but also a political leader.

A spokesman for the President would not say whether the incident, at a ceremony where Mr Botha made bravery and other awards at Unisa in Pretoria on Friday, would affect future safety arrangements.

Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Opposition in the Assembly, said today the Government had over-reacted by deporting the Unisa lecturer, Mrs Sally Hutchings.

He said the Government should be careful of overkill. Political leaders all over the world faced this type of reaction.

Mr Ray Swart, acting leader of the Progressive Federal Party, said it was a comic opera incident and a petulant over-reaction.

## "LAUGHING STOCK"

He said: "What happened is something political leaders all over the world are subjected to from time to time.

"It was not unknown for even Mr Botha, when he was a party organiser, to indulge in such frolics. This was on over-reaction which made us the laughing stock of the world."

The Argus Correspondent in Johannesburg reports that the husband of Mrs Sally Hutchings fears for the safety of his children after receiving an "unpleasant" telephone call.

Professor Graham Hutchings has now left his telephone off the hook but is considering finding alternative accommodation for his two children.

He said the telephone call was a personal matter and would not say what the woman caller had said.

In a interview yesterday, the University of the Witwatersrand chemistry lecturer said his wife had taken four tomatoes to Unisa in Pretoria in a clear plastic bag intending to throw them at the President.

The President's visit to Unisa at a time when the Government had imposed regulations which infringed on university autonomy was the final straw which prompted Mrs Hutchings to throw the tomatoes at Mr Botha, he said.

# Tomato thrower kicked out — 'overkill'

Cape Times 2/11/87

306A

## Husband says attack was planned

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Mrs Sally Hutchings, who threw the tomatoes at President P W Botha, said: "I'm very glad I did it."

Mrs Hutchings, who lived in South Africa for six years and had become a permanent resident, was a lecturer in the statistics department of the University of South Africa in Pretoria. Her husband Graham is a professor of chemistry at the University of the Witwatersrand.

She insisted that her unusual protest was not premeditated. She said she was in the presence of Mr Botha and his wife Elize in the university where she taught, and it presented "an ideal opportunity to make a stand on university freedom".

However, Professor Hutchings yesterday claimed in an interview that his wife had arrived at the ceremony "armed" with the tomatoes, having already planned her attack.

... Own Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG. — The Leader of the Opposition, Dr Andries Treurnicht of the Conservative Party, has accused the government of over-reacting by deporting Unisa lecturer Mrs Sally Hutchings for throwing a tomato at President P W Botha.**

"The government should be careful of overkill," said Dr Treurnicht.

Mrs Hutchings threw two bruised tomatoes at the State President's feet and was sent packing — to London — within hours of her protest at government's action against universities.

Both Dr Treurnicht and the acting leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Ray Swart, said political leaders across the globe faced this type of reaction. Britain's Mrs Margaret Thatcher was the target of a rotten egg this year

"It's a petulant over-reaction," said Mr Swart. "Nobody condones this type of behaviour, but by deporting Mrs Hutchings we have made ourselves the laughing stock of the world

"In such robust political times, politicians are fair game.

"Mr Botha is not just a head of state. He is leader of the National Party and that makes him vulnerable to public attacks.

"In his young days, as a political organizer, Mr Botha indulged in the same tactics," Mr Swart said.

Mrs Hutchings, mother of three and wife of University of the Witwatersrand chemistry lecturer Professor Graham Hutchings, was held by security guards, taken to Pretoria Central Police Station, escorted to her Parktown North home, and on Saturday escorted to a London-bound flight with her 18-month-old son.

The Hutchings family had planned to leave SA on November 22.

Her deportation order was issued on Saturday by Mr F W de Klerk, acting Minister of Home Affairs.

Results — after 12 long years of frustration and obstruction

# Natal option: the new authority is now official

By Bruce Cameron, Political Staff

DURBAN — The Joint Executive Authority launched officially yesterday is part of the so-called Natal option.

It started from small beginnings in 1975, but some of its participants and creators see it as only part of what can still be an even longer process.

In 1975, the then United Party-controlled Natal Provincial Executive faced the reality of the impossibility of governing a province that looked like a haphazard patchwork quilt.

## Utter confusion

The reality had come gradually as the Government pushed ahead with its policy of separate development, creating new states within a state.

Nowhere in the country, however, was this system more confused than in kwaZulu, Natal. Despite many Government inquiries, attempts to bring some sort of order to the scattering of the Zulu nation by the British in the wake of the Zulu wars, no "consolidated" kwaZulu was in sight.

In order to get some administrative order into the system, the Natal Consultative Committee was quietly established, meeting for the first time on September 3 1975.

The committee was not reserved for the kwaZulu Government and Natal Provincial Executive members, but also included Indian and coloured representatives involved in local government.

A year later the first whispers of far more formal links were being heard, with the late Mr Frank Martin, MEC, suggesting an Indaba in loose terms for the first time.

Meanwhile, other initiatives were taking place. The first was the Lombard Committee investigation, which was initiated basically by big business — particularly the sugar industry.

The Lombard investigation was primarily a result of the horror of industry and commerce — including, for the first time, Afrikaner interests — at the Government's consolidation plans.

Professor Jan Lombard came forward with the first definitive recommendations for a joint Government for the two regions.

The then Natal leader of the National Party, Mr Owen Horwood, kicked the proposals right out.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi then took the initiative, appointing the Buthelezi Committee under the Vice-Principal of the University of Natal, Professor Denys Schreiner.

The committee had much the same representation as the yet-to-come Natal/kwaZulu Indaba, with the left and right sitting out.

It followed on the Lombard report recommending a single legislature. This time, not only did the National Party give the plans a firm thumbs down, but so did the New Republic Party — saying there was no group protection.

kwaZulu immediately withdrew from the Natal Consultative Committee, which had met 29 times in eight years.

After a stand-off of more than a year, the kwaZulu Cabinet and the Natal Provincial Executive met in Ulundi in November 1984.

At the meeting, the Ulundi Accord was signed, creating two new bodies — a Strategic Policy Group (SPG) of public representatives from both sides, which was to advise on priorities — and the kwaZulu/Natal Work Group of senior officials of both sides, which made recommendations to the SPG.

## Power split

Towards the end of 1985, discussions started between kwaZulu and Natal on firmer ties.

Indications from the Government showed that joint administration of the territory would be acceptable, but the Government hedged at agreeing to a joint legislature, which would effectively unite the region

A dual strategy was adopted, with direct negotiations getting under way for a joint executive which would only have administrative powers divided on a strictly 50-50 basis.

By February last year agreement had been reached, and a draft Bill to establish the Joint Executive Authority was submitted to Government. kwaZulu, however, insisted this was only the first step, and almost simultaneously invitations were sent out for the Natal/kwaZulu Indaba.

Natal National Party spokesmen immediately rejected any move towards a single legislature, but President Botha, opening Parliament last year, left the door open and has continued to do so.

Step by tiny step his Minister of Constitutional Development , Mr Chris Heunis, has moved — first accepting that there can be different solutions in different regions, and then conceding at the recent Natal National Party con gress that the principle of a single legislature could be accepted.



Dr Oscar Dhlomo ... one of the kwaZulu line-up.

However, a single legislature is still clearly not acceptable yet in terms of the Indaba proposals

But the Government enthusiastically adopted the Joint Executive Authority, and has encouraged other regions to adopt a similar process.

The structure, with its loose confederal makeup, is much the same as the type of constitutional dispensation foreseen by NP ideologues at national level — the constellation of states concept of President Botha

There has been a lengthy delay since the adoption of the draft Bill by kwaZulu and Natal — mainly so that the fine print could be worked out.

But political factors also caused delays. These included concern in kwaZulu that the JEA would be used to implement the regional services councils, to which it is opposed.

## Vacancies stay

The other major political factor was the scrapping of the all-white, but elected, New Republic Party-controlled Natal Executive Committee, and its replacement by a Government-appointed Nationalist-dominated but multiracial executive.

One of the ways kwaZulu has shown its opposition has been its refusal to fill the vacancies for blacks on the executive committee.

There is no doubt that the JEA will bring major advantages to the region, cutting out some of the expensive duplication, while ensuring far better planning and allocation of resources.

## New group will foster co-operation

By Bruce Cameron, Political Staff

DURBAN — The Joint Executive Authority (JEA) will open the way for widespread co-operation — but either side will be able to veto any plans.

The object of the JEA is to combine resources in the region, avoid duplication and ensure sound planning.

The JEA will sit in Durban and will have a small permanent secretariat.

KwaZulu and Natal will have five members each.

The KwaZulu members are Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Mr Simon Gumede, Dr Dennis Madide, Dr Frank Mdlalose and Mr Steve Sithebe — all members of the KwaZulu Cabinet.

Natal is represented by Mr V Volker, Mr A G Joosab, Mr Clive Pierce, Mr Peter Miller and Mr S Naidoo.

The JEA powers include:

- The administration of any law of KwaZulu or Natal assigned to it.
- The administration of any function assigned to it by the State President.
- Making recommendations to amend any legal provisions in KwaZulu or Natal.
- Acting as the co-ordinating agency between the two bodies.

The JEA will be able to take decisions on such things as road planning and construction, conservation, supplies and libraries.

However these functions would not result in the creation of new departments and would make use of existing departments to carry out particular projects.

The JEA will hold at least six meetings a year.

The Administrator and the Chief Minister of KwaZulu are not legible for membership. They will play a referee role in the case of deadlock.

If any side votes against a JEA resolution, the matter will be referred to the two who will decide "by agreement between them".

It will probably be some time before the full list of functions of the JEA are finalised.



President Botha shares a cheerful moment with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his wife, Princess Irene, at the launch of the Natal/Kwazulu Joint Executive Authority.

# Joint authority 'only a small step'

**The Argus Correspondent**

DURBAN. — In spite of the launch of a Joint Executive Authority (JEA) for the region no early resolution can be expected on the Natal/Kwazulu indaba proposals for a single legislature, says Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

But he said yesterday the JEA was only a small step along the path.

Speaking at the opening of the authority, Chief Buthelezi dealt extensively with the Indaba.

He said the consensus to establish a JEA pointed immediately to the need for a joint legislative assembly.

The proposals were open for negotiation, but he warned: "We dare not damage them."

Indications today were that negotiations between the Government and Kwazulu and other political groupings could soon be under way.

Two obstacles to talks have been removed — the JEA has been launched and the Natal Provincial Executive has sent its opinion on the proposals to the Government.

Natal Administrator Mr Radclyffe Cadman would not say yesterday what stance the Provincial Executive had taken or even whether the response had been unanimous.

## Principle

But he said he favoured an elected joint legislature for Natal and Kwazulu.

He added: "I am talking about the principle, not the detail."

A joint legislature did not follow on a joint executive.

Speaking at the launch, he said that if through the JEA it could be shown Zulu and non-Zulu could work together, it would help those who believed in the ideal of a joint legislature.

"The JEA will be an important testing ground."

President Botha did not refer in his speech to the Indaba proposals, although he emphasised the interdependence of the region.

He praised the JEA and said similar structures were needed in the Transvaal and Free State.

There was a large contingent of Indaba steering committee members and staff at the opening.

● Untangling the patchwork, page 19.

# Afrikaans 'helped to mould nation'

By Martin Challenor

The creation of the Afrikaans language has, more than anything else, moulded Afrikaners into a nation, Mr Hendrik Sloet, chairman of the cultural organisation FAK, told the conference on minority groups at Rand Afrikaans University yesterday.

Constructing a picture of the Afrikaner, Mr Sloet said: "The cultural development of the Afrikaner is irrevocably coupled to the growth of the Afrikaans language.

"The Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners, established in 1875, inspired Afrikaners to fight for the recognition of their mother tongue and in so doing to assure the Afrikaner nation of its own right of existence.

"This, the creation of the only modern language during the past 150 years, more than anything else moulded the Afrikaners into a nation," Mr Sloet said.

Afrikaners were the first white people to sing about South Africa, poetise its beauty and history, and who were prepared to say "South Africa First".

"It was primarily because of the actions of the Afrikaner that this country has its own flag and its own national anthem," Mr Sloet said.

Afrikaners were very conservative in exercising their culture. "The Afrikaner has an overwhelmingly conservative lifestyle. This is to be seen in his dress, his recreation and his work circumstances. The Afrikaner is a relatively inhibited person."

Mr Sloet said Afrikaans people had a very strong urge towards self-realisation, albeit in a quiet and sobre manner. From his origin he has developed a strong urge for adventure and freedom. This has led to a strong sense of individualism.

"The Afrikaner is nevertheless very patriotic and displays a strong sense of nationalism. He has a particularly strong urge to protect and preserve that which is his own and to preserve his identity as a group."

Traditional Afrikaner churches contributed greatly over the years to strengthening Afrikaner culture.

"The Afrikaners' history tells of illustrious events which contribute to the strengthening of the Afrikaner's feeling of patriotism."

Afrikaners had traditional forms of sport and recreation like rugby and boeresport and loved their braaivles "which has a social, cohesive function and is a typical Afrikaner pastime," Mr Sloet said.

Drawing on an authority, Mr W J de Klerk, Mr Sloet noted the movement of Afrikaans people to the cities had "led to a rapid process of acculturation with, particularly, the English-speaking South African. A new Afrikaner had developed in the cities — modern in his views and living patterns, integrated with English-speakers in his working and friendship circles.

This meant that the Afrikaners' traditional culture was entering a transitional phase. A broadening of Afrikaner politics had taken place, ties with Europe were loosened and an African involvement had been established. The Afrikaners' cultural isolation was broken for the first time in history, Mr Sloet noted.

# English-speaking SA 'exasperated'

By Sven Forssman

The biggest single factor that has kept the English-speaking South African indifferent to Afrikaner nationalist leadership and goals is his language and the various currents that flow through it, retired Rhodes University professor Guy Butler told the Minorities Conference at Rand Afrikaans University yesterday.

"The English-speaking South African has inherited a world language and does not have to learn one, as his fellow South Africans have to," Professor Butler said.

"There is no justice in this dispensation, nor any virtue. Whereas Afrikaans is the strongest single factor, apart from colour prejudice, in Afrikaner cohesion, the English-speaking South African's language is an international language used by a dozen different nationals."

Professor Butler said the English-speaking South African child is likely to find that at least two or three of his six progenitors were born in Europe, and so brought awareness of that continent into the home, whereas the Afrikaans-speaking child's progenitors will, as often as not, all be South African born.

"English-speaking South Africa has not been through a period of isolation and incubation such as helped create the Afrikaner out of very disparate elements in the 18th and early 19th centuries."

Professor Butler said another demographic change had taken place.

"English-speaking South Africans are now almost entirely city people. Except in Natal, almost all have left the land and there are very few left in the dorps.

"I suspect they are not breeding very fast. Much to the delight of hard-line Nationalists, they have been leaving the country in droves with every Nationalist victory or, as they see it, any outbreak of avoidable violence caused by Nationalist racial policies.

"I think it is true to say that, politically, English-speaking South Africa is an exasperated, if not despairing, minority. And I believe that much of the radical white membership of the UDF, the ANC and the SA Communist Party are English-speaking South Africans.

"The Nats have seen to it that English-speaking South Africans could never get an equal power base in politics — the civil service, the army, the police and even the Bench seem to many English-speaking South Africans to have become Afrikaner monopolies."

A NEW "object" in the form of the National Democratic Movement (NDM) has appeared in the South African political firmament.

Will it make a meaningful contribution to the resolution of the South African political question or is it merely another "shooting star"?

Responses to the NDM within parliamentary circles have been instant and mostly hostile. Reaction among the extra-parliamentary groupings has ranged from "cautious" to "encouraging".

SOUTH FORUM, an attempt to encourage debate on the political, social and economic issues of the day, invited three prominent people to express their views:

# Dakar's spirit comes home

(3044 South Oct 29-Nov 4 '87.)

By ANTON KRUGER

WITH PFP resignations, the launch of IDASA, the New Democratic Movement and the Five Freedoms Forum, white politics to the left of the Government may appear complex and confused.

The "spirit of Dakar" binds a number of different initiatives together, however, reflecting a new consensus emerging in anti-apartheid white politics.

The new consensus recognises (to a greater or lesser extent) that the extra-parliamentary democratic movement is the major force for change in South Africa. The new initiatives are focused on overcoming the major obstacle to change of the Government and its supporters in the white community.

The NDM and other "Dakarite" initiatives have abandoned the PFP's approach of trying to replace the Government and Denis Worrall's approach of pushing NP reforms from outside the Party. Instead they seek to work among whites to break down their fears of a nonracial society, and to hasten the day when Pretoria is compelled to negotiate with the ANC.

"Dakar Politics" played an important role in shaping these new initiatives. Meeting with the ANC and coming to terms with the reality of the organisation opened new horizons for many prominent whites. Many abandoned the approach of the Natal Indaba and similar initiatives which hold the Government and the ANC equally responsible for the crisis in South Africa. Most ANC "safaris" have come away realising that the obstacle to peace in South Africa is the Botha Government.

The literally hundreds of report-backs in the Afrikaans community given by the Dakarites have helped a growing recognition that the ANC is an integral part of the future, and that negotiations are essential.

This has led to some major rethinking, and shake-ups in white politics. For example, of the



Wynand Malan

original PFP delegation to visit the ANC — Slabbert, Boraine, Eglin and Gastrow — only Eglin remains in the PFP. All the PFP Dakarites recently resigned to help found the National Democratic Movmement with Wynand Malan.

Although he was not on any of the ANC safaris, Wynand Malan was never exactly your average Nat. For a start, he supports the Freedom Charter, and made this clear while he was still a Nat MP in an article in Die Vaderland in 1985. He qualifies that, however, by stressing that he does not support the strategies of the UDF or the ANC, but rather calls for reconciliation. He is an important figure for a large sector of liberal Afrikaners who may be tempted to leave the National Party.

The ANC has indicated its intention to isolate the Government from all potential support.

At Dakar, the ANC called on the IDASA delegates to join the struggle. The movement did not expect all these people to join the ANC or the UDF, or even to support the Freedom Charter. But it did call on them to take a stand against the Government, and not to oppose the democratic movement.

This framework has clearly helped to shape the "Dakar politics" which has begun to emerge in the white community. "Dakar politics" came together with UDF-linked extra-parliamentary politics at the recent conference of the Five Freedoms Forum (FFF) in Johannesburg.

## Potential

A wide range of speakers from both the parliamentary and extra-parliamentary spheres discussed the possiblities of reaching broadly into the white community with a message calling for negotiation with the ANC.

UDF speakers appeared to be saying that the present political situation demanded a new approach in the white community. To advance the overall struggle, it was important to achieve the maximum isolation of the Government, and build maximum unity among anti-apartheid forces.

Keynote speakers Mike Evans and Azar Cachalia pointed out that an honest assessment would confirm that existing white extra-parliamentary groups are "extra-ordinarily small". The UDF-affiliated white democrat organisations and those immediately outside of them have only touched on the margins of the white community. There was a potential to win much broader support.

By restricting themselves to those whites prepared to reject participation in parliament, these organisations had limited their own appeal. Unlike in the "coloured" and Indian communities, the bulk of whites still



NDM leader Ester Lategan

looked towards parliament and this called for a more flexible approach.

Whites needed to be organised behind the call for negotiations with the ANC.

There was also a feeling at the FFF conference that there is greater potential for growth of anti-apartheid organisations among Afrikaans speakers than among English speakers. This too suggested a new type of politics.

Many Afrikaans speakers at the FFF stressed that most Afrikaners fear more from an English liberal than they do from a black radical. Dakar and similar experiences had highlighted the potential for Afrikaners to engage with the future when confronted directly by the voice of the oppressed majority. It is probably for this reason that the new NDM places such a premium on its relations with black political organisations.

The enthusiastic participation of some of its key figures in the FFF conference suggests that the NDM is not setting itself up to rival the FFF. It is more likely to play a complementary role.

The formation of the NDM was not well-timed or executed. It is unfortunate that they could not bring any Nat MPs with them to show their capacity to shift Afrikaners away from apartheid. It is rumoured that one or two were poised to join, but panicked at the last minute. Nonetheless, their willingness to drop Denis Worrall suggests that they are seriously trying to engage extra-parliamentary forces.

It is too early to judge the impact of the NDM. It has not yet presented a programme of action, and a number of questions remain unanswered. Although there was some initial confusion, the NDM has called for an end to the State of Emergency. Their stand on "security" issues, and the detention of people's leaders in particular, needs to be clarified.

The elements which make up bodies like IDASA, the FFF and NDM have not necessarily accepted the programme or the leadership of the broad liberation movement.

This, however, is not the criterion by which to judge the effect of such initiatives. They must be judged by their effectiveness in transforming the politics of the white ruling bloc. Maximum isolation of the Government and maximum support among whites for negotiations with the ANC can only advance the struggle, and win new space for anti-apartheid forces. "Dakar politics" can make an important contribution to this.

*(Anton Kruger is a pseudonym for a prominent member of the UDF who wishes to remain anonymous for professional reasons)*

Cape Times 4/11/87

# Speed up reform, Buthelezi urges PW

**Own Correspondent**

DURBAN. — At the ceremonial first meeting of the KwaZulu/Natal Joint Executive Authority (JEA) in the City Hall here yesterday, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi urged State President Botha to speed up reform.

Chief Buthelezi punted the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba, the proposals of which the National Party has rejected as containing insufficient safeguards for minority rights.

He said he was very depressed by the views of certain South African MPs about the Indaba.

"If you can't meet halfway, even with a leader like me who is sentenced to death because he believes in negotiation, I don't know what kind of leader can negotiate with white South Africa.

"If we can't give the young people who support me in their hundreds of thousands some hope of a compromise solution such as in the Indaba, then I feel a sense of dispair for this troubled land."

He said the JEA was a step in the right direction and would contribute significantly to the domination of the politics of negotiation over the politics of confrontation and violence.

Studiously avoiding the Indaba, Mr P W Botha praised the leadership of Chief Buthelezi and the Natal Administrator, Mr Radclyffe Cadman, for the good record of negotiation, co-operation and assistance between the two regional authorities.

Mr Botha said the government fully supported the JEA because it enhanced the process of regional government.

"We are often criticized for supposedly imposing centralized policies on people. But decentralization and privatization will afford everyone the opportunity to try to influence services and policies directly, according to his choice."

Mr Botha said the JEA was an experiment which could succeed and for which there was an increasing need in the Transvaal and Free State.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Inkatha secretary-general, KwaZulu Minister of Education and Culture and Indaba co-convener, was elected JEA chairman.

Dr Dhlomo said he looked forward to using Mr Botha's "open door" to express the hopes and dreams of the region beyond the JEA.

● As Mr Botha arrived just before the ceremony started, three members of the Black Sash were hustled from the city hall by police.

The women were about to take out banners and posters. A police spokesman said they had not been arrested.

## Buthelezi accuses journalists of propaganda

**DURBAN. — KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi accused journalists of being propagandists for his enemies during an explosive press conference here yesterday after the inaugural meeting of the Joint Executive Authority.**

**The atmosphere turned sour when one of 30 local and foreign journalists asked about alleged Inkatha involvement in violence in Maritzburg townships.**

**"That's bull ... You're accusing me of criminal acts."**

**Another journalist said it seemed Inkatha leaders were doing little to end the violence.**

**"That's nonsense, what kind of journalist are you?" retorted Chief Buthelezi. He said violence was being fomented by people in tandem with the ANC.**

**Chief Buthelezi exploded again when a reporter asked him about a coming court case in which he is suing a magazine for defamation.**

**"What kind of journalism is this? You're being propagandists for my enemies. What I am going to say in court has nothing to do with you."**

**A journalist finally defused the tension by exclaiming: "Gee Chief, you're awfully touchy today!"**

## More creative

He felt he was limited in the PFP because he was an individual talking to other groups without the back-up of the party. In the NDM this was the whole approach. The NDM would allow individuals to be more creative.

Mr Gastrow said his objectives were long term.

The NDM was planning a series of conferences next year to "legitimise structures and also to get input on the proposed principles". No formal constituency structures were contemplated, but committees were being established on a regional and constituency basis.

The NDM already had about 35 committees, all of which had come over from the 45 established by the Independent movement.

No PFP constituency organisation had moved over, although a number of individuals were giving their support, Mr Gastrow said.

# NDM convinced that it can break the logjam

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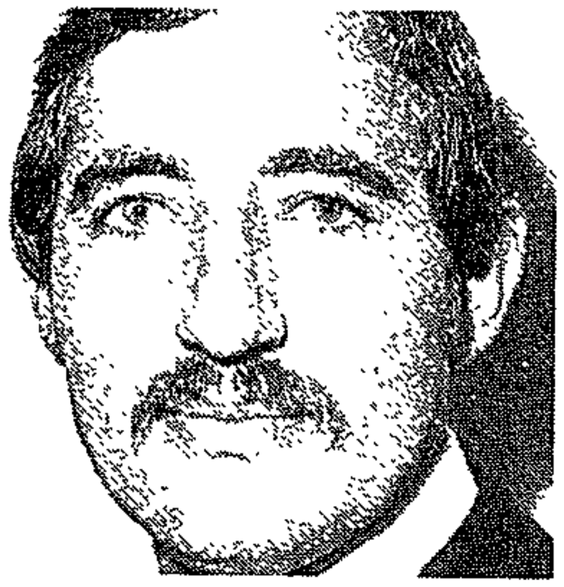

Malan . . . "build bridges".

**Mr Wynand Malan, leader of the new organisation, feels that the break with Dr Denis Worrall, although a blow, may turn out to be a blessing in disguise, writes Bruce Cameron of The Star's political staff in Cape Town.**



Gastrow . . . no regrets.

"Trying to find out the position of the newly formed National Democratic Movement is like eating candy floss," a cynical political commentator observed recently. "It looks and tastes nice but has no substance."

This might be taking it a bit far, but after listening and talking to the NDM leadership it is it difficult to pin them down on specifics. From "How does your membership stand?" — "We are not focusing on that at the moment, we are looking for supporters" to a sort of "If you don't understand us, then it is your fault you are confused."

They are ambivalent on a number of questions, from whether they are interested in playing power politics to whether they really want to grow in size.

But despite this they are sincerely convinced that they have the answer to breaking the logjam of South African politics.

## Stepping stone

They strenuously deny they are merely splitting the opposition to the Government. Their brand of politics, they claim, will provide the vehicle for a new South Africa.

The message is that parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics have to be seen as a whole in bringing about change.

The NDM leader, Mr Wynand Malan MP, said the ultimate aim was not to be the Government but "the restructuring of the whole community". If the NDM became the government, this would only be a stepping stone.

The NDM, he said, was in both pressure and power politics.

He admitted that in the month since it was formed the NDM had not made any noticeable headway in its targets. In fact, after the split with fellow Independent Dr Denis Worrall, "we hit rock bottom, but we have picked up".

Public support was there. This had been proved by a recent poll which showed that the Independent movement lay third in the white parliamentary groupings.

Although the NDM is committed to a nonracial structure, Mr Malan conceded its base is white parliamentary politics. He predicted that this base would grow and that other Nationalists would join the movement, though not in the immediate future.

Mr Malan said the fall-out with Dr Worrall, although a blow, could well turn out to be a blessing in disguise as the NDM could now present an unadulterated message.

The Dakar issue and support for talks with the ANC could be an issue if an election were held now, but he did not believe it would be at the next election. He believed 80 percent of the electorate supported the principle of talks with the ANC.

The NDM clearly faces the same problem as the PFP in being committed to remaining in parliamentary politics but not committing itself to contesting seats in the Houses of Delegates and Representatives.

Mr Malan said talks had been held with the Labour Party, but these were on the basis of encouraging it to become more involved with extra-parliamentary groups and issues.

On the extra-parliamentary side, discussions had been held with "progressive political groups". However, the NDM did not want to form alliances with any of these groups.

Mr Malan said: "We want to build bridges. We don't want to be co-opted on one side or another."

They wanted to get all types of organisations, from community groupings to business structures, involved in the process of a popular movement to broaden democracy.

Mr Peter Gastrow, the senior member of the former PFP group, said "process politics" suggested a broadening forward movement, which could only succeed if other groups were involved.

"I am not suggesting they become politicised in the conventional sense, but become more democratic. It is not that they have to do it in the name of the NDM. They can even do it in opposition to the NDM so long as they get involved."

Mr Gastrow said he had no regrets about changing allegiances despite the adverse reaction he had experienced. He believed the NDM could reach a far wider audience and the reach would be far more effective.

# Why NDM should be courted



SOUTH FORUM continues the debate this week on the formation of the National Democratic Movement (NDM) led by the MP for Randburg, Wynand Malan.

The NDM has been strongly attacked by most groups in the tricameral parliamentary system. In the extra-parliamentary movement the responses have ranged from "cautious" to "encouraging" with many leaders saying privately the NDM is a tricky issue and that a "wait-and-see" attitude must be adopted.

Community leader JOHNNY ISSEL, a patron of the UDF, argues that the NDM must be "drawn closer" to progressive organisations in the extra-parliamentary movement.

WITH the apartheid Government we are up against an extremely powerful force that has shown it can lay the whole of Southern Africa to waste.

We have seen this with the destabilisation of virtually all the Frontline states and the overrunning of Namibia.

How do we overcome this force?

We have to work for the complete isolation of the apartheid state.

Any rifts, ruptures or differences that arise in the apartheid ranks must be exploited and we must even enhance and increase those differences.

## Obligated

As democrats we are obligated to do this.

A lot of questions are being asked about the NDM, but it is important that it be seen in perspective and in relation to the broad democratic struggle.

We believe South Africa belongs to all who live in it. Whites therefore are going to be an integral and important part of a free and democratic South Africa.

In isolating the apartheid regime, it is also necessary to show whites it is not in their or the country's interests to continue to support it.

We must accept that the UDF has definite shortcomings when it comes to organising among whites. It unfortunately has an image that frightens whites who are not part of the white Left and will never be able to make much impact on the wider white constituency.

The NDM has shown that it has the potential to reach substantially larger numbers of whites than what the UDF can ever hope to reach.

Fundamentally, we must ensure that the position the NDM and similar groups adopt, is in opposition to the Botha Government.

Splinterings and breakaways in parliament are a direct result of pressure exerted by extra-parliamentary forces. We are in a way responsible for the creation of the NDM and must therefore make sure that its programme of action represents our line of thinking.

It will be folly, however, to sit back and adopt a wait-and-see attitude or to insist the NDM clarify its position.and when they do, to sit in judgement.

The UDF is not a politically homogeneous organisation and its formation was motivated primarily to oppose the tricameral parliament.

At this point there is no possibility of the NDM affiliating to the UDF.

However, the UDF is not prevented from forming alliances and there are numerous examples of it having done so with different types of organisations.

Alliances are formed to jointly work for the realisation of a particular objective. Joint campaigns, for instance, calling for the lifting of the State of Emergency, could be conducted with the NDM if its programme of action supports it.

We must seek and lay bare those things that make active alliances possible.

Such joint campaigns would allow us the best opportunity to ensure that the NDM's position would be favourable to ours.

There has also been a sinister campaign in the media to portray to NDM as being a breakaway to the right of the PFP.

The exclusion of Denis Worrall and the NDM's explicit statement of intent to seek ties with extra-parliamentary groupings make nonsense of this argument.

It must be impressed on the NDM, though, that pursuing those whites on the far right, such as the AWB which represents racism in its extreme form, will be a futile exercise.

The two things they will attempt to bring together will be irreconcilable.

The emphasis, however, should not be on what the NDM can and cannot do. Our primary task is to forge an alliance and draw them closer.

To what extent we form alliances with groups within the tricameral system needs to be strategically determined.

The Labour Party and Rajbansi's National People's Party are clearly rejected as sellouts by the oppressed.

They are not needed nor are they able to advance the struggle.

Whites have a tradition of parliamentary politics and the same analysis cannot be applied to them.

## Not valid

An argument that is also not valid is that progressive organisations should not "waste time" with groups such as the NDM, but devote all their energy to the workers' struggle.

The struggle over the last few years clearly demonstrates the many times workers have felt the need to enter alliances with other groups.

Workers by themselves will not be able bring about a new South Africa.

How can forming an alliance that advances the broad democratic struggle be against the interests of the working class?



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# Administrator probes possible JEAs in Tvl

**Own Correspondent**

PRETORIA. — The possibility of establishing four joint executive authorities (JEA) in the Transvaal is being probed.

Transvaal Administrator Mr Willem Cruywagen yesterday said he had written to the Commissioners General of the four self-governing states pointing out that provision was made in the Provincial Government Act for the establishment of JEAs and asking for their views.

In Durban on Monday, President P W Botha said at the opening of the KwaZulu/Natal JEA that the structure was an experiment that could succeed.

He added that an increasing need for similar ventures existed in the Transvaal and Free State.

Mr Cruywagen said the position in Transvaal differed greatly from that in Natal, where there was only one homeland to deal with.

"Here in Transvaal it is more complicated. We have four self-governing states, and separate JEAs would have to be formed."

Mr Cruywagen said he had had "purely exploratory" discussions on the issue with Lebowa Chief Minister Cedric Phatudi shortly before his death and had also spoken to Chief Minister Enos Mabuza of KaNgwane. — Sapa

# A culture has every right to protect its identity

3044
Capt Times 6/11/87



**MR ALBERT NOTHNAGEL** ... uninformed about segregation.



**By DR ANDRIES TREURNICHT**

IT WILL be very interesting to know what Mr Albert Nothnagel's "comprehensive memorandum" to Minister Clase reveals about the schools row in Pretoria.

Mr Clase had to handle the Menlo Park row earlier this year, and he failed. The same people who now object to "the practice of politics in schools" have been guilty of the same sin and had no misgivings about it as long as the sinners were National Party membrs.

Now all of a sudden the National Party discovers racism "sweeping through the country". The elimination of discrimination has become the NP's new holy cow ... or war.

The pride of one's own nation and culture is branded as "racial prejudice and hatred". What stupidity and nonsense!

Let us be quite frank about party politics in our schools. The school and its classrooms should not offer a platform for political parties or politicians to exhibit their particular policies and differences.

There is a place and a time for everything. And if racism is ill-placed in any educational system, so is the so-called non-racialism or the integration of various cultures, and the discrediting of the cultural heritage and identity of specific communities.

Friendly relations between various racial and cultural groups are very necessary. But it is a crime against the essence of a culture when disparate communities and cultures are forced together into the same social and educational structures.

Anyone who reflects on the value of culture and especially his own culture, tries to grasp the inwardness of cultural expression. He also decides in what way his own cultural interest or identity is being endangered or vitiated.

And everyone who is thus interested or involved in culture feels himself moved to proceed against its enemies. There is a unifying and compelling force working in a culture, as Weaver puts it in his *Visions of Order*.

A culture is unified and integrated by a dominating idea. And that is why it cannot be tolerant to the extent of absorbing also "what does not comport with its driving impulse".

It must insist on a pattern of inclusion and exclusion. If it cannot exclude the unacceptable or the alien, disruption is inevitable. Of course a culture is a complex of values, but it is polarized by a dominating idea. And that is why Weaver can say:

"A culture integrates by segregating its forms of activity and its members from those not belonging. The right to self-segregate them is an indispensable ground of its being." (*Visions of order*, p21)

I agree with Weaver. And that is why I am sincerely opposed to the political drives towards equality, non-racialism and school-integration. There is an alarming ignorance among politicians about the "laws" of a culture.

Mr Nothnagel is one of those dangerously uninformed politicans. What he and others call racism and hatred is, in many respects, nothing else but the Afrikaner's resistance to NP political drives to manipulate culture and education for the implementation of its power-sharing policies.

The effect of this campaign, if successful, would be destruction of "natural cultural cohesion" of both Afrikaners and English speakers, and its replacement with "artificial politically dictated integration".

This cannot succeed unless we deny our heritage of Western culture and surrender to suicidal inclinations.

Let us get away from the fallacy of egalitarianism in culture and from the belief that distinctions in society must necessarily foster envy or hatred.





**SCHOOLS INTEGRATION** ... politicians should not use schools as a platform for their policies.

# Wife divorced jailed ex-AWB member

Cape Times 6/11/87

By CHRIS STEYN

FORMER Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) member Mr Gert Jacobsz, who was released yesterday after serving four years of a 15-year prison term for terrorism, went to jail a married man.

But he goes home a single man.

The former policeman's wife — who "did not understand his politics" — is no longer waiting for him.

It was learnt last night that the 41-year-old Mr Jacobsz's wife, Annetjie, divorced him soon after he started his prison term.

His sister, Mrs Annetjie Coetzee, of Rustenburg, said: "He was barely in jail when she divorced him. She wanted him there."

Mrs Coetzee said Mrs Jacobsz did not support her husband's involvement with the AWB.

"She did not understand his politics at all."

Mr Jacobsz's former wife had custody of their three children, one of whom worked in Thabazimbi, and two who were still at school.

Soon after she heard that her brother had been released, Mrs Coetzee said: "It is a wonderful surprise. We had no idea . . . we were still counting the years," she said.

"We had a long letter from him just last week. He obviously had no idea that he would be released."

Throughout his trial in the Supreme Court, Pretoria, in 1983, Mr Jacobsz claimed that he was a devout Christian — and he described Sun City, which he threatened to blow up and infect with syphillis germs, as "Satan's nest".

It was disclosed during the trial that Mr Jacobsz's previous convictions went back to 1973 and included convictions for possessing dagga, driving under the influence and culpable homicide as well as illegal possession of a firearm.

# Eglin reports from China

Cape Times 6/11/82

**Political Staff**

CHINESE people desire to learn about the South African situation but they also stress their opposition to apartheid, Mr Colin Eglin, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, said yesterday.

Mr Eglin, who is visiting the Peoples' Republic of China with PFP frontbencher Mrs Helen Suzman and a party researcher, Mr James Selfe, said the PFP hoped their trip was "making a positive contribution towards a greater understanding of South Africa and its people".

In a statement released in Cape Town, Mr Eglin said their visit had been fascinating from a cultural and historical view while information on the Chinese social, political and economic systems was both interesting and valuable.

"Our Chinese hosts have certainly not spared themselves to make our visit both interesting and informative."

ELECTIONS

# Counter moves

**Nationwide** municipal elections due next October are likely to be re-scheduled to coincide with a general election late in 1989 or early the following year.

Government is reliably understood to be considering such a move in the wake of Labour Party (LP) leader Allan Hendrickse's refusal to co-operate with President P W Botha in postponing the election for the white House of Assembly from 1989 to 1992.

Senior ministers have apparently accepted that unless Hendrickse backs down and supports a constitutional amendment to enable the white election to be postponed, there is no way Botha can avoid sending all three Houses to the polls in two years' time.

It seems unlikely that Hendrickse's nerve will crack. He is demanding a major concession (such as scrapping the Group Areas Act) in return for support for the constitutional amendment. Botha is unable to pay such a price at present.

Hendrickse's tough stand has regained him considerable credibility and appears to have re-focused the LP's stated aim when it entered the tricameral parliament — to destroy apartheid from within.

How Botha will justify calling off the municipal elections (if he so decides) or explain why his plan to postpone the white general election (announced in parliament earlier this year) has failed, remains to be seen. He may leave the task to the Constitutional Development and Planning Minister, Chris Heunis, a past master at making simple announcements sound so complicated that no one understands them.

The municipal elections, originally scheduled for next March, are now due to take place on October 26 for whites and Indians, October 29 for coloureds, and October 28 for blacks. A total of just over 7 100 councillors will be elected, more than half of them white.

For the first time, local government elections are expected to be openly contested along party political lines in all white areas. A key issue for whites is expected to be the controversial regional services councils.

By having the municipal elections at the same time as the general election, the National Party, with its formidable propaganda apparatus, including the SABC, will be better able to counter the massive right-wing onslaught it is expecting at all levels.

There is concern within the NP that a drubbing from the Conservative Party in many areas if next year's local government elections go ahead may demoralise supporters and severely hamper efforts to motivate workers for a general election campaign only a year later.

87 FM 6/11/87

KWA-NATAL

# Wrong figures

**Three** myths have been exploded by the first-ever aerial map of Natal-KwaZulu.

The first is the consolidated population figure of 5,9m of the 1985 census. With an estimate for the Durban Functional Region (DFR) alone of 3,6m, the map suggests the population of Natal-KwaZulu — 92 000 km² in extent, roughly a third of which is KwaZulu territory — is far higher.

The second is the impractical dream nursed by right-wing organisations of a whites-only *Boerestaat* in northern Natal. The area is densely settled with black communities which have evidently escaped the attention of both census agents and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and its allies.

The third is the equally impractical notion that black settlements in Natal can sensibly be abstracted into a chequerboard "state." KwaZulu already comprises 46 separate "black" islands in the "white" province of Natal, and the map shows numerous settled black communities outside present or proposed KwaZulu territory.

For the consolidation of KwaZulu to have any practical effect resettlement on a vast scale would have to take place, and this is ostensibly no longer government policy.

The map, released this week, was commissioned by the Inkatha Institute and used aerial photographs taken by a private company, Air Survey Africa. The photographs were originally required by Eskom to help shape its future electricity demands.

Analysis was undertaken on behalf of the institute by anthropology honours graduate Clarissa Fourie, assisted by Professor D Scogins of the department of surveying and mapping at the University of Natal.

The realities it has disclosed may oblige wide policy changes from government, especially with regard to an Indaba-type administration of the province.

Already Indaba sympathisers say it demonstrates conclusively that the area cannot be unscrambled into "white" and "black" territories: the only practical administration is a unified Kwa-Natal. The map coincides with the formal opening of the Joint Executive Authority for Kwa-Natal.

The institute says the map "shows effective consolidation of KwaZulu to be even more unrealistic than many already believe."

It points to the vast areas of rural "white" Natal flecked with areas of black settlement; that these communities chose to settle without regard for official boundaries; and that there is "chaotic" overlapping of Natal and KwaZulu magisterial districts.

The DFR includes shack settlements surrounding "formal" Durban housing an estimated 1,7m people, or 48% of the DFR population. The growth of this community is responsible for making Durban one of the fastest-growing urban areas in the world.

By contrast only some 387 000 whites (10,7%) live in the formal limits of the city, 70 000 Coloureds (2%), 60 000 Indians (1,6%), and 827 000 formally-housed blacks. ■

# Govt to put tight clamps on white education

By Bruce Cameron,
Political Staff

DURBAN — Major changes are contemplated to the white educational structure in South Africa severely limiting parental and regional control while placing enormous political restraints on teachers.

These are the developments which Minister of white education, Mr Piet Clase, has been attempting to keep secret.

Repeated inquiries to his department since it was revealed that draft legislation was being discussed by the provincial educational councils in secret, have met with a firm refusal to divulge contents.

But a copy of the legislation has now been obtained.

Mr Roger Burrows PFP education spokesman, yesterday accused the Government of reneging on its word to give maximum parental control in the drafting of the legislation.

The draft Bill will result in a total centralisation of control while the new controls on teachers are extensive.

The Bill replaces the education ordinances of the four provinces as well as the Educational Services Act, governing service conditions for teachers.

The Bill starts with a long list of definitions detailing the entire structure of education in a province, including private schools, reform schools and pre-primary education.

Mr Burrows said it was difficult to list the main changes in comparison with the various provinces as different ordinances applied, but even a cursory study against previous Natal legislation revealed major changes.

These included:

● The new head of education — now called the Superintendent General of Education — "controls" all education from Pretoria. All submissions, requests and appeals must be sent to him.

Mr Burrows said contrary to the assurances given by Government spokesmen, the position of provincial directors of education was "totally subservient to that of his Pretoria master and they appear from the Bill to be no more now than a post office for requests to Pretoria.



Mr Piet Clase ... has kept changes in the white educational structure "secret".

"In other words, any decision at provincial level can be over-ridden by the head of education," he said.

● Pre-primary schools will be classified into two groups — private pre-primary schools which may apply for a subsidy and public pre-primary schools which would be fully funded by the State.

No indication is given about the division, but Mr Burrows said it was fairly certain the existing category of "controlled" pre-primaries, where only teachers' salaries are paid by the State, could disappear.

Of the 96 pre-primary schools in Natal only two (attached to the colleges of education) were Government-owned paying for equipment and salaries. The other 94 were "controlled".

In other provinces, another category called "subsidised schools" existed where the State provided a subsidy of about R125 a year for each pupil.

Mr Burrows said the effect in Natal would be to create a tremendous financial burden on existing pre-primary schools since teachers' salaries made up about 80 percent of a school's expenditure.

If this was changed, fees would either have to increase astronomically or classes would have to be expanded.

The problem was being compounded by the fact that a departmental inquiry into pre-primary education, appointed in July, was due to report in 1988 but had not yet met.

Mr Burrows said he understood the committee would also attend to the State's commitment in the white paper on the De Lange inquiry, to provide one year of pre-school education for all South African children.

● The legislation provides for rigid zoning of schools into areas. Power is given to school boards not only to refuse permission for a child from out side a particular school board's area being allowed to attend a school within that area, but also to refuse to allow a child from its area to attend a school outside.

Mr Burrows said a parent's "free choice to decide is totally removed".

"This principle ignores any element of choice between parallel-medium and single-medium, co-educational or single-sex or even subject choice.

"The provision contradicts any commitment made in the education white paper as to parental choice.

● Major changes have been made to staff discipline.

The definition of misconduct has been expanded to make a teacher guilty of misconduct if he encourages "disobedience of, or resistance to, an Act of Parliament" or if he "publicly criticises the administration of any State department" among other things.

The Bill makes it possible for a teacher to be found guilty on a charge of misconduct even if a court of law has acquitted him of any criminal charges which may have been related to the matter.

● Restrictions on civic and political rights of teachers, which were already limited, have been dramatically extended.

The legislation states a teacher may be a member and serve on the management of a lawful political party but then sets restrictions which make this virtually impossible.

Mr Burrows said the restrictions were contradictory, reduced political rights of teachers to absurd levels in a democracy and appeared to have been drafted with the deliberate attempt of preventing teachers having any political profile or making any political contribution.

● The draft legislation makes allowance for tuition fees which may be determined by the Minister.

Mr Burrows said this provision not only removed taxation powers from Parliament but also removed the right of parents to determine the fees.

Generally, Mr Burrows said, the Bill did not deal with any matters of methodology or curriculum, nor did it define the broad Christian and national character of education. This was already covered by the Education Act of 1967.

He was concerned about the extensive reference in the Bill to the power of the Minister to make regulations.

The Bill has been redrafted a number of times already. The provincial education councils, which are considering the Bill in secret on Mr Clase's instructions, have until November 15 to report.

(Star) West 7/11/87

# SA's Africans, Afrikaners are brothers under the skin



Prof ANDRE BRINK

**By KIN BENTLEY**

THE two main adversaries in the present South African controntation, Afrikaners and black Africans, have much in common and in a deep sense belong together.

This is the view of author Prof André Brink, head of Rhodes University's Department of Afrikaans, who, in an article just published, writes about his visit earlier this year, along with other Afrikaners, to Dakar to meet with members of the banned African National Congress (ANC).

The article appears in the October edition of Democracy in Action, issued by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative (Idasa), which organised the controversial trip.

Says Prof Brink: "When all was said and done, one was left with a sense of tragedy: as as in all tragedy, it also carried a germ of hope.

"The two main adversaries in the present South African confrontation are the Afrikaner and the black African — a deadlock which may eventually be broken by the non-racial approach of the ANC.

"History has turned them into enemies. And yet they are, probably, the two groups of people in South Africa who have most in common!

"They share a collective consciousness of a nomadic and peasant existence. Both have been conditioned by tribal experience.

"Both have chosen Africa as the object of their deepest loyalties and understanding.

"Both have experienced oppression, and the agonies and exhilaration of a struggle for liberation.

"In the deepest possible sense they *belong* together."

Another fact which struck Prof Brink was the "thorough knowledge of history — both world history and South African history — among members of the ANC [which] stood in stark contrast to the lack of true historical insight among most of the 'internal' group members".

"On one occasion [ANC delegate] Mac Maharaj told the meeting of a visit a past Minister of Justice had paid to Robben Island to berate 'terrorists' about their commitment to violence; in response, Nelson Mandela outlined to the Minister the ANC's long history of peaceful struggle and the manner in which every conceivable avenue of non-violent response to the institutionalised violence of apartheid had been explored before the decision was taken to form Umkhonto we Sizwe.

"The Minister, aghast, responded: 'I never knew about this.'

"Sadly, several of the whites at the meeting also hadn't known. This, it seems to me, is an area where the seeds of Dakar can most usefully be sown, in order to spread and enhance awareness and increase knowledge."

Referring to how white members of the Idasa group evoked morality in order to denounce violence, he said this "often had the hollow ring of expedience".

"It is so easy to preach morality to others; it is so easy to be conscious of the dictates of morality when the historical actions of one's own people have created a situation in which, suddenly, one is faced with a violent reponse.

"A week after our return from Dakar came the ghastly bomb explosion in Johannesburg.

"It was reported on the same day as the news that the Minister of Justice had implied guilt by offering to pay R1,3 million in compensation to the relatives of the 20 people — men, women, children and babies — shot, mostly in the back, at Langa in 1985.

"So where should one look for the true focus of violence and the true roots of morality in South Africa?"

In conclusion, Prof Brink said he believed Dakar demonstrated "in a small and tentative yet richly significant way" that a coming together of Afrikaner and black African could be achieved.

But, he added: "The single precondition is the destruction of apartheid and every vestige of racism that goes with it; and the removal of the Botha regime from the seat of power it occupies illegally and in the face of history."

He said "the P W Botha mentality appears to be the only true stumbling block to the ANC's passionate commitment ... to reach the negotiation table".

# Squatter shacks burnt down

**Daily Dispatch Reporter**

EAST LONDON — Almost a hundred people — including a number of children — are homeless after their shacks near the Cambridge abattoir were burnt to the ground yesterday.

The people living in the shacks claimed 18 dwellings were destroyed after a pre-dawn raid by police and a group of what they called "vigilantes".

The SAP liaison officer in the Border, Major Trevor Hayes, said last night he knew nothing of the alleged incident.

A spokesman for the Gompo municipal police, Warrant Officer W. Wolmarans, also denied any knowledge of the incident. "If our department was involved I would definitely know about it," he said

The squatters said they were South African citizens. They had been living at the camp for over four years and had never been asked to move.

One of the squatters, Mr Zolise Fana, said they were woken at 3.30 am by police and vigilantes. They were searched and taken to the police vans.

He claimed that when the police were loading the people into their vans, the vigilantes set fire to the shacks.

Mr Fana said they were taken to the Cambridge police station and had their fingerprints taken. They were then taken to the law courts in Buffalo Street and locked in cells.

He said the police took signed statements from the squatters before they were released.

"When I went home I found that my house had been burnt to the ground. There was nothing left," Mr Fana said.

Late yesterday the whole area was littered with the blackened remains of beds, chairs, tables, pots, pans and clothes.

A spokesman for the Black Sash, Mrs Sue Powers, said the homeless people were sleeping in a Catholic church in Pefferville until more permanent arrangements could be made to accommodate them.

"The situation is appalling," she said. "We have old people and babies, one only a month old, without homes."



**One of the Cambridge squatters, a deaf mute who identified himself as Sigogohzi by writing his name on the ground, stands in front of the remains of his shack.**

W/E MERCS 7/11/87

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BUSINESS

LABOUR AFFAIRS

DICK USHER



# Views worth putting on record

A WIDE range of topics was covered this week by John Herdman, president of the South African Motor Industry Employers' Association, in his annual report.

As head of one of the largest employer organisations in the country his views are worth recording.

**ON CHANGE:** I have never supported demands for dramatic and immediate change.

We as an association have no right to demand of our Government, actions which are totally impractical or impossible of achievement. But we do recognise and strongly support the need for change in an organised and planned way, the recognition of the rights of all and the opportunity for participation of everyone in the achievement of a better way of life.

The natural reaction to change is one of fear, a fear that we will not be able to adapt to new situations and natural reluctance to change the often deep and inbred sense of values which most of us have accepted as a matter of course without any great degree of personal thought.

**ON TRADE UNIONS:** As employers we are naturally concerned with the changes taking place in our country which affect our business and these are to a great extent being promoted by the extraordinarily rapid growth of the trade union movement.

The growth of the trade unions has been dramatic and the years of chaos are gradually giving way to intelligent organisation and improved administration and we must expect these improvements to continue ....

The increasing maturity of the trade union movement is a great tribute to the leaders and officials who have emerged over the past few years ...

Unfortunately, but understandably, the trade unions, particularly the emerging black unions, are adopting a strongly politically influenced approach.

We should not be surprised as this has been the pattern of trade union development since the origin of the first trade unions and we, in negotiating with the trade unions, must expect to be faced with politically motivated demands.

We canot respond to these demands as this is a matter for the Government of the country.

**ON EMPLOYEES:** We must anticipate the needs and inevitable demands of our employees. We must recognise that they are simply trying to achieve a higher standard of living and a better way of life for themselves and their families.

We must promote the advancement, development and welfare of the lower paid workers as fast as it is economically possible for us to do. If we do not do so sensibly and quickly we can only expect increased conflict and I believe that the interest of our industry, our employers, employees and our country as a whole require above all peace, stability and understanding.

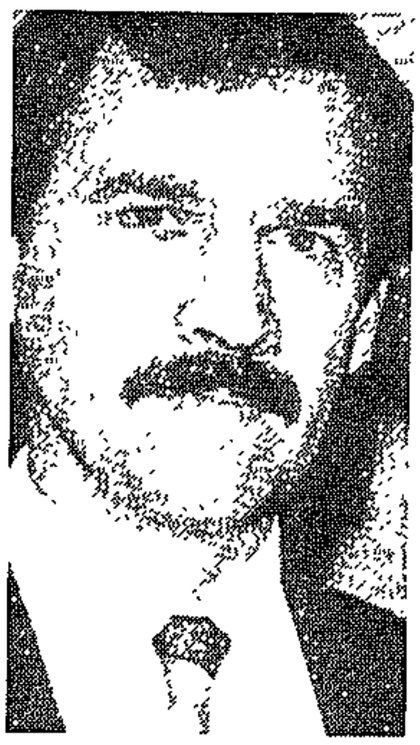
**ON UNEMPLOYMENT:** Unemployment still remains the country's greatest single problem ...

The poverty, deprivation and unfulfilled expetations of our lower skilled people continues to feed the despair and misery which has been the main cause of the social unrest which continues to plague so many parts of our country.

Post Focus



JAN VAN ECK



TIAN VAN DER MERWE



COLIN EGLIN



HELEN SUZMAN

# PFP needs to act quickly, decisively

**By PATRICK CULL**
**Political Correspondent**

THE Cape congress of the PFP — a rather hurried one-day affair — did little to reassure either the party faithful or the more cynical political observers that there is that much of a future for the former official opposition.

It has not been a happy year for the PFP.

Hurtling into the election on the turbocharge philosophy of its marketing whizzkids, the PFP was soundly rejected by an electorate heavily influenced by Government propaganda.

Perceived to be weak on the key issue of law and order, support for party evaporated and with it went not only the dream of alternate government but also the party's position as the official opposition in the House of Assembly.

Worse was to follow.

Claremont MP Mr Jan van Eck left the party to sit as an independent — and then there was the awful internecine dispute over the visit to Dakar by two MPs and a member of the President's Council which eventually resulted in the trio defecting to Mr Wynand Malan and his National Democratic Movement.

Against such a background one would have expected that the party would use the 1987 provincial congresses to take a long hard look at itself.

(And one would have expected party leader Mr Colin Eglin and its most senior MP, Mrs Helen Suzman, to have been at the forefront of that re-examination rather than touring China.)

The Cape congress did debate the role of the opposition.

But it was a debate which centred on the question of alliances with other anti-apartheid groups rather than just what direction the PFP itself should be taking.

And it showed once again the gulf in perceptions of the role of the party.

Green Point MP Mr Tian van der Merwe — he is increasingly being mentioned as the man who should take over the leadership from Mr Eglin — stated the point of view of the "left" wing of the party.

The PFP, he said, should talk not only to friends but also to political adversaries — "even if it makes us unpopular".

Bearing in mind the attitude of the electorate as manifested in the May 6 general election, if these talks include the ANC — and they do — then the PFP cannot expect to win more seats and will almost certainly suffer more electoral defeats.

(For the same reason, the NDM seems doomed to lose its three MPs the next time the country goes to the polls.)

The opposing viewpoint came from King William's Town delegate Mr Alister Bentley, who accused PFP activists of becoming "apologists" for the ANC and thereby undermining the the support-base of the party making it difficult both to recruit members and raise money.

Mr Bentley's viewpoint was the minority one.

Essentially the dispute centres on which aspect of the party's activities is to receive the main thrust of its efforts.

Is the PFP going to have a small foot inside Parliament and a large one outside or is it going to direct the main thrust of its efforts and resources towards parliamentary representation while maintaining links with other anti-apartheid groups outside?

It has to resolve this issue.

Even if there is not a general election in 1989 — that matter rests with the Rev Allan Hendrickse and his Labour Party — there will be one in 1992 or possibly earlier.

If the PFP continues to dither in a political no-man's-land for much longer it will further erode any chances of making electoral gains on the one hand while presenting a confused and ambiguous image to extra-parliamentary groups on the other.

A decision to place the emphasis on Parliamentary presence means that the PFP is going to have to present itself in a manner which is palatable to the electorate.

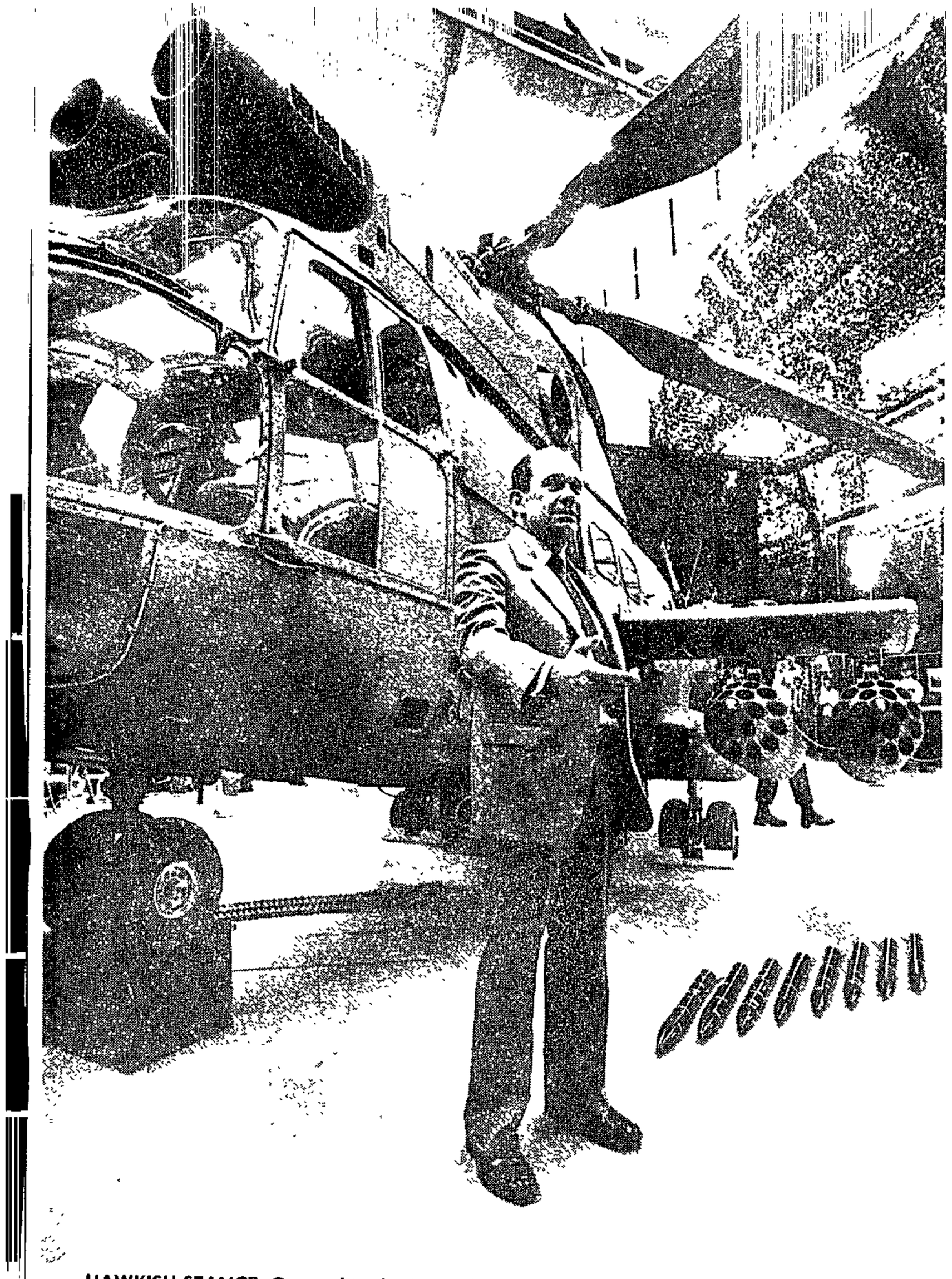
That does not mean abandoning its commitment to a non-racial democracy.

But it does mean having to find a way past the inevitable propaganda from the Government media directed at the PFP's image as far as law and order is concerned.

In a nutshell that means turning acceptance of the party's principles into hard voter support at the polls.

If on the other hand, the major thrust of the party's efforts is to be outside Parliament, then it must be recognised that PFP's representation in Parliament will diminish with the emphasis on the watchdog role.

Bearing in mind the current confusion which must exist in the minds of the electorate with regard to opposition parties to the left of Government, the PFP needs quickly to present itself in one form or another if it is not to slide into the abyss of confusion along with the NDM and Independents.



HAWKISH STANCE: General Malan's tough speeches may be succession-struggle salvoes.

# Malan seen as big gun in line for presidency

NOV. 7, 1981

PATRICK LAURENCE

When observations from outside begin to converge with perceptions in South Africa, it is time to take them seriously.

In a recent assessment of the political situation in South Africa, Mr Carlos Cardoso, of the Mozambique News Agency, AIM, named General Magnus Malan as a front-runner jostling for advantage in the discreet but intense succession struggle in the ranks of the governing National Party.

Mr Cardoso's thesis coincided with an increasing tendency by political analysts in South Africa to identify General Malan as a serious contender to succeed President Botha.

As political head of the South African Defence Force, General Malan (57) clearly looms large in the lives of Mr Cardoso and his fellow Mozambicans: the SADF has twice openly raided Maputo, in January 1981 and again in May 1983, and, according to AIM, has been involved in a covert campaign to destabilise the Frelimo government of President Joaquim Chissano.

On the home front General Malan has assumed greater prominence in the past year, with his hawkish public speeches interpretable as salvoes in a steady campaign to advance his chances of taking over from Mr Botha.

As Minister of Defence, General Malan clearly occupies a key portfolio, one which has assumed an increasingly pivotal role in the life of all South Africa as it reaches into every nook and cranny of public life via the "total strategy" concept and the national security management system.



HEAD OF DEFENCE: and tipped to be a strong contender to succeed President Botha.

Indicators of the centrality of the SADF in South African life are well known. To cite a few: annual expenditure for the latest financial year is R6,68 billion; young white men are conscripted into the SADF for two years full-time training and are then liable to serve for another 720 days spread over 12 years; troops patrol the black townships as well as the borders; and 11 of the 12 chairmen of the National Security Council's regional joint management centres are SADF officers.

General Malan has risen as a politician since his appointment to the Cabinet by Mr Botha in October 1980. The most important milestone was perhaps his election last year as one of three vice-chairmen of the Transvaal National Party.

It placed him on a par with the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, and the Minister of Education and Training, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, both of whom have been mentioned as runners in the succession race.

Since then the two leading contenders, Mr Chris Heunis and Mr F W de Klerk, have suffered setbacks in the May 6 general election, a course of events which did no harm to General Malan.

Mr Heunis, the Minister of Constitutional Development, suffered a near-fatal blow when he nearly lost his seat to Dr Denis Worrall, a former ambassador to Britain.

As Transvaal leader of the NP, Mr de Klerk, found that his candidacy was not helped when the Conservative Party won all of its 22 seats in the Transvaal, reducing the tally of Transvaal Nat MPs to one fewer than that of the Cape NP.

In recent months, General Malan has made pronouncements which, *prima facie*, are statements which impinge on foreign policy and thus implicitly challenge the prerogative of Mr Pik Botha.

In July he warned that South Africa might have to consider giving assistance to "pro-Western groups that are combating Soviet expansionism that do not have the ability to survive on their own".

His statement was seen by the Afrikaans press as foreshadowing support for MNR rebels in Mozambique and Unita fighters in Angola. It was perhaps a sign of suspected SADF disenchantment with the Nkomati Accord of March 1984 between South Africa and Mozambique.

General Malan returned to that theme again last month. Opening a strategically situated new Air Force base at Louis Trichardt, he pointedly noted that the outlawed African National Congress admitted that the constraints that the Nkomati Accord placed on South Africa gave its men greater mobility.

He concluded: "Mozambique is thus still, directly or indirectly, involved in the physical exporting of violence to South Africa."

General Malan has one clear advantage over his rivals in the succession struggle. He has worked closely with Mr Botha for more than a decade, having served as Chief of the Defence Force when Mr Botha was still Minister of Defence, and then having been specifically chosen by Mr Botha to take over as Minister of Defence.

General Malan may lack the platform eloquence of Mr Pik Botha and the intellectual sophistication of Dr Viljoen.

But he has been a leader rather than a follower nearly all his life, having served as South Africa's youngest Chief to the Army in the mid-1970s before becoming Chief of the Defence Force and then Minister of Defence.

Coincidentally — or, some would say, significantly — General Malan is a graduate of Fort Leavenworth, the military alma mater of many South American officers who have led military coups in that troubled continent.

(30th 8/11/83 S.T

# What IS the enigma known as the English-Speaking South African?



by GUY BUTLER

# The Importance of Being ESSA

**ENGLISH-speakers come from very different national, social and religious backgrounds. They lack common instructions and binding social loyalties.**

**Things might have been very different had they all been Presbyterians or all Catholics. Religion has not, however, provided a rallying point.**

A sample questionnaire of white matriculants in South African schools about parents and grandparents would, I believe, reveal an interesting difference.

The ESSA (English-speaking South African) child is likely to find that at least two or three of his six progenitors were born in Europe, and so brought awareness of that other continent alive into the home; whereas the Afrikaans-speaking child's progenitors will, as often as not, all be South African-born.

The effect of this on the development of national sentiments must be considerable.

English-speaking South Africans have not been through a period of isolation and incubation such as helped to create the Afrikaner out of very disparate elements in the 18th and early 19th centuries.

Another demographic change has taken place in my lifetime. Except for Natal, ESSAs are now almost entirely city people.

## Left

They have left the land, and there are very few left in the dorps. And they have been leaving their country in droves with every Nationalist victory, or — as they see it — any outbreak of avoidable violence caused by Nationalist racial policies.

This is particularly true of young intelligent men of military age. Conscription, "to prop up the Nationalist political party", drives many of our brightest and best young ESSAs into exile.

It is, I think, true to say that politically, English-speaking South Africa is an exasperated, if not despairing minority.

But they are, nevertheless, a lively and energetic bunch in fields of activity when they are given half a chance. The great industries and cities of South Africa are evidence of that.

They are sometimes accused of being interested only in money. I don't think this is quite fair. The Nats have seen to it that they could never get an equal powerbase in politics; the civil service, the Army, the Police.

The para-statals have virtually become Afrikaner monopolies. The slanting of the news on SABC is so blatant that very few English-speakers want to have anything to do with that organisation.

But there is far more to ESSAs than their failure to achieve an obvious group identity. Perhaps in this apparent failure lies their importance for our society.

There have been various attempts to beat a specifically British or English drum and keep the metaphorical Union Jack flying: the Dominion Party; the United English Speaking South Africans; the Forty Percenters. None has had much success. Why?

For several reasons:

● Most ESSAs have lost the old imperial mystique, and their growing emotional commitment to this country has made them reject aggressive and exclusive nationalisms as short-sighted, if not suicidal, in a multilingual society.

## Opposite

● The slow death of the old imperial mystique has led to the triumph of an alternative English tradition. The intellectual, academic, religious and literary leadership of the ESSAs, ill-organised as it is, has become impressively "liberal" in the old-fashioned sense of the word: open-armed, inclusive, humanitarian, tolerant.

One of their reasons not to identify with Afrikaner nationalism is because Afrikaner nationalism is seen as the opposite of all those things.

● Paradoxically, the ESSAs' imperial past provided an all-racial paradigm. The Empire and the Commonwealth made a boast of its motley character. It is curious to think that we might still be in the Commonwealth if only Verwoerd had been sufficiently "liberal" to agree to sit as an equal with black, Indian and oriental Prime Ministers of that remarkable body.

No one today will attempt to defend all aspects of the British Raj; but its Laureate Poet, Kipling, produced a good poem about an Indian, which contains the line: "You are a better man than I am, Gunga Din."

● But I think the biggest single factor that has kept most ESSAs indifferent to Afrikaner nationalist leadership and goals is the question of language and the various currents that flow through it.

The ESSA inherited a world language, and does not have to learn one, as his fellow South Africans have to do. There is no justice in this dispensation, nor any virtue.

Whereas an indigenous language — Afrikaans — is the strongest single factor apart, perhaps, from colour, of Afrikaner cohesion, the ESSAs' language — English, Irish, American, West Indian, etc. — is also a *lingua franca* which can be learnt by anyone who needs it.

To learn English in South Africa does not mean that you are trying to identify with the vague communion of ESSAs. It means you want that language for economic reasons, to enter a world inside or outside South Africa: an American or multi-national world mainly, but also the worlds of the Commonwealth, and more recently of China and Japan.

## Restrained

● The restrained, almost cool style of English politics has had an enormous influence. Churchill was a powerful and emotive speaker, but he never shouted, like Hitler and Mussolini shouted — the kind of shouting that is becoming more and more frequent at AWB meetings.

This leads me to take a deep breath and to say that it is possibly a good thing for South Africa to have a small but significant sector of its populace comparatively free of the need to hand over their bodies and souls into the keeping of what Simon Weil calls "the collective".

The collective or communion to which ESSAs belong is vague. ESSAs will not, I think, immolate reason in visceral appeals to blood, soil and mother tongue education.

## Trapped

I have suggested that a number of factors have conspired to produce in the little group of ESSAs a base for a tradition which is liberal and inclusive; a base which is used from time to time by people from other minorities or collectives and in which dissidents find a home.

Of course, not all ESSAs are liberals, nor all liberals ESSAs. I do not know how large that base is.

trapped between the mobilising blacks and the armed-to-the-teeth Afrikaners, they are being driven further and further to the left; others, frightened by the violence which many Nat policies have generated, vote for short-term security.

When our society achieves a constitutional nationalism which does allow for ethnic sentiments, and dispenses power and wealth in an acceptable manner, I think it will be realised that the ESSAs provided a milieu, never exclusive, for much of the change away from the hegemony of the minority Afrikaner group over the entire society.

## Record

Fragmented and numerically small, the ESSAs have a political record which is not unimpressive: their churches, the ESSA Press, ESSA writers, the Black Sash, the open universities, the End Conscription Campaign, can all be seen as working toward a South African nationalism which is generous enough to embrace and cherish all our minorities.

● *Extract from a speech by poet and author Professor Butler at the conference on minorities organised by RAU's Missak Centre this week.*

# Swart hits Nat 'white control'

3044 S. Times 8/11/87

Sunday Times Reporter

THE Government is obsessive about white control over South Africa and is prepared to ruthlessly exercise that control, says outgoing Progressive Federal Party Natal leader Ray Swart.

Opening the Natal PFP congress, which ended in Durban yesterday, Mr Swart said the Government would use all the power at its command to enforce what it calls "law and order" and to subjugate those who disagreed with it.

He said the National Party would continue to erode the rule of law and use the security aparatus to enforce white control with or without the knowledge or consent of Parliament.

"It will use and abuse the public radio and TV network unashamededly, as it now does, to propagate one-sided and slanted views of the situation in South Africa. It will threaten and impose more and more restrictions of the Press.

"It will remain insensitive to any suggestion of change from outside, whether well-intentioned or not, and will risk total isolation from the international community rather than move from a position of absolute white control in this country."

## Relevant

Referring to the May 6 election and subsequent defections from the party, Mr Swart said the importance of the mission the PFP had set itself remained the same.

"None of the fluctuations in our fortunes makes our message and function any less relevant today than when Helen Suzman sat alone in Parliament or when 26 PFP members sat in Parliament before May this year.

Rejecting National Party claims that the PFP had "hijacked" the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba and the proposals were PFP policy, Mr Swart said the party had serious reservations about aspects of the proposals.

Mr Swart said the PFP had always held the view that the proposals were a starting point and not a perfect and final model.

● Mr Roger Burroughs, MP for Pinetown, was elected leader of the Natal PFP following the retirement yesterday of Mr Swart.

# The slow motion collapse of apartheid

**The South African Press Association reports from Johannesburg**

THE gradual dismantling of apartheid is a "complex and tedious process," according to the Institute of Race Relations' latest quarterly review of political reform in South Africa, *Quarterly Countdown*.

The 38-page report notes that there were only four areas in which change occurred during this year's third quarter which could be described as highlights.

But it suggests that there are another 11 major changes in the pipeline that should be monitored for possible implementation in the near future.

The four highlights identified were:

☐ The mining colour bar was repealed.

☐ Seven more business districts were opened for trading by all races, bringing the total in the country to 55.

☐ A Joint Executive Authority (JEA) for Kwazulu and Natal was established.

☐ Regional Services Councils announced projects to be undertaken in needy areas under their jurisdiction.

*Quarterly Countdown* also noted that the enactment of the National Council had been deferred until 1988 as the Government was still seeking wider black support and additional comments on its proposals.

The institute says, however, that the signs are not auspicious for the success of the National Council Bill.

Turning to the creation of a JEA for Natal, the quarterly reported the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, as saying that the establishment of the JEA could lead to formal co-operation structures between other regional administrations.

The JEA was created in terms of the Joint Executive Authority for KwaZulu and Natal Act, promulgated at the beginning of September last year.

Another major issue dealt with by the publication is the President's Council's report on the Group Areas Act that recommended maintaining the principle of residential apartheid, but with a local option for official desegregation of certain de facto "grey" areas.

## Property values

It points out that despite research by the Institute of Race Relations that suggested that the repeal of the Group Areas Act would in fact stimulate rather than depress property prices in white group areas, the report of the President's Council said that many whites believe the value of their property might drop were the Act to be repealed.

The President's Council's report also said that one of the objections to phasing out the Act over a fixed period was that people tended to disregard a law which they knew was to be repealed in the future.

The council did, however, recommend the repeal of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, something the President had himself foreshadowed in 1986.

A potentially very important development that had taken place during the three months under review was talk by a number of ministers of "elasticity" in the question of defining groups, says the review.

At present the Population Registration Act seeks to do this rigidly.

The quarter also saw the State President talking about protecting cultural, religious, and language rights on a basis other than race, which is what the KwaZulu Natal Indaba claims its proposals will do.

## Certificates

August saw the repeal of the 1911 legislation which provided that only whites and some coloured people could qualify for 13 of the mining industry's different certificates of competence, including the "blasting" certificate.

The Mines and Works Amendment Act, gazetted at the beginning of September, removed the last statutory job colour bar from the private sector.

*Quarterly Countdown* reports, however, that it was not greeted with unreserved acclaim.

Among factors now to be taken into consideration before a candidate can acquire a certificate of competence are practical experience, command of language, physical health, security, age, educational qualifications, and training standard, "provided that no distinction shall be made on the basis of race or colour."

The change in labour legislation affecting the mining industry was tempered by an article in a South African journal on human rights which said that the Mining Rights Act of 1967 and the Precious Stones Act of 1964 effectively barred Africans, coloured people and Indians from "acquiring and exploiting any significant mineral deposits of any nature in South Africa."

The all-pervasive nature of apartheid legislation was demonstrated during the quarter by the experience of Indians in the Orange Free State.

"No longer prohibited from living there, a number of Indians have been sent there from Natal to manage factories. However, since no Indian group area has been proclaimed in the province, there is nowhere for such people lawfully to reside," *Quarterly Countdown* reported.

Among steps taken by the authorities in the Free State was the issuing of a permit valid for a year which allowed Indians to live in a block of flats in central Bloemfontein.

## Accommodation

However, a further application will have to be made if they still do not have permanent accommodation after year.

In another case, the Bloemspruit local board, which is responsible for the smallholding area East of Bloemfontein, decided in July to allocate 37 smallholdings for Indian accommodation.

The quarterly also said that Indian businessmen who have established business in the satellite town of Botshabelo have been living in their factories as no accommodation was available for them in Bloemfontein.

CAPE TIMES
9/11/81
30(A)

# PFP decides to maintain township presence

**Political Staff**

DURBAN. — The Progressive Federal Party's Natal congress resolved at the weekend to intensify the party's extra-parliamentary work.

The congress resolved that the PFP should maintain a presence in the townships, maintain regular contact with organizations such as ratepayers' associations and street committees, be present at funerals of unrest victims, initiate programmes of contact between people of all backgrounds, and help victims of violence get legal assistance.

Proposing the resolution, Mr Hayden Soobramoney, PFP Inland Youth chairman, said the white electorate should be kept informed and therefore the PFP needed first-hand information of what was happening in the townships.

## ANC

The congress also recorded its "absolute rejection of the use of violence as a means towards political ends".

An amendment also calling on the African National Congress to renounce violence was defeated on the grounds that if one group was singled out, so should all groups which took part in violence.

The congress also resolved that the PFP give full support to the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba.

Two amendments, one based on concern at the action of Inkatha in the townships, and the other re-affirming the call for a national convention, were defeated.

● Pinetown MP Roger Burrows, just three-and-a-half years after going into politics, was elected Progressive Federal Party Natal leader.

Mr Burrows, 42, was elected unopposed to succeed veteran Berea MP, Mr Ray Swart, who announced last week that he would step down after nine years as the PFP's Natal leader.

# State made real moves 'away from apartheid'

By Martin Challenor

Government efforts to move away from apartheid advanced on four fronts recently, says the South African Institute of Race Relations's quarterly countdown of political reform.

Monitoring the period July to September 1987, the institute said the gradual dismantling of apartheid was a complex and tedious process.

It noted as advances that:

- The mining colour bar was repealed.
- Seven more business districts were opened for trading by all races, bringing the total in the country to 55.
- A joint executive authority for kwaZulu/Natal was established.
- Regional Services Councils announced projects to be undertaken in needy areas under their jurisdiction.

The countdown report said the most dramatic political development in the period was the resignation of the Rev Allan Hendrickse from the Cabinet.

"Mr Hendrickse appears to have (President) Mr Botha over a barrel, in that Mr Botha cannot postpone the general election due in 1989 without a constitutional amendment requiring the assent of the all three Houses of Parliament."

Mr Hendrickse said his party would not back the amendment unless the Group Areas Act was repealed and other conditons met.

## GROUP AREAS REPORT UNDER TWO-PRONG ATTACK

The Presidents' Council report on the Group Areas Act found little enthusiasm in political quarters outside the National Party. It was attacked from the right for not sticking rigidly to apartheid, and from the left for not going far enough away from it.

In a development which is potentially important, some Ministers began talking of 'elasticity' in the question of defining groups.

President Botha has talked about protecting cultural, religious and language rights on a basis other than race — precisely what the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba claims its proposals will do.

The review identified political issues to be watched in the next three months. These are:

- The Government's response to a proposal for joint parliamentary debates between the three houses.
- The Government's policy on land allocation for squatters.
- Changes in group areas and separate amenities legislation.
- The outcome of talks with white technikon rectors on the admission of black students.
- Whether political prisoners are to be released.
- Publication of the Government's financing formula for educational equality.
- The Government response to a recommendation that people of different races be allowed to enter into customary marriages.

(Sat) (304A) (Tue) Bdam 10/11/87

# Why SA will be a prisoner of its history



□ WOODS ... escape in tedious detail

**SIMON BARBER in Washington**

"CRY FREEDOM" is a curate's eggish film, extraordinary in parts, stodgily didactic in others Sir Richard Attenborough's cinematic view of the life and death of Steve Biko will almost certainly receive an Oscar or two — if for no other reason than the academy which awards the things will be accused of racism if it does not.

What its manichean vision of SA will not do is promote any original thought about solutions. Afrikanerdom does not emerge in a charitable light. In fact, it is safe to say that most audiences are likely to be converted, if they have not been already, to the cause of full-scope sanctions.

The scenes of Crossroads being bulldozed and Soweto demonstrators being gunned down are inexpressibly harrowing. Furthermore, they are so very nearly true that they will be nigh impossible to refute. Horror can rarely be diminished by footnotes.

Nor, having personally attended every day of Steve Biko's inquest, can I quarrel with the depiction of the security policemen who caused him to fail the Extensor Plantar reflex test.

It did not matter to me then that these people might, in the bosoms of their families, be human beings. Attenborough does not find it worth noticing now. They come across as embodiments of evil for whom there can be no mitigation.

Jimmy "dit laat my koud" Kruger gave no quarter as Minister of Justice. He merits, and gets, none in the film. In a theoretical Nuremburg trial of apartheid, he would be a star defendant. It didn't take Attenborough to stimulate such a conclusion, though he does, devastatingly.

In rebutting "Cry Freedom," it will probably be said that that was then, this is now. The day before the film opened, Govan Mbeki was released.

Yes, a lot has changed in 10 years. Exactly how much, it is impossible to tell. Unless you happen to be on the sharp end, atrocity in SA is now unknowable, to report it an offence.

Kruger's successors are slicker and better protected from public exposure. Opponents do not die in such obviously attributable ways. Now they simply disappear. Intimidation and pacification have become more subtle.

But let us grant that things are better today. It still would not make "Cry Freedom" unfair, even though most who see it will not make the distinction between 1976-77 and 1987. There is no statute of limitations on barbarity. Nor does it make one whit of difference that others, to the north, behave equally, if less visibly, badly.

The fact is that as a nation white South Africans have done wrong, sickeningly wrong. They carry the guilt of Sergeant Wilken — who declared that even in death Biko was "shamming" — and that guilt will be the terrible birthright of every white baby born in SA for generations to come.

West Germany is a prisoner of its history and is forced to live with the endless literary and cinematic rehashing of the concentration camps and two world wars.

While the parallells between Nazism and apartheid may be the stuff of loose, irresponsible rhetoric, so too white SA. That much "Cry Freedom" makes clear.

My chief quarrel with the film is that, like Donald Woods, whose book it is faithfully based on, it devotes so little time to Biko himself. Simply in the film's own terms, he is an infinitely more interesting character than the editor whose escape to Lesotho is recounted in tedious, hagiographic detail.

Of course, it was much more convenient for Attenborough to focus on an idealistic white with whom he (and Western audiences) could empathise. To get inside Biko's world would have been artistically (and commercially) risky because it was — and is — a place far beyond the director's and his audience's experience a place for whose grim externals sympathy is easy, but for whose interior realities empathy is not.

It is interesting that Attenborough chose an American actor to play Biko. Denzel Washington gives a deeply moving (and surely Oscar-worthy) performance, but a trick is being played

For US audiences, the man lying comatose on the floor of a Port Elizabeth jail cell is not only a simulacrum of Biko. He is also the attractive young intern in "St Elsewhere," the television hospital series

Unavoidably, perhaps, the result is that the founder of the black consciousness movement is embedded in the outside world's mind in frankly alien terms — a curious irony when you think about it.

It is even more curious when you consider that this version of Biko was scripted, edited and directed by whites and subjugated to a white man's adventure story.

The real Biko's central thesis was that black South Africans must escape the psychology of victimhood and become managers of their own fates, not brutalised objects to whom and for whom things are done.

It is a pity Attenborough felt unable to use his medium to paint a fuller picture of the man and his philosophy. Instead, he kills him off less than half-way through the film when he has served his purpose as Woods's authenticator and tour guide to the obscenities of apartheid.

I do not know what Biko would be asking of the world if he were alive today, and it would be worse than condescending to ascribe any particular prescription to his memory.

But that, functionally if not in so many words, is precisely what "Cry Freedom" attempts Its subtext is that Biko, like Woods, would be calling for the total economic and political ostracism of his country.

Perhaps, in desperation, he would. Yet reason — as opposed to the raw, xenophobic emotion provoked by the film — suggests that such a course will not fulfil his dream Indeed, that it will deprive black South Africans of what tools they have to achieve what he preached.

The more vibrant the South African economy, the more it belongs to those without whose labour it would not exist; the more it is theirs to control So long as there are legions of hungry and unemployed, those who command the economy will always be able to force the surplus to sell its dignity to feed its families.

With a strong economy and the help of access to capital which the sanctioneers would deny, black South Africans can achieve a controlling interest in the companies that employ them, and thence, since mass individual ownership is the only real source of democratic power, in the state that presently dictates (and all too often destroys) their lives.

"Cry Freedom," even though it tells a large measure of descriptive truth, hopes to encourage policies that will promote the very kind of black subservience Biko died trying to combat

It is that part of the curate's egg that is particularly loathsome.

# More may be released

## Criticism for PW's 'no political prisoners'

**The Argus Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG. — President Botha's claim that there were no political prisoners in South African jails showed his "total ignorance of the law" and has drawn sharp criticism from lawyers and human-rights advocates.

The national chairman of Lawyers for Human Rights, Mr Jules Browde, said today it was "unacceptable" for President Botha to say the only people in prison were those convicted of criminal offences or who had threatened the security of the State.

"That there are political prisoners in South Africa cannot be denied. It is a well-documented fact," Mr Browde said.

A spokesman for the Detainees' Parents Support Committee said since detention without trial had been introduced by the National Party in 1963 close on 100 000 people had been imprisoned, most without the benefit of access to the courts.

"These clearly are political prisoners. Those who apprehended them, the security police, are clearly political police," the spokesman said.

He said those who had been brought to court and sentenced for crimes against the State had likewise found themselves in that position because of their opposition to apartheid.

Professor John Dugard, director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at Wits University, said President Botha's claim was an "old hat, traditional National Party line".

There was "no question" that treason was a political offence.

"For the State President to suggest treason is not a political offence shows a total ignorance of the law," Professor Dugard said.

The media were "absolutely correct" in describing certain prisoners as political. President Botha had said the media did so out of "ignorance or negligence".



The President opening the Cape National Party congress last night.

## Nats are party of the future and of hope — Heunis

**Political Correspondent**

MR Chris Heunis, the Cape leader of the National Party, today renewed the party's committal to reform.

Addressing the provincial congress of the party in the Green and Sea Point Civic Centre, Mr Heunis said it remained the party of the future and of hope.

The National Party had no alternative, he said. It could be replaced only by radicals.

For this reason the party had to be in a state of greater readiness than any other party, he said.

Mr Heunis said there were no simple answers to the problems facing South Africa but solutions could be negotiated and the National Party would have to help find these solutions.

He said some people claimed the country needed new vision, independent thinking and new dedication, but independent thinking was already taking place inside the National Party.

Mr Heunis denied that reform was taking place too slowly. He said it could not be forced.

He said the party was committed to broadening the base of democracy to give more people a say. Self-determination was also recognised.

The economic base and participation in this also had to be broadened, he said. There was a financial price to be paid for reform.

Mr Heunis said that for the first time people other than whites had taken seats in the highest council of the land. The National Party had brought this about, he said.

## Government prepared to show mercy — PW

**Political Correspondent**

THE release of prisoners will again be considered in a responsible way and according to rules, President Botha has told the Cape congress of the National Party.

In the opening speech of the congress before about 1 000 people in the Goodwood Civic Centre last night he said the recent release of prisoners took place after procedures had been followed.

These included consideration by a release advisory body and the State Security Council until the Cabinet finally gave approval.

The renunciation of violence was one factor which could lead to a good prognosis.

### Speculations

Amnesty had for years been a custom in South Africa, yet a virtual stampede of speculations about what could happen now started after the recent releases.

The Government acted strongly where necessary but was also prepared to show mercy where this was justified.

Mr Botha strongly objected to the term "political prisoner" which was used in a report in The Argus yesterday

He said there were no political prisoners in South Africa — only ones who were serving sentences for criminal or security offences.

The term "political prisoner" gave the impression that the Government put its political opponents in jail.

He objected to this as it was harmful to South Africa's image Wrong perceptions were created about the country.

"There is not a single person in the country who is in jail because of a particular viewpoint Everyone in this country is entitled to state that they have a certain viewpoint"

Mr Botha said reform could take place at a pace only made possible by negotiation. He made it clear that he would not negotiate with the African National Congress unless it foreswore violence.

As long as he was leader the Government would stand for reform but not capitulation.

Capitulation would leave the country in chaos.

"We cannot give freedom to people at the price of good administration and good government."

He said people should be careful of falling into the trap set by people who wanted to hijack reform for their own purposes.

### Interference

Mr Botha strongly attacked outside interference in South Africa's affairs.

He said South Africa was made out to be the main problem in Southern Africa, while the country was in fact an important factor in solutions to the problems of the region.

In spite of the United States' professed respect for the principle of liberty, South Africa was not only being boycotted by that country but everything possible was being done in the US Congress to destroy South Africa's stability.

If — as some observers from abroad maintained — it was true that South Africans had to find a solution for themselves, it seemed nonsensical that they should be pressurised into doing so.

## 'Nobody will tell me when to quit'

**Political Correspondent**

**PRESIDENT Botha has quashed all suggestions that he may be considering retiring.**

**Opening the 72nd annual Cape congress of the National Party last night he referred to what he described as personal attacks on him and other Nationalist leaders.**

**His office regularly received inquiries on whether he had an incurable disease, whether he was paralysed or had had a seizure.**

**He was regularly examined and as soon as a doctor told him he could not continue he would, on his own, decide to retire.**

**No one else would tell him when to retire.**

**This decision would not be in the hands of "little people". The leadership of the party, with those who chose him, would take the decision, Mr Botha said amid applause.**

**Since he had become president he had refrained from attacking his political opponents because he thought the post should not be involved in petty politics. Some had not appreciated this approach.**

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# Business 'will press for more reform'

**The Argus Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG. — President Botha has been alerted to expect still more action on reform from the business world.

Mr Mike Rosholt, chairman of Barlow Rand, the biggest industrial empire in the country, last night said the private sector had no intention of allowing reform to stay exclusively in political hands.

Mr Rosholt said it was significant that in recent months Mr Botha had repeated the earlier advice of former Prime Minister Mr John Vorster and signalled that "businessmen should stick to business and leave politics to the politicians".

He answered the President at a formal banquet attended by leaders of the private and public sectors: "With the greatest respect, business cannot possibly comply."

Mr Rosholt said this at a ceremony in Johannesburg at which he was awarded the 1987 Emeritus Citation, presented by The Sunday Star for outstanding achievements in business and in the private sector socio-economic reform programme.

He said: "In the South Africa of today there is no longer any clear distinction between political and socio-economic issues.

"They are inextricably linked. There are very few matters of political significance which do not impinge on the economy and the businessman."

● NP Cape congress, page 4

# ANC's credibility shattered — professor

**The Argus Correspondent**

DURBAN. — The curbing of unrest in South Africa has shattered the ANC's credibility, forcing it to negotiate or die.

This was said by Professor Lawrence Schlemmer at the National Clothing Federation convention yesterday.

Professor Schlemmer said the Soviet Union was persuading the organisation to adopt a more political approach.

The ANC, he said, had built a reputation internationally and internally as "heir apparent" to the South African Government through association with the "huge wave of internal unrest".

"Its status increased as unrest mounted and as people abroad anticipated some sort of major transformation.

"With the curbing of unrest and protest under the state of emergency the ANC has had to enter a new phase of strategy."

Professor Schlemmer said that according to a recent poll the ANC had the support of only 25 percent of blacks.

"As we get further into the negotiation process the ANC is faced with the severe challenge of deciding whether to come in and renounce, or at least suspend, violence and negotiate — or stay outside.

"If they stay outside, they will decline," he said.

THE MEANING BEHIND THE PICTURES

# Can THIS be the way it will



ALL SMILES . . . President Botha with Chief Minister Buthelezi. In the middle . . . Princess Irene Buthelezi

Picture: JAMES HUTTON

# be? Perhaps. But there is no quick fix

By JOHN KANE-BERMAN
Executive Director of the South African Institute of Race Relations



SOUTH Africans rightly resent foreigners who think there is a quick fix for this country's political problems. To suggest that there is, is to trivialise 300 years of history.

But we must beware of the temptation to slide into quick-fixery ourselves — including the notion that there is a quick fix in a Botha/Buthelezi deal or a Mandela release (which is obviously now on the agenda in the wake of the release of Govan Mbeki).

A month ago Chief Buthelezi said that he had met the State President for talks only three times in nine years, at which there were the usual cries of incredulity and alarm.

Photographs of the two men smiling and shaking hands at the opening of the KwaZulu Natal Joint Executive Authority (JEA) a few days ago have once again raised hopes — notably in the Nationalist press — that a turning point in our politics has been reached.

Perhaps it has. We will not really know until the fate of the KwaZulu Natal Indaba's proposals for a single legislature — something very different from a joint executive — is known.

Tucked away at the bottom of one of the Press reports of the JEA launching was a statement by Chief Buthelezi that he could see no reason for a meeting with Mr Botha at present.

International negotiators know that summits, whatever their symbolic value, are the culmination of a process of negotiation — they seldom achieve anything unless all the preparatory work has been done.

For Chief Buthelezi and Mr Botha simply to get together to talk on a personal basis might help to improve the general political climate for negotiation.

But, given the large constituencies behind the two men, such meetings run the risk of being counter-productive if they do not achieve anything.

Negotiation involves constituencies, agendas, negotiating forums, and so on.

In one sense, negotiation is a riskier strategy than violence. Those who pursue violence and fail are seen not as failures but as martyrs; those who pursue negotiation and fail are seen only as failures.

It is also important to recognise that there is vastly more at stake than the personalities of two men, political heavyweights though they may be. Chief Buthelezi has laid down certain preconditions for negotiation: these are based not on personal foibles, but on strategic realities.

Several commentators have made much of the generous terms in which Chief Buthelezi praised certain of Mr Botha's actions.

It is important to note that this is not the first time the Inkatha leader has done this. Tragically, however, the encouragement so obviously intended by such praise has not had the desired effect, as the State President has persistently failed to live up to the expectations, not only of the KwaZulu Chief Minister, but of millions of black South Africans.

The release of Mr Govan Mbeki of the ANC and of three PAC members is an auspicious sign for the Government's proposed National Council, first mooted in January last year.

The council is designed to be a forum for negotiation with black leaders about a new constitution which will give them a voice in central political institutions.

In that sense, it represents a partial break with orthodox apartheid. It is not a complete break, however, because the structure which the Government proposes entails a perpetuation of a false distinction between blacks resident in homelands and those resident in the white-designated areas.

The Government has so far taken account of black criticism of the proposed council and has deferred setting it up so that further discussions can take place, presumably in the hope of accommodating at least some of the black preconditions.

Among those expressed by Inkatha, the United Municipalities of South Africa, Nafcoc, and the UDF is that political prisoners be released. The releases this week show that the Government is hearing these demands.

If the council were to be launched without having obtained prior legitimacy among black people, it is likely not only to fail in its intention, but also to cause further polarisation between the Government and black people.

South Africa cannot afford this at a time when there is a great need for reconciliation between the Government and black people.

Mr Mbeki's release has already fuelled demands for, and raised expectations about, the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Zeph Mothopeng. The fact that both ANC and PAC members were released suggests a sensibly even-handed approach by the Government.

The other important consequence these releases will have is to put the question of lifting the bans on the ANC, the PAC, the Black People's Convention, and other black organisations back onto the front-burner.

It would be anomalous, to say the least, to have a one-time top ANC official released from prison unconditionally, living openly in Port Elizabeth, and in perpetual breach of the law by remaining a member of a banned organisation. This contradiction must generate pressure for the ANC to be legalised.

Once political prisoners are released, they will be in a position to negotiate with the Government about the terms on which their political organisations can be de-restricted.

If both they and the Government play their cards with understanding of each other's position, an era in which black politics can be deregulated and democratised could dawn.

The Government's blunder in 1960 in driving the ANC into exile has placed it in a situation where the ANC must automatically oppose any negotiations to which it is not party. There is nothing that an exiled political leadership fears more than an internal settlement.

Lifting the ban on the ANC, far from representing an unqualified victory for it, could pose problems for it, notably the problem of devising appropriate political strategies in the post-revolutionary situation in which it now finds itself.

The recent white election demonstrated beyond doubt that Mr Botha speaks for the great majority of whites, which gives him an immensely powerful negotiating base.

As long as important black leaders are in prison and various black organisations remain banned, black politics is fundamentally handicapped, because there can be no certainty about who speaks for blacks.

This puts an automatic constraint on what Mr Botha or the National Council can achieve in bargaining with black leaders. The release of Mbeki and the others is thus an important first step towards the deregulation of black politics that will enhance the prospects for negotiation.

# Big pond, small stone, but the ripples will grow

By PETER

THE establishment of the kwaZulu/Natal Joint Executive Authority (JEA) this week may be likened to a small stone thrown into South Africa's vast and muddied constitutional pond.

But the ripples are likely to grow rather than dissipate.

The Indaba has welcomed the JEA as an important step towards the introducton of an elected non-racial, power-sharing government in the kwaZulu/Natal region.

The Indaba initiative is governed by a single elected legislative body representative of all the people of the region.

The details of such an elected provincial government were to be worked out by the Indaba.

The JEA consists of ten members — five representing the kwaZulu government, and five representing the Natal Provincial Executive.

KwaZulu's five representatives are black. The province is represented by [illegible] of studying the JEA will be limited to mutually agreed matters of common interest. But given a climate of co-operation and a common desire to move forward, there is no doubt that the JEA can rapidly grow in significance.

There is also no doubt that the JEA will provide a unique opportunity for those who want to contribute constructively to the process of reform to do so.

The Indaba will certainly make maximum use of the opportunity. We are in the [illegible] regulations and areas in which the Indaba can make a positive policy input.

This is likely to lead to the preparation of policy options which will be submitted to the JEA for consideration.

We have no doubt that the JEA and its chairman, Dr Dhlomo, will be happy to receive such representations. We also have no doubt that the JEA can and should conduct its business in a way which helps prepare the kwaZulu/Natal region for a multiracial power-sharing government which inevitably lies in its future.

While it is difficult to be specific at this stage, a few possible areas of activity spring to mind:

● KwaZulu is desparately short of teachers' training facilities. Natal, on the other hand, has a surplus. There is every reason to hope that the JEA can smooth the path for surplus facilities to be used for black, or preferably multiracial teacher training.

● Also in the field of education there is a surplus of qualified white and Indian teachers in Natal. Surely these could be used to supplement kwaZulu's needs.

● The city of Durban has the human and other resources to make a major contribution towards servicing the needs of the massive squatter communities that surround it.

Durban is willing to make these resources available. The JEA could provide the link to bring the resources and the needs together.

● Inter-administration secondment or transfers of staff between the kwaZulu and provincial administrations could provide vital experience for civil servants who will have to work together in a future united administration.

In the medium term, the Indaba Implementation Study will undoubtedly produce proposals worthy of consideration by the JEA.

The study, announced by Dr Dhlomo in his Indaba co-convenor capacity last week, will look at the problems and opportunities that will arise when elected power-sharing government is introduced in the region.

It will also look at steps which can be taken between now and then to maximise the opportunities and obviate the problems.

It is envisaged that many recommendations in this regard will be submitted to the JEA for consideration.

This Indaba Implementation Study will be an almost unique planning exercise. It is designed to ensure that an elected power-sharing government "hits the ground running" instead of milling around in confusion.

It is also designed to ensure that it "delivers the goods" to blacks as well as the white, Indian and coloured minorities.

Meanwhile, the establishment of the JEA provides an important concrete example of an apparently growing recognition in government circles that different parts of the country can be treated differently. In addition, it implies that reform can take place at different paces in different regions.

This is an important change in government thinking away from an apparent belief that reform should move ahead at the pace of the slowest tortoise.

It also makes it easier for the Government to fit the Indaba proposals into its overall scheme of things.

tends to take a co-operative attitude towards it and to make maximum use of the constructive opportunities created by its establishment.

The JEA and Indaba are not the same but they do have common parentage. Both flowed from growing co-operation between the kwaZulu government and the Natal Provincial Executive Committee in 1985.

In early 1986 the kwaZulu Chief Minister, Dr M G Buthelezi, the Administrator of Natal, Mr Radcliffe Cadman, Dr Oscar Dhlomo and Mr Frank Martin presented the plan for the JEA to the South African Government. At the same meeting they advised the Government of their intention to call together the Indaba.

They saw the JEA as formalising the co-operation that was growing between kwaZulu and Natal.

But they made it clear that it was only an interim step towards uniting the two areas into a single entity gov-

## MANSFIELD



Associate Director of the kwaZulu Natal Indaba

ans and a coloured.

The chairman, elected this week by the JEA, is Dr Oscar D Dhlomo, the kwaZulu Minister of Education. Dr Dhlomo's election is significant. Not only is he one of South Africa's most able black politicians, but he is an active leader and co-convener of the kwaZulu Natal Indaba.

The vice-chairman will be Mr Tino Volker, leading National Party member of the Natal Executive Committee.

This, too, is important as the JEA will clearly provide a structured forum for an ongoing debate between kwaZulu and the province on the political and other needs of the region.

The JEA will take decisions by consensus. In the event of disagreement, matters will be referred to the kwaZulu Chief Minister, Dr Buthelezi, and the Administrator of Natal, Mr Cadman, for decision.

Initially the areas of responsibility falling under the

# 'Business should be trying to bring about change in society'

**There is no question ... that the process of change has lost most of its impetus over the past year. (Although hopefully the Government recognition of the KwaNatal Joint Executive Authority and the release of some detainees last week will lead to further developments).**

The ill-conceived imposition of limited sanctions, the increase in the rate of corporate disinvestment (which together have dramatically reduced the capacity of the international community to influence the process) and, of course, the outcome of the general election have all contributed to this.

It was not without significance that the State President subsequently, not unlike his predecessor, signalled to businessmen to stick to business and to leave politics to the politicians.

With the greatest respect, business cannot possibly comply. In the South Africa of today there is no longer any clear distinction between political and socio economic issues. They are inextricably linked. There are indeed very few matters of political significance which do not impinge in some way on the economy and the businessman. He has no option but to work for the removal of all bars to economic growth, even if some of those bars have a political flavour.

He cannot avoid seeking to influence the decision-making processes of a goverment which gives every indication of uncertainty as to how to determine the future direction of our society. He must make known his views to as wide a range of government and senior civil servants as possible.

First, it is essential for the businessman to be sufficiently flexible to be able to adapt to our rapidly changing circumstances. To do so he requires much more than a superficial view of the complexities.

He needs to be sufficiently well informed to be in a position to make a meaningful contribution which extends beyond his own interests.

Secondly, he must accept there is no contradiction whatsoever in the quest for corporate profits and the simultaneous undertaking of social investments. In the longer term the former will not be possible without the latter.

I use the term "social investment" rather than "social responsibility" deliberately. Gone are the days when such expenditure could be termed a charitable contribution. It is, in fact, now an essential for the growth of any business and, more generally, for the very survival of the free enterprise system, already so suspect in the eyes of many of our fellow South Africans

Finally he should be realistic in his choice of projects and should limit them to those which are ... practically achievable and hopefully capable of delivery within a reasonable time frame.



**Mr Mike Rosholt, chairman of Barlow Rand (left), was presented with the coveted Emeritus Citation awarded annually by The Sunday Star at a formal banquet in Johannesburg last night. This is a digest of his acceptance speech — a new rallying plea to business to stay at the forefront of socio-economic reform.**

One of the most intractable problems facing South Africa today is the continuing level of conflict and confrontation. I am going to suggest that the businessman has a practical part to play in helping to build effective bridges to reduce these levels. The framework for this should embrace three legs aimed at:

- Increasing participation in decision making at all levels.
- Moving away from the present racial structuring of our society.
- Affording a more equitable access for all to national resources.

South Africa is currently in a stalemate. On the one hand, as is being increasingly accepted, the anticipated apocalyptic situation is not at hand On the other hand, no thinking South African can believe that the state of emergency will produce any long-term solutions

And so the call from all sides is for negotiation at national level Understandable as that call is, it is unfortunately not yet a practical reality. A great deal of preparatory work will have to precede it.

How can business help to speed up this process? By expanding opportunities within the areas in which it has direct control and influence and by encouraging and gradually promoting participation in decision making. It should, in fact, be seeking to introduce greater industrial democracy without at any time abdicating its responsibilities to manage. There are a number of practical ways in which this might be achieved.

- 1. Seeking ways for employees of all colours and levels to participate in a company's future. Initially this could probably only take the form of cash participation in profit schemes, as it would be unrealistic to talk of equity participations for employees living close to their subsistence level. In any case, the latest traumas on the Stock Exchange are not exactly conducive. But there is no question the principle is right and I have no doubt the time will come again when the climate will be right for it.
- 2. The phasing out of any remaining employment practices which impinge negatively on an employee's ability to participate fully in the economy. An example would be the elimination of the migrant labour system entailing, of course, the provision of family housing, reasonably close to the workplace, for those employees who want it. White attitudes, the Group Areas Act and, of course, finance would be considerable obstacles. But there is no question in my mind that they will have to be faced up to in due course.
- 3. My third suggestion is that trade union leaders be increasingly involved in decisions which affect the legitimate interests of their members. That conflict between management and trade unions should arise from time to time is inevitable.

And an added deterrent is the increasing tendency of trade unions to politicise industrial relations issues. In the absence of other avenues for influencing the processes that affect the lives of their members, this is understandable.

But their leaders should realise that, by so doing, they run the risk of placing too much pressure on the industrial relations machinery, and thereby of actually retarding the process of their inclusion.

- 4. The appointment of non-executive members of boards of directors from a far wider spectrum of the community and on a more meaningful scale than is presently the case. And in consulting with black community groups on macro issues outside of business. The businessman, for his part, would undoubtedly be in a far better position to gauge the likely reaction to his policies and decisions of communities which will exert ever increasing economic influence.
- 5. Moving away from the racial structuring of our society so that over a period of time more and more spheres of activity become genuinely non-racial.

The issue is a much wider one than the mere elimination of all traces of discrimination and the achievement of totally non-racial employment practices — tasks we are all already engaged in. We should be aiming at the same time at a non-racial society, not just because it is a morally desirable concept, but because it will ultimately be in our very best interests.

One has only to consider how the present racial structuring of so many of our public institutions results in a completely unsupportable waste of money and scarce human resources, completely contrary to national and business interests.

Examples are our use of land; our overlapping trasport, health and community services; the fragmented administration of education

Business need to produce detailed and irrefutable evidence to persuade government that the country simply cannot afford all this duplication and that the core problem lies in our unrealistically complicated system of government with its unsupportable number of tiers of bureaucracy.

- 6. Finally, affording a more equitable access to all national resources which in due course will lead to a broader distribution of a hopefully increased national income.

There is no question that the last decade has seen considerable progress in a limited form of redistribution of income, by the granting of higher percentage wage increases at the bottom rather than the top. Not a great deal more can be achieved, however, by this strategy.

Further meaningful and sound redistribution will only be possible when people are able to move upwards on merit.

## Increased funds

This will, of course, call for greatly increased allocations of funds to basic education, training, housing and general development by both the public and private sectors. There is no easy way, no quick solution. It will be a lengthy process, calling for dedication and stamina. Results to date show reasonable progress in the training of technicians and artisans. However, in so far as advancement to managerial levels is concerned, it has to be admitted that, despite genuine commitment to the concept by many companies, very little progress can be claimed.

The government has shown its preparedness to allocate an increasing proportion of national resources to social and educational programmes. The private sector has a vested interest, in ensuring that priorities are correctly identified. It can only do so by participating wholeheartedly both with finance and personal commitment and effort.

The time is past when business could confine its efforts to "doing good things" for the benefit of the lower-income groups, particularly blacks. Business should now be devoting its resources and efforts to much wider horizons. It should be adopting practical programmes aimed at bringing about fundamental changes in our society. And finally, no programmes will succeed unless the people for whom they are structured are very much involved in their planning and implementation.

# PW hits at press and us

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

**PRESIDENT P W Botha last night launched a scathing attack on the opposition press, accusing it of being guilty of "treason and dishonesty" and of conducting a campaign to belittle National Party leaders.**

Opening the National Party's Cape congress in Goodwood, a combative and defiant Mr Botha also:

- Vowed that the harder his critics fought to get rid of him, the less likely they were to succeed. He would not allow the press or "small people" to tell him when to go.
- Declared that there was not a single political prisoner in South Africa and blamed the press for composing "wild dreams" over the possible release of security prisoners.
- Accused the US Congress of doing everything in its power to destroy stability in South Africa.
- Vowed that the NP government would not capitulate or fall into to the reform trap set by Western and leftist critics.
- Insisted that it was "not true" that there was a black majority in South Africa, which was a country of minorities.
- Ordered photographers to stop taking pictures of "me because I don't like it while I speak".

## No political prisoners

Addressing more than a thousand people in the Goodwood Civic Centre, said he took the "strongest exception" to opposition press reports which contained references to the possible release of political prisoners in South Africa.

South Africa, he submitted, did not have any political prisoners and not a single person was in jail because of the political views they held.

"This has been written out of ignorance or negligence, and I suspect both," he said.

Earlier, Mr Botha accused the opposition press of conducting a campaign against NP leaders. In particular there had been attacks on his own person, sometimes in a belittling manner.

"My whole political life has been one of fighting and the harder you fight, the less success you will have in getting rid of me."

His office was asked from time to time whether he suffered from a contagious disease, was paralysed, or had a stroke.

"I make a promise tonight. I am medically examined regularly. The first time the doctors say I cannot go on with my work, I will take the lead in resigning.

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I will allow no journalist to make this decision for me." Nor would "small people" be given this opportunity.

Later, Mr Botha said that thousands of people were dying of hunger in neighbouring countries because of superpower involvement in these areas but opposition newspapers continued to blame his government for "destabilization".

It as time for this "treason and dishonesty" to stop. "South Africa can no longer take it," Mr Botha warned.

South Africans should be careful not to fall into the trap being laid by leftist critics in the West whose ideas of reform did not coincide with those of the South African government.

Dealing with the boycott and sanctions drive spearheaded by Congress against South Africa, Mr Botha complained that many of the country's "friends" were guilty of "blatant interference" in South Africa in spite of their protestations that the country should find her own solutions.

"Most of this intervention takes place out of foreign self-interest — leaders and politicians try to hide behind their own sins and problems," he said.

# Costly apartheid: We're prepared to pay, say Cape Nats

ARGUS 11/11/87

**Political Staff**

WHITE education Minister Mr Piet Clase has admitted apartheid is expensive, but delegates to the Cape congress of the National Party say they are willing to pay.

Whites had to be prepared to pay the cost of apartheid, including separate education, Mr Clase said.

He said that Government policy was expensive, after being faced with a barrage of claims at the congress yesterday that white education standards were being lowered, particularly in rural areas.

## COSTING VOTES

Delegates claimed, among other things, that lowering standards was costing votes.

Mr Clase told the congress: "We have an expensive policy because we must duplicate and triplicate and quadruplicate.

"We want it (the policy) for very, very good reasons.

"As a result of our expensive policy we must fight on the borders. As a result of our expensive policy we have boycotts and sanctions.

"But all of us sitting here today say, 'But yes, we want that policy'."

To maintain the policy and pay for education cost money.

The congress accepted the Minister's explanation.

The mainly platteland delegates who took part in the debate did not complain about the costly duplication of the apartheid policy but about what they perceived to be a drop in standards in their areas.

One delegate said they were even prepared to pay higher school fees.

Mr Clase said there was only a limited amount of money available.

Among other requirements the Government was committed to equalising education for all races.

Parity, however, could not be achieved overnight, nor would it be achieved by lowering established stardards.

Mr Clase said definition had to be given to what people meant by standards. The withdrawal of the provision of sports fields (which had applied only in the Cape) would not affect standards in the classroom.

Nor would the withdrawal of bus schemes.

He said there was nothing in Government policy that prevented a community providing higher standards of its own accord.

He gave the assurance that if there were compulsory school fees the money would not go to the State.

The money would "go to that region and that specific school".

The Government had an obligation to meet the primary demands of education and "it will".

Mr Clase said measures also had to be taken to save money.

## COST OF BOOKS

There was no scientific reason why the teacher:pupil ratio in white schools, which stood at 1:18, should not be increased to 1:20.

Money could also be saved by cutting electricity costs and the cost of providing school books.

There were consistent over-orders of textbooks.

If every standard at every school ordered one extra book it would cost R316 000.

● Progressive Federal Party education spokesman Mr Roger Burrows said today it appeared that Mr Clase "understands for the first time that his racially separate education policy is one of the fundamental problems in the country, based as it is on the National Party policy of separation".

"It will cost the country millions before it is rejected, as it must be."

● More Nat Congress reports, page 4.

# Swart: Botha can't expect immunity

Cape Times 11/11/87 Political Correspondent

**PRESIDENT P W Botha's behaviour and his "unbridled" attack against the media at the Cape National Party congress was both "disgraceful and alarming", the acting leader of the PFP, Mr Ray Swart, said yesterday.**

**Mr Swart said Mr Botha should remember that he was both the head of state and leader of the National Party "and as such he cannot expect any greater immunity from criticism than any other political leader".**

**Mr Swart said that to use words like "treason and dishonesty" against newspapers that criticize his government and speculate about his future "underlines an imperiousness which is thoroughly alarming in someone who purports to head a democratic government".**

**Mr Swart said Mr Botha's assertion that there were no political prisoners in South Africa "will fool nobody".**

# Apartheid is expensive, minister admits

Cape Times 11/11/87

304A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government yesterday admitted that apartheid was an "expensive policy" because it needed the "duplication, triplication and quadruplication of facilities".

Speaking at the National Party's Cape congress, the Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Piet Clase, said it was a result of this "expensive policy" that South Africa had to fight on its borders and face sanctions and boycotts.

But Mr Clase noted that although "the NP has an expensive policy" all the party's supporters maintained that they wanted it.

And if that is what the party wanted, it would have to pay for it.

Mr Clase was replying to complaints from delegates about cutbacks in government spending on white education and the decline in school facilities in rural areas.

A speaker from Moorreesburg said: "It will be impossible (for the NP) to face an election in the platteland in 1989 if this sword hangs over our head."

● Earlier, Mr Clase said the government expected to make an announcement on the issue of standard school uniforms for white pupils next year.

He described the issue as "greatly complex" and of the "utmost sensitivity" and said a number of people were strongly attached to a system of individual school uniforms.

● Heunis again Cape NP chief — Page 4

# Malan rejects UDF's 'draw closer' proposal

**Political Staff**

NATIONAL Democratic Movement leader Mr Wynand Malan today distanced himself from the views of a prominent United Democratic Front member on relations between the two organisations.

Mr Malan was approached to comment on a recent article by UDF patron Mr Johnny Issel, who said the UDF had to ensure fundamentally that the position the NDM and similar groups adopted was in opposition to the Botha Government.

Mr Issel said that splinterings and breakaways in Parliament were a direct result of pressure exerted by extra-parliamentary forces.

"We are in a way responsible for the creation of the NDM and must therefore make sure that its programme of action represents our line of thinking," he added.

He said the UDF's primary task should be to draw the movements closer.

Mr Malan, however, said the NDM's line of thinking was certainly not the line of thinking of Mr Issel or that of the UDF for that matter.

"Our approach is inclusive to all. It is indeed in opposition to the Botha Government, but it is inclusive to the National Party and the other parties of Parliament," he said.

Mr Malan said the formation of the NDM developed from the inability of both the Government and other existing groupings, in and out Parliament, to deal with the "reality of South Africa".

# Price of apartheid

## R8 000m, says UCT prof

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

APARTHEID cost R8 000 million in lost economic growth in one year, R66 000 million in lost growth opportunities and R3 900 million in the direct costs of implementing government race polices, Professor Michael Savage of the University of Cape Town said yesterday.

"Some 12c of every rand spent by the state is devoted towards maintaining and enforcing segregation in imposing apartheid.

"However one views it, the costs of this disastrous policy are enormous," Professor Savage said in reaction to the statement by the Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly, Mr Piet Clase, that apartheid was expensive.

Mr Clase said at the Cape congress of the National Party that "we have an expensive policy because we must duplicate and triplicate and quadruplicate.

"As a result of our expensive policy we must fight on the borders. As a result of our expensive policy we have boycotts and sanctions".

The chairman of the PFP's federal executive, Mr Ken Andrew, said yesterday that Mr Clase's statement was "as shocking as it is true".

Billions of rands had been squandered on apartheid projects such as independent homelands, industrial decentralization, pass laws, homeland consolidation and on the duplication of facilities.

"Tens of billions more have been spent on fighting on our borders (and elsewhere) as a result of Nationalist policy.

"But the greatest costs of all have been those most difficult to measure precisely: The devastating effect on our productivity and the tremendous harm done to good race relations over many decades.

"Mr Clase should hang his head in shame. So should Mr P W Botha and the whole National Party.

"They are once again putting the ideologies of the National Party before the true interests of South Africa," Mr Andrew said.

Professor Savage said he wanted to congratulate Mr Clase "for at last waking up to the fact that the apartheid policies of his government are costing South Africa a massive amount of money which could be better spent".

"It is catastrophically expensive to the future of all South Africans and catastrophically expensive in terms of the people killed as a consquence of these policies.

"It is wholly unproductive spending and it is destructive spending in the long run, hampering the move towards a democratic society in which decent human existence for all South Africans can be generated," Professor Savage said.

## Billions 'lost' on 'political problems'

Political Staff

BILLIONS of rands of scarce capital resources had been "sterilized" as a result of South Africa's political problems, the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, said yesterday.

These had been squandered on building up the country's strategic reserves of oil through fears that these supplies would be cut off.

Mr Du Plessis indicated that these vast sums could probably have been better spent in a more productive manner in developing the economy — a view frequently also voiced by representatives of the private sector.

Addressing the NP's Cape congress in Cape Town yesterday, Mr Du Plessis said that it had now become essential to solve the country's political problems if any headway was to be made in building up the South Africa's economy.

To this end, he also declared that it was necessary for the state to reduce its artificial control of the economy, saying that as far as possible this should be left to market forces.

Mr Du Plessis confessed that the size of the state's involvement in the economy had a fundamental bearing on the country's inflation rate.

He said it was well known there was a close correlation between the growth of the public sector and inflation — "it stands out like a red flag".

Mr Du Plessis also came out strongly in support of big business, decrying calls for price and other controls to be imposed.

It was time the public looked at the large amounts of capital invested by these large corporations and at the meagre returns often earned by some of them before urging controls, he said.

On the question of privatization, he said this would take place, but in a planned manner.

304A b/day 12/11/87.

# NP Vaal Congress faces a right battle

ELSABÉ WESSELS

THE TARNISHED image of the Transvaal National Party will be under the spotlight when the Transvaal Congress meets in Pretoria tomorrow in the wake of damaging general election setbacks.

Leading the big guns in a bid to boost provincial morale is State President P W Botha, who on Saturday will answer delegates on two special resolutions on the Group Areas issue and the development of rural areas.

The two-day congress will be officially opened at the Pretoria City Hall tomorrow night by Transvaal NP leader F W de Klerk.

## 'Venomous'

Still suffering under a "venomous attack from the ultra-right," to quote the provincial executive's annual report, congress delegates will have to deal with the party's reform policy, an issue on which the NP sacrificed votes to a dangerously strengthened Conservative Party.

Although the NP increased the number of seats its holds nationally from 116 to 123 in the May general election, all 22 CP seats were taken from the NP in the Transvaal.

"With the vicious onslaught from the left as well as from the right, the party had to face one of its most vital tests ever on May 6," the report remarks.

Motions and resolutions on contentious constitutional issues, such as the establishment of open areas and black resettlement, feature on the congress agenda.

## 'Open areas'

A request to give consideration to the establishment of "open areas where people can acquire, develop and occupy property with the necessary prior notice" is called for in a joint resolution by the Turfontein, Rosettenville, Helderkruin and Hillbrow constituencies.



☐ DE KLERK . . . opens congress



☐ BOTHA . . . "determined action"

The resolution also calls for the position of the Group Areas Act to be clarified as regards "non-whites residing in white residential areas".

The availability of land to all races, the extent of squatting and the movement and settlement of blacks are down for discussion in a resolution proposed by Rustenburg.

Several resolutions focus on labour, trade unions and minimum wages, including a request to prohibit recruits from neighbouring states becoming members of local trade unions.

Other labour resolutions, proposed by rural and blue-collar branches, seek a relaxation of industrial council-determined minimum wages for industries bordering the TBCV states, more flexibility in applying minimum wages and a re-evaluation of the restriction on employers in dealing with "unreasonable militant action".

A Meyerton resolution on Regional Services Council (RSC) levies calls for additional finance from GST or Comprehensive Business Tax to relieve the burden on certain businesses and areas.

## 'Undesirable'

The issue of party politics in schools will also receive attention under a resolution requesting that only parents of school-going children be permitted to serve on school management committees.

Stringent government action on the media is highlighted in a motion thanking Home Affairs and Communication Minister Stoffel Botha for his "determined action in our internal affairs, particularly in regard to undesirable journalists and other media representatives".

There is also a motion thanking Botha for the way he puts SA's case "in a world where disinformation is rampant".



□ REFORMING TRIO ... P W Botha, Deng Xiao-ping and Mikhail Gorbachev

12/11/87

# Three reforming Musketeers

**STANLEY UYS in London**

WHAT DO Mikhail Gorbachev, Deng Xiao-ping and P W Botha have in common? Well, they're all reformers, aren't they? Reform is much the same, whether it is practised in Moscow, Peking or Pretoria.

The ingredients vary, but not the essential structure. If one compares the congresses which have just been held in Peking and Moscow — historic reform congresses with what President Botha has been attempting to achieve over the past decade in SA, the similarities become very evident.

One does not want to strain the analogies too far, but observe the pattern.

First, every party divides into reformers, anti-reformers and people who can't make up their minds, and each of these groups has its sub-divisions.

Second, the reformers tend to come out on top, because they are responding to irresistible pressures. History, so to speak, is on their side.

Third, the anti-reformers do not just melt away. They are tenacious and are able to delay the pace of change. Consequently, they have to be stalked and gradually disarmed.

The anti-reformers are either straightforward conservatives or beneficiaries of the old system, or both. Invariably, they include the bureaucracies, because bureaucracies are the first to lose out when reform comes in.

The pro-reformers are politicians who have seen the light, but in the vanguard of their support are the intellectuals, always straining at the leash.

Whether they live in Moscow, Peking or Stellenbosch, they are to be found mainly in academic, literary and related circles.

Some of them are always a jump ahead of the pack and they give the political leaders a headache.

In the Soviet Union, it is Boris Yeltsin, the Moscow party boss who fulminated at the congress against the old guard for blocking reform — and was rebuked by Gorbachev for being over-zealous.

In SA it is Wynand Malan.

The first casualty of reform is the ideology. Since ideologies come in packages and have to be accepted as a whole or rejected as a whole, they end up in the wastebin. This leaves a vacuum and causes a great deal of confusion.

To counter the confusion, leaders tell their followers that they are only modernising and are not betraying the party's traditions. The leader moves cautiously so as not to excite the opposition of the whole machine.

This confirms the worst fears of the conservatives and makes the intellectuals even more impatient.

Meanwhile, sceptical outsiders warn that the reforms are "cosmetic" and "meaningless," and that it is all a trick. Gorbachev, Deng and Botha, they say, want to lull us into a sense of false security. The beast still lurks within the Kremlin's walls (or in the Union Buildings).

Reform, or *perestroika*, or whatever it is called, invites free discussion, but this does not mean that civil rights are restored. Civil rights are at the bottom of the reform list (with the Press at the very bottom).

In the Soviet Union, for example, Tass instructed newspapers not to publish anything immediately about Yeltsin's outburst, and Kruschev's denunciation of Stalin in 1956 has still not been published in the Soviet press.

At least Stoffel van der Merwe lets it all hang out.

The other problem with reform is that it arouses too many expectations, and not only among intellectuals. The masses start getting the wrong ideas. Some discouragement then becomes necessary, and this is where the security forces are brought in. If reform is unchecked, it reaches meltdown.

Reform requires history to be rewritten, too. In China and the Soviet Union they are much tougher about these things than Botha is.

Mao Tse-tung and Josef Stalin are getting their come-uppances. Psychologically, this is critical: demolition of the once-hero figures creates a vacuum into which new, reformist, ideas can be introduced.

As one British commentator has written, hero-bashing is not without its perils.

"For millions of older Russians, raking up the Stalinist past is a slur on their generation and on the 70 glorious years that have just been celebrated," he wrote.

"Others see de-Stalinisation as the signal to unleash an unstoppable process of change, threatening good order and the privileges of bureaucracy. To others, Stalin's day has an aura of nostalgia, a time when streets were clean, the young respected their elders and there was no rock music, no drugs."

SA has not seriously attempted hero-demolition yet. The hero figure who still has to be demolished is, of course, Dr Verwoerd, but the time is not ripe. The HNP meanwhile have appropriated the title of custodians of Verwoerdism, fixing the label of Vorsterites on the Conservative Party.

So Botha, in this rewriting of Afrikaner history, is the unchallenged Great Reformer — which is an historical compliment but an electoral liability.

Finally, as a postscript, one can look at the revolutionary analogies. The Soviet Union's revolution was in 1917, China's in 1949 and SA's is still to come (although if Botha has anything to do with it, it will be an evolutionary revolution).

Writing in the New York Times recently, Leon Wieseltier, literary editor of The New Republic, commenting on the overthrow of the Tsar in Russia, drew some conclusions about revolutions.

"The Tsar fell in February," he wrote. "The Bolsheviks did not overthrow the Tsar. The liberals did. The Bolsheviks overthrew the liberals (in October).

This is Wieseltier's conclusion: "On the morning after a revolution, moderates will always be vulnerable to radicals. By the time the Bolsheviks came to power, they were not so much revolutionaries as profiteers of a revolution; ... they would see to it that nobody would ever inflame anybody's impatience with them."

There's a moral in this for the black liberation movement in SA ... but for the moment I can't think what it is.

UNRAVELLING THE MEANING OF THE SURPRISE MBEKI RELEASE ... THE

# Behind the scenes: global pr

**CONSIDERABLE pressure on the main actors in the South African conflict to begin talking to each other lies behind the release of Govan Mbeki.**

**Both the government and the African National Congress will be hard-pressed to withstand the kind of arm-twisting apparently now being used to pursuade them to go through at least the formalities of a verbal exchange — even if, in the short term, the content falls far short of any progress to a negotiated settlement.**

**If such an exchange does take place — as a number of usually well-informed diplomats serving in the Frontline states expect it will within the next 10 months or so — it will neither be the end of this world nor the herald of a brave new dawn.**

**The talk among diplomats in the Frontline states is of enormous arm-twisting of both ANC and Pretoria by world leaders, pressuring both sides towards the negotiating table. The Mbeki release is considered a part of this. By HOWARD BARRELL in Harare**

There is a difference between an exchange of signals, talks about talks, exploratory talks and actual negotiations. And any or all of them can be spread out over a long period with few or no conclusive results.

Given the balance of forces in the country and the region at the moment, the release of Mbeki et al — and the strong likelihood that others will follow sooner rather than later — is an ambiguous victory for the ANC.

No doubt the outlawed movement is correct in saying it was domestic and international anti-apartheid pressure which made the release necessary. Notably, it was the kind of pressure that came eventually to include Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher.

But, equally certainly, the South African government appears to believe the release is one of perhaps a number of tactical retreats it can afford to make.

It is not difficult to understand the Pretoria government's reasoning.

It clearly believes that over the past 17 months of Emergency rule it has struck quite hard blows against some sections of the ANC's internal underground, seriously debilitated legal mass anti-apartheid organisations, plugged up many of Umkhonto we Sizwe's infiltration routes through neighbouring states, and made it nigh impossible, in the short term at least, for any neighbouring state to play a significant support role in the struggle against apartheid.

The more insightful of Pretoria's own analysts and friends in the West have, according to diplomatic sources, been arguing with increasing force over the past five months that this relatively advantageous state of affairs is not something that can be relied upon to last indefinitely.

Rather, it must be exploited in the near future — and those in Pretoria unwilling to make the leap of faith into the (perhaps black) future might just have to be shoved into it.

If Pretoria does indeed engage in some form of talks with the ANC over the next 10 months, this fact will not rule out attempts to cobble together some sort of "conservative consensus" whose black component would be the National Statutory Council or some more credible version of it.

On the contrary, talks with the ANC would make more compelling the need that the government build up an institution like the NSC. Ian Smith needed his Abel Muzorewa and Jeremiah Chirau. And President Botha might be said to have the same need.

Among other things, having a reasonably viable NSC would strengthen the government's hand in pushing for a round table design for any future talks or negotiations. The government could introduce to such a conference a number of supposedly

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## FOR ALL PW'S CHIDING, THERE'S LITTLE DOUBT

**It is Govan Mbeki who got his freedom, but the real invitation is to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who made the release of political prisoners a pre-condition to joining the government's national council. PATRICK LAURENCE reports**

THE freeing after nearly a quarter of a century of the veteran African National Congress prisoner, Govan Mbeki, has put the release of his world renowned comrade, Nelson Mandela, firmly back on the agenda. The question now is not so much whether but when the charismatic Mandela will be freed.

Only one factor can delay the emergence from jail of Mandela in the next few months: an upsurge in the now quiescent revolt in South Africa's black townships, triggered by the return to political life of Mbeki. So far, however, there is every evidence that Mbeki, 77, and the black leaders shepherding him into life outside prison, will not do anything to jeopardise the freedom of Mandela and the five ANC prisoners who were jailed for life with him at the Rivonia trial of 1964.

President PW Botha has chided the press for speculating on when the next wave of political prisoners will follow Mbeki, charging that premature conjecture is irresponsible. But his own cabinet ministers have confirmed, with a proviso or two, that the release of Mbeki is both a trial run for the release of further political prisoners and the first move in a wider game plan.

The first and immediate aim is to reinitiate the stalled move to establish a national council. Devised as a forum where leaders of all races can draft a new constitution for all South Africans, the council has so far failed to win endorsement from a single credible black leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the 1,5-million strong Zulu-based Inkatha movement, has set the liberation of Mandela and the leader of the rival Pan Africanist Congress, Zeph Mothopeng, as a pre-condition for his participation.

Anxious to persuade Buthelezi to serve on the council, the government has started to move toward fulfilling his condition. But it is doing so cautiously, testing the reaction of South Africa's black and white communities to the release of lesser known prisoners before freeing Mandela.

The government has a second, associated motive: to "demythologise" the ANC and its leaders. The ANC has been outlawed since 1960 Many of its major leaders, including the original "high command" of its underground army, Umkhonto weSizwe, have been in jail or exile since 1964. The rest have been in exile.

Over the years, however, the public has not forgotten either the ANC or its imprisoned leaders. Instead, the ANC leadership has grown in stature and become shrouded in a status-enhancing mystique. The government now wants to reverse the process. In a revealing choice of phrase, the pro-government Afrikaans newspaper, *Beeld*, said in an editorial on Mbeki's release: "The Mbeki myth has suddenly become a human who, like all citizens, must be law-abiding and thus peaceful."

De-mystification infers two developments: the re-emergence of the incarcerated ANC leaders into public life where they can make mistakes and, as a logical corollary, the unbanning of the ANC. The ban on the ANC seems to have been partially lifted, in practice if not in a strict legal sense, in Mbeki's case.

He has made no bones about his commitment to the ANC and to its "revolutionary ally", the South African Communist Party. But he has not been prevented from speaking on their behalf, although the restriction prohibiting the press from publishing his remarks is still in force. When Mbeki is joined by his colleagues —

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THE VIEWS FROM BOTH INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY

# pressure on both sides



Ian Smith

autonomous black parties which would owe their presence there almost entirely to government political largesse.

The release of Mbeki — and the likelihood that Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu will follow — also has precisely the effect of clearing away an important obstacle between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi (together with others like him) and participation in the NSC or some variant of it.

For this and related reasons, the release of political prisoners could strengthen the government's hand in going for conservative consensus which includes selected blacks. It could result in the South African version of the Rhodesian "internal settlement".

The ANC and its allies face a critical challenge: to take full advantage of the situation that could soon arise.

For the ANC and its allies the future is complex and difficult. If not formally, then at least in a factual sense, the ANC could soon find itself unbanned.

There is nothing intrinsically dangerous in this for the ANC. Any outlawed revolutionary movement must always fight for an open mass presence. The point is regarded as almost universally applicable in revolutionary theory.

But this could place the ANC in some difficulties about whether or not it then gives up its armed struggle.

It will require extraordinary political will and organisational sophistication in the ANC and its allies to avoid what they would probably describe as the "horror" of a reformist outcome.

If talks of some kind are indeed on the cards, it is sensible to anticipate that the ANC would seek consultations with a wide range of legal mass organisations it might regard as its allies. This would be logical in that, if the struggle against apartheid can be said to have one strength, then it is the diversity of both the methods and organisational forms this struggle has developed over time.

Compared to liberation struggles elsewhere in Africa and most other parts of the underdeveloped world, revolutionary forces in South Africa have had a more distinctly political character and have been less dependent on the reinforcement of their struggle from abroad

In addition, it is well known that the ANC's vision of negotiations with the government — if they come — is of the ANC heading a broad front of political, trade union and other anti-apartheid forces.

This front — the ANC would hope — would sit across a "two-sided table" from the government and its allies. The ANC would resist attempts to introduce into the talks a multi-party or round-tabled design which would introduce a plethora of small and supposedly autonomous parties which it would regard as irrelevant to the central conflict.

And, of course, the ANC has undertaken on several occasions in the past not to enter into secret talks with the government. So consultations would be a requirement for the ANC.

A realisation of the difficulties which could lie ahead is probably the reason for the ANC's response to Mbeki's release: that the ANC will not in any way restrain itself following this release.

On the contrary, it has been sounding off in the Frontline states since Thursday last week that it believes it is necessary to escalate its offensive, primarily inside the country.

Why?

Firstly, because it does not believe the South African government has had a change of heart and is yet ready to negotiate seriously over the key issue — the transfer of political power to the majority

Secondly, because the ANC cannot, viewed from its perspective, allow foreign states to define the content or tactical compromises of its struggle

And, thirdly, because inside the country is where it believes its stronger contingent lies.

Quite how acute the ANC's understanding is of the complications developing at this conjuncture is unclear.

But the more serious people in its ranks have ditched the unrealistic triumphalism which has lingered elsewhere for far longer than is justified by the really quite limited gains it made in the two years after September 1984.

These more serious ANC members appear to realise there is little in the way of immediate or significant ground that is likely to be won at the negotiating table beyond the trenches the ANC and its allies occupy on the political-military battlefield.

It is a thought which should sober up anybody in the ranks of the ANC. If it does not, the ANC could soon find itself in very serious trouble at a time when, for it, the stakes can never have been said to be higher.

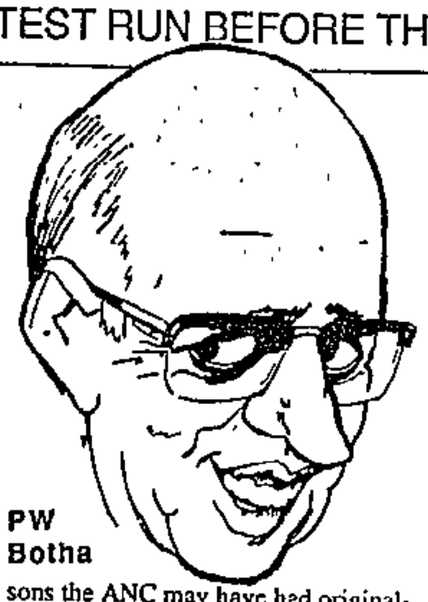
## LE... DOUBT THAT THIS IS A TEST RUN BEFORE THE BIG ONE: FREEING MANDELA

Walter Sisulu, 75, a former secretary general of the ANC, is tipped as the next ANC man to be freed — the *de facto* lifting of the ban will become more apparent.

But although the ban may be revoked, *de facto* or *de jure*, the State of Emergency is likely to be left intact. That will place the ANC in the same position as the legal, though severely harassed, United Democratic Front. The two opposition forces share a broadly common ideological approach.

The national State of Emergency, declared in June 1986 and renewed a year later, was imposed to contain an attempt by the ANC to fan the township revolt of 1984-1986 into a full-scale people's war or popular insurrection. Thus one government objective in the present situation, is to wean the ANC of its long-standing commitment to "armed struggle". Conversely, it hopes to lure the ANC, or sections of it, into participation in approved structures, including the national council.

Stoffel van der Merwe, the man Botha has entrusted with a mandate to give impetus to internal negotiations with black leaders, has argued that there is no justification for the ANC's guerrilla war today. Whatever reasons the ANC may have had originally for its decision to revert to guerrilla war, these no longer hold, Van der Merwe argued in parliament. His speech might be construed as a bid to persuade the ANC to abandon its hope of winning power through revolutionary war Another, concomitant government aim might be to split the ANC into external and internal wings, a variant of Botha's earlier attempt to-separate ANC nationalists from communists.



PW Botha

The unfolding situation will, of course, present the ANC with difficult decisions. To function as a semi-legal movement in the minuscule areas of political freedom left by the Emergency restrictions is hardly an attractive proposition.

At the time of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons peace mission to South Africa in 1986, the ANC was prepared to suspend its guerrilla campaign while negotiating with Botha — on condition that troops and police were removed from the townships. Botha, however, is not offering to negotiate with the ANC now, still less to withdraw security forces from the townships. His lieutenants are merely hinting that he may be prepared to allow released ANC leaders a degree of freedom.

Botha has not extracted a formal renunciation of violence from Mbeki. But the ANC leader's release is clearly based on a tacit undertaking that he will not try to mobilise mass demonstrations against the system, let alone plan violent actions. Mbeki has indeed been restrained, cautious and conciliatory in his remarks.

But for the ANC *per se* armed struggle remains a major bargaining card even if, as some observers have argued, the government is stronger on the military terrain than it is in the political arena. The ANC is hardly likely to throw it away until it is in a much stronger position.

Summing up the ANC's position on armed struggle, the Commonwealth's Eminent Persons said in their report: "For the ANC to renounce violence now would be to reduce itself to a state of helplessness. There must first be sufficient indications of the South African government's readiness to negotiate the transition to non-racial sovereignty." The ANC position has not changed.

After the Emergency was renewed in June the UDF Natal president, Archie Gumede, mooted the possibility of participation by the UDF in existing political institutions as a way of mounting pressure on the government and of breaking the logjam. He was promptly repudiated by UDF. There is no evidence that the ANC will react differently to a similar proposal from its ranks.

If the government further raises the cost of hosting ANC guerrillas for neighbouring states, then these states may try to coax the ANC into opting for a political solution. Short of that possibility, however, the ANC is unlikely to forgo its guerrilla war, although it may tread warily in the immediate future for fear of jeopardising the release of Mandela and his comrades

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NATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL Argus 13/11/87

# UK business urged to boost SA reform

**From MICHAEL MORRIS**
**The Argus Foreign Service**

LONDON. — Some of South Africa's most important British business partners have been told that reform is continuing steadily and that they can help speed the process by boosting "action on the ground".

Mr John Kane-Berman, executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, has told businessmen in London that irrespective of the Government's public statements on political change, a virtually inexorable process of reform is occurring "from the bottom up".

## Week-long visit

He said: "What we have told people in Britain is that this is happening not because the Government particularly wants to see the dismantling of apartheid but because it (apartheid) is crumbling under the weight of its own contradictions.... and it is action on the ground which forces Parliament to keep up and to change laws."

Mr Kane-Berman is nearing the end of a week-long visit to the British capital to brief institute members, including South African and British individuals and organisations, on the situation at home.



Mr Kent Durr

His contacts in the past week have included informal talks with London representatives of the African National Congress and Inkatha, a British MP, and members of the British Industry Committee on South Africa.

Meanwhile, the Deputy Finance Minister, Mr Kent Durr, has said in London that European countries are displaying a "new realism" towards South Africa and its political reform initiatives.

Mr Durr, on a two-week visit to Europe for meetings with South Africa's international bankers and industrial contact men, said sanctions and disinvestment had been "a hopeless failure in every respect".

The country's economy, far from being ruined, was moving out of its recession.

Mr Durr said he had found during his trip that Europeans were adopting a more pragmatic approach to encouraging political reform in South Africa.

He said: "People are looking at more realistic time-frames. Before, they were expecting the impossible of us.

## Vital development

"There has been the realisation that the country is not going to go to revolution tomorrow morning, but also that we won't produce solutions tomorrow morning."

Many Europeans had come to believe, like Mrs Margaret Thatcher, "that the economic development of the region is vital for delivering political reform".

13/11/87 DD

# Squatters granted land in Cambridge Village

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**Daily Dispatch Reporter**

EAST LONDON — The Cambridge squatters left homeless when their shacks burnt down after a police raid more than a week ago have been granted land in Cambridge Village.

A spokesman for the Cape Provincial Administration in Port Elizabeth said the 41 people involved in the raid, who have since been living at a Catholic Church in Pefferville, would be accommodated on land within the borders of the location, under the control of the Gompo town council.

A spokesman for the Gompo council could not be contacted to comment on plans for the future accommodation of the squatters.

The town clerk of East London, Mr Les Kumm, said the squatters were expected to be moved to the site today and would be provided with tents, food and clothing by the Red Cross organisation.

He said a full report on the involvement of municipal departments in the squatter raid had been compiled after discussions with the director of protection services, Mr John Foulis, and this would be presented to the council at the action committee meeting on Monday.

A directive on how to handle similar situations in the future was expected from the council as a result of problems arising from the raid.

The squatter camp was raided in a combined city police and SAP operation early on Friday morning and the 31 people arrested were charged with illegal squatting.

Some 10 shacks were burnt to the ground after the police had left the scene, leaving 18 families without homes.

Mr Foulis said one shack had been burnt to the ground accidentally during the raid and the matter was under investigation by the CID.

He emphasised that neither the city police nor the SAP had deliberately burnt down any shacks.

"Squatting does give rise to health hazards and environmental problems, both for the squatters and people living in the neighbouring areas.

"At no time have I said that stolen goods were being taken to the squatters' shacks."

The chairman of the Black Sash in the Border region, Mrs Sue Power, said the raid on the squatter settlement demonstrated that officials often acted without thinking of the possible consequences.

"We must face up to the fact that these people exist and that arresting them and evicting them from their shacks will not make the housing shortage go away.

"In fact, the more people are left without a home to go to, the more likely they are to have to resort to theft.

"They are South African citizens, not criminals, and should be provided with a place to live," she said.

Mrs Power suggested that provincial authorities should provide land for a site and service scheme to cater for "controlled squatting" by homeless people.

CAPE NAT CONGRESS 304A

# P W strikes back

**P W Botha's** extraordinary performance at the opening of the National Party's Cape congress this week shows clearly how concerned he is at mounting opposition Press criticism of him personally and of his administration.

A single thread ran through his otherwise disjointed and uninspiring speech — the opposition Press must stop its attacks, or else.

As if further to illustrate his mood, he twice instructed Press photographers to stop taking pictures of him. On the second occasion he argued with a photographer unwilling to comply saying: "I don't like it. I think it's rude" (to take photographs). He said: "I know what's behind it," in apparent reference to unflattering, finger-wagging photographs often published here and abroad.

Botha repeatedly castigated the opposition media, which he implicitly linked to the "total onslaught" and accused of "treason and dishonesty."

It seems that lack of opposition Press support for what he believes are significant moves forward — including the restoration of relative peace in most townships — has left him bitter and determined on retribution. He stopped short of threatening new legislative curbs on the media but left little doubt that the matter will be taken further.

In response to growing (and obviously irritating) speculation that he is ill and considering retirement, Botha promised to quit if doctors tell him he is unfit to continue in office. "But I won't allow any journalist to tell me when to go," he stated defiantly.

He accused critics of not respecting the office of State President and the parliamentary system, nor understanding the Constitution as far as it relates to his office.

Many delegates seemed confused by the subjects Botha chose to dwell on. Instead of the traditional opening address lauding the party and its supporters for past achievements, they sat for an hour-and-a-half while the president released pressure that has obviously been building up for more than a year.

Botha also claimed there are no political prisoners in SA and said journalists who report that there are damage the country's image. He castigated journalists for indulging in "wild dreams" of what may happen in the wake of Govan Mbeki's release, which he tried to pass off as a very ordinary humanitarian act.

He repeatedly attacked "leftist-liberals" for placing obstacles in government's path, but didn't once mention the Conservative Party and referred only in broad and fleeting terms to rightwing opposition.

Reform, he said, must ensure the maintenance of First World standards. He rejected negotiating with the ANC unless it abandons its strategy of violent opposition and renounces violence. Freedom, he said, can't be given at the expense of good administration and good government.

Botha also claimed that he talks to "important" black leaders, but confidentially and out of the public eye. And he stated that if all foreign workers were sent home unemployment would virtually be solved. ■

FM 13/11/87

ALBERT NOTHNAGEL

# Change of heart

**To come out** fighting is nothing new to Albert Nothnagel. For years the strongly built and thickset Nat MP for Innesdal ably matched heavyweights on wrestling mats in the colours of the SA Universities and Northern Transvaal.

Now he is at it again. This time Nothnagel has chosen to confront a formidable opponent: the powerful, ultra conservative *Transvaal Onderwysdepartement* (TOD). And heavier contenders, like the *Perskor* bosses of editor Harald Pakendorf before him, have succumbed to the mighty TOD — rather than lose million rand printing contracts.



But he's not cowed by the rightwing element at work in Transvaal schools. He insists the TOD withdraws the right of schools — principals, teachers and parents — to decide whether their schools take part in sports meetings with teams which include scholars of other races.

"There should be a rule to compel white schools to compete against these mixed schools," says Nothnagel. "We have to educate our children for the future, not to dawdle in the past."

No wonder PFP stalwart Helen Suzman called Nothnagel "our Albert," after he suggested in a parliamentary debate on influx control that she should receive credit for her perseverance in having the laws scrapped. But, unfortunately, Suzman's affectionate reference to him was like manna from heaven to the Conservative Party (CP).

"I don't mind if you love me, but for heaven's sake, don't destroy me," Nothnagel later chided Suzman in good-humoured banter.

One almost understands the CP's dismay with Nothnagel. There was a time — many years ago — when conservatives like Andries Treurnicht regarded the Innesdal MP as a soul mate. In political circles it was even said that Nothnagel actively supported Treurnicht at the time when the then Transvaal Nat leader became embroiled in a vicious mud-slinging match with former Nat MP (later deputy Minister) Louis Nel over a Treurnicht joke which Nel described as distasteful. Who still remembers the infamous *Bols* joke?

Nothnagel, whose philosophy was once based upon the Verwoerdian vision, now admits he has undergone a change of heart.

"In the course of time I realised that it was not possible to implement geographical separation. That was the turning-point in my political career," he says.

However he scoffs at the idea that he had been a *verkrampte*. "If conservative means to conserve my language, my church and what is dear to me, then I am conservative. But I have never harboured or stated any racial prejudice — not even at the time when I endorsed Verwoerd's policies.

"We are all creations of God ... intrinsic human qualities have always been at the centre of my political beliefs."

The rightwing onslaught against Nothnagel has reached new heights. During the May elections the CP in Innesdal campaigned against him vigorously and even his wife, Stephanie, was not spared personal attack.

That does not deter him from speaking out about the right wing. His one-man crusade against the TOD has earned him the ire of educationists in the province. But among the country's political commentators, however, he has scored points.

Many think that Nothnagel shows all the signs of walking where angels fear to tread. It is known that he has had run-ins with the strict Nat Party leadership, notably with Transvaal leader F W de Klerk.

The most recent was an interview in *Inside SA* in which he admitted that future talks with the ANC were possible. That was enough to send blood pressures among the party faithful sky high.

This week again, in what could be termed as disguised criticism, Nothnagel told the *FM* that the NP was making a mistake by continually looking over its right shoulder. However, he is adamant he will remain a party member.

"There were times when I doubted whether reform could be accomplished within the NP. But now I am convinced that the NP is the only vehicle that could put SA on the road to proper reform.

"I believe we are moving towards a new SA which will be free of racial discrimination. I personally have no qualms with the liberation struggle of blacks. I appreciate their quest for political, social and economic freedom — provided it is accomplished without violence."

Nothnagel can justifiably lay claim to getting the racial code in the new ID document scrapped. As chairman of the parliamentary Standing Committee on Home Affairs, he played an important role (if not the deciding one) in the decision — much to the chagrin of the CP.

Ironically, Nothnagel is also vice-chairman of the NP parliamentary caucus. It is within this powerful party body that he has had some of his worst skirmishes with the leadership.

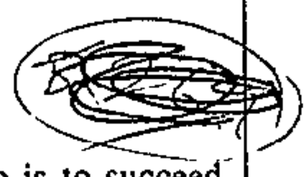
Parliamentary colleagues of Nothnagel maintain he may be embittered because a Cabinet job has eluded him for so long. That perhaps explains the sometimes reckless manner in which he addresses issues.

Others, more often those on the Left, say Nothnagel's exclusion from the seat of power has been a blessing in disguise. By offering him a Cabinet seat, they argue, P W would have effectively silenced him.

The latter argument is perhaps best illustrated by Nothnagel's test of strength with the Transvaal educationists. Most Nats are aware of what is going on behind the scenes in the classrooms, but few have dared speak out as he has done.

Round one clearly goes to "our Albert." No doubt the bell signalling the start of round two will be ringing soon. ■

ANTON MOOLMAN



## In the tracks

**Dr Anton Moolman** (50) who is to succeed Dr Bart Grové as GM of South African Transport Services (Sats) when he retires in January has a diplomat's ability to deflect questions.

He fields the obvious first question relating to the changes he plans to implement in Sats' management when he takes over by pointing out that Grové is still GM.

"We have worked together for 30 years. I am part of his decision-making team, so am satisfied with the Sats' direction."

But he does concede a manager develops his own style during his career; that he cannot succeed by slavishly following in the steps of a predecessor or examples in textbooks. Consequently he grudgingly admits: "Yes, there will be minor changes."

Moolman, who desribes himself as a "people's person," hints he may delegate more responsibility than his predecessor. "I can achieve a lot on my own, but am amazed by what I can achieve with and through other

304A

STAR 13/11/87

# Canada 'ignorant of realities in SA'

The Canadian government's request this week for the release of prisoners "who remain in detention for opposing apartheid" was "completely lacking in undestanding" of the South African situation, said the South African Department of Foreign Affairs.

Referring to the Canadian government's statement, a senior official in the department said he was troubled by the remarks on the status of some prisoners in South Africa.

"They can only be the product of either an inability to understand the issue or an unwillingness to recognise and accept facts and realities.

"It is assumed that the Canadian ambassador in South Africa keeps his government informed about the relevant facts.

"There can therefore be no credible explanation for the Canadian government to remain so misinformed.

"No serious relevance can be attached to the requests when such requests are so completely lacking in understanding and recognition of the realities which have nothing to do with 'opposing apartheid'.

**Foreign Affairs man**

We'll halt

# CRISIS? WHAT CRISIS?

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Political Staff, at the Cape National Party congress

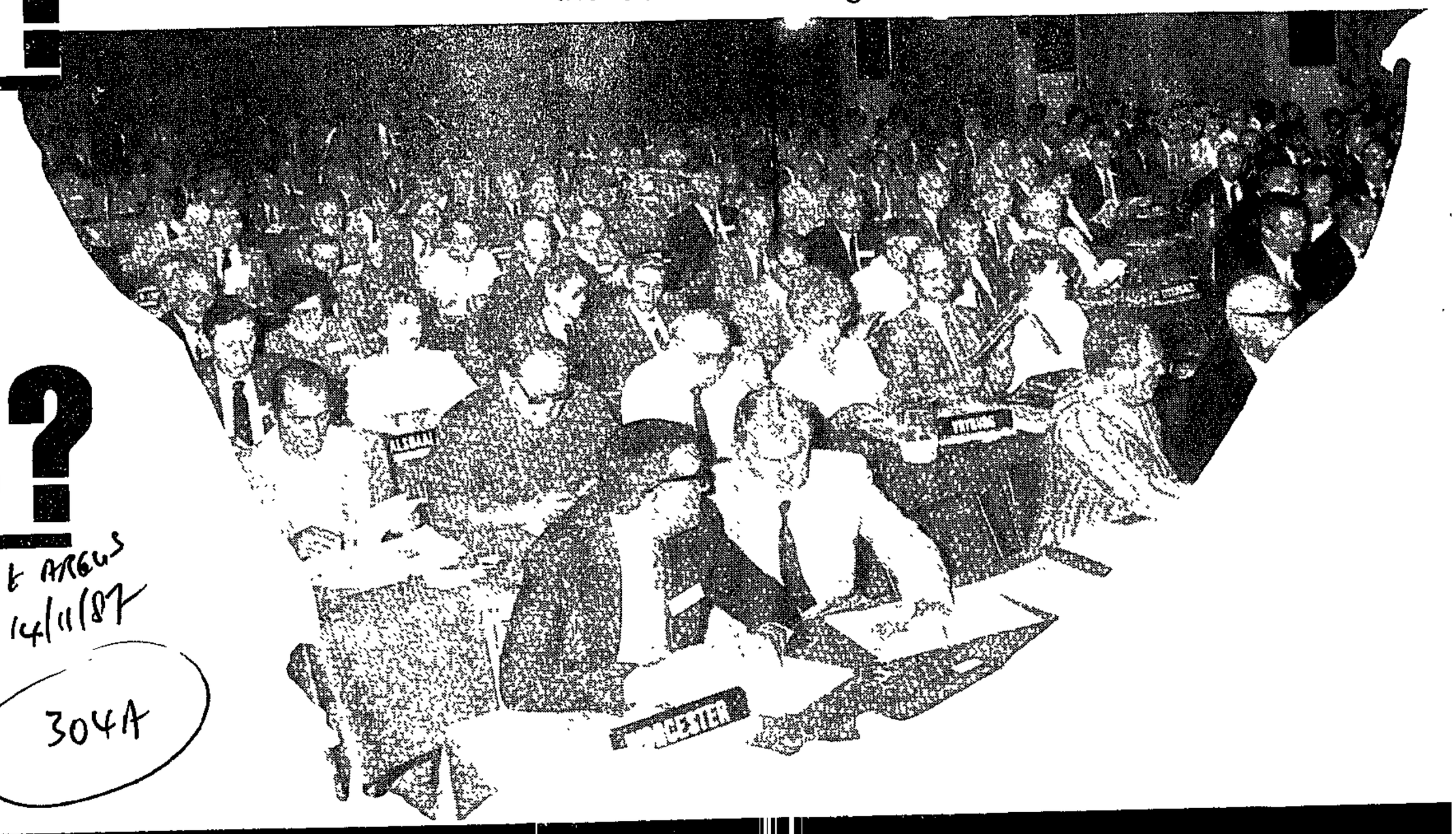
w/t ARGUS 14/11/87

3044

ANY stranger to South African politics would be blissfully unaware of a crisis in the country after listening to two days of speeches and discussions at the Cape National Party congress this week.

The country's involvement in a war raging in Angola, continuing international isolation and the state of emergency seemed remote and unreal as

INVOLVEMENT in a war in Angola, continuing international isolation — and the state of emergency — seemed remote and unreal as delegates joined in happy singsongs and listened to assurances from Cabinet Ministers that all was well in the South African garden ...



# Why the politics of consensus rule, OK?

...egates joined in happy singsongs and listened to assurances from Cabinet Ministers that all was well in the South African garden.

Happiness was the lilting tunes of *My Hart Verlang Na Die Boland, My Bonnie Lies Over The Ocean, Aai, Aai Die Witborskraai, When Irish Eyes Are Smiling* — and amiable chats about rugby, weather conditions and share prices at crowded tea tables.

A remarkable feature of the congress was the scarcity of information and discussion on some of the major issues facing South Africa.

Behind the scenes, however, there appeared to be a deep anxiety about the rise of the right-wing movement and its threat to the NP in the Transvaal.

And during discussions an underlying uneasiness emerged about the ravages of inflation, its effect on voters, and about the Government's handling of the problem.

"What crisis?" was a typical response from some delegates when questioned during a tea break about the party's attitude to the country's troubles.

YET in the foyer of the congress hall, delegates were being offered a book entitled *Die Suid-Afrikaanse Krisis* (The South African Crisis), edited by an academic, Dr J P C van Vuuren, of the University of the Orange Free State.

The book, containing in-depth studies by experts — mainly on constitutional development — was among publications of the university's Institute for Contemporary History which were being offered for sale.

A cursary glance at *Die Suid-Afrikaanse Krisis* could convince any of the delegates that it would tell them some of the things that Government spokesman at the congress did not tell them.

One chapter, for example, refers to the issue which is virtually taboo in present-day NP thinking — the question of direct negotiations between government and the African National Congress.

The author says that unless the Government reaches an agreement with the ANC — which seems unlikely — there will be increasing polarisation on ideological and racial lines in South Africa.

But somehow the Cape NP congress was either not in the mood for such heavy stuff, or it preferred to sweep the tricky problems under the carpet. Or perhaps the heavy issues were for party bosses only.

THE tone had been set by a friendly, smiling President P W Botha who had conducted the official opening and attended some of the discussions in jovial mood.

Before the congress were 53 motions, many of which were passed without any discussion and without a word of criticism. All in the prevailing spirit of "consensus" — the magic word in Nationalist thinking.

"I am a consensus man," Cape party leader Chris Heunis remarked at one stage and delegates made it clear by their performance that they were following his example. Agreement on virtually any issue was a piece of melktert.

Mr Heunis said the congress was the policy-making instrument of the party — a statement which seemed to justify any expectations that momentous announcements and decisions could be made. More so by virtue of the fact that after this year's white general election, the Cape NP is once more the main provincial power bloc in the party's parliamentary caucus after decades of domination by the Transvaal.

And despite his near-defeat in his Helderberg constituency, Mr Heunis is in a powerful position after his first year as Cape leader and because of his key role in the Government's reform programme and in constitutional development.

Yet there was very little in Mr Heunis's speeches to the congress that delegates had not heard before. Even a motion specifically seeking more information about the functioning of the Government's proposed National Council produced little more than the known fact that negotiations are continuing.

There is speculation that the Cape NP's stronger position in Nationalist politics has put the party in a dilemma because of the rising strength of the Conservative Party opposition in the Transvaal.

Where Cape Nationalists were previously dubbed by Conservatives as the "Cape liberal clique" they are now seen as the NP's "liberal power bloc". The kind of CP propaganda now likely to be produced in the Transvaal against the Government's reform moves is almost certain to cause more damage to the NP in the Transvaal.

The Cape and Mr Heunis are expected to be the main targets of CP propaganda whenever any new reforms are announced.

THERE were signs at the congress that the Cape NP is nervous about the "liberal" image of the NP emerging from CP attacks. Key NP men from the Transvaal such as Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, Transvaal NP leader Mr F W de Klerk and Mr Piet Clase made relatively "hard-line" speeches, possibly designed to counteract CP propaganda in the Transvaal.

And Mr Piet Badenhorst, Deputy Minister of Development Planning, once more reassured NP members that the Government would not deviate from the basic apartheid principles of separate schools and separate residential areas — in spite of the plan to allow certain "open" areas. Group identity remained the basis of government policy, he said.

Mr Heunis warned that overhasty reform would lead to domination and violence.

Mr Clase referred to the cost of apartheid — but delegates seemed less concerned about this aspect than about the ravages of inflation, which one delegate said could lead to a loss of support for the NP among voters.

A key man in the NP's propaganda machine who attended the congress indicated in an interview that the party was not happy about the effect of CP propaganda.

The war of words between the parties has apparently reached the stage where the most potent weapons are regarded as single words and phrases that can devastate a party's image.

According to the official, the NP found such a devastating weapon against the Progressive Federal Party in the slogan that the PFP is "soft" on security.

The NP is still hunting for a suitable slogan that would have an equally devastating effect on the CP. The search is continuing.

Meanwhile, however, the CP has found a propaganda weapon that is having a potentially devastating effect on the NP in the Transvaal — the slogan that "power-sharing" leads to black domination.

AN oddity at this week's congress was one black face among the 388 delegates who attended the proceedings and joined in the informal chats at the tea and coffee tables.

The black visitor was the Ambassador Extraordinary of Ciskei, Mr W J S Blie, who observed the congress proceedings from a seat in the gallery.

A row of seats reserved for visiting diplomats remained empty during most of the discussions. At times the seats were occupied by other visitors such as wives of delegates.

After the closing of the congress, when delegates were on their way home, the announcement came over SABC-TV that South African and South West Africa Territory Force troops had been locked in battle with Russian and Cuban forces in south-east Angola.

What crisis?

What battle?

# Reform in SA 'inexorable'

## UK told it can help speed death of apartheid

**SATURDAY STAR FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE**

LONDON — Some of South Africa's most important British business partners have been told that reform is continuing steadily in the country and that they can help speed up the process by boosting "action on the ground".

Irrespective of the Government's public statements on political change, Mr John Kane-Berman, executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, has told South African and British businessmen in London, a virtually inexorable process of reform in South Africa is occurring "from the bottom up".

He said: "What we have told people in Britain is that this is happening, not because the Government particularly wants to see the dismantling of apartheid, but because it (apartheid) is crumbling under the weight of its own contradictions ... and it is action on the ground which is forcing Parliament to keep up, and to change laws."

Mr Kane-Berman is nearing the end of a visit to London to brief institute members — including South African and British individuals, companies, institutions such as unions, non-profit organisations and churches — on the situation in South Africa.

### OBJECTIVE ANALYSIS

His contacts have included informal talks with London representatives of the ANC and Inkatha, a British MP, and members of the British Industry Committee on South Africa.

"We are saying that foreign interests can do concrete things on the ground to help erode apartheid.

"Some people are surprised that we are optimistic, in the long term, about developments in South Africa.

"But ours is a completely objective and dispassionate analysis of where reform is going. And it is clear the Government is compelled by the right mix of pressure and action to shift its bottom line continuously. That has been the experience of the past 15 years, and I have no doubt it will continue.

"So, for instance, despite what the Government says about standing firm on the Group Areas Act, it is already a fact that mixed areas are occurring. The Act is being eroded.

"The increasing mobility of black people — and therefore increasing urbanisation — means the next domino to fall is the Group Areas Act."

But in an address to members of the institute, Mr Kane-Berman said a period of stalemate on the question of national constitutional negotiations was "probably unavoidable".

# De Klerk snaps fingers at CP

## 1988 municipal elections will be test of strength

**DAVID BRAUN**
**Political Correspondent**

Transvaal National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk yesterday threw down the gauntlet to the Conservative Party, saying the countrywide October 1988 municipal elections had already started.

He was opening the Transvaal NP annual congress in Pretoria.

Mr de Klerk, who was unanimously re-elected for his seventh term as Transvaal leader, said 1988 would bring a new set of challenges which the party had to face squarely.

He said: "We face a general election next year, albeit a general election with regard to local government.

"I will require of us in each and every constituency, within the strategy decided upon by this congress, to become fully involved in these municipal elections.

"To those of our opponents who say the NP is scared of the municipal elections, I say they are in for a surprise. There is great enthusiasm and we are looking forward to the opportunity to further demonstrate that the Conservative Party has peaked and is on the down slope."



DE KLERK: The CP is on the down slope.

### 'We share in sorrow'

One of the first acts at the start of the Transvaal National Party congress in Pretoria yesterday was an expression of sympathy for relatives of the South African troops killed and wounded in Angola.

Transvaal leader Mr F W de Klerk said South Africans could thrust out their chests with pride for the young men who fought for the security of their country.

"We share in the sorrow of their families and friends and we are proud of them for paying the highest price for South Africa," he said.

The full force of the Group Areas debate erupted at the congress, with speakers arguing emotionally in favour of segregated or open areas.

Several delegates complained of conditions in integrated suburbs such as Hillbrow, Bezuidenhout Valley and Mayfair.

Mr Hennie Bekker, MP for Jeppe, said people realised these suburbs would never be exclusively white again.

But it was not a question of skin colour so much as the quality of life. Most of the complaints he now had to deal with from residents were not about integration so much as about over-crowding and noise.

He appealed to the Government to enact legislation which could more effectively protect the quality of life.

Mr Sam Bloomberg, MP for Bezuidenhout, said he had pictures of a flat in Berea where the over-crowding was so bad that there was excrement on the floors.

"Quite clearly, this is not about the Group Areas Act so much as about exploitation by greedy landlords."

Stricter health regulations and spatial ratios were needed, he said. The aesthetic qualities of white suburbs had been destroyed overnight because many blacks were not prepared to share the standards of whites.

Mr Eddie Venter, a delegate from Westdene, complained about the flow of "non-whites" to white suburbs where they "set up shebeens and traded in drugs".

Dr Johan Vilonel, MP for Langlaagte, said some of the delegates had been grossly one-sided.

"We live in a country in which a great number of other people also live," he said.

He said Mayfair, which partly fell in his constituency, would never be exclusively white again, and no party could ever make it white.

Dr Vilonel said about 30 000 housing units for whites were standing empty in Johannesburg, while there was a tremendous shortage of housing for people of colour.

It was a pity the National Party could not get together with the Labour Party and scrap the Group Areas Act, he said.

Responding to the debate, the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Piet Badenhorst, said the Government was planning to "streamline" the Group Areas Act with a view to plugging its loopholes.

# The Mbeki vacuum

**THE launch of the Natal Joint Executive and release of jailed ANC chairman Mr Govan Mbeki are exciting events.**

One would have expected the Government to see the Cape congress of the National Party as a superb opportunity to project its vision of a new South Africa or, at the very least, to share something of its plans for the future with a concerned South African population and with friends in the world.

But what did we get?

A leader of the country self-indulgently speculating about his health, petulantly asserting his determination to continue as leader and rebuking photographers for taking pictures of him while he was speaking. (Incidentally, it is inconceivable that any Western politician of any note would act like this.)

We are none the wiser about the Government's intentions. In fact, we are more in the dark — because before the congress, commentators assumed that the release of Mbeki had something to do with the release of Mandela, and that these were climate-creating steps intended to encourage the negotiation process.

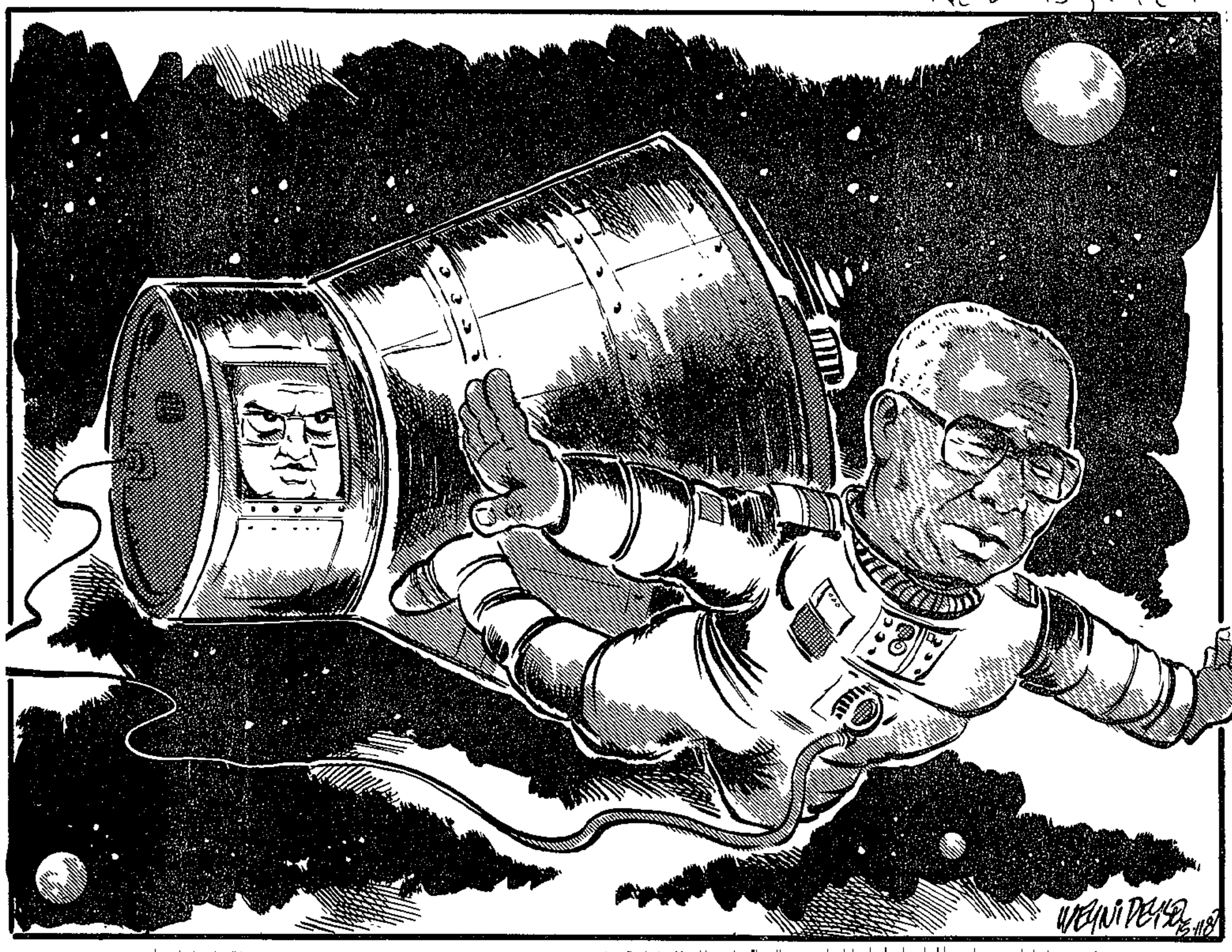
The State President actually went out of his way to discourage such an interpretation. Heaven forbid that anybody should think along those lines. Mbeki is an old man and the Government, in releasing him, was really acting in the spirit of Christmas.

So we had another mini-Rubicon speech.

I accept that the State President genuinely wants to see black South Africans accommodated at central [illegible]ent level. I also ac-



**Dr Denis Worrall, as former South African Ambassador in London, was closely involved in the Eminent Persons Group initiative of mid-1986 which had as one of its objectives the release of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela. Here he looks at what's *wrong* with Govan Mbeki's**



NOV 15, 1987

the issues; raising the level of debate; and creating a neutral starting point for the negotiation process.

Were the Government to make commitments along these lines it will have created a climate in which a man like Mbeki has a role to play, and persons and organisations presently committed to violence would have to re-examine their strategies; and others, who are adept at simply making grand statements, would have to start being specific about their constitutional plans.

This is a course of action which would be hard for most ruling political parties to accept. It requires the recognition that, while the Government can initiate a process in which the aspirations, hopes, concerns and energies of all South Africans are involved, the process itself can only occur in a credible way outside of the executive branch of government.

## Ignored

The consolation, as far as the National Party is concerned, is that it, too, would be released to play a role.

In its First Report (1982) the Constitutional Committee of the President's Council made two important suggestions — both of which were ignored.

The first was that the Government, when implementing the new constitution, should come with a

# His release generated joy and anxiety. But there is no process to absorb his energies

**By DENIS WORRALL**

cept that the President and his Government recognise that this is something that has to be negotiated.

But there is a fundamental inability on the part of this Government to understand just what all this entails. What happened at the Cape congress says it all — because the Government does not understand the signifance of the developments of the last 10 days.

## Symbolism

Mbeki's release is important in several ways. It is important because of its sheer symbolism and because of his connections with the ANC; and his release is also important because it contributes to the removal of an obstacle to negotiations as far as Chief Minister Buthelezi and others are concerned.

His release also has important consequences. His presence in our politics — even though he cannot be quoted — reduces the stature of black leaders who might be tempted to come into the Government's negotiations; and I believe it makes it harder (not easier) for Chief Buthelezi to involve himself with the Government, particularly while Mbeki stays out.

There are other consequences of Mbeki's release. It will have raised expectations among blacks (unrealistically, as the State President indicated this week) and among upper-income Whites.

But it will also have generated a good deal of anxiety among many Whites, who will ask themselves: "What is this Government up to releasing a man who says he is a communist — a man who still identifies with the ANC's armed struggle?"

## Justified

Mbeki's release is justified. But the big regret is that a leader of this stature has been released into a vacuum. There is no process to absorb his energies and his undoubted political influence. This is the pity. And it is here that I would plead with the Government to rethink its whole attitude towards negotiation.

The Government makes the same assumption as the ANC. The ANC says that it must sit on one side of the table with the Government on the other. The Government wishes to sit on one side of the table with black organisations on the other.

That is a mistake. It is a mistake because the National Party (which is the Government), aside from its past, has an enormous credibility problem and, in any event, speaks for only a minority of South Africans.

The Government's main concern is to get blacks talking to it, and the major weapon which blacks have is to withhold their participation and, therefore, threaten the legitimacy of the outcome of any talks. But whites are equally important.

They have a veto over the outcome. And as important as getting black organisations into the process is the necessity to involve also, for example, the Conservative Party.

The National Party does not speak for all white South Africans and the sensible thing, therefore, is to get all involved in the process of negotiation at this stage.

Mr Heunis has admitted that the National Council will not be ready until deep into next year's session. Even then, for administrative reasons, it will be 18 months or two years at the least before the council begins to function.

## Mandate

What is needed now is a clear and neutral starting point for discussion. The Government should for once speak on behalf of the whole society by saying, firstly, that in the interests of a democratic government all existing constitutional institutions may be reviewed; secondly, it should say that apartheid in all its forms has to go; and thirdly, it should declare that community interests defined in terms of religion, language, culture and history must be included (e g access to mother-tongue education will be a fundamental right) in any new constitution.

Having done this, the Government should give the Chief Justice (appropriately assisted) a mandate to begin the process by inviting all interested parties to submit their proposals, to furmulate these (not evaluate or grade them or make recommendations), and publish them.

In this way we would be creating a positive climate by increasing awareness of declaration of intent as far as blacks were concerned.

Secondly, the committee urged the Government to come with a package — a package which would also involve black South Africans.

Neither of these happened. Instead the Government raised expectations enormously with very hopeful-sounding statements. And the result of its failure to deliver on these statements was frustration, anger and unrest.

We are in for another dose of this — unless the Government gets its act together smartly and fills the present vacuum.

# Who'll tell them they're naked?

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN

PERHAPS the time has come to tell the emperors that they are not wearing any clothes.

In the Hans Christian Andersen fairytale, it was a brave little boy who had the audacity to confront his ruler with his own nakedness.

Where is that little boy when South Africa needs him?

Seldom has the country been in such a state of paralysis.

And there is no sign of any relief while the main protagonists remain in a state of permanent deadlock.

Perhaps the greatest danger we now face is that we may mistake motion for movement.

Sure, there is a lot of motion. Stoffel van der Merwe travels across the country making noble-sounding speeches on the Government's commitment to reform and power-sharing.

In Chris Heunis's department, able civil servants are constantly churning out position papers and ingenious constitutional proposals.

Meanwhile, back at the citadel, the emperor refuses to budge.

## Pallbearers

Recent pronouncements that reform is to play third string behind law and order and development are but a symptom of a mind-set that, somehow, a plan should be devised to enable the Government to share power without relinquishing it.

It is now almost 10 years since the irrepressible Piet Koornhof stood up at Palm Springs in the United States and prematurely announced the demise of apartheid.

Today, it seems as if the scoundrel is indeed dead. Even the Broederbond hurried to act as pall-bearers and the Dutch Reformed Church was at hand to perform the last rites.

But Hollywood has shown that any good melodrama deserves a sequel — so Son of Apartheid is now showing to packed audiences across the country.

The conventional political wisdom is no longer the ideology of separate development and ham-handed apartheid action.

The reigning ideology today is that of State security and law and order.

Everything that was previously done for the sake of the preservation of group identity is still being done, but in the name of stability and order.

There are growing similarities between the last years of the Botha Government and the Salazar and Franco regimes in Portugal and Spain.

There, authoritarian regimes also showed it is quite possible to create a personality cult without charisma.

All you need is to continually build up the spectre of a total onslaught — "the forces of darkness" — and to present yourself as the only alternative standing between the population and annihilation.

The style of management follows a tried and trusted recipe.

You surround yourself with a small group of men who are either too tired or too ambitious to fight you, and then you appoint a strong gatekeeper to prevent the messengers bearing bad news from reaching you.

Behind the scenes, the battle for succession will be raging continuously, with contenders joining the fray or falling from grace. But even they realise that they may be in for the long haul because absolute rulers tend to hang onto power absolutely.

Opposition politics, especially those to the left of the rulers, are a shambles.

Those with the liberal idea of trying to devise a system where the lamb and the wolf can graze together have found they cannot even agree on strategy with those closest to them.

Analogous to the Holy Roman Empire, the UDF is neither united, nor democratic, nor a front.

## Stagnation

And, in the ANC, those who stick to the foolhardy belief that the glorious day of liberation is nigh still hold sway.

Indeed, it is not only the emperor, but also the proconsuls and the centurions who are in dire need of clothing.

Ten years ago, the country was suffering from the same lack of direction, the same stagnation.

Then one man, P W Botha, took bold steps to force Vorster into retirement and to lead the country out of the doldrums. Whether there is now such a man planning such a move remains to be seen.

Soon after his retirement from the boxing ring, "Smokin'" Joe Frazier tried his hand at music and formed a rock and roll band, aptly named The Knockouts.

Within a few weeks, the first record appeared on the market and was met with general disapproval from critics and music lovers alike.

One review in a music magazine was short and to the point: "This is the worst music I have ever heard. But who's going to have the guts to tell Joe Frazier?"

304A STimes 15/11/87.

# It won't be a good clean fight, says the man who beat the Nats in the town where Smuts once reigned

SPOTLIGHT ON STANDERTON . . . BY MARLENE BURGER

**IT'S an incongruous little town, nestling on the banks of the Vaal River just a 90-minute drive south-east of Johannesburg.**

To the east lies Majuba — the Hill of Doves — where General Piet Joubert scored a major victory in the first Anglo-Boer War, defeating a superior British force under command of Sir Pomeroy Colley.

To the north is Morgenzon, heart of the white homeland proposed by the Oranjewerkers, where labour is the exclusive precinct of the landowners and "non-whites" are rarer than Indians once were in the Free State.

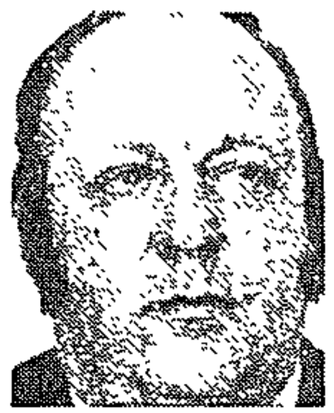
It's been represented in Parliament by some of the best-known names in South African politics, including two former Prime Ministers.

And it's the town the National Party is determined to win back after what it admits was a "surprise" defeat by the Conservative Party on May 6.

But that wasn't the first time Standerton voters had caused shock waves in political circles.

They were the ones responsible for the United Party's most humiliating defeat in the 1948 election, when reigning Prime Minister General Jan Smuts lost the seat to the NP's Wennie du Plessis.

A Nationalist stronghold since — served among others by former Minister of Agriculture Hendrik Schoeman, Pretoria academic Professor Naas Coertse and most recently by veteran politician Mr Willa Hefer — it was not supposed to fall to the CP.





NP Hennie Erasmus, above, is the underdog against the CP's Rosier de Ville.

## Complacent

The NP's divisional chairman in the area, Mr Nico Oosthuizen, admits that party workers were complacent about what was considered a "safe" seat.

"But we won't make the same mistake again," he warns.

The NP has a second chance at Standerton, thanks to a recent Supreme Court ruling, which declared invalid the election of the CP candidate, Mr Rosier de Ville.

He was deputy sheriff of the town at the time — and thus not eligible to stand, the court found.

So, for the second time in less than a year, Standerton will go to the polls, probably in February or March.

And in spite of the NP's confidence, the chances of the CP winning the seat again — with an increased majority — seem better than good.

A random survey by the Sunday Times this week revealed strong support among Standerton voters for the man who lost his seat after only five months in Parliament.

In a town where the main streets are named after Voortrekker leaders, where a dentist's surgery still sports a sign indicating a "non-white waiting room" and where taxi ranks are still clearly marked "whites only", Rosier de Ville is the undoubted hero.

Shop assistant Marietjie Petzer, 18, has never met the man, but sees him as the saviour of all that is good and white.

"There is only one party and that's the CP. They are the only ones who will make sure the blacks don't take over this country," she believes.

Magda Delport, 25, a credit controller, will be voting De Ville as well — "because my husband votes for the CP".

But furniture salesman Eben du Bery, 24, will not.

"The National Party will win this time. They must — they're the only ones with solutions," he believes.

His political views have not helped him find friends in

Later, his father managed to find work as a storeman on the Free State Goldfields and the family's fortunes improved sufficiently to allow Rosier to study law at Potchefstroom University.

There he met and married a Standerton farmer's daughter, and the town has been thair home since 1966.

Almost immediately, he became involved with politics — and until 1982, he served the National Party in various capacities.

## Disillusioned

"I really believed in that party But what finally convinced me that I was wrong was the way loyal supporters

"I would ask a question at a public meeting . . and be branded by my own people as an 'HNP'!

"I was a totally disillusioned man when I joined the CP," says De Ville.

The by-election, warns the CP candidate, won't be a good clean fight.

The NP candidate has an impressive record of public service. A former mayor of Witbank, he's been chairman of the town's management committee for the past five years.

He's served on a number of municipal associations and has been an NP executive member at various times since 1953.

Mr Erasmus is also a familiar figure in south-eastern Transvaal sport circles.

The NP candidate is not taking any chances. This week he and his wife were deep in the platteland canvassing from farm to farm.

Standerton, to which he moved from Ermelo only a month ago.

## Arguments

"At my lodgings, all the other young people are CP. We don't even talk politics any more because it just leads to arguments."

De Ville — a Sir De Villiers Graaff lookalike and the epitome of a "boere jintelman" — has deep roots in Standerton.

His opponent, fellow lawyer Mr Hennie Erasmus, does not — but the party believes he will win the seat anyway, "because he's the best man for the job".

De Ville grew up in Johannesburg's southern suburbs. His father was a dedicated Smuts man, blinded while on his way "up North" to join the Allied war effort. His mother was a garment-worker and the family's sole breadwinner throughout his childhood.

# Nat chiefs point party on warpath

ELSABÉ WESSELS

NATIONAL PARTY leaders threw down the gauntlet in a kragdadige display of Who's the Boss at the party's Transvaal congress at the weekend.

Gathered in Pretoria for the fourth and last provincial congress of the year, party leaders wasted no time in acknowledging battle with the Conservative Party, the African National Congress (ANC) and Cuban-backed Angolan forces.

Their unyielding stance on the Group Areas Act served as a warning to a handful of verligte MPs who sounded a lone, but unanswered, call for reform.

What party leaders were concerned with was fending off the total onslaught.

Dramatic announcements of a midnight rendezvous by the State President and Cabinet ministers with troops in the heart of southern Angola reminded delegates that SA was locked in one of the biggest clashes between "super-powers" — congress regarded SA as a superpower — in southern Africa.

Defence Minister Magnus Malan said SA's involvement had put Jonas Savimbi in a much stronger position. "It has changed the rules for peace in Angola."

On the home front, Transvaal party leader F W de Klerk, re-elected for the seventh time, declared advanced stages of battle with CP leader Andries Treurnicht over the 150th celebration of the Great Trek. De Klerk's statement fol-

● To Page 2

# Nationalists go on the warpath

● From Page 1

lowed Treurnicht's outright rejection of his "final offer" to honour the anniversary as one "volk" — not political foes.

The two Afrikaner factions are squaring up for a "long and protracted" battle in next year's national municipal election campaign, a confident-looking De Klerk indicated.

In attacking the CP's "dated policy of partition", De Klerk said "better people have tried it".

"Giants like Verwoerd and Vorster tried to make it work. If they could not find a solution, neither would the CP," he said.

Referring to a revival of "old divisions", De Klerk cited a Business Day leading article criticising government's decision to attach conditions to university subsidies as "an example of an effort to aggressively create mistrust between English and Afrikaans South Africans".

The Business Day leader accused the minister of being "a cultural alien" and making "a direct assault on the core institutions of English culture".

De Klerk denied making such an assault. "The very essence of what the government is doing is to take reasonable steps to protect that core against a well-planned revolutionary onslaught," he said.

Continuing the battle against the "revolutionary forces", President P W Botha, who delivered a special address on Saturday morning, rejected talks with the ANC. Botha categorically ruled out any form of negotiation with "terrorist leaders".

Using those privileges reserved for NP leaders, Botha quoted from the October issue of the banned ANC mouthpiece, Sechaba, to qualify his stand on the ANC. The quotations were used to illustrate that the ANC was moving closer to communism.

Delegates realise there can be no retreat

# Congress looked at important issues in SA

6/11/87
304A
Star

**By David Braun,**
**Political Correspondent**

PRETORIA — The Transvaal National Party congress at the weekend certainly did not give the image of a party in trouble, recoiling from its setbacks at the May polls.

On the contrary, the two-day conference attended by 950 delegates at the Pretoria City Hall, was the most business-like and best-organised of all the political congresses of any party this year.

It was certainly the one National Party congress where delegates addressed some of the most fundamental issues confronting South Africa.

## Consider plight of blacks

Perhaps the party was making a concerted effort to put its best foot forward following its setbacks in May, when the Conservative Party (CP) picked up every one of its 22 parliamentary seats in the Transvaal (winning none in the other provinces), and came very close to snatching a dozen more.

If the congress was a carefully orchestrated exercise in image-boosting, there was also a definite sense among delegates and leaders that there could be no retreat to the abandoned policies of the past.

Transvaal leader Mr F W de Klerk, re-elected unanimously for a seventh term, set the tone in an incisive speech on Friday night.

"The majority of whites in the May election had taken the first important steps along the road of a new ideal," he said.

"Together, they had accepted the great challenge of the time — the challenge to reach out to the diverse variety of people and population groups within South Africa and across the borders in a spirit of co-operation, good neighbourliness and mutual respect."

Mr De Klerk also delivered an impassioned plea to delegates to consider the plight of ordinary blacks who had to rise exceptionally early and walk through mud to get to their places of work.

Earlier on Friday, Mr De Klerk threw down the gauntlet to the CP by declaring that the municipal elections, scheduled for October 1988, had already started and that the NP was looking forward to taking on the CP.

"We passed the May election test with flying colours. We did come out a bit smaller, but we were purified and more united in will and spirit," he said.

When all was said and done, he added, the CP had become the official Opposition with only a handful of seats and in more than half of these it had a majority of less than 1 000 votes.

Discussions at the congress ranged over the spectrum of political and socio-economic issues, with delegates making standard points with regard to crime, cost of living, taxation, pensioners, road safety and the problems of farmers.

Two debates, though, are particularly worth highlighting.

The first was on a resolution which called on the Government to give consideration to the establishment of open areas and to establish certainty, as soon as possible, with regard to the application of the Group Areas Act to people of colour residing in white residential areas.

An element of the old white fears ran through the debate, with one delegate from Westdene complaining of the influx of people of colour into his area so that one could see "five to 10 coloured children sitting around like finches on a fence".

Another complained that once Indians were allowed into an area "you can never get them out".

However, some of the MPs took an opposing view, notably Dr Johan Vilonel, MP for Langlaagte, who called for the scrapping of the Group Areas Act and for the party to start implementing the mandate of power-sharing and better relations that it had asked for.

A small group of MPs, it emerged, are behind a scheme to open officially, already integrated suburbs, but with the proviso that health and spatial regulations be strictly enforced.

The second debate centred on the need to expand formal and informal communications between all population groups, with a view to developing goodwill and new attitudes.

## Communication vital

One delegate called for the Government to include the local National Party in negotiations at regional and constituency levels in areas represented by the Conservative Party so that black South Africans, particularly in rural areas, could get a different perception of the Afrikaner and the white man.

Another bemoaned the fact that a white school could object to a black pupil running on an athletics track when black school choirs should be encouraged to sing at white schools and white children encouraged to give concerts at black schools.

Mrs Anne Routier of Bryanston said effective communication was vital, which meant each group had to know each other's needs.

# Nats launch 'hearts and minds' campaign

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

The fight is on for the hearts and minds of young voters in the Transvaal as the National Party launches a massive drive aimed at this crucial section of the electorate.

The "Shape the Future" campaign has just been launched in Pretoria.

The highlight of the programme for 1988 will be a mass gathering of the NP's Youth Action wing at a holiday resort near Naboomspruit next March 25 to 27.

A total of 750 delegates are expected, although the resort can accommodate thousands of campers.

An appeal was made at the Transvaal NP congress at the weekend to encourage as many people as possible to attend.

According to Transvaal NP Youth leader Mr Deon Swanepoel the gathering will be attended by the State President, Mr P W Botha, while Transvaal NP leader Mr F W de Klerk and other Ministers and Deputy Ministers will take part in the discussions.

## FUTURE VISION

It is planned to break the gathering into a number of smaller groups to discuss how the youth sees the future of South Africa.

These views will then be collated and reported to Mr Botha who will reply.

Mr Swanepoel said the March gathering would be followed by a series of regional meetings throughout the Transvaal between March and August. These would involve Ministers, Deputy Ministers and black speakers.

The year's proceedings will end with the annual Youth Congress from August 26 to 28.

(304)



The general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, the Rev FRANK CHIKANE (right), made a fleeting visit to Port Elizabeth yesterday to meet Mr GOVAN MBEKI, the ANC leader who was recently released after spending 23 years on Robben Island. Picture: Elijah Jokazi

# APARTHEID 'IS TARGET OF STRUGGLE'

By KIN BENTLEY

**THE question of whether one is a Marxist or not does not arise in the struggle for a just society in South Africa, the head of the SA Council of Churches, the Reverend Frank Chikane, said yesterday.**

In Port Elizabeth to meet the recently-released African National Congress leader, Mr Govan Mbeki, Mr Chikane, who is general secretary of the SACC, said: "The situation in South Africa is that we are in a struggle for a just society."

He said within that struggle "the question of whether you are a Marxist or not does not arise at all. What concerns us is the unjust system of apartheid."

Asked if he did not feel there was a contradiction in the fact that the church was looking after Mr Mbeki, who is a Marxist, Mr Chikane, 37, said all those committed to the "just struggle" were "part and parcel of the liberation struggle".

He added that he was also concerned about the Government which was "subverting the very concepts of democracy".

Yesterday, Mr Chikane, who this week returned from a four-week overseas trip, met Mr Mbeki and members of the interdenominational ministers' fraternal, Idamasa, at the Anglican diocesan office in Newton Park, for about half an hour. Mr Chikane then left with them for an undisclosed destination in the townships.

Mr Chikane said it was part of his "pastoral responsibility" to ensure the needs of Mr Mbeki, as an ex-political prioner, were fully met, although he was sure this was being done by the SACC regional office.

He had not met Mr Mbeki when Mr Mbeki was in Johannesburg shortly after his release on November 5 because he had been overseas. On his return he had felt it was "the first thing I should do".

● A statement on his overseas visit made to Sapa by Mr Chikane's office said Mr Chikane met church partners of the SACC and shared with them the "crises faced in the country and how this affects the SACC's ministry as a church".

Among the cities he visited were Brussels where he met representatives of the European Economic Community.

In Geneva he had talks with officials of the World Council of Churches and participated in an ecumenical meeting attended by representatives in European countries. He also visited SACC church partners in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, West Germany, UK and the US.

In the US he was honoured by the African American Institute for the work done for peace and justice in South Africa. They gave him an annual award called the "Star Crystal Award", a prestigious prize given to distinguished people.

Mr Chikane also had meetings with the Secretary General of the United Nations and had the opportunity of discussing the Angolan war with the Angolan Foreign Minister.

Argus 18/11/87

CITY

# Apartheid in business must go — industrialist

By MAGGIE ROWLEY, Finance Staff

A GIANT business pressure group uniting commerce and industry and open to all has been proposed by Mr O von G Scholtz, outgoing president of the Cape Chamber of Industries.

This would mean the merging of the giant Association of Chambers of Commerce (Assocom) with the chambers of industries and other groupings in industry and commerce.

At the annual general meeting of the CCI last night, Mr von Scholtz said apartheid in business must end.



Mr von Scholtz

"I do not accept the grounds for divisions between organisations representing commerce and industry or within organisations representing industry. The very few areas where interests clash could easily be overcome.

"Separation is being maintained by the usual human fear of change, wrapped in a wide variety of mainly spurious reasons."

He proposed the formation of a new national business organisation "which allows for the sharing of services and costs of the best professionals, open to participation by all organisations representing business, and speaking with one voice".

Turning to inflation he said it was causing serious damage to the economy and urgent and positive action was required.

"Our inflation is so much higher than that of our main trading partners that our advantages in exports are constantly being eroded. This will continue unless the rand falls even further which, if we go on managing the economy as we do now, it no doubt will."

He warned that the measures that had to be taken to fight inflation might cause higher unemployment.

The government had to formulate a clear and consistent policy to reduce inflation as near as possible to the levels of South Africa's trading partners.



Mr Getz

A strategy should be determined in co-operation with business. The means by which the government sought to lower inflation should be published and progress should be measured against set objectives, he said.

"Our current growth is far below the country's potential. It is not a problem which can be solved only by economic policies, but lies in structural factors which inhibit the individual and the economy's ability to respond to oportunities in positive and productive ways."

Certain actions were urgently needed including:

- The lowering of the tax rate.
- The elimination of all unnecessary state expenditure.
- Deregulation and privatisation.
- The eradication of all discriminatory legal restrictions on citizens.

"Inevitably this will enable every individual to achieve their ultimate potential and proper reward for effort, work and expertise, and take their full place in a thriving free market economy," he said.

● Mr Mike Getz has been elected the new CCI president.

# Parties gear up for major SA election

ELSABÉ WESSELS

**A STRATEGIC battle for control of third-tier government is forcing white political parties into the longest and most protracted election campaign in SA's history.**

That was the view expressed by Transvaal NP leader F W de Klerk at the NP congress in Pretoria at the weekend. Calling the poll a "general election — albeit for municipal representatives", De Klerk acknowledged the importance of securing the municipal vote.

De Klerk said Transvaal election results would determine the political future of SA — where the NP will face the toughest CP onslaught.

What stirs both parties is the prospect of majority control of the fledgling RSCs, which impact directly on local affairs.

But behind the tussle for control of these joint decision-making bodies lies a bitter struggle between the NP and the right wing in terms of a mini general election as fore-runner for a possible general election in 1989.

Motivated by determined racial policies, the NP and CP are set to turn the election into a two-way battle to capture majority support in the municipalities in order to direct RSC policy.



● DE KLERK



● MARAIS



● CACHALIA



● MALAN

## Main protaganists

While the NP and CP are the main protaganists for white seats, the PFP, HNP, NRP, NDM and independent ratepayers' associations are entering the fray with equal determination, but considerably less resources.

The NP is unequivocally committed to its latest constitutional structures.

Transvaal NP vice-chairman Abrie Hanekom said the formulation of provincial municipal conferences, which includes a municipal committee under the authority of the party's head council, was already under way.

Transvaal municipal election committee chairman Olaus van Zyl said in Transvaal alone between 1 000 and 1 500 white wards could be contested in 76 parliamentary constituencies, and area committees had come into action.

CP spokesman Willie Snyman said the CP opposed in principle the NP's RSC "power-sharing principle", and regarded the politicisation of local issues to be to its advantage.

He said provincial municipal committees had been appointed and the CP's strategy would suit each province's needs.

While also opposed to RSCs, HNP leader Jaap Marais hoped to strengthen his dwindling party in selected areas.

## PFP vs NDM

The PFP, still reeling from setbacks at the polls and party defections, hopes to regain stature. A working group, under chairmanship of Johannesburg city councillor Tony Leon, has devised a special strategy to be considered by the federal executive on November 21.

The PFP considers the recently formed NDM its major rival for votes, especially in the Transvaal.

NDM leader Wynand Malan said his movement's participation would also be on a selective basis but no "concrete decision" had been taken.

It was uncertain whether defeated Helderberg independent candidate Denis Worrall would be active.

NRP federal secretary Hennie Brink said: "The municipal election will be fought on 'local option', which is the basis of our policy." The NRP was keen to recapture its position, especially in Natal, where it lost several important parliamentary seats to the NP.

## Black participation

UDF spokesman Azhar Cachalia said although the election was a first in allowing municipal voters of all races to go to the polls at the same time, indications at this stage were there would be little support — and possibly another organised poll boycott — in protest against government's "co-optive" structures.

Many black municipalities are already crippled by political conflict and boycotts. In the Eastern Cape alone, 75 local authorities do not function. Civic associations, the UDF and Azapo promise to continue their bitter struggle against racially segregated structures.

Black organisations which are to take part include the recently founded United Municipalities of SA (Umsa). Umsa chairman Tom Boya said: "We don't want government puppets looking after local matters."

The establishment of a non-racial broad front to bring together white, black, coloured and Indian election candidates has been proposed but has not yet materialised.

The politicisation of the election has caused concern — especially in the Cape Town council where party politics have played a minor role — and that party political concerns could take precedence over local government's welfare.

# Poster by-laws may be dropped

ELSBE WESSELS

THE Johannesburg City Council is considering dropping certain by-laws restricting the display of posters in a move which will be welcomed by political parties taking part in next year's municipal elections.

A city council circular said the amendments would allow municipal and parliamentary candidates to put up an unlimited number of posters that need not be stamped at a flat R100 deposit.

Council by-laws do not allow municipal candidates more than 100 and parliamentary candidates more than 200 posters. All posters have to be stamped by the planning department with a R1 deposit on each.

The new proposal would also allow posters to be put up on electricity poles, now prohibited.

The penalty for failing to remove them within the specified time will remain but instead of four days after the election, officials suggested a 10-day removal period.

3074A Bday 18/11/87

# De Beer tipped for top PFP post

ELSABÉ WESSELS

PFP stalwart Zac de Beer is being tipped for national chairman of the party after the defection of Durban Central MP Peter Gastrow to Wynand Malan's NDM.

The party's 60-member federal council meets in Johannesburg on Saturday to appoint Gastrow's successor.

It will also discuss Johannesburg city councillor Tony Leon's proposed strategies for next year's municipal elections.

Leon, who chaired the party's municipal election strategy committee, has addressed each of the provinces on the committee's findings and will make his final presentation on Saturday.

PFP leader Colin Eglin, who was absent at the party's Cape and Natal congresses, will also be present. Eglin is expected to arrive in Johannesburg on Saturday morning after his visit to mainland China. He was accompanied by Houghton MP Helen Suzman, who is now on a lecture tour of the US.

The defections of Gastrow, MP Pierre Cronje and President's Councillor Pieter Schoeman were seen as a major setback for the PFP. The newly elected national chairman will have an important role to play in uniting the party and boosting morale.

De Beer, who chairs the party's finance committee, was seen as the strongest contender for the post. He was one of the founders of the Progressive Party which broke away from the old United Party, and he has twice been elected to Parliament.

The names of Green Point MP Tian van der Merwe, who heads the party's Group Areas Act investigation and monitoring team, former Albany MP Errol Moorcroft and Natal chairman and Pinetown MP Roger Burrows, were also mentioned as potential candidates.

The role of national chairman has traditionally been filled by a sitting MP, but the number of sitting MPs was severely reduced in the May election when the party was ousted by the CP as Official Opposition.

# Paying, but without the money to pay

Argus 19/11/87

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ISSUES

By Hugh Roberton

WHATEVER Piet Clase, the white Education Minister, might lack in perspicacity, he makes up for in candour. It was hardly revealing, but refreshing nevertheless, to hear him tell the Cape congress of the National Party what apartheid was costing South Africa — four education departments, for instance, and the war on the "border" (wherever the "border" might be nowadays).

But Mr Clase was horribly wrong about one thing. He said "we" would pay whatever it cost to have apartheid, because that is what the National Party's supporters wanted. In fact, NP supporters and their wishes notwithstanding, South Africa no longer has the money to pay for apartheid.

Indeed, the limits to South Africa's wealth now lie at the kernel of the crisis facing the country. And nothing illustrates this more lucidly than Mr Clase's own examples — the war on the "border" and education.

When apartheid started building up momentum in the 1950s, the Budget expenditure on social services — including black and white education — was 40 percent of the total. By the time the black population had started responding in earnest to apartheid in 1985, that had dropped to a mere 20 percent of the nation's annual expenditure — the recent annual increases in expenditure on black education included.

What caused this revealing change is not difficult to establish. Over the same period, expenditure on "security" — the police and the SADF — rose from 15 percent to 23 percent of the total. And in the last Budget, the allocation of the Department of Order shot up from R1,7-billion only the year before to R2,23-billion, and the SADF had a whopping 30 percent increase from R5,1-billion to R6,6-billion.

## Euphemistically

Apartheid has brought us to what Mr Clase's colleagues in the security business euphemistically refer to as "a revolutionary climate", but what they have yet to grasp is that "revolutionary climates" are awesomely expensive. In fact they are way beyond South Africa's means.

I am willing to wager that our generals (and the men who front for them in the Cabinet) did not budget for their current excursion into Angola and that like all wars in human history it will prove to be more costly in terms of cold, hard cash than anyone anticipated, and that the money "we" and Mr Clase will be called upon to pay when the next Budget comes round will take some of the shine off the medals.

And I am willing to bet that our current engagement in Angola will be far from the last, or even the most expensive, one.

But over and above the foreign military activities of the generals and strategists, and their deployment in the townships, there has to be a "total strategy" to deal with the "revolutionary onslaught" at home. There is a restive domestic black population which needs to be "uplifted" and simultaneously "protected" from the "onslaught". What will be the price of this?

## Corollary

According to Mike Ridley, executive director of the Urban Foundation, South Africa will need to build 2-million new houses for the black population in the 12 years between now and the end of the century.

The corollary to the theory of the "total strategy" is that if "we" and Mr Clase's party don't build these houses, the "revolutionary climate" will continue. Just to satisfy the existing backlog would cost R12-billion. Who is to pay for this?

According to none other than Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Mr Clase's colleague running black education, an additional 50 000 black teachers will have to be trained and the same number of new classrooms built at black schools by the turn of the century.

Where is the money to come from? Mr Clase and his party insist that apartheid in education will not go. Thus there are 153 000 vacant desks at white schools, but "we" would rather pay an extra R75-million or more, than fill them with black children. White schools are laying off hundreds of teachers and closing down schools and teacher training colleges all over the country.

But, as with housing, instead of the white surplus being used to tackle the black deficit, we have apartheid.

In the 1987/88 Budget, as Mr Harry Schwarz pointed out in Parliament, R2,8-billion rand was given in direct and indirect aid to the four "independent" homelands, and in addition the Government guaranteed loans to them of R1,3-billion. "We" and Mr Clase have little control over the expenditure of this money and I defy any Government spokesman to spell out how this money is to be retrieved.

According to Professor Nic Olivier, even if the South African economy were to have an annual growth rate of 3 percent between now and the year 2 000 — and few believe that is likely without significant foreign capital — there still would be between 7-million and 9-million people unemployed. "And that is revolutionary material," notes the professor.

## Intrepid

But scrapping apartheid to allow foreign capital to flow back into the economy will not take place because, says Mr Clase, he and his party are willing to pay the price.

Professor Mike Savage, head of the Sociology department at UCT, is one of the very few intrepid souls to have undertaken a nuts-and-bolts study of the costs of apartheid. He estimates that R3,9-billion was needed last year alone just to finance and secure apartheid. That comes to some 12 cents in every rand paid in taxes just to keep the system in place.

But, though it might be a sacrifice, "we" will pay for it all. Or so our rulers, to whom arithmetic, balance sheets and cash registers appear to be dark and suspect mysteries, apparently believe.

The National Democratic Movement has come under attack from most groups within the tricameral parliamentary system. The responses outside Parliament have ranged from "cautious" to "encouraging", with many regarding the formation of the organisation as a tricky issue.

In a recent SOUTH Forum, community leader JOHNNY ISSEL gave reasons why the NDM should be courted. NDM leader WYNAND MALAN and UWC Economics lecturer JACK LEWIS respond.

# Bridging the gap

By WYNAND MALAN

AGAINST the bleak background of this year's white election results, the Government's steady propaganda attacks and the ever growing conflict in our society, the SOUTH Forum debate clearly reflects some of the signs of hope left in South African politics today.

I say this not because the debate concerns the NDM, but because it so clearly demonstrates a reassessing of strategies, a more conciliatory attitude and a greater willingness to listen and to learn from each other.

The NDM, in fact, now offers a political home to a growing number of people who reject apartheid in their recognition and acceptance of the interdependence and common destiny of all South Africans.

We have been greatly encouraged by the positive and realistic spirit of the debate in SOUTH, and especially by the contributions of UDF members like Anton Kruger and Johnny Issel. We in the NDM accept that there are the inevitable differences between our organisations — but we also recognise that we have much in common.

## Confusion

Like the UDF, we reject apartheid and accept that all South Africans are entitled to recognised human rights, dignity and individual freedom. During my 10 years in politics I have seen the systematic eroding of our civil rights — the increasing restrictions on our freedom of movement, on what one is allowed to do or to say, on meetings, on the press and the free flow of information.

At the same time we share with the UDF the desire for a more equitable distribution of the country's wealth and resources. The differences in our approach to this problem is something we should discuss and debate. We would like to stress however, that the NDM firmly believes that the apartheid-inspired regulation of the economy, which denies the majority of South Africans entry to the economy, should be done away with. We also realise that there is still some confusion on our stand on security issues.

We reject violence as a political instrument. We regard the lifting of the State of Emergency as a matter of great urgency, being a pre-requisite for reconciliation and negotiation, as well as for peace and economic prosperity.

We cannot support the current security legislation and the way it is arbitrarily used to remove the Government's enemies from the political battlefield, without giving them any recourse to the courts. However, the reality is that we live in a diverse and difficult society where circumstances will inevitably arise which may necessitate the State to use special powers — for example against the enemies of freedom. Even with a change of government, these circumstance will prevail.

We believe, however, that such powers should only be available for a limited fixed period, with the closest possible adherence to the principles of the rule of law and the due process of law. It should, in particular, be



Wynand Malan

subjected to monitoring and control by an independent judiciary to prevent abuse, hardship and the intensification of confrontation.

In our efforts to break the political deadlock in South Africa, the NDM fully rejected and opposed the policies of the National Party and the Government implementing these policies. However, while we are striving towards a democratic South Africa with full political participation for all, we also believe that this ideal can only be realised through negotiations with parties across the entire political spectrum, including the National Party.

We reject all forms of extremism and exclusive thinking. Where we dedicate ourselves to the fundamental reconstruction of South African society into a single nation in an undivided approach of those parties and organisations who want all South Africans to think the way they do and to force them into the confines of their pre-planned political models and structures only by addressing the politics of this country, and through a process of basic reconciliation of all the people.

The NDM emphatically rejects the myth that our politics can be practised on the different sides of a divide — in Parliament and in extra-parliamentary politics. We regard these as one whole, and we are as fully part of extra-parliamentary politics as we are part of parliamentary politics.

In fact, the NDM, its members and its supporters will actively and and practically involve ourselves in a process of reconciliation between South Africans at the grassroots level. Democracy, after all, is not an activity in itself, it can only work if people are part of it. For that reason we are encouraged by the signs of open-mindedness and the conciliatory approach of an organisation such as the UDF. Only by talking to each other — from leadership level to grassroots — can we learn to understand each other's fears and aspirations.

The Government is inherently incapable of starting the process of reconciliation and incapable of starting the process of reconciliation and negotiation. We need not wait for them — we must do it ourselves. That's why we should actively use our different networks to talk to each other.

## Fruitful

The NDM has had discussions at various levels with members, supporters and affiliates of the UDF, which were very fruitful. From our part we will make sure that these talks continue, because by talking and listening to each other we can learn to work together on joint projects and strategies. We would welcome similar initiatives from members and supporters of the UDF and other organisations across the political spectrum.

With this pragmatic, long-term approach we sincerely believe that we can bridge and unite the senseless divides in our society, reconcile our differences and establish in this troubled land a true democracy that will ensure the safety and freedom of all South Africans.

*(Malan is an Independent MP and leader of the National Democratic Movement)*

TRANSVAAL NP CONGRESS

# Lost horizon

**The Transvaal Nationalist Congress set the seal on a tired political season. In public, NP leaders have little to say about fresh directions or initiatives. Despite this, there is a reformist groundswell which is growing increasingly articulate and disaffected.**

A hunter meets a bear who tells him: "It's better to talk than to shoot." So they talk. The bear wants a full stomach and the hunter a fur coat. In the end the bear walks away, his stomach full and the hunter with a fur coat around him.

This little fable was told to the Transvaal National Party Congress last weekend by President P W Botha. He doubtless had such matters as the total onslaught on his mind — but it also shows his obduracy when it comes to negotiating the limits of reform. It is the reformists who have been eaten.

Botha responded with the tale after an urgent call by young Nationalists for their party to set up a network of informal discussions with blacks. However, Pretoria youth leader Conrad le Roux had made a fatal mistake by admitting that he and his fellow Nats had *already* talked to radical black youths — and that tripped Botha up.

Nonetheless, the hidden agenda at the congress was that — with only a few exceptions — Transvaal Nats wanted to hear the reformist message; they were virtually crying out for it. Having survived a rightwing onslaught in their province — an assault unsurpassed in South African history — and still battle-scarred, it seems that they, or at least their delegates, have been purged by the loss of 22 constituencies to the Conservatives. They wanted direction; they got homilies.

How else can one explain Langlaagte MP Johan Vilonel urging Pretoria to continue with its reform programme or admit that it has failed the mandate received in the May election? "A white man who is afraid (of losing his identity) is not a man anymore," Vilonel said, brushing away that most ancient of NP shibboleths, group identity.

It was also Vilonel, together with Jeppe MP Hennie Bekker (both representing blue-collar voters), who accepted the realities of open residential areas in their constituencies: "It will never be white again." This week mooted legislation to formalise the position of blacks in such suburbs as Hillbrow, Mayfair, Doornfontein and Joubert Park came under attack by the Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging, so the MPs know what they are up against on the ground. A few words of encouragement from above would have smoothed matters considerably — but instead there was blandness and uncertainty.

By far the biggest applause went to tough-talking Innesdal MP Albert Nothnagel for his sustained attack on the rightwing hijacking of school councils and Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) activities among certain teachers of the Transvaalse Onderwysdepartement (TOD). Nothnagel pleaded with Education (White Affairs) Minister Piet Clase to institute a full-scale investigation into the matter. He — along with Vilonel, Le Roux and the other Nat loyalists cum reformers — got shot down.

Botha warned against thinking in a *soetsappige* (wishy-washy) manner, believing that things in SA can only be changed by negotiations and conciliatory gestures. The bear allegory was very much to the fore.

Clase's arguments on the AWB meddling were weak in the extreme; he ignored Nothnagel's pleas and the subsequent applause with which they were received by the delegates. While admitting that something is rotten in some Afrikaans schools, he nevertheless vowed never to "hang my teachers" in public. So much for public responsibility — what about the parents and pupils?

Listening to Clase's noble defence of "his" teachers, some recalled a similar stance by the minister two years ago when he defended the actions of an industrial school principal. (The same principal was later transferred after a magistrate in a case involving a runaway child castigated him for his behaviour.)

So, all in all, the congress was yet another lost opportunity for Botha This has been his pattern this year. At the Cape Congress he devoted his speech almost entirely to lambasting the *linkse Engelse pers.* Only once did he vaguely nudge in the direction of foe number one: the Conservative Party.

For the rest, the African leader of a First World country — or so Nats like to claim — interrupted his tirade only to scold a photographer who dared take his picture at what Botha regarded as an inappropriate point. Imagine George Bush or even Botha's heroine Margaret Thatcher resorting to such ridiculous actions.

Botha says he will resign when



**President Botha ... scant direction for reformer**



medical advice tells him he is unfit to continue. Physically he looks fit, although his outbursts against photographers might invite some comment on the psychological state of an angry old man.

Far worse is his inability to grasp with both hands the opportunity to lead given to him by the Transvaal congress. Perhaps he has forgotten how to lead?

The NP finds itself in a serious predicament. It must be asked: has the rightwing shocked the party into paralysis, continually contending with the uncertainty of further fragmentation? Transvaal leader F W de Klerk, a serious contender for Botha's position (*Leaders* September 25) let in a little light when he tore into Andries Treurnicht and the Conservatives. Unfortunately De Klerk — party man that he is — is displaying little more at the moment than an ability to walk the Nat tightrope — playing to the gallery and the State President alike, neglecting clear and forceful directions on specific issues.

He was undoubtedly sincere when he spoke of poverty among blacks, their poor educational facilities and the absolute need to infuse them with hope for the future. But a betting man will wager that De Klerk's elaboration of Nat policy will not appease black hopes for redress.



**F W de Klerk (Pik Botha: rt) ... grassroots concern ignored**

The emphasis is still firmly on group security, and self-determination within an own political power base — old clichés. On the other side, says De Klerk, there is everyone's right to share in opportunities, and the acceptance of each one's right to participation in the democratic decision-making process. Fair enough ... but a trifle academic right now.

Minorities will be protected and the NP is not prepared to submit its people to domination by others, De Klerk said.

But take the argument a little further. If it is accepted that the Zulus are the biggest minority group in the country, does that put Mangosuthu Buthelezi in line as a potential president? Not according to De Klerk's theory of equal power-sharing for all; it doesn't mean that at all.

It was De Klerk, barely two years ago, who convinced P W Botha to repudiate colleague Pik Botha publicly when the Foreign Minister answered a hypothetical question to that effect in a positive way.

De Klerk said he is tempted to believe that some newspapers (guess who?) will interpret his stance as a stumbling block to negotiation and real reform (his words). We have to believe the opposite — that is what he intends us to believe.

Intelligent men will say: forget the newspapers, go straight to Buthelezi.

The Transvaal congress shows the NP at its wearisome worst: how much longer will things go on in this way? Until P W Botha retires? Certainly. Beyond that? Let's hope not.

# Rival treks on collision course as the 'broedertwis' deepens

**ELSABÉ WESSELS**

THE 1938 centenary of the Great Trek gave rise to an extremist Afrikaner nationalism and the right-wing militarist Ossewa Brandwag movement. Fifty years later the leaders of a white racist renaissance among Afrikaners hope to hijack the 150th anniversary of the historic trek to further their own streamlined form of right-wing extremism.

Competing for the heart of the Afrikaner are the ruling National Party and its officially appointed commemorative organ the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (FAK) on the one hand, and a right-wing triumvirate of Carel Boshoff's Afrikaner Volkswag (AV), Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party (CP) and Eugene Terre'blanche's Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB).

Boshoff this week accused the National Party and the FAK of "standing astride the future of the Afrikaner". The AV's motto for the historic rerun — "op pad na ons eie (moving towards our own)" — adequately sums up its sentiments.

In a last effort at reconciliation between the rivals, Transvaal National Party leader F W de Klerk at the weekend invited Treurnicht to declare a truce for the sake of Afrikaner cultural unity. Treurnicht's rejection was a slap in the face for De Klerk, who responded by calling Treurnicht a "faction-leader".

The deepening *broedertwis* should not come as a surprise. In 1938 the then Official Opposition under Purified National Party leader D F Malan manipulated the symbolic centenary trek to strengthen the call for Afrikaner nationalism. In 1988 SA will see a new breakaway white right wing mustering support for its updated brand of "volks" nationalism.

The emotive 1938 celebration not only bolstered Afrikaners nationalism. It drew support for Malan's NP, which captured power 10 years later.



Faced with the burning issue of the "non-white question" — and a desire to unite Boer and Brit — Prime Minister J B M Hertzog regarded the Great Trek revival as an act of division.

Fifty years later political differences between a "reformist" National Party government and a rising conservative Afrikaner opposition reflect the same divisions.

The FAK has won the first round by securing Pretoria's Voortrekker Monument for its December 16 celebration of the Great Trek anniversary.

Although the right-wing triumvirate of Treurnicht, Boshoff and Terre'blache will have to settle for second best, its control of the Blood River site on October 10 and the proposed creation of 13 symbolic ox-wagon treks have raised right-wing fervour.

Coinciding with the first politicised municipal election next year, the commemoration of the trek sets the scene for acrimonious Afrikaner division.

CAPE TIMES 20/11/87

# White group's Mayfair threat

**Own Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG. — The Blanke Bevrydingsbeweging (White Liberation Movement) leader, Professor Johan Schabort, has threatened to evict "illegal" residents of Mayfair if the government failed to enforce the Group Areas Act there by January 31.

A Ministry of Law and Order spokesman, Brigadier Leon Mellet, said yesterday that the Minister, Mr Adriaan Vlok, had "taken note of the provocative statements" made at a meeting on Wednesday in Boksburg.

NATIONAL SYMBOLS

# Flagging loyalties

**Following** the recent investigation into SA's public holidays, the wider question of national symbols may soon be on the agenda.

This follows the publication of a Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) newsletter, in which the limited sectarian appeal of various national symbols, such as the flag and the national anthem, is pointed out. The report suggests "all-embracing national symbols should receive urgent attention."

The problem is, of course, how to foster common loyalty to a State that insists on maintaining *de jure* "group" or ethnic categories which, moreover, are treated differently.

Government reaction has so far been muted. At the National Party's Cape Congress, National Education Minister F W de Klerk disclaimed any government involvement in this matter — not surprising, given its political sensitivity, especially on the Right.

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche no doubt reflected the sentiments of many of his tribe when he described the HSRC newsletter as "trash." CP leader Andries Treurnicht concedes that the present flag is "divisive," but goes on to say: "If you try to bridge the divisions you will move into non-racialism, and disregard the reality of the various national groups."

Azapo's Imran Moosa probably captures the sentiment of Left and liberal opposition groups: "Symbols are not important; fundamental change is."

One of the compilers of the HSRC newsletter, Hendrik Marais, was very cautious about its intentions: "Sometime in future it might become a point on the agenda." This was in recognition of the fact that symbols are very "connotatively loaded" and "emotionally based," thus ensuring that any moves at reform would have to be cautious and pragmatic.

Marais said it was a moot point which came first — general loyalty to national symbols, or the symbols themselves. He added that the search for national symbols with which all "national groups" could identify does not mean a disregard for group or ethnic symbols. ■

# SADF invasion slammed

**THE Reverend Frank Chikane, the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, has condemned the involvement of the South African Defence Force in Angola.**

At a Press conference in Johannesburg on Wednesday, he called the invasion in

**SOWETAN Reporter**

south-east Angola by the SADF a "blatant act aimed at ensuring the protection of apartheid."

Mr Chikane has just returned from visiting London, Belgium, West Germany and other countries, including Angola.

Mr Chikane said the invasion by the South African troops, with the help of the United States Government, had forced the Angolan Government, the MPLA, to seek support of the Cuban soldiers.

"As long as the South African Government continues to occupy Angolan territory with the support of the USA, the government of Angola will have no option but to continue its request for the provision of Cuban troops as protection against these foreign invaders," Mr Chikane said.

Mr Chikane also appealed to the SADF to pull out of Namibia and allow people there to elect their own government.

● So far, 21 South African soldiers have died in the recent fighting in Angola.



REV Chikane, general secretary of the SACC.

ELIZABETH TV-AM started the day by replaying ing to her gr

# Rhoodie to base book on Smit killings

CPT Times 21/11/87

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By CHRIS STEYN

TEN YEARS after the murder of Robert and Jeanne-Cora Smit, their killers are still at large, and police say they have not made any progress with their investigation.

General Stan Schutte, chief of the Detective Branch of the South African Police, told the Cape Times yesterday that the case was still receiving "continuous attention".

Former Information Secretary Dr Eschel Rhoodie is writing a novel, called "The Courier", which deals extensively with the Smit killings, and in which he will claim that Dr Smit was killed because he had uncovered a plan to finance a South African government-in-exile with a R6-billion slush fund in Switzerland.

## Foreign assassins

Speaking from Atlanta, Georgia, yesterday, Dr Rhoodie said the actual murder, the hired foreign assassins and the reasons why no clues were ever discovered were dealt with "on a factual basis" in the novel.

"The fund itself is also dealt with in detail, based on my knowledge of how secret funds operate in South Africa," Dr Rhoodie said.

Dr Rhoodie's novel will corroborate the popular theory that Dr Smit — the National Party candidate for Springs — was about to expose massive currency-control contraventions.

This was also supported soon after the murders by Dr Smit's close confidante, Mrs Emmarentia Liebenberg, who said that five weeks before Dr Smit's death, he had approached a senior cabinet minister about a matter which would "rock the nation".

This theory has been supported by the victim's son, Mr Robert van Schalkwijk Smit Jnr, who said in an interview in 1985: "I am convinced that the murder was the work of our own people — and money had everything to do with it."

## Shock disclosures

"It was expected that my father would make shock disclosures directly after the general election on November 30."

This theory emerged again when — in October this year — Dr Smit's brother, Iaan, claimed he knew the identity of assassins hired abroad and paid by South Africans.

His claims were, however, discounted this week by the chief of the East Rand Murder and Robbery Squad, Captain Jack le Grange.

"As soon as we heard about the information he had, we travelled to Clocolan (in the Free State) to interview him. But he does not know who the killers were," Captain Le Grange said.

Dr Smit and his wife were murdered in their rented home in Springs on the evening of November 22, 1977. They were both shot at point-blank range in the back of their heads and then repeatedly stabbed.

## Battle lines drawn as Nats and CP woo Afrikanerdom

# Dr NO GUNS FOR Mr YES

# Supergran!




By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

**TWO tough, ambitious leaders are shaping up for a grim, do-or-die battle for the political leadership of Afrikanerdom.**

The Transvaal leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, and the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, have emerged as the central figures in a bitter struggle for dominance in the populous northern provinces.

Mr de Klerk, campaigning to get whites to say Yes to political change, is the reformist standard-bearer; Dr Treurnicht, widely dubbed the Dr No of South African politics, seeks to lead whites, especially Afrikaners, back into the old Verwoerdian laager.

The battle will come to a head next year in the municipal elections and during a series of historic festivities.

And on the outcome of the battle will depend what further progress President P W Botha's administration will be able to make in moving away from apartheid.

This week the intensity of the dispute became apparent when:

- Details became known of the exchanges between Mr de Klerk and Dr Treurnicht aimed at averting a major clash over next year's Great Trek festivities.
- All political parties confirmed that seizure of office in the October municipal elections will be a vital objective — and the Conservative Party has for months been working at consolidating its power at local level.

### Decisive

- More reports of jockeying among various camps within the National Party

# Sundowner and out!

## LOCKE QUITS AND SHOW GETS THE AXE



By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

**TWO tough, ambitious leaders are shaping up for a grim, do-or-die battle for the political leadership of Afrikanerdom.**

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## Decisive

- More reports of jockeying among various camps within the National Party to advance the interests of the Cabinet Minister they believe should succeed President Botha when he steps down.

The intensity of the conflict between the NP and rightwing parties has shaken even veteran politicians.

Both sides believe that the municipal elections and the 150th anniversary of the Great Trek next year will be decisive in deciding who eventually emerges to lead the majority of Afrikaners — politically and symbolically.

The inevitability of such a battle was cast this week when the possibility of compromise was swept aside and the two contestants adopted their battle postures.

Mr de Klerk challenged Dr Treurnicht to "exercise his leadership" and effect a reconciliation between the two groups organising separate Trek commemorations — the "official" one sponsored by the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings and a "rebel" one organised by the rightwing Afrikaner Volkswag.

Dr Treurnicht's response was a brusque rejection which went on to accuse Mr de Klerk's Nationalists of betraying the Afrikaner's striving for a separate fatherland symbolised in the Great Trek.

South Africa is thus committed to the spectacle of two symbolic Treks culminating in two climactic ceremonies at the Voortrekker Monument.

Critical to both sides will be the support they draw — and both camps are already admitting that the fierce rivalry could severely damage the dignity of the occasion.

The Government has donated R430 000 to the "official" Trek, organised by the

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# New moves to rally Left

## S AFRICA CAN LEARN FROM RED CHINA, SAYS COLIN EGLIN

SOUTH AFRICA has many lessons to learn from the People's Republic of China's development in the fields of housing, rural development, population control — and charm.

This conclusion was reached by Progressive Federal Party leader Colin Eglin, who returned from a three-week Far East tour yesterday morning and gave his impressions at a Press conference at Jan Smuts Airport.

"One thing that would be difficult to transfer (to South Africa) is the self-discipline and work ethic," Mr Eglin said.

Accompanied by Mrs Helen Suzman MP and PFP official Mr James Self, Mr Eglin's trip to China was the culmination of an approach he made to a Chinese Embassy two years ago. An invitation for the party was received from the Chinese Association for International Understanding last year.

"I had a feeling of *deja vu* in China," said Mr Eglin. "Beijing (Peking) is a bit like Pretoria."

Not only did he find the Chinese capital's wide streets familiar, but also the talk was of reform which — albeit in translation — echoed South African phraseology.

"The Chinese view is: Each country has its own problems and must find its own solutions," said Mr Eglin.

### Parallel

He found himself confronted with "a strange, parallel situation" between China and South Africa. Each country has First and Third World elements with a heterogeneous population.

Acknowledging that his short stay in a country 10 times the size of SA made his knowledge of it superficial, Mr Eglin said he had been surprised at the level of economic activity, the tremendous amount of construction work, particularly of homes and hotels, the relaxed manner of the people and the absence of visible evidence of State control.

He saw no armed authorities and the only policemen he saw were a few controlling traffic.

He was charmed by the Chinese themselves. Gone is the uniform bleakness of the Cultural Revolution.

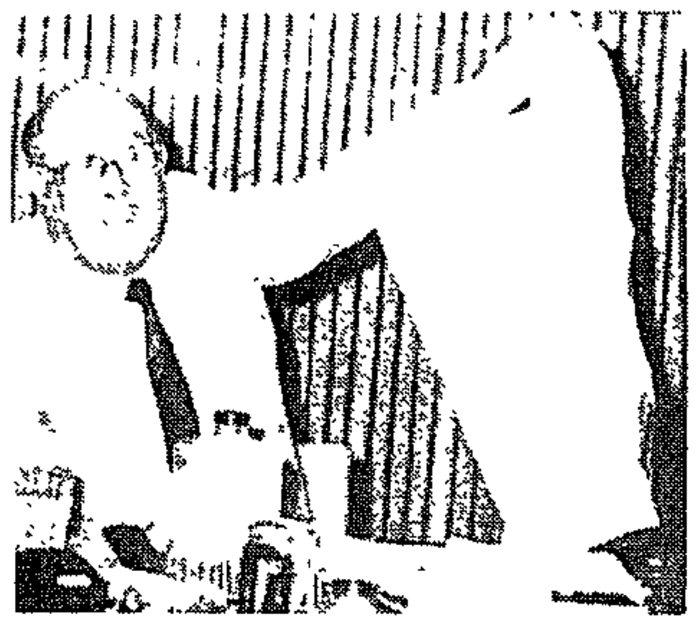
The party met Mr Ji Peng Fei, vice-chairman of the standing committee of the National People's Congress and a former Foreign Minister, and also spoke to students and African studies researchers.

### Future

China was an inward-looking society which — while making no bones about being anti-apartheid and its support of anti-apartheid groups — had no philosophy of expansionism, unlike the Soviet Union.

Chinese reform takes three forms: opening up to the outside world, with R40-billion invested in joint ventures by Japan, Hong Kong, the US and West Germany; the construction of an industrial base to the economy, with 70-million jobs created in the last eight years; and streamlining of bureaucracy and separation of party and political functions.

By CAS St LEGER



"I presume you know where China is!" — Eglin to the uninformed at Jan Smuts



Colin Eglin and Ken Andrew . . . back from a *deja vu* visit to China. Picture: ROB EDGECOMB

## Splintered opposition agonises over unity

304A

S Times 22/11/87

NEW moves to create a rallying point for the splintered opposition to the left of the Government are gaining strength.

The main players are the Progressive Federal Party and Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Movement, the rump that Mr Wynand Malan left when he recently launched his National Democratic Movement — without Dr Worrall.

Attention is focused on this weekend's meeting of the PFP's federal council in Johannesburg, and a meeting to be addressed by Dr Worrall and his Helderberg constituency chairman, Mr Jannie Momberg, in Fish Hoek tomorrow night.

One of the main tasks of the PFP meeting is to elect a new national chairman. The position was vacated when Durban Central MP Mr Peter Gastrow left six weeks ago to join Mr Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement.

But a group of senior PFP members are expected to push for a wider discussion on where the opposition left of the Government stands and what the party's attitude should be towards Dr Worrall.

### 'Fraud'

If this happens, the matter could be taken further at Dr Worrall's meeting tomorrow.

Mr Momberg said yesterday there had been recent discussions with top PFP members and leaders of the New Republic Party. Dr Worrall had also met Labour Party leader Rev Allan Hendrickse several times.

"But it won't help getting the English voters back if we don't accommodate the '24 percent factor' — National Party voters who are disenchanted with their leadership," said Mr Momberg.

"There is still an intense need for a home for the Afrikaner who perhaps still supports the NP but says: 'We must get things going. We must abolish apartheid'."

Mr Momberg said NP-led reform was "a fraud".

"You must break down the old house before you can build a new one in its place."

Should the moves to greater unity bear fruit, Mr Momberg said, approaches would be made to Mr Malan's group.

A powerful incentive to unity among opposition groups is a serious drying up of funding sources.

Dismayed donors have adopted a "pox on all your houses" attitude.

Meanwhile, speculation is still open as to who will be elected today to the national chairman's job, an important step towards the party leadership post.

In a surprise move, it was learnt that Mrs Helen Suzman was available for election.

However, many party members feel that her status is so great that an executive post in the party would be superfluous.

Others feel she would have a powerful binding effect.

Candidates also in the running are Cape leader Mr Roger Hulley, chairman of the federal executive Mr Ken Andrew, and Green Point MP Mr Tian van der Merwe.

Most intrigue centres on Anglo American director and former Progressive Party MP Mr Zac de Beer — in spite of his public and private insistence that he would move into the leadership only "in an emergency".

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

### Review

In a noteworthy decision, the PFP's constitutional committee under the chairmanship of Professor Nic Olivier was mandated yesterday to review the party's constitutional policy

The committee will circulate documents among members, consult experts, and report to the party's federal congress in the second half of next year.

Spokesman Mr James Selfe said the decision to review flowed from the PFP federal congress last year in which divergent views on its constitutional policy were put forward.

The review involves mechanisms, such as the controversial role of a minority veto, that make up the party's view of an acceptable system of government for t[illegible]

Cape Times 23/4/87
30 K/F

# Helen Suzman elected to key PFP post

**Own Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG. — PFP stalwart Mrs Helen Suzman was elected unopposed as national chairman of the party in a surprise move at the PFP federal council meeting here yesterday.

It was learnt only at a late stage that she was available for election.

She is away in the US and could not be present for the vote.

Anglo American director and former MP Mr Zac de Beer had earlier been tipped for the post, while speculation had also centered on federal executive chairman Mr Ken Andrew, Cape leader Mr Roger Hulley and MP Tian van der Merwe.

The previous national chairman was MP Peter Gastrow, who defected to the newly formed National Democratic Movement.

## Retirement

The move into a senior party post comes late in Mrs Suzman's long and tough political career, at a time when there were indications she might be edging towards retiring from Parliament.

Mr Andrew said the party was very pleased to have somebody of Mrs Suzman's stature to step into the position. He said the fact she had made herself available now was an indication she was not planning to get out of politics.

Mrs Suzman could not be contacted in Washington for comment at the time of going to press.

# Politics adds to far north farmers' troubles

24/4/87




Farmers, battling with the ravages of the drought, discuss the future.



Death of the land . . . 'it takes a lifetime for the veld to recover from a drought,' says Mr Herman van Niekerk, marketing manager of the Northern Transvaal Co-operative.

Drought, bureaucracy and political intrigue are slowly sapping the vitality of the far northern Transvaal platteland.

Farmers beyond the Soutpansberg, battling to survive the ravages of the drought of the past eight years, say government efforts to stabilise the security-sensitive area are not co-ordinated and are often sabotaged by party political interests.

## Party affiliations

Since the Conservative Party (CP) gained a foothold in the northern Transvaal, many traditional leaders in farming communities find their appointments to agricultural committees vetoed because of their political convictions.

Mr Dries Bruwer, president of the Transvaal Agricultural Union (TAU), said: "In spite of government assurances that the recommendations of organised agriculture will prevail when statutory bodies are appointed, it is clear that party affiliations carry the day when bodies such as Land Bank credit committees are appointed."

This means that National Party (NP) supporters are often appointed to key committees, while they are not equipped for the tasks they face, Mr Bruwer said.

"In an area faced with so many other problems, we need the best man for the job. We need to exercise farmer's politics not party politics."

Some prominent CP supporters, who serve on several committees and who cannot be axed because of their high visibility, claim NP politicians exert pressure on them to "get their political thinking in order".

## 'Yes' to Right Wing

A farmers' association executive member near Messina was recently told his invitation to a ministerial meeting had been withdrawn because he was a right-wing supporter.

Agricultural matters were discussed at the meeting.

In an ironic twist to NP intrigues, party supporters are increasingly in favour of right-wing representation on agricultural bodies.

CP supporters are seen to be unafraid of confronting the Government on sensitive issues, while Nats have to toe the party line, Mr Bruwer said.

He said allegations of CP supporters not receiving State aid under the various aid schemes were probably unfounded.

Farmers in the region feel strongly that the Government must tighten up its agricultural act. They claim that the lack of an overall agricultural policy and a lack of co-ordination among State departments shipwreck the stabilisation of the border areas. The resettlement of farmers on border farms is seen as a major fiasco.

Mr Hardus Stenekamp who farms near Ellisras said the State spent millions to settle farmers, who were new to the area, without back-up information services. Many of these farmers became bankrupt and have left the area. In some districts, only one in 10 border farms are occupied, he said. Farmers also doubt that the State is serious about water conservation, a subject close to the hearts of farmers in the drought-stricken north.

Mr Charles Baber, chairman of the TAU Soil and Veld Committee said: "Billions have been spent in the interest of stabilising fuel supplies in this country. The time has come that millions must be spent to establish additional water storage facilities."

"Traditional" agricultural water is increasingly reserved for industrial and town development. Water is even imported from agricultural areas such as Letaba in the northern Lowveld to satisfy the needs of the fast-growing town of Pietersburg. Letaba farmers say that industrial development in the area is mainly restricted to industries related to agriculture. It would make more sense to develop areas where water is available.

Mr Baber appealed to the authorities to re-assess the building of adequate storage dams. Dams in the Mogol, Sand and Letaba Rivers, as well as weirs in the Limpopo River are needed to stabilise agricultural water in the area, he said.

Transport problems are a major cost factor in getting produce to the markets and farming requisites to the farm. Farmers in the far north dismiss suggestions that they will gain relief next year when the law is changed to allow them to transport a variety of goods without a permit within a 300 km radius.

## Farmers 'penalised'

Letaba farmer, Mr Piet Joubert asked, "What use is this to us when we are up to 500 km away from our markets in the PWV area? It will mean our trucks will still be returning empty while farmers closer to the markets will be able to load their trucks with fertiliser and other farming necessities.

"We are the farmers who are supposed to act as a security buffer, yet we are penalised because we are far from major trading centres. The concession will also not alleviate the heavy use of the road network to the north," he said.

He said the 80 km/h speed restriction for heavy vehicles was unrealistic. If the limit was raised to 100 km/h, many farmers could halve the number of their trucks as the vehicles would be able to do a double run in one day.

Axle loads were up to 20 percent over-the-limits set overseas for the same vehicle. This meant farmers could save 20 percent in transport costs, if the limits were raised accordingly, Mr Joubert said.

## Platteland's vitality is being sapped

## Rainwater will simply run off the bone-hard ground

Floods be damned! The worst natural disaster currently facing South Africa is the eight-year drought afflicting the far northern and north-western Transvaal — in spite of this week's heavy rainfalls over parts of the area.

That is how the farmers, who eke out a living in the area, feel. "The drought here is by far the worst single natural disaster in South African history.

"Flood damage can be repaired relatively fast, but it may take a lifetime for the veld to recover from a drought as severe as this one," Mr Herman van Niekerk, marketing manager of the Northern Transvaal Co-operative (NTC), said.

"Because drought is such a slow process, it does not capture the imagination like other natural disasters. The effect of the floods in Natal was dramatic and immediate. It galvanised the Government and general public into action. Within a relatively short period, millions were collected to help flood victims," Mr Van Niekerk said.

Even the rains of the past two days may not help farmers, who say much of the water will simply run off the rock-hard soil.

The demoralising effect the drought has had on farmers, the backbone of the platteland community, is subtle. Year after year they have watched their resources dwindle, their debts the remaining farmers to keep the infra-structure going. It is officially estimated that only 30 percent of farms are occupied, but in some areas, such as the border area north of Ellisras, the figure is as low as 10 percent.

On the few remaining farmers rests the burden of keeping the platteland schools in existence. They go to extreme lengths to save the schools as it is an added incentive to keep struggling farmers in the region. Children are "imported" from cities to swell numbers. They are mostly "problem" children whose parents normally do not contribute to the welfare of either their children or the school, Mr Louis Nel, chairman of the Vaalwater District Agricultural Union's education committee, said.

Concern is also expressed about the standard of education as up to three classes are being taught by a single teacher. Some schools have been closed, such as the Klein Rustenburg Laerskool near Beauty in the Ellisras district, which closed its doors last year. At least three other schools are facing the same fate, Mr Nel said.

Depopulation has forced many small traders in remote areas out of business and this has left some farmers up to 50 km away from the nearest trading post. The co-op maintains eight trading stores at a loss.

The NTC has made provision for a loss of

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The demoralising effect the drought has had on farmers, the backbone of the platteland community, is subtle. Year after year they have watched their resources dwindle, their debts mount, yet with each new season comes hope.

The drought has also had serious financial implications and many farmers have been forced into bankruptcy while others have huge debt burdens. In the past six months alone, 100 NTC members were sequestrated. A further 98 will probably be declared bankrupt soon, said Mr Van Niekerk.

Farmers owe the NTC R109-million, of which about 75 percent is as a direct result of the drought. Mr Van Niekerk said the other 25 percent was probably indirectly caused by it.

Depopulation of the region causes serious concern as it is becoming increasingly difficult for many do not contribute to the welfare of either their children or the school, Mr Louis Nel, chairman of the Vaalwater District Agricultural Union's education committee, said.

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The NTC has made provision for a loss of R13,5 million for the current financial year to keep the stores operational.

"We have committed ourselves to maintain the service as the private sector is unable to provide it. In normal years these stores show a profit," Mr Van Niekerk said.

Independent traders who have survived fulfil many other functions, such as acting as library depots. But their days may be numbered, Mr Gert Roets, chairman of the Thabazimbi District Agricultural Union, said. "We hope that the Small Business Development Corporation will help to prevent this important part of the infrastructure from collapsing."

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# Where driving to school is a nightmare

Getting her three children to school in the small town of Tolwe in the far northern Transvaal is a nightmare for border farmer's wife, Mrs Jenny Pretorius.

Every Monday morning she travels 75 km to Tolwe to take her children to their boarding school. At 6 am she is the first person to travel the dusty border road from their farm, Stanger, on the banks of the Limpopo — and the danger of a landmine explosion is an ever-present threat.

"The army demonstrated the effects of landmine and anti-personnel mines recently. It has put the fear of God in me.

"My fear is not for myself. I have lived a third of my life, but my children have their whole future ahead of them."

Children from the area had previously been transported by a reinforced Defence Force vehicle, but the practice had been stopped because it was "unsafe", said Mrs Pretorius.

Although the safety of her children weighs heaviest on her mind, Mrs Pretorius and her husband Hendrik face many other hardships.

The drought has severely strained their resources. There is no drinking water on the farm and once a week Mrs Pretorius fetches water in milk bottles from a neighbouring farm where the borehole is not yet dry.

As cotton farmers who rely on irrigation they have been unable to harvest a crop for many years. Farming equipment was recently repossessed because they could not pay the installments.

But in true pioneering spirit, the Pretorius family plans to stay on and fight for the survival of their 156 ha farm.

They are eligible for subsidies on reinforced landmine-proof vehicles.

"But where do we find the money to pay for the unsubsidised part of the price when we can't even pay for our farming equipment?" asked Mrs Pretorius.

CHG Trib 24/11/87

# Club 22 disbands after rumpus

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

CLUB 22 — allegedly a "Pik for President" lobby within the National Party — has disbanded after a rumpus within the party over the purpose of the organization.

However, members of the clandestine club insist that it had nothing to do with promoting factional interests in the presidential stakes but served instead to facilitate social get-togethers for new NP MPs and their spouses.

But Nationalists who do not belong to Club 22 noted that Mr Pik Botha garnered 22 votes in the first round of balloting in the Prime Minister's stakes in 1978.

## Rebuke

Sensitivity within the NP over who is likely to succeed Mr P W Botha was heightened recently when the President lambasted journalists at the NP Cape congress for writing speculative articles on the subject.

However, the rebuke was also seen within party circles as a broadside against the presidential hopefuls.

Subsequent reports said that Mr Botha ordered the patron of Club 22 and well-known backer of Mr Pik Botha, Mr Pietie du Plessis, not to participate in efforts to whip up support for the Minister of Foreign Affairs as he was against the formation of factions in the cabinet over a post that was not yet vacant.

Mr Du Plessis duly issued a statement that he had advised the club to disband but denied that it was a pro-Pik outfit.

The convener of the club, Newton Park MP Mr Sakkie Louw, subsequently announced that the club was to disband.

# Worrall calls for co-operation

Cape Times 24/11/87

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

30LA

THERE was an urgent need to establish a basis of co-operation within the fragmented anti-apartheid opposition, the leader of the Independent Movement (IM), Dr Denis Worrall, said last night.

Speaking at a public meeting at the Fish Hoek Civic Centre, Dr Worrall said he shared the concern of many people at the fragmentation which existed within what he called "the creative opposition".

"We should welcome and support reported moves to establish some kind of basis for co-operation of those political parties (both inside and outside Parliament) within the creative opposition."

However, Dr Worrall emphasized that such moves should only take place if they did not harm "the appeal which the IM has to Afrikaans-speaking supporters and traditional government supporters".

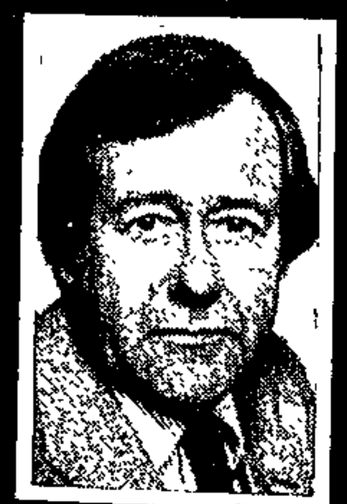
Prominent IM spokesman Mr Jannie Momberg also welcomed a consolidation of political groupings to the left of the NP. He said it was essential that any such move did not affect the position of the "24% of Afrikaans-speaking Nationalists" dissatisfied with the government during the last election.

Mr Momberg said Dr Worrall had positioned the IM "slightly to the left" of the NP, making it easy for numerous members of the governing party to take a small step to the left to demonstrate their disillusionment with government policies.

# Committees bypass cabinet in running country

D/D
25/11/87
304A

By Stanley Uys in London





PROF. OLIVIER



LORD HAILSHAM

The past 10 years in South Africa have seen a steady increase in executive power at the expense not only of parliament, but also of the Cabinet.

The State Security Council is usually cited as the prime example. In important ways it has pre-empted the Cabinet's authority by ensuring that security considerations influence, or even determine, civil decision-making.

The tricameral parliament widened this accretion of executive power. The creation of Ministers' Councils (appointed by the State President) and of Standing and Select Committees has further diminished the authority of the (all white) Cabinet.

The (coloured) House of Representatives and the (Indian) House of Delegates each has a Ministers' Council, instead of a Cabinet, while the (white) House of Assembly has a Ministers' Council which exists in addition to the Cabinet.

Then there are the joint Standing Committees, each consisting of three select committees, one from each House. There is one Standing Committee for each Ministerial portfolio on 'general affairs' and all bills relating to the portfolio must be referred to it. In addition, there are a number of other Standing Committees on various subjects.

As Professor Nic Olivier, the PFP's Director of Research, points out in a fascinating analysis, The Tricameral Parliament: Some Problems and Pitfalls, the parliamentary committees "play a vital role in the legislative process and the running of parliament."

All legislation on general affairs has to come to parliament via a Standing Committee. It must have been submitted to and considered by a Standing Committee before parliament can deal with it.

"The assumption is," Professor Olivier writes, "that if the Standing Committee had approved of the bill (amended as necessary by the Standing Committee) the various Houses will accept the bill."

If the bill is rejected by the Standing Select Committees which form part of the Standing Committee, then no report or bill can be presented to the Houses, and it cannot be proceeded with. A Standing Committee can make any changes it likes to a bill, or even produce an entirely new bill.

". . . It is clear that Standing Committees play a decisively important role in the process of legislation on general affairs; they provide a forum for interaction, negotiation and compromise . . ."

The government would argue no doubt that the committee system has democratised decision-making in the tricameral parliament. The fact remains that decision-making, to some extent, has been taken out of the hands of parliament and the Cabinet and entrusted to appointed committees.

The committee system, of course, is not peculiar to South Africa. According to Lord Hailsham, who resigned recently as Lord Chancellor, it is an old British custom, and Mrs.Thatcher is adept at playing it.

One is accustomed to Tory Ministers, after clashing with the Iron Lady and being put out to grass, retaliating by publicly attacking her. But Lord Hailsham (now in his 80's and with at least 1 000 Cabinet meetings to his credit) is in a different category. His recent revelations on the committee system need to be taken seriously.

Lord Hailsham's charge, essentially, is that the Cabinet has been substantially bypassed through the committee system.

"Only a few of the most important decisions are made in Cabinet at all. Beneath the Cabinet structure, a network of Cabinet committees, usually chaired by the appropriate Cabinet Minister, take some and perhaps most of the important decisions."

There are four main Cabinet Standing Committees, which have spawned a number of sub-committees, and in addition there appear to be at least 200 ad hoc committees. They operate in great secrecy (members generally are not supposed to acknowledge their existence), with some reporting directly to Mrs.Thatcher, sometimes even bypassing the Minister concerned. Theoretically, the decisions of committees are subject to review by the full Cabinet, but often escape it.

Lord Hailsham's first experience of the committee system was in 1956, when he was First Lord of the Admiralty. He attended some meetings of what was called the Suez Group.

"It was a group of Ministers under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister (Sir Anthony Eden) and therefore of decisive influence, bypassing to a large extent the regular meetings of Cabinet itself and of the regular Cabinet committees. Like most ad hoc arrangements I believe it has had permanent consequences."

A similar committee existed during the Falklands War, and another committee agreed secretly to allow the United States to use British bases for last year's bombing attack on Libya.

All British Prime Ministers have played the committee game, according to Lord Hailsham, but Mrs.Thatcher "does it slightly differently." Through the committee system, decisions are taken before they reach the full Cabinet, which anyway meets only once a week for a few hours these days, most of the time being taken up with routine business.

Lord Hailsham claims that it is practically possible for the Cabinet to take no more than one or two decisions a week. The rest of the decisions are taken by committees, controlled by Mrs.Thatcher, who often chairs the informal committees herself. In this way, she has increased her power at the expense of the rest of the Cabinet.

Lord Hailsham points out that as the burden of work on the Cabinet has increased, so duties necessarily have been devolved on to the existing structure of formalised committees. But in addition to these formalised committees, there are the ad hoc committees, which have proliferated, favouring "rapid and not always well thought-out decisions."

This has important constitutional implications. "Obviously, the collegiate character of the Cabinet has been to some extent weakened by less frequent meetings and less personal involvement in many of the important decisions of government."

In a television interview, Lord Hailsham said Ministers could lose touch with their responsibilities through the committee system. Often they did not know who was taking the decisions or where. Today, nearly all decisions are "pre-processed" by Cabinet committees.

"Equally obviously, the frequent participation of the Prime Minister in the chair of the ad hoc meetings will have strengthened his or her position at the expense of the collegiate responsibility of the full Cabinet."

When the Prime Minister did not chair a committee, the use of trusted deputies instead "inevitably tends to create a hierarchy within the collegiate body."

Lord Hailsham does not forsee the dissolution or even decay of Cabinet government, accepting that the network of informal committees is "vastly superior to the so-called kitchen Cabinets which are said to have become a notorious peculiarity of some Labour administrations."

But he is deeply concerned over what is happening to Cabinet government — "one of the permanent gifts conferred by British political genius on the science and art of civilised government."

# Youth group to visit Mozambique

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — A group of Afrikaans youth and student leaders is to visit Mozambique next month at the invitation of the leader of the Frelimo youth movement, Mr Zacharias Kupela.

The South African delegation will be led by Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk, former chairman of the defunct Afrikaanse Studentebond (ASB) and present chairman of the political youth movement, Youth for South Africa (YSA).

Accompanying him will be Mr Francois Beukman, chairman of Stellenbosch University's Student Representative Council; Mr Mike Joubert, chairman of the Pretoria University SRC; and Mr Stephan Botha, chairman of the SRC at Rand Afrikaans University.

The other six delegates are YSA national executive members Mr Kobus Sieberhagen, Mr Dirk Bakker, Mr Cedric de Koning, Miss Debbie Marchard, Miss Suzette Labuschagne (national organiser) and Miss Cleone Basson (public relations officer).

The delegation will leave on December 16.

Mr de Koning said today that among the issues which would be discussed would be destabilisation in Southern Africa, Soviet influence in the region, South Africa's internal situation and its effect on regional stability and the role of the Mozambique rebel movement.

DD 26/11/87

# Idasa: democracy from bottom up

304-A

PORT ELIZABETH — A new democracy for South Africa would be born from the bottom up, the executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa), Dr Alex Boraine, said here yesterday.

Addressing a lunch for businessmen with Idasa's director of planning and research, Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, Dr Boraine said the time had long gone to refer to "those at the top doing something" at a time when engagement between blacks and whites was crucial and polarisation was increasing.

More than 66 per cent of whites did not know how blacks lived and although many worked together they were separate socially.

"The more we are segmented the more we will be fed disinformation which will, in turn, reinforce polarisation," Dr Slabbert said.

When the State President, Mr P. W. Botha, had told the electorate to choose between him and the African National Congress in the 1987 election, he had elevated the ANC to the position of major opposition.

Statistics showed that while 80 per cent of whites supported negotiation, 83 per cent did not want negotiation with the ANC.

"If you define the ANC as the major opposition but don't want to talk them, who do you talk to?

"South Africa is in a tough situation, but we have the option of talking — even if it is to people we don't like. It's either that or fight."

Dr Boraine said he believed that people from all spheres, including those in exile, had a role to play in the development of a democracy.

In its collection of people in search of an alternative and non-racial government, Idasa was reaching from the bottom up, he said.

Since its inception one year ago, the organisation had held workshops and taken groups of whites to meet those living in the townships.

For example, a party of 15 dominees spent several days talking to community leaders in Soweto, Johannesburg, and also slept in the homes of township residents. Idasa had received a subsequent request to take another 18 dominees on such a trip.

There had been several spinoffs in which Idasa was not involved, such as the establishment of creches. — DDC

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# CP, NP wrangle may result in television debate first for SA



MR DE KLERK

PRETORIA — The ongoing public wrangle between the Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, and the Transvaal National Party leader, Mr F. W. de Klerk, about where and how they will meet face to face on a public platform to debate their politicial viewpoints took yet another turn yesterday.

In a statement here, Mr De Klerk rejected a challenge from Dr Treurnicht to appear with him on stage at a CP meeting in Standerton.

He said such gatherings could be manipulated and "CP style does not lend itself to meaningful debate".

Dr Treurnicht was, however, welcome to attend a NP gathering he would address, also in Standerton, where he could put as many questions as he liked, Mr De Klerk said.

He also said Dr Treurnicht would accept his the challenge for a live TV debate, if the CP had the "courage of his convictions".

If the debate comes off, it will be the first of its kind in South Africa.

The wrangle, aimed primarily at the upcoming Standerton parliamentary by-elections next year, but also seen as the first skirmish between the two leaders in what will be a drawnout fight between the CP and the NP until the nationwide municipal elections next October, started when Mr De Klerk published an open letter attacking Dr Treurnight in a Sunday newspaper.

Dr Treurnicht responded by challenging Mr De Klerk to take him on in debate.

The NP leader said the debate should be "widened" and proposed the TV debate.

The CP leader agreed, on condition Mr De Klerk still join him on the Standerton platform.

Mr De Klerk said "Dr Treurnicht wants to play politics while I want to engage in meaningful debate on the core issues of national questions in South Africa."

If Dr Treunicht was "keen" to play politics, he was welcome to attend a NP meeting Mr De Klerk would address in Standerton.

Mr De Klerk said he had received an assurance from the SABC that a debate was possible.

"Plenty of time will be allocated, and the debate will be conducted according to rules, on agreed subjects, by a chairman."

Arrangement could be made between representatives of the two parties for the television debate as soon as Dr Treurnicht indicated his willingness. — Sapa



DR TREURNICHT

EDITORIAL OPINION

D/D 27/11/87

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# A peaceful alternative

Organisations such as the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) — an unwieldy, untidy and arguably portentous title — offer hope to a South Africa which is beleagured between the no-surrender attitude of those in power, and the winner-takes-all, no-compromise programme that seems to stem from the African National Congress. The word seem is correctly used, as the ANC is not, of course, allowed to put its case in this country.

Dr F. van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Alex Borraine, who left the Progressive Party and the House of Assembly last year to conduct their crusade for a better South Africa outside parliament, were in East London yesterday as part of a campaign to try to get Idasa moving forward in the regions.

Its quest is for a non-racial democracy for this country and in this respect it is difficult to see how its programme differs from that of the Progressive Federal Party, except that the one operates inside parliament and the other outside.

A frequently heard criticism is that Idasa considers parliament irrelevant, which could hurt the organisation in the target market of sympathetic and thinking whites, most of whom will presumably be found in the relatively comfortable middle class and upwards.

If they recruit, it could well be from people who in the past have supported the PFP, which would present at least a minor dilemma of voting or not during elections, with the doctors, who are executive directors of Idasa, having pronounced that the battle for a better South Africa can be waged more effectively outside parliament.

Idasa also suffers from a plethora of political parties along its line of democratic ideology. It differs little from the PFP, and the Independents are of similar hue; the political borders between these organisations are thus blurred, surely causing confusion in the minds of people who will see that each is trying to reach the same destination but by splintered if similar routes.

What must not be ignored is the aim of Idasa, and in that it is noble. It is not in fighting, harassment, insecurity, political domination or rule by fear or by emergency regulations. Its aim is a South Africa with justice and without discrimination, for all races. It acknowledges that it cannot speak from any position of power but it does say it will try both to bring ethnic groups closer together and to take the country closer to a climate of negotiation. In that there is hope, which will not be found in killing one another.

LEFTWING POLITICS

# A united front

**A significant** realignment to the Left of the National Party (NP) is expected by the middle of 1988. The grouping is likely to include Denis Worrall's rejuvenated Independent Movement (IM), which is to be formally established as a political party; the Progressive Federal Party (PFP); the remnants of the New Republic Party; a small group of disillusioned Nats; and Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party (LP).

Government may opt for an early general election, if there is no way of getting Hendrickse to renounce his decision to force a 1989 election, so the new opposition group could be tested almost immediately at the polls. Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement (NDM) is likely to be invited to join the united front, but is expected to decline due to a fundamental difference in approach to political problem solving.

Formal unification will be preceded by a major rethink of PFP strategy and constitutional policy (but no compromise of fundamental principles). The party's federal approach could be ditched to get more flexibility; a change of name is not impossible.

Indications of the extent of behind-the-scenes efforts to present a more imaginative and dynamic opposition in parliament surfaced at the PFP's federal council meeting in Johannesburg on Sunday; and in Fish Hoek this week, at Worrall's first public meeting outside Helderberg since the May election.

The timing of Worrall's return to the spotlight, following his "divorce" from Malan, was unexpected.

But, he says, an unsolicited rallying of IM supporters, not only in Helderberg, indicated a significant degree of backing which he decided to test.

The IM believes demonstrations of support and drawing power are an important catalyst in the unity moves. It says many supporters of the original IM, who turned away in disillusion after the "divorce," may be attracted back by a new political roadshow centred on Worrall. With his ability to draw crowds, he could become the Pik Botha of the new opposition lineup.

It is essential for the new group to be attractive to both disillusioned Nats and the wide spectrum of opposition supporters to the left of the NP. The IM achieved this in the May election, and it is the base that is likely to be built on.

The core policy of the new movement will be the total abolition of apartheid, and the negotiation of a constitution involving all political groups committed to a peaceful solution of the country's crises.

A key element in the unity moves is moral support for Hendrickse, who is expected to face unprecedented Nat pressure in the next eight weeks, to agree to the 1989 election. His ability to withstand the pressure and ensure an election within two years could make or break the new group, and elevates the LP leader to a potentially important opposition role.

An early election will benefit the new grouping, and those involved are understandably buoyed by speculation that P W Botha may decide to call an election for next October to coincide with the municipal elections (instead of postponing the municipal polls to coincide with the general election as was mooted earlier). In this way Botha could save face by being seen to determine the election date himself, rather than be forced to the polls by the LP.

It looks as if parliament's constitutional affairs standing committee may decide within days to recommend the appointment of a delimitation commission to re-draw constituency boundaries in preparation for the election. ■

# Working towards progress



**Oscar Dhlomo is deputy leader of Inkatha, and acting chief minister of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly (KLA) while Mangosuthu Buthelezi is away. Dhlomo is clearly Buthelezi's most trusted political lieutenant. Now he has even more clout, as chairman of the Kwa-Natal Joint Authority (JEA).**

**FM: What importance do you attach to the JEA and how do you see it developing?**

**Dhlomo:** I suppose we differ from our colleagues on the Natal Provincial Administration (NPA) executive. When we started the process of regional co-operation we saw it developing in three phases:

☐ The first was informal co-operation under the Strategic Policy Group (SPG) and the working group of department heads of the NPA and KLA;

☐ The JEA concept then arose because the policy group needed to be formalised. Our proposals were accepted by government with only two amendments — removing education from the area of responsibility, and including a provision to establish JEAs elsewhere.

We had deliberately avoided suggesting that similar JEAs could be established elsewhere. We tended to feel that people might mistake this for arrogance. To our surprise government decided to include such a provision; and

☐ The third phase is the establishment of a joint legislative authority, that will combine the two regions and be responsible for all people — along the lines of the Indaba proposals.

Because of this view, the JEA has a greater psychological importance for us than for our colleagues from the NPA. We see it as a mechanism, to demonstrate that it's possible to work together and co-operate in advancing certain projects and executing certain ordinances. Obviously this should progress to where you make the ordinances as well as execute them.

**What are the limitations of the JEA?**

You have two separate authorities, operating on a confederal basis, and each retains its autonomy. It does not have legislative powers. It's still ethnically structured. And it cannot begin to positively affect the lives of people — in education, for instance, and housing.

**When do you see these limitations being resolved, or an Indaba-type joint legislature replacing the JEA?**

I can't say. The government owns the clock. But there can be no going back from the JEA. And one is encouraged by statements from the Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Chris Heunis; the Administrator of Natal, Radclyffe Cadman; and Heunis's statement that he has no objection to restoring legislative powers to the provinces.

The indications are that government is in favour of a single legislature for Kwa-Natal, so a lot of ground has been covered even before negotiations. We start from the common premise that it represents one region, and should be governed by a single legislative authority.

We prefer the Indaba proposals, but are prepared to listen to whatever kind of legislature Heunis will want.

**What accounts for this different attitude towards Natal by the government?**

Natal's history leaves a lingering feeling that it is somehow different from the rest of the country. Until the last election, Natal was still the only province that was ruled at second-tier by an opposition party. This party happened to be mainly English-speaking.

The National Party, at its height and in the midst of resounding election successes, failed to capture Natal — until May this year.

Natal is the only province that has within it a homeland whose borders are so intertwined with those of Natal that, no matter what you did by way of so-called consolidation, you'd never get a contiguous territory of KwaZulu and Natal without calling the two one.

In fact, government does see this now. Heunis has said that his department is to re-examine provincial boundaries — but that the study would not affect Natal. Again, this emphasises that Natal is different, and that Natal and KwaZulu are inseparable.

**There appear to be growing areas of dialogue between Zulus and white Natalians. What advice do you have for those white negotiators who may be ignorant of Zulu custom on such occasions?**

Zulu people by nature are reserved and modest, and whites by contrast are outgoing and open. Normally a Zulu person will not interject. Only if the debate grows hot will he do so.

Zulu people tend also to be very diplomatic and their responses may be misinterpreted. Normally a Zulu person will not be straightforward and the negotiator may believe he has agreed with everything that has been discussed, whereas he merely listened without interjecting.

There is a certain inscrutability. Often this arises because the Zulu does not wish to rush into a decision. Most of our people would like to talk about it among themselves first.

**KwaZulu's leaders come under fierce attack from the Left as "sell-outs," for working within the system and sticking to the "politics of negotiation."**

The problem can be traced back to history. Our political terminology has become distorted. You're conservative if you are normal — if you want your children to go to school, and acquire skills for a post-apartheid SA; if you don't want them to throw stones and burn things down; if you don't want them to assault teachers; or if you encourage respect for authority and senior people.

When we grew up this was normal, typical behaviour. Now it's conservative, reactionary, counter-revolutionary. If you boycott schools, burn them down, stab teachers, shout slogans like "Liberation first and education later" — then you're progressive and a comrade in the liberation struggle. You must commit suicide to be a comrade.

This is why Inkatha, Dr Buthelezi and KwaZulu are regarded as obstacles to the so-called liberation struggle. Because he wants what he wants, and this is what will give his people a good start in a post-apartheid SA.

**How is support for these two viewpoints spread among Zulus?**

Recent research found that the majority of black people in SA still believe negotiation is possible. But if you go to some of the black townships you would not believe that.

The strategies of the revolutionaries are such that they don't need numbers to make themselves heard. They are also very well organised.

Many people don't like admitting they are politically in the middle ground. They become ambivalent and maintain two insurance policies — one in revolution and the other in negotiation — while they look to see which will mature first. (See *PEOPLE*)

Complexity is 'very evident'

# Heunis tells of rampant bureaucracy

**CONSTITUTIONAL Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis yesterday lifted the wraps on the staggering proliferation of bureaucracies resulting from the tricameral constitution.**

As well as the 20-odd traditional State departments for general affairs, three new "own affairs" administrations and four new development-orientated provincial administrations had been created, Heunis said.

He told a meeting of the Regional Development Advisory Committee (RDAC) in Lydenburg that the process of constitutional development had resulted in a multiplication of development agencies, each with its own special brief and statutory function.

Each of the six "national states" and the four independent states had established development corporations, such as the Industrial Development Corporation and the SA Development Trust Corporation.

"Add to this the 15 or more parastatal or semi-State institutions such as Eskom, Iscor and the water boards, and now the Regional Services Councils as horizontal extensions to the almost 1 000 local governments, and the full complexity of co-ordination becomes very evident indeed," Heunis said.

Commenting on the escalation of bureaucratic structures, Free Market Foundation executive director Leon Louw questioned whether government was in control of its own policy.

"For a decade now, government has been promising financial discipline, a restrictive monetary policy, rationalised and reduced bureaucracies, deregulation and privatisation. But precisely the reverse has been happening," said Louw.

"One doubts whether government has the will to implement its policies in the face of vested interests in both the civil service and the private sector."

GERALD REILLY

**ALL GOLD INDEX**

# 'Solve political problems first'

SMH Times 27/11/87

PRETORIA. — South Africa's difficult international position would be resolved only once its economic and political problems had been resolved, Mr Harry Oppenheimer said last night.

Speaking at the banquet marking the official opening by the State President, Mr P W Botha, of the new Reserve Bank building in Pretoria, he said South Africa's economic future lay in "free market" orientation.

South Africa at the moment was forced to conduct its economy in such a way that it could export capital every year as a result of the international sanctions and economic boycott campaign.

"The problems will not be solved until such time as the economic and political problems of South Africa, in relation to the rest of the world, are solved."

The State President, Mr Botha, said that if agriculture and mining were not taken into account, preliminary estimates indicated that the rest of the economy had increased at an annual rate of as much as six percent during the third quarter of this year. — Sapa

DD 27/11/87

# Start talking — Idasa

304A

HEA

**Daily Dispatch Reporter**

EAST LONDON — The state identified the African National Congress as its major opponent but was not prepared to negotiate with the organisation, the director of planning and research for the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa, (Idasa), Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, said here yesterday.

He said at a lunch also attended by Idasa's executive director, Dr Alex Boraine, that South Africa was in a tough situation, "but we have the option of talking — even if it is to people we don't like."

"Idasa is aiming to create circumstances in which we, as white South Africans, can talk to the opposition and fellow black South Africans."

Dr Slabbert added that since its inception a year ago, the organisation had held workshops and taken groups of whites to meet those living in the townships.

"Idasa was born out of the desire to promote this kind of discussion — we hope to contribute to the dynamic which will allow people of all races to come together and discuss a democratic alternative," he said. They now wanted to regionalise the Idasa dynamic.

Dr Boraine said that Idasa's main concern was the white market, "but we have discovered that most whites, if they want to move out of the entrapment of apartheid, have to meet their fellow black South Africans.

"Most white South Africans don't realise how 'hammered' Black South Africans are — those in the townships live with harassment, fear and insecurity with the police deciding on the whole complexity of life there," he said.

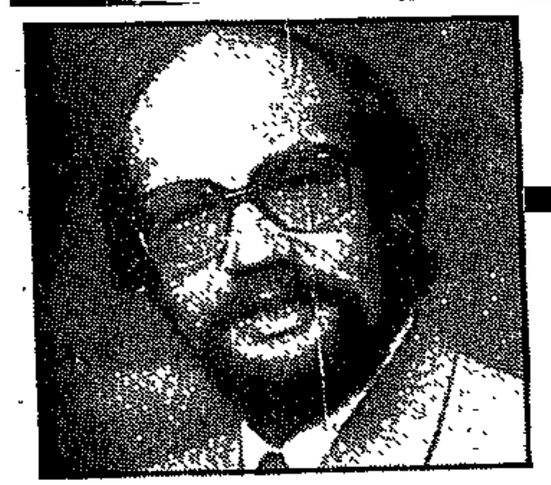
"If the collision course which the government has set continues, the awful spectre of a possible war in South African has to be considered."

Dr Boraine said that in Zimbabwe he had found there had been reconcilation between blacks and whites.

"I spoke to a Zimbabwean women while I was there and she said that where her country had made a mistake 'was to prevent the future instead of anticipating it' — this philosophy I suppose forms the core of Idasa's work," he said.

**Editorial Opinion P22**

WEEKEND ARGUS 28/11/87 (3044)



Professor Du Plessis



Dr de Villiers

# Mission Impossible?

## How Afrikaans academics seek a white and black formula for the future



Dr Kinghorn



Professor Lategan

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Political Staff

FOUR Afrikaner academics have spent nearly two years searching for the seemingly impossible — a formula to bridge the great divide between white and black thinking on South Africa's future.

In a countrywide investigation among people of all races, they found astonishing consensus on fundamentals like the removal of remaining apartheid, equal rights for all and the idea of a new non-racial democratic constitution.

They held discussions across a wide spectrum and disclosed their findings today in a document, *The option for inclusive democracy*.

They are Professor Bernard Lategan, head of the Department of Biblical Studies at Stellenbosch; Dr Johann Kinghorn, senior lecturer in systematic theology, also of Stellenbosch; Dr Etienne de Villiers, senior lecturer in ethics at Huguenot College, Wellington; and Professor Lourens du Plessis, professor of philosophy of law at Potchefstroom.

They are offering their findings as a contribution to the debate on the structure and social values of a future South Africa.

They do not claim to have found all the answers, but they believe their research shows the way to a viable alternative to apartheid.

**Their research took them to private homes, offices, conference halls, booklined studies of intellectuals and to back streets of trouble-torn townships. They spoke to churchmen, theologians, black "radicals", whites with traditional attitudes on racial issues, trade unionists and to black children and parents in the townships.**

One of their main findings is that no set of common values can be developed as long as race and ethnicity form the basis of the social, juridical and constitutional order.

Members of the research team say their investigations were also a "transforming experience" for themselves.

"What started off as a research project became a journey of discovery which opened up new avenues of hope.

"In the formulation and (countless) reformulations of the document, penetrating discussions were conducted with a wide spectrum of compatriots. In this way we have come to know and to share something of the incredible human richness of our country."

THEY formulate some fundamental social values based on the Scriptures and propose guidelines for a political system based on these. This is accompanied by a proposed declaration of basic human rights.

Professor Lategan told me: "We took a clinical look at the forces in our society and did not adopt a moralising approach. We intend to follow up our findings with further studies. What we would like to see is a debate between black and white people on the fundamental issues — the kind of debate we conducted during our investigations."

Dr Kinghorn said their discussions had involved many white people of both language groups and the entire spectrum of black opinion, including supporters of the ANC, the UDF, Africanists, the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and trade unions.

He emphasised that they were not presenting a "protest document" but a reasoned argument.

Professor Du Plessis said: "I have been encouraged considerably by this exercise. If only people would shift their prejudices aside and consider the common factors binding us together — factors such as the Christian faith."

The document does not represent only their own views, but reflects contributions by many, representing a wide spectrum of theological and non-theological perspectives.

"That it was possible to integrate these in one document is an indication of the potential for reconciliation. In this sense the document represents a liberating experience — liberation from the false images built up by many years of separation."

**On the strength of their discussions with black people, the authors trust the document will also find support in the black community. Although differences may exist both in formulation and emphasis, they believe black people agree "in essence" with the findings.**

An "encouraging" aspect for whites is a finding that the aspirations of blacks — "including some so-called radicals" — arise from values which do not differ significantly from what is usually considered to be "common Western values".

"The apparent strong antagonism in the black community to the apartheid system, in fact, in many ways arises from the disregard of these 'Western' values by the system of apartheid," the authors say.

They emphasise that the document is not the result of an opinion survey; nor is it a theological version of the policy or policies of any political party or pressure group. It also does not claim that a common ground already exists in society — "this will still have to be established, and it will not be an easy task. We, therefore, do not offer an instant solution."

THE first section of the 30-page document contains a critique of apartheid on theological and ethical grounds, accompanied by a formulation of Christian thought on such issues as human equality, human diversity and unity of humanity, group interests, freedom, social responsibility, human rights and human government.

They say it has become increasingly clear that the social system of apartheid is "totally unacceptable — in theory and in practice." In both respects it is incompatable with basic moral values and it affronts the human dignity of all whose lives are subject to it.

A proposed declaration of human rights, divided into three categories, is appended.

They conclude: "After forty years in which the policy of apartheid has been relentlessly pursued, it would be unrealistic and unwise to try to introduce such changes abruptly. The mistrust and lack of understanding which has developed over the years is too great for such a strategy to work, the spiral of violence and counter-violence has risen too high, and the gulf in the distribution of wealth and education is too great.

"Above all, the geographic, social and economic fragmentation of South Africa has brought about so many real imbalances that it would be impossible to remove them all immediately."

From a Christian viewpoint the only acceptable approach is through "free and equal negotiation". All people who are imprisoned or in exile for political reasons must be given normal freedom of movement and access to such negotiation.

"But above all, the use of violence to attain political goals — and this applies both to the structural and military violence which props up the apartheid system and the counter-violence of the liberation movements — must unconditionally come to an end.

"From a Christian viewpoint, that is a non-negotiable demand and an absolute condition."

"The same is true of the theological justification for the system which has been and still is being advanced from time to time."

They envisage a democracy in which predetermined classification of groups on the grounds of race, ethnicity or tribe will not be a feature of the social order — "such a democracy is more in line with Christian norms."

In a section on "fundamental social values" they propose "broad guidelines" for a political system that would conform to Christian principles. These include:

- A reunited single state based on the loyalty of all;
- A system in which the rights of citizens are not determined on the grounds of race or ethnic descent or tribal affiliation;
- Universal adult suffrage; and
- Government by leaders chosen periodically by the majority from a plural political spectrum, but within one system which has built-in checks and balances including at least the following: participatory opposition, independent reporting to the public, an independent judiciary including an independent constitutional court with a comprehensive right of review, and a constitution in which there is an entrenched charter of human rights not dependent on race, ethnicity or tribe.

It is proposed that the historic unity of South Africa — as accepted by the international community — must be restored.




Weekend Argus letters

## Why use Aids when Dies is correct?

LET us not be facetious and use a pleasant word like "aids" to identify a horrible, calamitous affliction. I call upon the medical profession and the English Press to refrain from using the letters "Aids", which reads "aids", but which describes a medical condition which is a complete contradition of the established meaning of the word "aids".

The letters are supposed to describe a venereal infection which is virally induced and is referred to as "Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome."

This is incongrous and a better way to put it would be "Declining Immune Efficiency Syndrome" or "Dies." Why adhere to a wrong meaning which is applied to the word "acquired" (acquisition) when it should have a positive connotation?

The correct letters to be used should be "Vids" as the disease could be best described as "Venereal Immune Deficiency Syndrome" or alternatively "Vinids" for "Viral Induced Immune Deficiency Syndrome."

JOSEPH HERISON Sea Point

Wits Argus 28/11/87 (304A)

ДЛЯ ТЕХ, кто рассматривает южноафриканскую драму только в «черно-белом» контексте, многое из происходящего сегодня не укладывается в привычные рамки. Между тем на политической сцене этой страны гораздо больше актеров, чем кажется на первый взгляд, а их роли и интересы зачастую обманывают ожидания. К примеру, белые рабочие, составляющие около трети избирателей-африканеров, находятся в числе самых ярых защитников апартеида. В условиях жестокого полицейского режима многие газеты находят мужество сообщать своим читателям правдивую информацию о положении в стране и критикуют политику правительства. Порой даже идут на прямое нарушение закона, хотя знают, что это грозит им тюремным заключением. Банды черных наемников по приказу полиции громят дома своих соплеменников. Белые врачи тайно оказывают помощь раненым африканцам. Ученые-историки Стел-

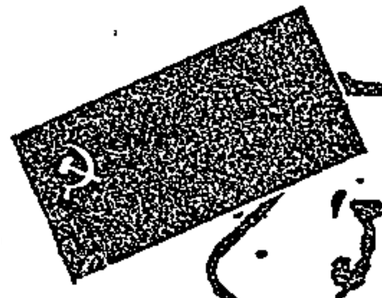
ON July 15, 1987, the Soviet intellectual weekly, Literaturnaya Gazeta, published a comprehensive analysis of President P W Botha. Some reports on this article, and on the accompanying photo of Mr Botha on a White horse, have appeared in the South African media, yet the article is so significant that it is here reprinted in full.

Its significance is that it coincided with a change in the Soviet attitude towards South Africa. Although the author is in the end still critical of Mr Botha's political leadership, it is noteworthy that he credits him for reforms already undertaken.

The article is unique in the history of Soviet comments on South Africa. Never before has so much attention been paid to a government figure. Perhaps the most striking aspect is the author's criticism of "stereotypes", both as far as Soviet views of South Africa and South African official views on the Soviet Union are concerned. Given that Literaturnaya Gazeta is primarily intended for an intellectual Soviet readership, it must in the end be seen as a courageous attempt to modify Soviet views on South Africa.

It is impossible to tell whether the author reflects official Soviet thinking. But it should be kept in mind that he is one of the best-informed Soviet commentators on South Africa (he spent five years as a journalist in Southern Africa), and that he at present is employed as a senior member of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Clearly, his ideas must carry some institutional weight.

Article translated from Russian by Mrs M Spence for Stellenbosch University's Institute for Soviet Studies



'ЛИТЕРАТУРНАЯ ГАЗЕТА'

by L G ASOYAN

# 'Pee-Double U' or Member 4487

FOR those who see the South African drama only in a "White-Black" context, there is much happening today that does not fit neatly into the usual framework.

On the political scene of that country are actors much larger than would appear at first glance, their roles and interests often deceiving expectations.

For example, White workers forming a third of the Afrikaner electorate are some of the most fervent supporters of apartheid. In the brutal police-regime situation, many newspapers criticise the government's policies and impart to their readers the true facts and information about the situation in the country.

At times they even go against the law, even though they know that in doing this they risk imprisonment. Bands of Black police reservists raid the homes of their own tribesmen. White doctors secretly provide aid to African patients.

At the University of Stellenbosch — the cradle of Afrikanerdom, from whence have emerged several leaders of the National Party — the majority of lecturers and professors have publicly condemned apartheid.

According to public-opinion surveys taken in 1986 and 1987, about 10 percent of Afrikaners living in towns would not object to the present system being replaced.

A typical feature of the South Africa of today is the fragility of obsolete stereotypes, and the swiftness of changes occurring in the basic structure under pressure from below.

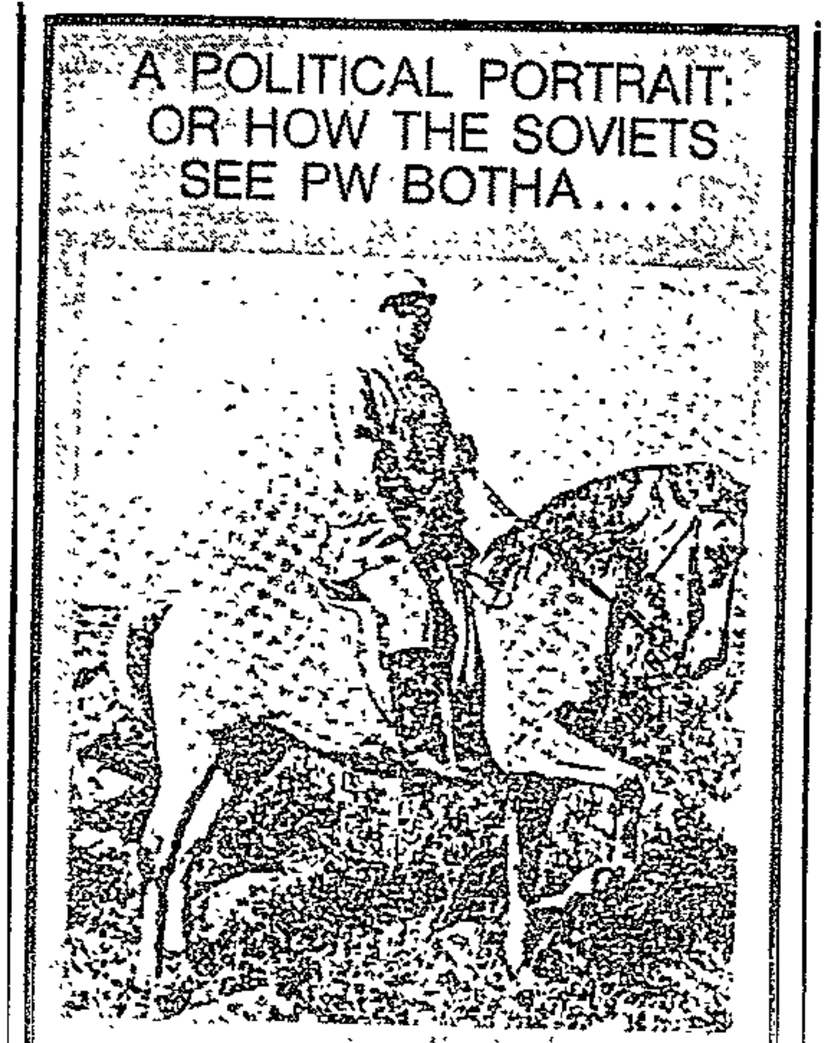
It would be a simplification to affirm that the South African government has lost the ability to sense the trend of the times. In fact, that awareness has been developing over the past decade. It is, however, a great shame that it has made its appearance somewhat late.

ROLES have changed. The powers-that-be have entrenched themselves in all-round defence and have joined battle in the fight for survival.

He experienced a taste for politics already in his childhood. His mother, Hendrina de Wet, a relative of the famous Boer general, did not forgive the English to the end of her life for the loss of her first family, and zealously professed a militant Afrikaner nationalism. During the Anglo-Boer War, her two children died in one of the concentration camps of the British General Kitchener, and her first husband died soon after returning from a prisoner-of-war camp in Ceylon. In 1915 she married her second husband, a brave partisan and a war hero, who had founded the National Party in 1914 and who shared the anti-British views of his idol, General J Hertzog.

Pieter Botha proved to be a great nationalist — something that was expected of him by his parents. In 1936 he opted out of university, exchanging his studies for work in the provincial section of the National Party, which was in those years creating a base from which to take over power. He was immediately earmarked for organisational duties and was constantly in the centre of things. There is an episode dating back to this period which he does not much care to be reminded of. Right at the beginning of the Second World War, Botha sympathised with the nazis and took part in the activities of the South African fascist organisation, the Ossewa-Brandwag.

His journey to power was a long one, but he patiently rose through the ranks of his career, not surrendering any of his gains. This ascent might seem to some to have been too slow, but Botha knew well what he was achieving and was preparing himself for his primary role.




PW Botha on a White horse — symbol of power. The picture that ap-

tribesmen and knowingly plays on their fears of future shocks, directing these fears into the inveterate "all-devouring communist threat".

The White citizen, for example, believes that in socialist countries we consider the word "White" to be synonymous with "racist", "colonist", "murderer"; that we hold such extremist views that the White South Africans "should be thrown into the sea"; that the Soviet Union is interested in preserving the conflict-situation in the south of Africa; that we lust after the diamonds, gold, uranium and other precious minerals, not to mention the strategic sea route around the Cape of Good Hope.

Therefore, when Botha, after an effective pause, claims, in a tragedy-laden voice, that the "Russian bear is already on our doorstep", the crowd responds with indignant cries, and rallies in a patriotic fervour to defend the country from the aggressor and to put aside their differences in the name of the common cause. The picture of the perfidious Russian bear has been so entrenched in the mind of the "average" Afrikaner, that the anti-communist instinct becomes hazy and is seen only as an illusion of danger. It does not matter that deeds speak otherwise. The Afrikaner knows: Moscow is behind everything.

Thanks to his talents, Botha has managed up to now to avoid the dangerous reefs in the stormy sea of South African politics. Besides, it is not for nothing that he is considered a master of political intrigue. At the decisive moment he mobilised everyone in order to deal his opponent a shattering and unexpected blow.

is, however, a great shame that it has made its appearance somewhat late.

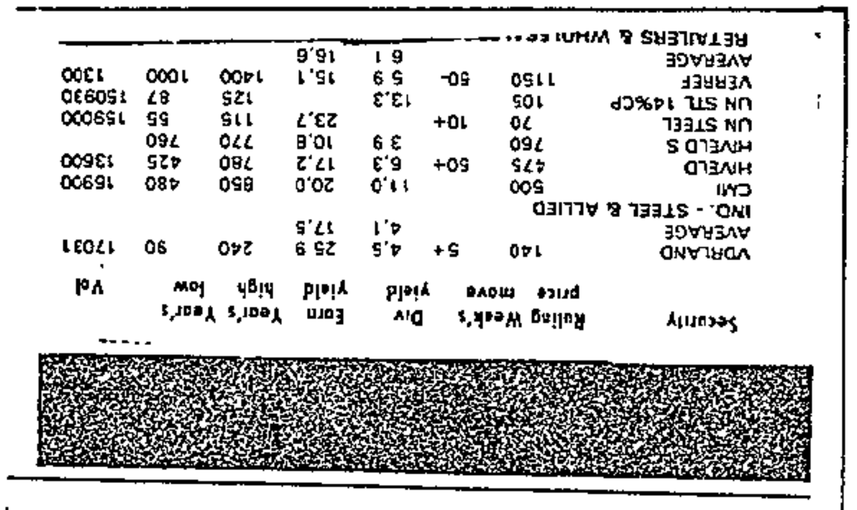
ROLES have changed. The powers-that-be have entrenched themselves in all-round defence and have joined battle in the fight for survival.

The captain of the "White tribe" in this battle is Pieter Willem Botha, eighth successive leader of the ruling minority, who has for nine years already stood at the helm of the apartheid state.

Journalists often call him by his initials — PW. In the semi-secret society, the "Broederbond", he is known by the number 4487. The ultra-rightists consider him "red". Of himself, he likes to speak as a reformer, a pragmatist, a liberal, and the builder of a new South Africa. Beyond the borders of White RSA, his name is linked with the inflexible epithet of "racist".

His political career is nearing its end — this year Botha turned 71 years old — and hardly anyone would call this a happy end. The political tension in South Africa has reached a critical point — the economy is in crisis, the international isolation has increased, and in White circles the rift deepens. Botha has shown himself to be a gambler, from whom a fortune has been taken. He continues to play his stakes, but the roulette pointer unalterably continues its drifting beyond his number. Already extinguishing fires, the attendants expressively glance at the clock, and, nervously rubbing shoulders, make ready to rake up the remaining chips. The time has passed and already it's too late to retrieve the winnings ...

FIFTY years ago, when Botha was on the threshold of his political career, it is doubtful whether anyone could have foreseen in this young Boer a future prime minister. Of his contemporaries, he turned out to be the most ambitious and impetuous character of them all. "I can't describe how many prominent abilities Botha holds," reminisces one of his school teachers.



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| INDS. - STEEL & ALLIED | | | | | |
| CMH | 500 | 11.0 | 20.0 | 850 480 | 16900 |
| HVELD | 475 50+ | 6.3 | 17.2 | 780 425 | 13600 |
| HVELD S | 760 | 3 9 | 10.8 | 770 760 | |
| UN STEEL | 70 10+ | | 23.7 | 115 55 | 159000 |
| UN STL 14%CP | 105 | 13.3 | | 125 87 | 150930 |
| VEREEF | 1150 50- | 5 9 | 15.1 | 1400 1000 | 1300 |
| AVERAGE | | 6 1 | 16.6 | | |
| RETAILERS & WHOLESALERS | | | | | |

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WHY exactly was he entrusted with the leadership of the country? You see, among the other candidates for the chief post, his shares were situated quite low.

To begin with, Botha's political views have always been fairly close to the centre, and a candidate for the premiership had to be, by tradition, a representative of the right flank. Another point against him was that he did not have a higher education

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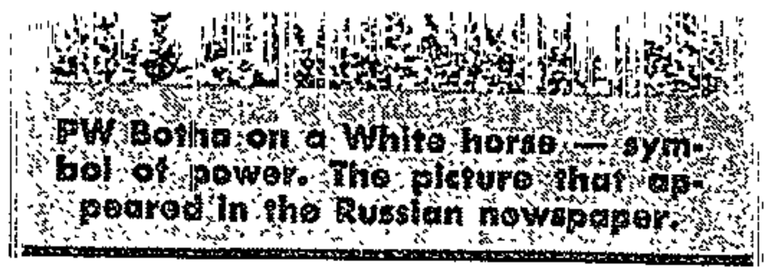
The uprising in Soweto in 1976 which ended in the shooting of 600 Africans, became the prologue of incessant national demonstrations which enveloped the whole country and reached a peak between 1984 and 1987. In the Southern African subregion, a new political situation came about, due to the failure of Portugese colonialism and the development around the RSA of a zone of independent African states, which at once joined in the battle against the regime of apartheid.

Southern African capitalism started to suffocate in the corset of apartheid. Accelerated industrial development and the emergence of new educational spheres demanded the creation of a stable qualified labour-force. Strict measures were necessary for the strengthening and expansion of the social-racial supports of the regime, to give the RSA the appearance of a "normal" capitalist state, where class distinctions, not actually called such, would coincide with those of race.

In other words, in order to survive, to stand their ground before the growing pressures of the African majority, it was necessary to extend some ideological principles in order to urgently reconstruct apartheid. And for this, a new, hard hand was necessary.

The Afrikaner big bourgeoisie decided that Botha, who by this time had gained a reputation for being an experienced and pragmatically-inclined politician, could save the system of exploitation by swiftly changing the political situation with bold reforms and thus stave off the growing call to revolution.

Justifying these hopes, Botha came out on a new course based on the understandin" that the previ-



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However, a big defect in Botha's strategy was that it did not take into account the historical test. It is well known that solutions for Southern Africa expose themselves to great danger when they try to adapt to the new situation by trying to catch up on lost time and by following selective reforms but not changing anything in the main. Weakening the thread, they endanger the existing stability (built on fear and represssions), and evoke new protesting forces both from the left and the right, forcing the disclosure of well-hidden masked social scores, admitting not only the errant past political activities but also the illegality of the holders of power.

Therefore the inevitable has occurred: Botha's politics, being indecisive in form and substance, have on the one hand come onto a collision course with the interests of orthodox Afrikanerdom, and on the other hand have speeded up the politicisation of the African majority, awakening a thirst for greater and faster concessions.

THE Botha reforms have engendered a multitude of phenomena which have upset initial expectations.

Despite the will of the authors of the new direction of reforms, the apartheid issue has been moved off the ice and its quickening decline has taken on an irreversible character. It turned out that the first part of Botha's precept "to adapt" — was impractical when protecting old schemes. A more realistic outlook has been the next part. Hardly had they been born than the reforms became the catalysts of new demonstrations of the oppressed, demanding real, tangible freedom, and not a hazy reflection through the crooked mirror of apartheid.

A black-striped suit with a cream flower in the left buttonhole; a dark tie with White spots, gold-rimmed spectacles; left hand raised in greeting; a festive smile on the face of the victor. Thus appeared P Botha before the rejoicing crowd after hearing [illegible]

of South African politics. Besides, it is not for nothing that he is considered a master of political intrigue. At the decisive moment he mobilised everyone in order to deal his opponent a shattering and unexpected blow.

The steely glint in his eye which the most cunning disguises cannot hide, has always brought his opponents and also his comrades to a halt. Botha has spared no one who has stood up in his path: the habits of the first-law fighter, observed in the beginning of his political career, have, in the past fifty years developed to a state of professionalism.

WHEN A Treurnicht, present head of the ultra-right Conservative Party, stood up against his reforms in 1982, Botha suppressed the dissenters by dismissing them from their government posts and making them quit the party. Five years later, he ran a campaign of discreditation against those who deserted him — D Worrall, W Malan and other "leftist deserters" who until fairly recently had been on his side.

The iron hand of Botha can be observed more and more often, as the White youth do not wish to blindly follow the disastrous discriminatory racist politics. "Botha — terrorist!" — vociferated White students of Cape Town University, and police whips flashed among them. Demonstrators at Johannesburg University carried a banner — "Hang Botha! Free Mandela". The police used birdshot.

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Pieter Botha is fortunate that these ideals and the system allow even his temper to appear as a radical!

The leader of the PFP, Colin Eglin, defeated victim of the May elections, expressed himself well of this subject. Commenting on the denunciations of Botha's speech by the right wing on the first day of the new parliament, he said. "Here before us sits the ruler of the National Party, defending the principles of racial qualifications for separate residential areas, apartheid in schools, hospitals and constitutions which are being charged with superfluous liberalism. What a sad day for South Africa!"

In the logic of Botha's behaviour, it fits that after the victory of the elections he again appeared "in blue", and declared that he would accelerate the execution of reforms, including the creation of an advisory structure with those leaders of the African majority who "reject violence and strive for peace". In the course of his visit to a Black township, he invited such Africans to take his hand. "And I am prepared to extend my hand to you", — he solemnly declared.

But his "big-hearted" offer hangs in the air. Not one came up — not even from the "moderates" — who would like to hold out his hand to Pieter Botha

Indeed, one can see why this is so, when in that country, the emergency regulations continue, the leaders of the African majority languish in jails, when armoured cars continue to patrol Black settlements and university campuses, when the newspapers have been forbidden to report on political matters, when people cannot peacefully bury their dead — [illegible]

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Justifying these hopes, Botha came out on a new course based on the understanding that the previous methods of oppression would not go down well in future conditions. "Adapt or die" — he accurately expressed the essence of his politics in close perspective

Botha stirred up the White hornet's nest by putting to work for his ideals not only the army, but also academics, businessmen, diplomats and journalists. One can say that his active politics has shaken up the apartheid-entrenched White society. In this initial period he appeared to be almost a liberal, or at least a sound-thinking politician, able to take decisions on cardinal issues To a certain degree this was so.

Botha is of the first South African leader who has dared to make any sort of change in the system of apartheid, offering something better than the outright fortification of the besieged White laager

In 1979 Botha allowed activities of African trade unions Black-skinned police took part in the breaking-up of demonstrations The leasing of land to prosperous Africans in the townships was started. Race restrictions were lifted from many professions.

Increased expenditure was allocated to African education. Permission was given for mixed marriages The pass laws were abolished. Differences in wages between Whites and Blacks, although remaining, began to be reduced. This last step would help in the creation of a Black middle class, which, because of its improved position, would not be interested in revolutionary changes

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A black-striped suit with a cream flower in the left buttonhole, a dark tie with White spots; gold-rimmed spectacles; left hand raised in greeting; a festive smile on the face of the victor. Thus appeared P Botha before the rejoicing crowd after hearing the results of the Parliamentary elections on May 6 in which he relinquished explicit right-wing positions.

Earlier on that day he and his wife had posted their ballot papers — voting for himself, making informal family jokes.

One more picture: White Transvaal children greet the president; delighted faces, tricolour flags, joyful shouts; a fatherly smile from Botha; a brown tie; a red/white flower in the left buttonhole. And now, without his flower but with the Order of the Star of an orange, white and blue ribbon. Everything is thought out to the finest detail. Botha does not take risks in serious moments. Although an actor, he is fairly mediocre, and his public is not sufficiently frivolous.

His aptitude for political mimicry is most impressive. With his "transformations" he often manages to deceive and play up to not only his own rivals, but also influential patrons in other countries. He sows illusions, making experienced politicians and diplomats believe his words.

Many people are surprised at Botha when he makes out to be a "liberal". Why do they call this clear-thinking politician, who so clearly understands the problems of contemporary South Africa, a racist? It is true that the impatience of the predator does not allow him to linger long in the robes of peacemaker and reformist. He is much more comfortable in the natural position of a guardian of the Afrikaner manor house and as an avid anti-communist.

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Indeed, one can see why this is so, when in that country, the emergency regulations continue, the leaders of the African majority languish in jails, when armoured cars continue to patrol Black settlements and university campuses, when the newspapers have been forbidden to report on political matters, when people cannot peacefully bury their dead — those victims who have died because of their repressions.

It is appropriate to recall the words of Hertzog, written in another era but valid even today: "You see, it is not by muteness, inquisition, exile and the whip that reforms can take place."

THE path which Botha is suggesting lies far away from the road towards genuine democracy in South Africa. Meanwhile, the political, economic and demographic situation demands larger, rather than smaller steps from him and his party.

The necessary fundamental changes would be the abolition of the laws of apartheid, the freeing of political prisoners, the legalisation of all political parties and organisations and the discontinuation of the state of emergency.

Sooner or later Pretoria will have to sit around the table with the authentic representatives of the African majority. The whole matter revolves around whether the chances for a peaceful settlement have not already been lost, or whether after a bloody conflict which would claim many more thousands of lives, this country would be turned into another Lebanon.

The fact that the latter is inadmissable, even P Botha realises, but the instinct of the oppressor rejecting the possibility of a just arrangement might prove to be stronger than healthy common sense.

It was not by chance that the well-known South African poet B Breytenbach referred to the Afrikaner leaders as "having retrogressive minds". It is tragic that the fate of that beautiful country lies in their hands

304A C/Press 29/11/87

# SEEKING HONEST PARTICIPATION

By REUEL KHOZA

THE area of participative management is one which holds one of the most crucial challenges for business.

Not least because of the unnatural division between management and labour in this country – a division based largely on race and extended to socio-economic and ideological differences.

South African business managements have to achieve common purpose with their employees. They have to find ways of overcoming existing cleavages.

The one way in which business can address this challenge is participative management.

I believe this to be the practice whereby management significantly involves employees in the running of a business.

However, one finds resistance to this concept for a variety reasons. The first is a genuine inability of management to grasp or understand the concept.

The second is born of an attitude cultivated in South African cultural and socio-political milieu where whites cannot see blacks as partners or significant contributors of any kind.

Another is based on the false understanding that a call for genuine participative management is a call for management to abdicate its responsibilities and prerogatives

To deal with the last problem first, participative management does not require management to abdicate its decision-making roles But that it take into consideration input from those expected to implement or be affected by decisions.

It is the concept of making employees part of the decisions, and thus committed because they are meaningful partners in the process.

It is a means of breaking the "us" and "them" division because participative management, in essence is consensual management. It is also a recognition that management does not necessarily have all the answers and that there is a significant store of informative and strategic input that is being neglected within companies.

As mentioned earlier, it is difficult for some of our managers to apply this concept to blacks because they have become conditioned to the notion that blacks are for a number of reasons incapable of meaningful participation in management.

This sort of mentality in management tends to alienate workers from their jobs.

It thus becomes a self-fulfilling assertion on the parts of managements, that blacks do not want involvement.

This type of manager tends to look at management as a "power relation". They are in the mould of our political leaders, incapable of genuine consultation – never mind negotiation of any kind

This is where the major challenge lies because most of our top management is in this mould. That is, not resistant to participative management but totally incapable of comprehending its nature and requirements.

It is imperative for top management to grasp and fully understand this concept because the top echelon I speak of will increasingly be the ones that engage top union, political and other community leadership in the future.

If, like their political counterparts, management cannot value and seriously consider the input of those they deem not to be equals, then the future is bleak.

Equal participation is increasingly being seen as a panacea that will address South African socio-economic problems

It is seen as a mechanism that will stem, if not reverse, the dissatisfaction with the "free enterprise" system that has become quite evident among blacks.

Equity participation schemes have also, in some aspects, arisen primarily as a response to economic and political pressure from the sanctions movements abroad.

So, in the main, equity participation schemes have been advanced for two primary reasons. These in themselves make it difficult for blacks to support or welcome them without reservation.

In a system where "free enterprise" or "capitalism" is often seen, if mistakenly so, as inextricably interwoven with apartheid, it is hard to master support from blacks for any system or mechanism designed to sustain free enterprise.

The same argument flows logically in the rejection of any collaboration easing international pressure against the South African establishment – be it political or economic.

The above is not to imply that equity participation is totally undesirable. In fact, quite the contrary. For quite a while now, black economic spokespeople have been talking about the growth of black economic power and about blacks entering the mainstream of the economy.

Equity participation is one of the most potent tributaries towards this economic mainstream

However, for equity participation to work effectively it has to satisfy certain criteria.

First, and most importantly, equity participation must be one or more element in the total arsenal of effective participative management.

If is not part of a genuine attempt to meaningfully engage employees in issues affecting them in the workplace, then equity participation will not achieve its full potential. This means that those meant to be the beneficiaries of equity participation schemes, especially employees, must be consulted and their views taken seriously about the form, extent and mechanisms for such schemes

It should not be approached in a prescriptive and paternalistic manner.

The second criterion, closely allied to the first, is that the offer of equity participation must be made for reasons seen to be acceptable by the employees.

In this sense, management must realise it starts at a disadvantage. The managements of most companies still need to establish good will and trust among their employees.

If the reasons for introduction are acceptable, and the concept of the scheme is also acceptable, the third criterion is that such participation must be substantial and not merely token. This observation is made in respect of both the relative share participation and the absolute amounts of money involved.

In practical legal terms in South Africa, substantial share participation is that which exceeds 25 percent.

Thus equity participation schemes which make it impossible for blacks to acquire at least 25 percent of the equity will be seen as an attempt to draw employees in without affording them an effective voice in the running of the corporation.

It must also not be a token scheme in the sense that, having offered employees equity participation, management feels that it has done enough to involve employees in the workplace.

Equity participation alone will not induce the loyalty and pride in the workplace that is necessary to make it meaningful.

If pride and loyalty to the company are missing, then equity participation becomes meangingful to the employees only in terms of monetary value. Corporate South Africa by now appreciates that if this country is to develop and prosper, by the turn of the century, 60 percent of all executive and professional and 85 percent of all white-collar jobs will have to be filled by blacks.

That up to 94 percent of South Africa's current management is drawn from the white sector of the population – a sector that constitutes less than 15 percent of the total population – is by now painful common knowledge.

A situation so anomalous must, of necessity, have thrust a substantial proportion of these white managers to their present levels. Preoccupation with the use of only whites as managers has gone beyond the point of diminishing returns.

It is now imperative for corporate South Africa to tap and develop the virtually untapped management potential of people other than whites

This is one area where corporate business leadership can set a good example for the bigoted political leadership in restructuring South African society.



Leading businessman Reuel Khoza ... management for the future.

# Two CP seats to be contested

(3044) B/day 30/11/87

TWO Transvaal rural constituencies captured by the CP during the May general election will be contested in by-elections early next year — both forced by Supreme Court rulings.

Both the CP and the NP indicated at the weekend that polling results at Schweizer Reineke and Standerton would be indicative of the Transvaal political climate, and both parties' machinery have started moving to secure victory.

The NP at the weekend nominated former MP and current President's Council member Willie Lemmer, defeated by 191 votes by the CP in the general election, to contest the Schweizer Reineke seat, NP's chief secretary Lukas Nel said.

The Schweizer Reineke by-election became a reality last week with the final sequestration of CP MP Kobus Beyers in the Pretoria Supreme Court. In terms of the law a sequestrated person automatically loses his seat. Beyers took the seat from the NP in a three-way contest in which the HNP lost its deposit.

The CP will nominate a candidate on Wednesday, party spokesman Andries Beyers said. The party has opened 76 branches in the far western Transvaal constituency to rally support.

The HNP will also enter the fray and has fielded veteran party leader Jaap Marais as its candidate. This will be Marais' 9th bid to become an MP.

In Standerton, South East Transvaal Rugby Union president Hennie Erasmus is to contest Standerton for the NP. The NP is keen to recapture Standerton, considered a "safe" seat by the Nats before their May defeat. "We will not spoil our second chance," a party spokesman said.

The Standerton by-election was forced after a Supreme Court ruling which declared invalid the election of CP candidate Rosier de Ville. He was deputy sheriff of the town at the time — and thus not eligible to stand. De Ville will contest the seat again.

ELSABÉ WESSELS

(3044) Bldoy 30/11/87

# Suzman a light to rally liberal opinion



□ SUZMAN . . . a clear beacon

**KEN OWEN**

BY APPOINTING Helen Suzman to its chairmanship, the PFP has set up a clear beacon to rally liberal opinion, as she did for 13 years as the sole representative of her party in Parliament.

It is a role for which she is singularly suited. She told me that when she re-read her early speeches, she did not find it necessary to alter a word. Such extraordinary clarity of vision is rare in politics — even Alan Paton has wavered and fallen prey to doubt — and such consistency would be impossible to achieve except by clinging absolutely to principle.

Suzman has not, for example, flirted with violence as the churches have done; she has not adopted easy revolutionary postures, nor played to foreign intellectual audiences; she has not once accepted the suggestion that the destruction of the economy by sanctions is the path to freedom.

There is no need to romanticise. She has had the advantages of a first-class mind, a good liberal education and, one speculates, a family background saturated with the hard-won Jewish wisdom of Eastern Europe.

Her courage is her own, but for the rest she is both the beneficiary and the carrier of an altogether traditional set of Western values transmitted to this continent in English.

Those values have been abandoned — left, right and centre — in the past three or four years, and the effect on the PFP has been very damaging.

Various factors have contributed to the party's decline. At the top of the list I would put "the necklace", in the sense that it has become a symbol for white South Africa's deepest atavistic fears of Africa. Many people who, until 1985, held strong views on the rule of law are now saying that it is "a luxury that African countries cannot afford", that "this is a violent continent", that "democracy doesn't work in Africa", and so forth. They have scuttled into the arms of the Nats.

The same fear is aroused by television footage of chanting, dancing students at the universities, by Archbishop Tutu's semantically clever but transparently threatening rhetoric, by many external pressures, by the Angolan conflict, and by stories of decay, disease and violence in independent Africa.

It does not matter that the fears are hardly justifiable, especially when measured against Europe's capacity for violence, but they do exist; and any revival of liberal values will depend heavily on black leaders willing to defend and uphold those values with as much vigour as Helen Suzman does.

This points to a second factor: the abandonment of liberal values by white intellectual and spiritual leaders anxious to cuddle up to the revolutionaries who, between 1985 and 1987, they saw as the wave of the future. The PFP, which had operated under the comfortable assumption that it had "no enemies to the left", came under disconcerting attack from people who equate capitalism with apartheid and call Helen Suzman a racist.

Many of them are now scrabbling back to safer ground, disclaiming both their recent disdain for free speech and their excessive tolerance for the totalitarian left. The true Marxists fall silent, the pseudo-Marxists rediscover the liberal strand in their thoughts. But the PFP now knows that it does have "enemies to the left".

A third factor in the PFP's decline has been the change in the character of the National Party under President Botha. Apartheid has been abandoned in favour of a policy of pragmatic racialism which clearly has the same intellectual roots as the United Party's "white leadership with justice", Sir de Villiers Graaff's "race federation" and the New Republic Party's "local option".

Among limousine liberals it is fashionable to say that the immense changes in government policy since 1979 have left apartheid miraculously intact; black trade union leaders know better. They recognise in the housing projects, in the ugrading and extension of black education and in the economic pragmatism of the NP a reincarnation of the UP's old idea of "creating a black middle-class".

The fear of the radicals, increasingly, is not of apartheid but of bourgeoisie co-option; reform does not allay hostility but intensifies it.

All this has, quite naturally, attracted to the ranks of the National Party those English voters who, in gentler times, imagined themselves to be liberal. Nor has their loss been off-set by the emergence of a "liberal" school of Afrikaners.

The language question raises sensitivities, but it needs to be faced. The PFP's leadership cadre has been roughly 40% Afrikaans; its rank-and-file only 4%. The ratio tells its own story: liberal Afrikaans leaders bring no followers with them.

In fact, Afrikaans anti-apartheid dissidents like Wynand Malan and the Stellenbosch academics tend to flinch from the Anglo-Saxon definition of liberal values, opting instead for a European social democracy. There is a real question whether the English and Afrikaans anti-apartheid forces can ever live comfortably together in one party.

The reason is obvious. In the National Party, as in the old UP, the white language groups are bound together mainly by white racism; when they try to reject racism as a basis for political organisation, other, more subtle, differences come into play. As Malan puts it, an Afrikaner does not exist outside the context of a "group"; English individualism offers only a kind of spiritual death.

This, then, is the unpromising background: the PFP has been consistently unable to attract Afrikaners; black liberals have disappeared in the face of a rising, and violent, radicalism; English racists, partly in reaction, have fled into the National Party; the left has perverted the anti-apartheid struggle to serve the cause of a war on capitalism, which is the economics of liberalism; and the PFP itself has been riven by factionalism and betrayal.

What is left? Only Helen Suzman, perhaps. The task, for the moment, is not to repair the structures and organisation of the party — though that, too, is needed — but to uphold the core values of the community from which it has sprung and which, indeed, nurtured her.

She puts out a clear light; whether many will be drawn to it nobody can now say, but their numbers will determine whether the English strand of liberalism remains a force in South African politics, or whether it dies altogether, reducing white South Africans to a brutal choice between the Conservative Party and the Nationalists.

**□ KEN OWEN's column will be suspended while he is on leave and abroad. It will resume in March.**

# Earn your place, whites told

THE publicity secretary of the South African Youth Congress (Sayco), Simon Ntombela, has called on whites to unite and "earn their place in the broad democratic movement".

Addressing the 65th Congress of the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) at UCT this week, Ntombela said the organising of whites in democratic organisations was an "urgent and strategic task".

"It is going to shorten the suffering of millions of people, end apartheid and the destabilisation of neighbouring states".

## Worried

He said all those opposed to the apartheid system were under attack and there was a need for a broad united front.

The white bloc was cracking and thousands of disillusioned whites realised apartheid could not exist forever.

"These are worried people who see no security under the apartheid system. Your task is to reach out to these people."

Ntombela said a negotiated settlement was not possible while a State of Emergency existed and people were banned or detained.

## Negotiations

"With whom is Botha going to negotiate? Mandela is in Pollsmoor. The UDF has been driven underground. People are dying everyday.

"We don't believe Botha is serious about negotiations."

Sayco and the broad democratic movement were not "opposed" to negotiations but it was important "not to over emphasise negotiations."

"We must concentrate on bringing about a climate conducive to negotiations," Ntombela said.

# 'Break ties with Parliament'

3-9/12-1

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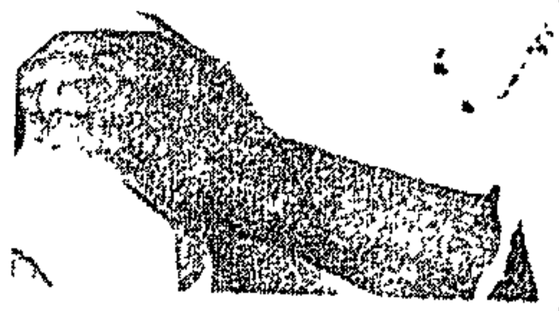


UDF's spokesperson Hilda Ndude

THE United Democratic Front in the Western Cape has called on the National Democratic Movement to "think about" forsaking Parliament.

The UDF responded to the NDM this week after a long silence on Randburg Independent MP Wynand Malan's new movement.

UDF publicity secretary Hilda Ndude said the UDF believed the NDM had a role to play "but outside Parliament, not inside".

"We call on the NDM to think about this seriously, in the light of the mess our country is in."

## Peace-loving

Ndude said the UDF was committed to its stand on non-participation in Parliament, and to extra-parliamentary organisation.

"We want to renew our call to all peace-loving South Africans to break their ties with the apartheid government and to join the forces of those committed to a peaceful solution.

"We reiterate our stand that talks should be held with the genuine leaders of the people.

"We have no problems with people who are against apartheid, but they have to play a role outside Parliament," she said.

# 'We know who our friends are'

**IN SOUTH's Forum debate on the National Democratic Movement (November 5 to 11) it was argued that the NDM should be "drawn closer" to progressive organisations in the extra-parliamentary movement.**
**A "Concerned activist from Guguletu" responds.**

JOHNNY Issel's article in SOUTH (November 5-11) urging the democratic movement to court the National Democratic Movement (NDM) is one of the most explicit statements on the immediate tasks of the liberation movement.

The article is written in the context of a flurry of activity aimed at "isolating the apartheid regime". This became pronounced at the beginning of the year with the inclusion of Idasa in the people's camp.

Then during the whites-only election UDF discovered it was unable to advise whether to vote or not. Later the Dakarites were given a heroes welcome. More recently organising whites was given prominence in the conference organised by the Five Freedoms Forum (FFF).

## Ruptures

Many an activist is wondering why there was so much emphasis on enhancing the rifts in the ranks of the ruling-class, when the obvious task is to defend and rebuild the pole of the dominated classes which has been weakened by "apartheid violence".

Is it not urgent to redouble these efforts? But why is something that is so obvious not so clear to some people in the democratic movement?

Issel's article makes it easier for militants to spot the source of the strategic blunder. His starting point is the powerful nature of the government which is a correct, but not a new revelation.

The events in past few months have dispelled the illusion that the government is on the verge of collapse. For people not to lapse into the defeatist position of saying that because of the might of the apartheid government, there is little that can be done, the potential might of the dominated classes must be acknowledged, harnessed and tapped.

It is the might of the people's camp that causes rifts and ruptures in ruling circles.

To talk about exploiting these divisions while being quiet on how the people's camp is to be strengthened is tantamount to defeatism.

Most politicos seem to be posing the question as Johnny Issel does. He, in answering the question of how to weaken apartheid, says: "We have to work for complete isolation."

According to this kind of thinking, isolating the government means winning the whites. In addition to having an incorrect position on organising whites, this position also entrenches another illusion — that the government will evaporate as a result of isolation. History has taught us that apartheid cannot be reformed or isolated, it must be smashed.

What is more dangerous about the position which Issel posits is the treatment of whites as a group with no class divisions.

For in terms of this position the immediate task is the winning over of whites, regardless of their class position, into the broad "apartheid front"

What is disturbing is the mournful silence among the protagonists of the "isolationist" position when it comes to a perspective on the white working class. Issel takes, politically, a suicidal position when he warns the NDM not to pursue those whites on the far right. Are most of the whites who have found their way into right-wing parties not the working and lower section of the middle classes who are starting to see that the National Party can in the present economic crisis no longer guarentee them the housing subsidies, job reservation and all the other privileges they have enjoyed for years?

That these sections of the white comunity — the working and lower middle classes — are moving to the right is a reflection of the weakness on the part of the democratic movement.

The weakness to consciously, in spite of the difficulties, demonstrate to the white workers and lower middle classes and their long-term interests, like job security and full employment can only be guaranteed in a socialist South Africa.

This weakness must be acknowledged and corrected by militants. We must not underestimate, as Issel does, the potential of the movement to gradually win over the white working class and the lower middle class. This, the movement can do only if it breaks with the gentlemanish diplomatic manoeuvering which can only attract the captains of industry like Tony Bloom, Gavin Relly and Chris Ball.

## Gentlemanish

Winning over the white working and lower middle classes and not courting the NDM is the immediate task. This task can only be fulfilled by a strong pole in the ranks of the oppressed around the black working class. It cannot be done by NDM as Johnny Issel would like us to believe.

It is only when the democratic movement proves in struggle that it is capable of being a future government, that it can hope to win other strata of the society, particularly the white working class.

This is the only way to ensure the white workers and lower middle class do not become the base of the proto-fascists like the AWB. To fool ourselves by courting anti-democrats like NDM who are still ambivalent on basic demands like the scrapping of the Group Areas Act: The rejection of the detention without trial etc, will be disasterous.

(304A)

# Suzman flexes her muscle in the new and improved PFP

W/Mail 22/11—3/12/87

**Weekly Mail Reporter, Cape Town**

THE election of Helen Suzman, South Africa's longest-serving MP, as national chairman of the Progressive Federal Party says everything about the position of the party after its recent setbacks.

Suzman represents precisely what the party leadership wants the PFP to be — not a party in loose opposition to the government, but one clearly articulating liberal democratic values.

Particularly for party leader Colin Eglin, the PFP cannot merely be a party that is against apartheid, nor can it be, broadly speaking, the parliamentary wing of extra-parliamentary movements, which include the ANC.

The party leadership believes it paid a heavy price in the May 6 election for its relatively undefined position in regard to the range of extra-parliamentary organisations, and this made it easy for the government to gain votes by hanging an ANC albatross around its neck.

The PFP had to become a party, argued the leadership, with a pos itive message, a policy which would define its political position.

That conclusion was summed up in the "mission statement" issued by the PFP's federal executive in August.

"The PFP is totally and irrevocably committed to working for a non-racial democracy in South Africa where government and society respect the fundamental rights and dignity of the individual citizen," it read.

And Suzman, widely respected as a veteran fighter for civil liberties, encapsulates the very essence of that statement. Her clear record and her defined political position is what the PFP, after May 6, is all about.

It was a conclusion which Jan van Eck, the independent MP for Claremont, thought would alienate the PFP from extra-parliamentary organisations. So he quit before the mission statement became party policy.

Van Eck's own political beliefs about what kind of a society he would like to see are hazy but he believed it would be political suicide for the PFP to adopt a policy which had been rejected by extra-parliamentary organisations.

Rather than define a particular political policy, his approach is one which ends up being fairly pragmatic: don't adopt a position which will alienate extra-parliamentary movements and co-operate with them where you can.

Suzman's predecessor as PFP national chairman, Peter Gastrow, and his two colleagues, Pierre Cronje an Pieter Schoeman, who resigned from the party to join the National Democratic Movement, did not go as far along this path as Van Eck but in the end, the NDM's vague concept of "process" politics is not too different.

People like Suzman and Eglin firmly believe a liberal democratic framework is the only lasting solution for South Africa's political conflict. They are convinced that a democracy, with entrenched rights for all, is the only viable answer.

The mission statement said the PFP would "demonstrate that it is a vigorous opposition, a determined custodian of liberal values, and a leader in the field of change".

That is very much a Suzman line and her election to the number two position in the party underlines the PFP'S support for this approach.

For some time after she was no longer the lone Progressive MP, she semeed willing to take a back seat within the PFP. But angered by the setbacks of the May 6 election, she has started exercising her political muscle within the party.

Whether that will change the PFP's fortunes at the polls, or draw in younger supporters, remains to be seen, but at least there is now little doubt about where the party stands.

3apr





DR BARNARD



PRESIDENT BOTHA



GENERAL MALAN

# They should quit says Slabbert

Daily Dispatch Correspondent

**CAPE TOWN — President P. W. Botha, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and the head of the National Intelligence Service (NIS), Dr Neil Barnard, should resign in the new year, the director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative South Africa (Idasa), Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said yesterday.**

"I would like to see P. W Botha resign. Gracefully if he can, but in any case resign," Dr Slabbert said in the latest edition of Inside South Africa, which was released yesterday.

President Botha, General Malan and Dr Barnard, as well as all the senior officers in the defence force who had "cooked up the nonsense of, and believe in, the total onslaught—total strategy" should resign.

"Then F. W. de Klerk, who is bound to succeed Botha, and who comes into the job unencumbered by the vast bureaucracies that followed his predecessors, should dismantle the whole bureaucracy of NIS.

Mr De Klerk should call in the top echelons of the security establishment and explain to them that the options for South Africa were running out fast because the state either created circumstances under which it could negotiate with the demonstrable leaders of the people or be prepared for long, inconclusive and destructive violence.

Mr De Klerk should also make the SABC "freely available for a consistent programme of political education on what the problems are in finding a negotiated and democratic alternative."

Dr Slabbert said President Botha and his total onslaught fundis should resign because "they have done far too much damage already".

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Colin Eglin, said 1988 called for statemanship of the highest order and prayed that the year would see violence giving way to negotiation.

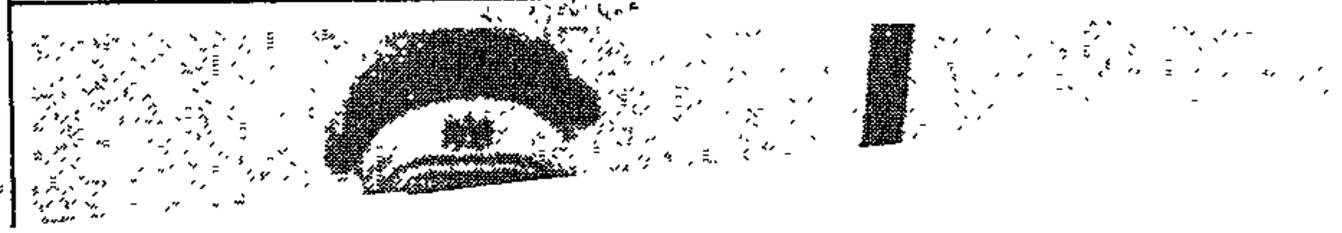


DR SLABBERT

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, predicted that the commemoration of the Great Trek would inspire national feeling and a sense of destiny and that the swing in favour of the CP would accelerate.

The leader of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said 1988 could be a year in which "the battle for hearts and minds in South Africa will coalesce for the common good".

But the national executive of the United Democratic Front (UDF) predicted South Africa would be "sucked into spiralling violence, increasing curbs on the freedom of speech and the press, and greater efforts by the government to force the national council and the long-rejected black local authorities down the throats of our people".



# Plans for new FFF initiatives

4/12/87

Political Reporter

The Five Freedoms Forum (FFF) — an alliance of organisations fighting for basic freedoms in South Africa — is planning several new initiatives next year to mobilise white opposition to apartheid.

A spokesman for the FFF, Mr David Webster, said various groups were being set up so that whites could become involved in practical projects.

The new initiatives follow the FFF's national conference in September, at which it was agreed to mobilise white South Africans who were in favour of ending apartheid and establishing a non-racial democracy.

Mr Webster said a major workshop would be held in Cape Town this weekend (30th Sun)

6/12/87 (304A) ST1

# What Election '87 really meant for the RIGHTISTS and the REFORMERS

**By BRIAN POTTINGER**

A CABINET MINISTER, who shall remain nameless, offered in September last year what he felt was a cogent reason why there should not be an early general election.

It would, he said, be a repeat of the 1977 elections with everybody fighting foreigners and nobody dealing with the major political and constitutional issues.

This foreboding would appear to have been overstated if one is to judge from the central theme of an excellent and comprehensive analysis of the 1987 general elections released this week.

South African Election 1987 edited by D J van Vuuren, J Latakgomo, H C Marais and L Schlemmer (Owen Burgess Publishers) is a Human Sciences Research Council project, although the sponsors are at pains to point out that the conclusions reached are not necessarily theirs.

Thirty-one contributors ranged over the context of the elections, its implications for the National Party and the opposition, the role of the extra-parliamentary opposition, media's handling of the election and the future impact of the results.

Two central questions inevitably remain: did the 1987 elections reflect a swing to the right? Should we interpret the support received by the Government as a mandate for further reform?

There can be no simple answers, but South African Election makes a stab at offering a few.

P H Kapp, for example, argues that the 29,4 percent of the vote taken by the far-right represents a serious inroad into the National Party's power base, although it has held its own among the urban Afrikaners.

Yet, many contributors argue, this should not be seen as a swing to the right. The Conservative Party did less well than anticipated. Professor Dirk Laurie, for example, holds that the CP's growth was almost entirely at the expense of the HNP.

Nic Rhoodie and M P Couper, after adducing a mass of research data based on opinion polls, offer the view that rightist voters had been conservative all along — even when in the National Party — and had simply moved into their natural home in the CP.

This is of course comforting news after the more apocalyptic views bandied about on May 7 — but one should beware of complacency.

The hard fact, undisputed in the surveys, is that the far right do have a wide spread of support in the two northern provinces, which have converted a number of National Party seats into marginal ones.

But more to the point is the conclusion reached by Simon Bekker and Janis Grobbelaar that the growth potential of the far right depends, ultimately, on the extent to which conservative whites continue experiencing a drop in living standards.

There, surely, is the rub. White real incomes have been dropping for eight consecutive years and there is no sign they will improve, so it would be wise to accept that the right wing, like the poor, will always be with us.

The second question — does the Government have a mandate for reform? — is argued most cogently by Rhoodie and Couper.

"From all the empirical evidence it appears that the National Party in reality




visibly shifted to the left (in the sense of pro-reform) in the South African political spectrum."

Rhoodie backs this conclusion with the results of a post-election opinion survey which, on the face of it, explodes some of the dearer held assumptions about white attitudes during the election — particularly the view that the Government's sophisticated propaganda linking the liberal opposition with the ANC was determinant in causing a shift to the Government.

The surveys indicated that whites ordered the priority of concerns thus: the unrest situation (57 per cent thought it a big issue); power-sharing between white and blacks (55 per cent); the economy (52 per cent); the emergency situation (49 per cent); outside pressure against South Africa (36 per cent); and, a poor last place, negotiations with the ANC (35 per cent).

Their research, good news here for the anti-sanctioneers, is that there is no evidence that whites generally become more reformist under pressure — indeed the reverse.

From this and other research Rhoodie and Couper deduce that the majority of whites, although absorbed by questions of security, have not relinquished their support for the principle of political accommodation between white and blacks or "reform" as generally understood and propagated by the National Party.

The conclusion begs the obvious question: what *does* the white electorate understand by reform and *was* the National Party standing for real, as opposed to adaptive, reform in May this year?

On the first count one can quote Rhoodie back to himself where he finds that the majority of people who voted on May 6 felt themselves inadequately informed about the NP's reform policies.

Thus, one could argue, while there was a visceral majority support for political change, there was little idea about its content or whether the National Party properly embraced it. Coupled with this, was C D Schutte's analysis of survey data which reveals an alarming white cynicism about politics and politicians in general.

The second point, a more subjective one, is whether one should try to compare the National Party in the 1981 elections with the National Party in 1987, and argue that in the interim it has become considerably more reformist.

This is undoubtedly true, but a party must inevitably be judged as much on its ability to deal with the future as its handling of the past. In this case the National Party — after its Prague Spring of 1981 until 1985 — entered the May elections ideologically jaded and politically isolated.

Support for this weary party, then, from the left of the political spectrum can quite legitimately be seen as a choice of security over innovation or, put another way, safety at the expense of reform.

Rhoodie is no doubt correct when he says it was a mandate for reform — but it was an extremely tenuous, opaque one.

What, briefly, were the consequences of the election?

South African Election 1987 proposes a number, but five are of crucial importance.

● First, South African politics have changed irrevocably from the old two-party system to a three-party one: — left, centre, right.

● Second, the National Party has emerged with a dramatically changed constituency comprising a significant portion of English-speakers.

Its dilemma in the future will be how to embrace enough political change to retain the support of its fickle newcomers without scaring off its older and more conservative support.

● Third, the liberal opposition's traditional support base has been decimated. Six out of ten non-Afrikaners supported the National Party or parties to the right.

Fourth, while whites were generally optimistic about the results of the election as it would effect political change, blacks were largely pessimistic.

"The majority of blacks evaluated the election result very negatively and the indications are that it caused a hardening of their attitude towards whites. It increased the potential for an escalation of overt violence," observed C P de Kock.

● Fifth, and finally, the polls showed a significant number of middle-of-the-roaders who were ambivalent about further political reform.

Here, certainly, lies the most important lesson. If the Government does not move imaginatively and effectively to seduce the "neutrals" into the reform camp they could quite easily lose them to the non-reformists.

Over to Tuynhuys.

# Reform has now come to a halt, says 'Lang Dawid'

By NICO MULLER

REFORM has come to a halt and the Government is now only interested in clinging to white supremacy, former Nasionale Press managing director Mr D P "Lang Dawid" de Villiers said in Cape Town yesterday.

Mr de Villiers, a leader of the National Democratic Movement, was speaking at a Five Freedoms Forum workshop on the role of negotiations in a changing South Africa.

He said it could not be denied that there had been changes from the '50s to the present.

But it could also not be denied that reform initiatives had come to a halt in the past two years.

"For reformers, like me, the absolute priority has been to achieve results that would be fair to all South Africans — as soon as possible.

"But, for others, the highest priority has been to keep the party in power for as long as possible."

People were getting fed up with this approach because it signified that the Government wanted to cling to white supremacy and "baasskap" for as long as possible.

## Anathema

It seemed to think it could control the situation through military and police suppression "and it does not matter that we are using up our capital of goodwill".

It was no wonder black and coloured leaders were not interested in the Government's style of negotiations, Mr de Villiers said, and he had gained the impression over the years that the Government did not want to learn anything from negotiations.

"It was anathema to talk to black leaders in the '50s, and in the '60s they talked only to the Matanzimas and Mangopes, who agreed with their grand scheme of apartheid, but not to Buthelezi because he prefered a unified South Africa to independence for KwaZulu.

"Now we sit with the same problem with the tricameral system.

"The only talks that will now work will be by South Africans to South Africans," Mr de Villiers said.

6/12/87 ST1 304A



Dr MASIPULA SITHOLE, the author of this article, was in South Africa recently. He is the former Dean of Social Sciences at the University of Zimbabwe. He is a guest columnist of a quarterly publication of the Centre for Enrichment in African Political Affairs.

# THE POLITICS OF PAIN

Southern Africa has been in a state of crisis since the fall of the Portuguese empire in Angola and Mozambique in 1974.

The MPLA and Frelimo governments estab-

and settlement of the crisis.

There are basically three views on white South African thinking on the crisis facing the country today The first and older view is that white South Africans are being forced into a laager.

cheat them out of meaningful power in the process.

Black South Africans are therefore likely to keep pressure on the regime until they know what has been shared and distributed to whom in any settlement

Further, while South

centuries earlier – but were forced in the 1970's to surrender power to the blacks.

Moreover, it is precisely because whites in South Africa know they have nowhere else to go that they are likely to accept a more permanent and far-reaching accom-

see this To his credit, PW Botha has warned his white compatriots. "Adapt or die!"

Similarly, the military might of South Africa, as we have suggested earlier, is rendered impotent because South Africa's problems emanate from within South African so-

He, I must add, put the timing of a Lancaster-like settlement in South Africa at between five and 10 years.

Most white South Africans know whites in Rhodesia failed not for lack of resolve or military hardware This

It is also for this reason that South Africa's aggressive policy towards its neighbours is a blindly misdirected energy. Even if all anti-apartheid governments in Southern Africa were overthrown – which is unlikely – resistance to apartheid would continue to increase

then leaders of the mainstream nationalist movement – had been excluded from either the Executive Council itself or from the elections it conducted.

There was nothing magical in the Lord Soames mechanism which succeeded it

# POLITICS OF PAIN

Southern Africa has been in a state of crisis since the fall of the Portuguese empire in Angola and Mozambique in 1974.

The MPLA and Frelimo governments established in Angola and Mozambique, respectively, in the mid-1970's have been under pressure from internal opposition groups that have been increasingly drawn into the armpits of South African sponsorship in its destabilisation policy towards its neighbours. Zimbabwe, independent for only six years, seems to have fallen into a similar pattern.

The crisis of instability in Southern Africa in general, and of South African apartheid, in particular, has been moving, naturally, to a "climax of decision", where all concerned must now either participate in a conflagration of the worst racial war in Africa, or in averting it.

My intention here is to share some thoughts on the prospects for positive change in the Republic of South Africa since the problem of instability in the region seems strongly linked to the attitude of South Africa.

• I will advance here the thesis that the pessimistic view – that there can only be a military solution the problems of the region – is unlikely, and that the climaxing of tensions in the region, particularly in South Africa itself, is only a necessary condition for a natural and inevitable accommodation and settlement of the crisis.

There are basically three views on white South African thinking on the crisis facing the country today The first and older view is that white South Africans are being forced into a laager.

The second and more current view is that South African authorities have, at least at the ideological level, abandoned apartheid. Moreover, the myth of racial superiority in South Africa was exposed more dramatically in the defeat of the Portuguese in Angola and Mozambique.

With the racial myth exploded, South African authorities are now pleading for time to prepare the population – both black and white – for an orderly and conciliatory transition to black majority rule. Apartheid, therefore, is dead. The plea is for an honorable burial.

The third view is somewhat akin to the first in that it argues that white South Africa has not changed at all; and also that the Botha government's reform policy is a way deceiving blacks into relaxing pressure on Botha and his men.

It is the view of the optimist in the second category which I share, while cognisant of some of the attendant dangers. For, if black South Africans were to accept, willy nilly, that white South Africa has changed and is now willing to abandon or share power, there is the danger that white authority might attempt to cheat them out of meaningful power in the process

Black South Africans are therefore likely to keep pressure on the regime until they know what has been shared and distributed to whom in any settlement.

Further, while South African authorities might want to buy time in order to "tighten the screws", this does not achieve anything because the presently "loose screws" were loosened by black resistance right in the face of Mr Botha and his men.

Is South Africa like former Rhodesia? Obviously it is not, and what happened in the one country need not necessarily happen in the other. While this distinction should be accepted, pessimists, however, often exaggerate the differences between the two countries in order to minimise the impact of the Rhodesian experience for South Africa.

First there is the suggestion that white South Africans came to this country in the 17th century while in Rhodesia they came three centuries later. White South Africans are therefore likely to be more entrenched, knowing no other country to go to should blacks take over.

As such, whites in South Africa are likely to fight for their position of dominance much more tenaciously than in Rhodesia or elsewhere in Africa. The point often missed, however, is that the Portuguese in neighbouring Mozambique and in Angola came in the 15th century – two centuries earlier – but were forced in the 1970's to surrender power to the blacks.

Moreover, it is precisely because whites in South Africa know they have nowhere else to go that they are likely to accept a more permanent and far-reaching accommodation with their black counterparts than has happened elsewhere in Africa.

To the very end, Ian Smith's hardline attitude in Rhodesia was premised on the illusion that white Rhodesians had somewhere to go – South Africa. Thus, he mindlessly delayed a settlement. South Africa does not have this luxury.

Another pessimistic difference relates to the economy and military prowess of South Africa. These have been equally abused to demonstrate the untenability of any economic or military strategy intended to force South Africa to change.

Here the argument is often made that the South African economy, unlike landlocked Rhodesia, is robust and self-sufficient. As such it would withstand economic sanctions from the international community.

Even if these views were to be accepted for argument's sake, it does not tell us what would happen – as is beginning to happen – if blacks decide to impose internal economic sanctions as they augment other methods they must employ to resist apartheid.

Ahead is civil strife with consequences of the worst kind. Only those prone to self-deceit fail to see this. To his credit, PW Botha has warned his white compatriots: "Adapt or die!"

Similarly, the military might of South Africa, as we have suggested earlier, is rendered impotent because South Africa's problems emanate from within South African society itself and not from "neighbours" and "communists" abroad.

In Vietnam, the United States failed not for lack of hardware nor resolve. Nor were they necessarily outnumbered by the enemy. Numbers, hardware and resolve work better when propelled by conviction of cause.

White South Africans cannot be any more convinced to die for apartheid than the American soldier was for protecting his country from a "communist threat".

Yet the recent emergence of a neo-Nazi movement in South Africa is often cited to make the point about a "blind resolve" and the "laager mentality" of the Afrikaner. Of course, the spectre of the neo-Nazi movement among South African whites is an interesting one.

Recently, I specifically asked an Afrikaner political scientist who has done extensive work on the political attitudes of the Afrikaner in the Transvaal what threat the neo-Nazi group posed.

He wrote to say: "The neo-Nazi right is not representative of a growing mass movement in the sense of forming an electoral threat of any kind to the National Party."

He, I must add, put the timing of a Lancaster-like settlement in South Africa at between five and 10 years

Most white South Africans know whites in Rhodesia failed not for lack of resolve or military hardware. This is why the neo-Nazi movement in South Africa is likely to remain small.

Finally, there is the question of a legitimate "mediator" recognised as such by all sides to the South African conflict. Who are the British in the South African case?

The South African conflict, probably after attempts at "internal settlements" stage managed by the Botha government have failed, will eventually need the mediation of a third party. More than likely the United States, or a consortium such as the Western Contact Group or Namibia will play this role.

A consensus seems to be emerging on the responsible role the United States is expected to play in this conflict. But such mediation will succeed only if it is intended to genuinely resolve the cause of racial strife in South Africa.

This effort must be premised on the realisation that increasingly, blacks in South Africa now believe that they are principally responsible for any willingness among whites to negotiate a settlement today or in future. Economic sanctions, while very much welcome, only augment stiffening internal resistance to apartheid.

It is also for this reason that South Africa's aggressive policy towards its neighbours is a blindly misdirected energy Even if all anti-apartheid governments in Southern Africa were overthrown – which is unlikely – resistance to apartheid would continue to increase.

With increased political consciousness among black South Africans, any internal or external machinations only delay the inevitable. As such the game is up The choice for the Botha government now is whether the transfer of power to the black majority will be peaceful and orderly or violent and chaotic.

With regard to interim measures of the transfer of power in South Africa, (without the British governor), one would not want to learn too much from the Rhodesian experience, but I believe there is a feature in this experience worth looking at, if only to learn from its weakness.

Right before the Lancaster Conference, Ian Smith improvised an ingenious device for clinging to power in a scheme with the so-called moderate African leaders.

An Executive Council was established consisting of an equal number of appointees from each of the parties (including whites) to run the country during the interim period.

However, Ian Smith's internal settlement plan failed, not because of the Executive Council mechanism. It failed because the Patriotic Front of Mugabe and Nkomo – then leaders of the mainstream nationalist movement – had been excluded from either the Executive Council itself or from the elections it conducted.

There was nothing magical in the Lord Soames mechanism which succeeded it.

The success of such a venture, as the Rhodesian case demonstrates, needs genuine resolve by all concerned to achieve a lasting settlement.

In Rhodesia, nationalist guerrillas excluded from the "internal settlement" intensified tenfold their resistance to the shortlived Muzorewa government.

Further, even those who would fight to defend the "internal settlement" had neither the inspiration nor the conviction.

Such a sense of guilt cannot escape Botha's choice of leaders for a future South Africa. As such, an unrepresentative puppet solution in South Africa is ill-advised.

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# Sorry, Mr Louw that's no solution

6/12/87 APLaw 304A



**Leon Louw ... author and political consultant.**

**The author of this article, EUGENE NYATHI, is editor of the *Namibia Features and Press Agency*. This is part of an article he wrote recently in the quartely magazine *Ceapa*.**

NOVEMBER 1986 saw the launch in South Africa of the organisation Groundswell. According to its disciples, it is a "non-party political and educational movement of ordinary South Africans of all races who believe there is an alternative to apartheid that is acceptable to all".

The organisation was formed in order to promote the acceptance of a Swiss-type canton system for South Africa, as outlined in the book *South Africa – The Solution.* The book's authors, Leon Louw and his wife Frances Kendall, also act as consultants to Groundswell.

If implemented, the "solution" envisages the sub-division of South Africa into separate cantons, possibly along the lines of the present magisterial districts.

The advocates of Groundswell argue that the resulting dispensation would satisfy black aspirations at the same time as it would allay white fears of black dominance in a unitary government.

This writer would argue to the contrary.

The canton system would not address the fundamentals of the South African problem and that, far from being a solution, it would actually reinforce the present inequity.

Taken to their logical conclusions, the libertarian ethics that underpin the envisaged canton system pose a serious threat to the struggle for the democratisation of South Africa.

By putting personal gain before national considerations, blacks would be negating the quest for national cohesion and hence play in the hands of apartheid's divisive tactics.

In an article in *Time* magazine, Louw is quoted as saying: "The struggle in this country is over who should dominate whom – that is, who controls the very powerful central government. Our solution entails not having a central government. We want to make it possible to let the tiger – the black majority – out of the cage without whites being eaten."

Those views represent a distortion of the South African struggle and also betray Louw's racist inclinations.

There is nothing inherently undemocratic about a central government, just as long as it regularly seeks the mandate of the majority and is, therefore, responsive to their expectations and demands. The minority have to respect the wishes of the majority and abide by them.

Even if the majority in a particular canton were black, they would remain at the fringe of the white owned and controlled economy, which is the case in present-day South Africa.

Whites in this country generally fear black political and economic competition. Most of the talk one hears about "free enterprise" is little more than opportunistic doublespeak with no relationship to a genuine desire for justice or fairness in the economy. Apartheid has lasted as long as it has only because its benefits to the whites outweigh its costs.

*The Solution* further observes that there will be free movement of people, goods and capital among the cantons. But even such a proviso does nothing to address the issue of ownership and control of economic power.

Using a strange logic, Louw is quoted again as saying the canton system would constitute "an unambiguous handover of the rich areas to blacks. The only places that would be all-white cantons would be in sparsely populated rural areas".

The canton system with its "canton citizenship option" would lead to a polarisation of the skilled from the unskilled, divisions which because of apartheid policies, coincide with those of the races.

Balanced and sustainable development in South Africa is only possible with optimal utilisation of skills and resources in the context of a single national economy. To talk of a separate economy for each of the country's 306 magisterial districts is illogical.

Intergral to the libertarian ethic is the belief that the individual does not owe the community anything and that merely by pursuing their personal interests, the individual is simultaneously benefiting the community.

This could be misleading. Selfish pursuit of individual interests would seriously undermine the current struggle for democracy. Using libertarian logic, there would be nothing wrong in a leader, for example, accepting money or favours in return for betraying the national liberation movement. Libertarian individualism would make heroes of traitors and make our martyrs appear foolish.

While history cannot be recreated, there is something to be said for affirmative action programs in favour of the majority who have for over three and a half centuries been discriminated against. There is nothing either criminal or wrong with restructuring the economy to embrace the majority.

To talk of free competition between blacks and whites in present-day or "canton" South Africa, would be idle talk. Having benefited from apartheid for over three hundreds years, whites enjoy a head start over blacks.

The couple fraudulently redefines aspects of apartheid as socialism, in order to cast aspersion on the latter. To them, the South African government's control of every aspect of township life and economy is "socialism". That such control is an indispensable tool to retain and sustain white economic and political dominance, is somehow lost on the authors.

In sum, the apartheid government intentionally underdeveloped blacks to facilitate control over them. To call this socialism is sheer nonsense. While attempting a rescue of the status quo, the Louws saw an opportunity to vent their prejudices against socialism.

Not surprisingly, Groundswell's efforts have the support of conservative political and business interests, including the giant Anglo American Corporation.

The canton system is less a strategy for positive change than an elaborate scheme to avoid a re-distribution of South Africa's wealth – and so reassuring the long privileged white community.

# YOUNG DR MULDER IN A BID TO JOIN DAD AS MP

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

DR PIETER MULDER, son of one-time Prime Minister contender Connie Mulder, has been picked by the Conservative Party as their candidate in the coming parliamentary by-election in Schweizer-Reneke.

A Conservative victory would create an historically rare father-and-son combination in the House of Assembly.

Schweizer-Reneke is at present a CP seat. Dr Connie Mulder is MP for Randfontein.

Mr Willie Lemmer, a member of the President's Council and former MP for Schweizer-Reneke, was nominated earlier this week to stand once more for the National Party.

## Close

Mr Lemmer lost the seat by 191 votes to the CP's Mr Kobus Beyers on May 6 this year. The vacancy has been created by Mr Beyers' subsequent sequestration in a multi-million rand claim on sureties he signed.

Mr Beyers is the CP's chief organiser in the campaign to get Dr Mulder jnr elected.

Dr Mulder, a former communications professor at the University of Potchefstroom, is a candidate to be reckoned with.

In the May 6 election he stood in Potchefstroom against NP heavyweight Mr Louis le Grange, former Minister of Law and Order and presently Speaker of Parliament. Dr Mulder polled 6 324 votes against Mr le Grange's 6 882.

Dr Mulder's father has been ill and absent from Parliament since June. He has said, though, that he will be back next year. A much slimmer Connie Mulder was recently photographed at a CP head committee meeting.

Professor Dirk Laurie, whose computer-aided predictions of right wing performance in May were remarkably accurate, said that while he had no current statistics to go on, he would be "surprised" if the CP showed a major upswing in support.

Its support was constant in the three-to-four years before May and nothing has happened since to boost it.

CP supporters in Schweizer-Reneke disagree. They say the constituency is buzzing with talk about the Government's perceived softening on the Group Areas Act and release of ANC veteran Govan Mbeki.

In regard to Mr Mbeki, the NP will have the novel experience of facing the same accusation it made against the PFP in May that helped the NP to a sweeping victory — that the PFP is soft on security.

Prof Laurie and CP organisers agree on one thing, though. The participation of Mr Jaap Marais, Herstigte Nasionale Party leader, as the HNP candidate is an unknown factor.

In May the HNP polled only 544 votes but Mr Marais can pull votes another candidate couldn't.

## Legendary

A Schweizer-Reneke resident said this week: "Oom Jaap is very popular here."

Any votes for Mr Marais would come from potential CP voters.

The NP will be throwing its legendary election machinery into the struggle. The by-election, and others in Standerton and, most likely, Hillbrow, will be important scene-setters for nationwide local council elections later in the year.

# Buthelezi threatens to dump Indaba

CNE Trufs 7/12/87 3044

**Own Correspondent**

DURBAN. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will reconsider his previous offer to take part in the government's National Statutory Council if Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners are released.

This comes after his recent announcement that he is also considering pulling out of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba and the region's Joint Executive Authority.

Addressing Inkatha's central committee at the weekend, he said it would be suicidal to begin negotiating with the government while it refused "to deal with the reality of a black majority".

He said all these considerations had been forced on him by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis's, rejection of the Indaba proposals and his insistence that South Africa was a country of minorities.

Dr Buthelezi said Mr Heunis's statement could only have been made by "a man who had been politically castrated by his own colleagues".

He said the statement had made it clear that the National Party leadership was not prepared to scrap the Group Areas and Population Registration Acts.

**ANTHONY JOHNSON** reports that Mr Heunis said: "As a custom I don't comment on other leader's remarks and don't wish to do say anything now either."

The government's cautiously diplomatic response in the face of Chief Buthelezi's attack on one of its senior members was seen in political circles as an attempt to pour oil on troubled waters.

The dilemma facing the government is that it hopes to draw leaders like Chief Buthelezi on to it proposed National Council but at the same time appease the increasingly fearful and conservative white electorate ahead of next October's nationwide municipal elections.

● At the same weekend meeting Inkatha said it was deeply committed to bringing about radical change in South Africa through negotiation and the employment of non-violent tactics and strategies.

# Rosholt calls for negotiation

JOHANNESBURG. — The key to real economic growth in South Africa lies firmly in the hands of the politicians. This is the message in Barlow Rand chairman Mr Mike Rosholt's annual statement.

Mr Rosholt said the last three years had produced virtually no growth in gross national product "and there has been no significant capital investment outside of the mining industry".

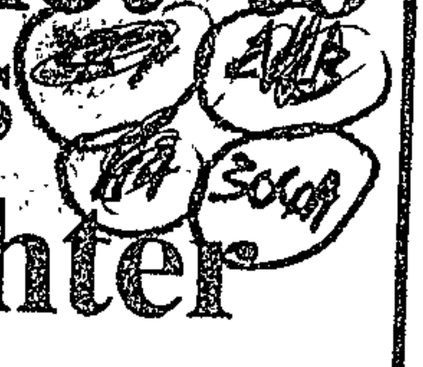
The country was set for higher growth but was being held back by sluggish growth in consumer demand and lack of business confidence.

"This will only be regained when there is a start to a negotiating process seen to be capable of producing a power-sharing formula acceptable to all population groups." — Sapa

● Barlow Rand sees rise in earnings — Page 8

...ame blackout. ● A carol for ...

# CBS men not to blame, says PW's daughter



By ANDREW DONALDSON and BARRY STREEK

THE State President's daughter yesterday defended the cameramen and crew who spent "some time" with her during the making of the CBS documentary "Children of Apartheid".

It is understood CBS Television bureau chief in Johannesburg Mr Bill Mutschman has been summoned to the office of the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha.

The film, on young South Africans, screened in the US earlier this week, contrasted interviews with Miss Rozanne Botha and Miss Zinzi Mandela, daughter of Mr Nelson Mandela.

Miss Botha's involvement in the documentary has led to a considerable outcry from government-supporting newspapers. Among others, the Burger carried a front-page report yesterday headlined "Rozanne was misused to get at South Africa".

But the State President's daughter, who has not yet seen the documentary, defended the cameramen and production crew: "It's not their fault. It was probably made more anti-us overseas."

● Sapa-Reuter reports that CBS denied charges yesterday that it had violated local work rules or taken advantage of Miss Botha.

CBS spokesman Mr Tom Goodman said the network had not broken any law. "They (the crew) went in on valid visas.

"She was well aware of the programme's contents. She's an extremely intelligent woman and could have ended the interview at any time."

# PW's daughter in film furore

**MISS Rozanne Botha, daughter of President Botha, who appeared in the controversial television programme Children Of Apartheid in the United States said yesterday she did so to try and put across how South Africa had progressed in promoting better living conditions.**

A spokesman of the Department of Foreign Affairs in Pretoria said that its consulate in New York had approached the Columbia Broadcasting System about the programme and had lodged a protest.

The programme is said to have harmed South Africa's image by the generalisations it contained. The film is also said to have been made illegally as the producers, among them one of the US's

## TV programme also features Zinzi Mandela

top TV personalities Walter Cronkite, had not applied for work permits.

After Miss Botha had spoken scenes of police violence and slum conditions and violence by blacks were shown.

In Cape Town yesterday Miss Botha said that she had taken part in the TV documentary because she loved her country very much and wanted to make a contribution to try and show that South Africa had progressed far in promoting better living conditions and relations.

In the programme Miss Botha's views were contrasted with those of Miss Zinzi Mandela, daughter of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

While Miss Mandela said that, with Mr Botha, there was no hope, Miss Botha said she believed in a "fast moderate approach."

Yesterday she said that she had not yet seen the programme but hoped to obtain a video of it soon.

She was not totally taken aback although she had had the impression that the programme would make a more positive than a negative impression.

Although everything in the country was not perfect she felt that there were nice things.



ZINZI Mandela . . . "No hope".

Apartheid, unemployment blamed

# Race relations 'poor' — survey

Cape Times 9/2/87 (304M)

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

MOST blacks felt black-white relations were poor and nearly half felt the relationship was getting worse, a survey has found.

The main reasons cited by 55% of the 1 300 blacks surveyed about the deterioration of the relationship were the continuation of discrimination and apartheid, unemployment, job reservation and low pay.

The survey, conducted by Markinor, found that 30% of whites felt the relationship was poor, 30% said it was good and 40% rated it as medium, while 42% felt it was improving.

White attitudes towards President P W Botha's leadership had remained constant for the last year: most, 76%, were convinced he was doing a reasonable job under the circumstances.

But only 30% of blacks thought Mr Botha was doing a reasonable job. Although this was up on the 20% rating given by blacks in 1985, it was still well below the 60% credit given by blacks in 1979.

One-third of whites, mostly from Pretoria and the Reef, believed blacks, coloureds and Indians should be evicted from white areas in terms of the Group Areas Act but another third, mainly from Johannesburg and Natal, felt the Group Areas Act should be abolished altogether.

The remaining whites were indecisive and said the Group Areas Act should remain but concessions should be made for existing cases.

White income had decreased in real terms over the past year, but black income had risen and was now one-third of white household income as opposed to one-quarter in 1980.

More than a third of whites and nearly half of blacks felt their families were worse off than a year ago.

Neither whites nor blacks were confident the situation would improve in the short term.

Just under half of whites believed family incomes would be the same in a year's time, but one out of every two blacks expected their family's financial situation to deteriorate in the next year, the survey found.

# They come from different worlds—

**From ALAN DUNN**
**Argus Foreign Service**
**in Washington**

AN American television programme contrasting the black and white worlds of South African youth featured a painful mismatch between the daughters of two South African leaders, State President P W Botha and the African National Congress's Nelson Mandela.

Rozanne Botha, 27, and Zinzi Mandela, 27, were shown as having very little in common, with Miss Botha stumbling through her political views, and an articulate Miss Mandela displaying practice and ease at fielding questions on her father and the country's future.

Miss Botha's world was shown as one of airing half-baked political views, suntans, hedonism, fetching fashions, careful grooming, folk singing, and trendy parties to loud music at the official residence in Cape Town.

Miss Mandela's was reflected as one of deprivation, survival, bitterness, anger, police harassment and life without a vote where poverty was the norm.

Whether or not the drubbing that Miss Botha took was engineered at a CBS television editor's desk is not known. The hour-long report by CBS news legend Walter Cronkite was titled *"Children of Apartheid"*.

In a note last month, South Africa's Bureau for Information apparently emphasised to CBS that Mr Cronkite had abused the terms of his visa. He had been granted admission to South Africa as a tourist only. *Children of Apartheid* was shown nationally in the US on Saturday night, amid some fear at the network that the screening may jeopardise the network's future in South Africa.

## No deception

CBS said Miss Botha had been "well aware' of the programme's content. There had been no attempt to conceal it from her: "As you know, she is very intelligent and could have terminated the interviews at any time," said CBS spokesman Tom Goodman.

There had been no deception, he said, and CBS believed there was no reason for any repercussions involving the status of the network's bureau in Johannesburg.

The popular *'People'* magazine judged Miss Botha after previewing the Cronkite report to be a 'SAP', a "South African Princess' — a commonly used American term to define a very sheltered, pampered and precious person.



Zinzi Mandela



Rozanne Botha

Mr Cronkite said reports like *Children of Apartheid* were assembled "at some risk and with not infrequent questioning of reporters and camera crews. Some of the young people who spoke to us on camera did so with the knowledge that they might be subject to arrest," he said.

He indicated that the programme's producer, Mr Brian Ellis, had interviewed the children because of his visa restriction. Scenes of Miss Botha on a Cape Town beach opened the programme, with her saying she believed in a "fast, moderate" approach to South Africa's problems and extolling her father's virtues.

If Mr Botha was sitting across from her now, Miss Mandela said, she would kick him where it hurt most: "I've got nothing more to say to PW. Obviously he's turned a deaf ear, he's not prepared to hear what the black man wants; he's not interested in giving us what we want.'

Miss Mandela said she always joked that she had been raised by the South Africa Police — "They've been part of my life ever since I can remember,' she said when Mr Ellis noted their first interview had been interrupted by a police visit.

"In Rozanne's world," said Mr Cronkite, "it is still possible — for the moment — to postpone reality, to detach oneself from the possibility that white South Africa might be a borrowed place on borrowed time."

Miss Botha then asserted that if one was not happy with the government's policies and went against them unlawfully, one should expect to be detained: "If you're unhappy about something, you can always talk about it. I mean, I can go and see my father ... any young person in the country can go to the president and say, 'Sir, I disagree with this, that and the other thing'.

"And if he doesn't want to change it, then there are laws to vote him out. It's a democracy, it's supposed to be a democracy."

But Miss Mandela's world was not a democracy, said Mr Cronkite. Hers was life without a vote, where fear and uncertainty usually wore uniforms.

Said Miss Botha: "Freedom to me isn't shouting for liberty and shouting for individual freedom and things like that. You'll get it if you're adamant enough. You'll get freedom, you'll get people to listen to you.

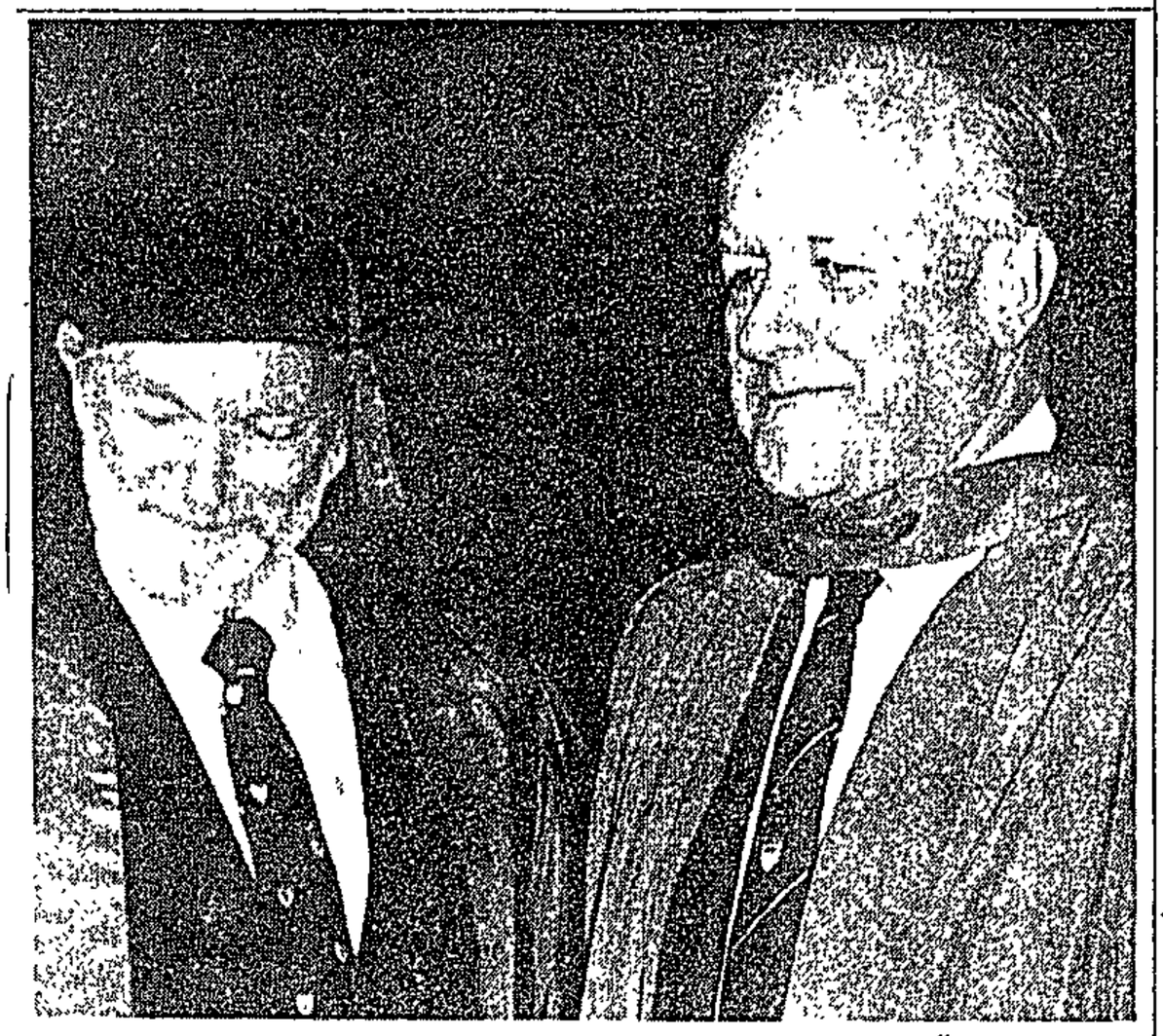
## Responsibility

"You don't have to shout and hold up banners and carry on like a madman ... unless you're in an oppressed situation, I suppose you need to do that occasionally, but in a responsible manner," she said. Freedom and responsibility went together, otherwise there would be chaos.

The Botha-Mandela comparison unfurled over about 15 minutes of the report. The report then expanded into bites of interviews with Xhosa youths undergoing a tribal circumcision ceremony, Voortrekker boys hiking, a young white girl saying the Bible dictated that war was inevitable, and black and white youths vociferously rejecting apartheid.

It also showed a gang of township youths, known as Comrades, meeting to hear a report from one member on the killing of a person, and planning the next murder.

ARGUS 10/12/82 (3041)



Picture: LEON MÜLLER, The Argus

**The vice-chancellor and principal of UCT, Dr Stuart Saunders, and Mr Justice Pat Tebbutt, chairman of the Convocation, at a ceremony yesterday in which an honorary Doctor of Science in Medicine degree was conferred on Dr Saunders.**

# Apartheid in health care SA's 'greatest tragedy'

**Medical Reporter**

A STRONG plea for a unitary health system in South Africa has been made by Professor George Dall, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Cape Town.

Opening the medical faculty's graduation ceremony last night, he said the country could not afford the expensive policy of "duplication, triplication and quadruplication" which the Government openly defended at recent National Party congresses.

"I must oppose with every grain of my being this most expensive, cost ineffective, immoral and unethical fragmentation of our health services.

"It is the greatest tragedy that has befallen all our people — and I mean all our people," said Professor Dall.

**PRIVATISATION**

"So the white Nationalist Government has decided we will afford the luxury of a tricameral system of separateness no matter the infant mortality rate or the life expectancy of the majority of South Africans."

Professor Dall said there was no place for apartheid in health care. He said there was no doubt that a unitary health system would be the most cost-effective system.

One of the key measures the Government intended using to reduce the level of inflation was privatisation. Health care had been included in the scheme in spite of the fact that the gap between the Medical Association tariff — "or so-called private fee tariff" — and the Medical Aid Scheme's tariff was widening more and more, Professor Dall said.

Privatisation of health care in South Africa would not contain costs, he said. The economic behaviour of the health care market did not, and should not, correspond to the idealised rules of the free market system.

**"HUMANISTIC SIDE"**

The technological explosion of the 20th century, which had resulted in unprecedented progress in scientific medicine, had tended to push the humanistic side of medicine into the background.

"There is no doubt that we need to look at the training of our students very critically and as a faculty we are constantly taking stock, evaluating our courses and planning new ones," Profesor Dall said.

Three important considerations for the future of medicine in South Africa were the maintenance and improvement of the scientific base, the adaptation of training to suit the particular needs of South Africa's kaleidoscopic society, and the importance of the doctor-patient relationship.

—"Elaborate schemes which try to give an impression of black representation while maintaining white power will not work."

# SA faces a major transformation of society, says US ambassador

Political Correspondent

THE question in South Africa is not whether a new political system will exist here but rather how it will come about, Mr Edward J Perkins, the American ambassador to South Africa, writes in the latest issue of *Leadership* magazine.

Elaborate schemes which try to give an impression of black representation while maintaining white power will not work, he says.

In his article he makes three points:

● Somewhere down the road South Africa faces a major transformation of its political structure.

● There are real questions of ethnicity in South Africa which will ultimately have to be addressed.

● The outside world must view South Africa with great sensitivity "so that we do not make matters worse."

Mr Perkins says that almost no-one he has met believes that the present constitutional system is sufficient to carry the country into the next century.

He senses a growing realisation that a valid political system in South Africa must be one which correlates with the demographics of the country — not merely black participation or black co-operation but government which truly represents the majority of South Africans.

He says this term includes everyone inside the wide, traditional national borders.



Mr Perkins

The extent to which this simple fact is still denied is surprising, yet every sign points to it.

"The forces of justice and historical right are on its side.

"In 1960 whites constituted 20 percent of the population. Today 15 percent of all South Africans are white, but by the end of the century they will have shrunk to seven or eight percent.

"A dwindling minority which rules this country can only mean a diminished power base and lessened ability to uphold an antiquated and unjust system.'

Mr Perkins says that it must be asked how many whites operate with the premise that a new political system must come. "If the results of the past six months are any guide, not very many.

"Similarly for blacks, if political transformation is inevitable, what kind of government should it be? Will it protect human rights; will it foster economic diversity? It will be too late to answer these questions once the wheel of change is spinning under its own uncontrollable momentum."

He has noted with interest the view that there are two nationalisms in South Africa.

It will be necessary to give some kind of reassurance to Afrikaners. They will want to know that sometime after the transition they will not end up defenceless and dispossessed in the land of their birth.

At the same time Afrikaners must expand their concept of community to embrace and accept all South Africans on an equal basis.

The days when the Afrikaners were struggling to assert their political power and when strong cultural identification and group solidarity were considered necessary to gain their national strength today are over.

"One of the many tragic ironies I see here is the spectre of a ruling people who survived the concentration camps of the Anglo-Boer War yet inflict forced removals upon others, and after a long struggle for educational liberation imposed Bantu education on people striving for better opportunities."

As the governors of the nation the Afrikaners bear a special responsibility to take steps to create reconciliation, unity and the extension of full democratic rights to all South Africans.

Referring to pressure from the outside world Mr Perkins says he believes that "we in the west" must continue to put unrelenting pressure on the Government on a whole range of issues from human rights to fundamental political change and that this pressure includes selected sanctions.

In a badly factionalised country such as South Africa unfocussed pressure was, however, likely to be counterproductive.

Under these difficult circumstances he sees the need for a dual responsibility.

South Africa must face up to its problems and not take refuge in diatribes against the outside world.

As for the US he believes that the complicated issue of South Africa "challenges us to gain a more sophisticated grasp of the realities of conducting foreign policy."

"We can choose principles, we cannot choose sides. We can invite the various sides to associate themselves with our principles if they choose to do so."

Mr Perkins says he feels a great hope for this country and that South Africa will do more than make it."

He believes that South Africa will someday be a country which offers all of its citizens a sense of pride and hope for the future.

"Despite the bitter cleavages which transfigure this society and which have been tragically reinforced by 40 years of apartheid I believe the shared values of decency, religion and, indeed, self-interest in survival can prevail."

(304) whole page

south VIEW

# Towards negotiation

## Despair for the defeated

By MARK SWILLING

FEW doubt that South African politics has entered a new phase, the politics of negotiation.

Even fewer, however, seem to know what this means.

Those who talk about negotiations often sound like addicts in search of a quick fix for an increasingly desperate situation. Faced with the depressing prospect that all realistic and practical solutions have been swallowed by the quagmire of violence, breakdown and economic collapse, they call with increasing panic for people to talk.

My firm belief is that unless these calls are given real substance and meaning, they will do little to help negotiations in a deeply cynical and manipulative way to bolster white rule.

To add to the countrywide discussion already taking place about the meaning of negotiations, I would like to address three questions: Under what conditions do negotiations take place? How are negotiation strategies currently being understood and used? How can we practically begin preparing the climate for negotiation that must inevitably precede the actual moment of negotiation?

### Conditions

Parties engaged in a conflict over fundamentally divergent interests agree to negotiate when the conflict reaches a stage when they all agree they have more to gain by entering a negotiation process than if they pursued their previous strategies. This point can best be referred to as a stalemate: Seize the strategic initiative. When this stalemate is perceived and acknowledged by all parties, a negotiation process can commence if this is accepted as the best method of resolving the stalemate.

It is important to note two points at this stage: First, the stalemate that leads to negotiation is frequently achieved using violent strategies, (here I agree with Professor Van der Merwe's critique of Clem Sunter when he argued violence and negotiation are more compatible than mutually exclusive). Second, negotiations are not the end point of the conflict after which a new era of permanent peace is ushered in. They simply redefine the terms on which conflicts of interest play themselves out in future.

### Security policy

I would argue that South African politics is structured around a stalemate, and that the dull compulsion of stalemate conditions is beginning to have an effect on popular political perceptions, hence all the talk of negotiations.

As far as the State is concerned, both its reformist and repressive strategies in the 1980s have not achieved their desired effect. During the early 1980s, the Government embarked on an ambitious reform programme designed to streamline and rationalise apartheid structures. This reform programme rested essentially on three policy thrusts: The legislation of black trade unions in accordance with the Wiehahn recommendation, the recognition of the permanence of urbanised Africans in white South Africa in line with the Riekert Commission; and the establishment of the tri-cameral parliament.

During this early period, the Government used security policy essentially to complement reform. The success of its security policy depended on the success of the reforms.

### Deep roots

Their rationale was that negotiation should not take place from a position of weakness, hence the repressive onslaught on the opposition coupled to new reformist moves, like the National Council. However, whereas during the early 1980s the success of security police depended on the success of reform, now the success of reform depends on the success of an elaborate counter-revolutionary strategy presided over by the sinister organs of the National Security Management Systems. This shift in the balance of power in the State is explained in terms of the impact of black resistance.

As far as the black opposition is concerned, there is no doubt its popular support base has increased and extended itself. It enjoys massive international support, it has a sophisticated internal organisational structure with deep roots in the poor working class communities and a common set of demands and principles. However, the ANC's armed struggle has intensified, but remains unthreatening to the State's military might.

### Creating climate

At the formal national level of straight power politics, a recent UDF statement outlined seven realiable and practical preconditions that must be met before national negotations can commence: The release of all political prisoners; the unconditional return of exiles, the unbanning of all organisations; the confining of the security forces to their barracks; the scrapping of all laws preventing freedom of speech and association; the stripping of all bantustan authorities of their autonomous powers and the lifting of the State of Emergency.

In black political circles, there are those who see negotiations as capitulation and selling-out. They propogate the view that apartheid can only be overthrown militarily.

The second conception of negotiations is that they are only useful for splitting and dividing the opponent. By establishing the National Council and hoping this will produce a new constitution via negotiations with moderates, the Government intends splitting the moderates from the radicals, thus dividing and weakening the black community.

Recent statements by some ANC representatives have also argued that the ANC negotiates with white business, church and intellectual groups to divide and weaken the white power bloc.

In my view, if we mean by negotiations the commencement of a process aimed at a settlement about a new nonracial and democratic constitutional order, then this is neither capitulation nor can it be used cynically to divide the opponent. Clearly any proposal about negotiated resolution of the how's and if's of a negotiated settlement to South Africa's political logjam is becoming a popular topic of discussion.

Many say the country's conflict has reached a political and even a military stalemate and that the chief participants, Afrikaner nationalism and the African National Congress, will sooner or later have to thrash out a negotiated settlement to bring peace and stability to the African sub-continent.

The issue came under the spotlight again last weekend at a symposium organised by the Five Freedoms Forum at the University of Cape Town. Among the participants were Professor H W VAN DER MERWE and MARK SWILLING.



HW van der Merwe

**"This is neither capitulation nor can it be used cynically to divide the opponent."**

how to initiate negotiations should be assessed in terms of one single criteria: Will they lead to a settlement or not? In my view, the National Council is doomed because it is being imposed from above without the consent of the majority.

There are only two other alternatives, the perpetuation of the stalemate or a genuine negotiated settlement that involves the Government and the legitimate leaders of the black majority.

How do we build a movement in the white community aimed not at getting the parties to negotiation, but at creating a climate within which open and democratic decision can take place about whether a negotiated resolution of the stalemate should be sought.

This must not simply involve a grouping of people that support the same view of what should happen. What is needed is a movement that begins to act in ways aimed at bringing about a climate for negotiation in practical ways.

### Creative

In my view, one of the most immediate and practical ways this can be done is by contesting the Government's reform strategy at the level where it is beginning to be constructed, I am referring here to the restructuring of local government. Surely, bearing in mind the coming of the local authority election in October 1988, a creative response similar to what happen in the Eastern Cape before the Emergency, can be found in these initiatives.

In short, the conditions are right for a broad-based movement of whites united around the call for national survival and a genuine negotiated settlement. It is this type of movement, rather than the senile ruminations of our State President that may well push white politics across its Rubicon.

To conclude with the words of Oswald Mtshali, the famous SA poet: "Have hope brother, despair is for the defeated."

*(Swilling is a lecturer in political studies at the University of the Witwatersrand.)*

## Committed to easing the conflict

By Prof H W Van der Merwe

NEGOTIATION is an essential component of a healthy political process towards a stable and just settlement in South Africa.

I am committed to promoting communication between conflicting groups. And official negotiation between the major interest groups, especially political parties, will be required in due course.

I must, however, qualify this emphasis, and call for negotiation.

I am concerned about the apparent emphasis on negotiation as a start and an only alternative to coercion or pressure. One reads about an inescapable choice between negotiation and coercion.

I maintain negotiation is an essential, but not the only component to successful communication between conflicting groups. They should be seen as complimentary to coercion and violence.

Power is the essential component of the political process, and merely promoting dialogue is therefore not enough.

Mere negotiation most likely leads to cheap conciliation.

But coercion and violence should also be seen in perspective. Undisciplined, emotional pressure, coercion, sanctions and violence will not make a constructive contribution to a stable just society. When my British Quaker colleagues decided on selected sanctions against South Africa to force the Government to negotiate with credible leaders, I supported them. But sanctions were not enough.

You should also attend to two other essentials:

- Make sure your sanctions force the government towards the negotiating table, and;
- Most important of all, make sure there is a negotiating table available, or at least being prepared.

### Cautious

As a mediator I am arguing that violence is often a form of communication, albeit a destructive ineffective one. It is the role of the mediator to try to interpret it in such a way that it brings across the message to the adversary in a way that opens up channels for communication, not only close them.

Violence, therefore, should not be seen as an isolated category of behaviour, but as part of a continuation ranging from negotiation on the one end and violence, even terrorism, on the other. The task of the mediator (and negotiator) is to move behaviour across the spectrum to more constructive expressions.

These are some of the reasons why I am cautious to be too euphoric about negotiation and too disapproving about violence, even though my own personal stand on these issues is quite clear. I am committed to negotiation and often act as a mediator, and I am also a universal pacifist, in principle committed against all violence.

The essence of my argument is that the two goals of peace and justice are complimentary — you cannot have the one without the other.

But if the goals are complimentary, so are the means. If negotiation is seen as a means to promote peace, and coercion as a means to remove inequalities and injustices towards a more just society, negotiation and coercion must compliment each other, they must go hand in hand. The argument of whether one or other is premature, is therefore not relevant.

Coercion must be constructive, not vindictive. Negotiation must be concerned with fundamental justice — not cheap conciliation.

*(Van der Merwe is head of the Department of Intergroup Studies at the University of Cape Town.)*

RNews 11/12/87 (30 of 1)

# Stofberg silent about joining CP

**Political Staff**

MR Louis Stofberg today confirmed he had resigned from the Herstigte Nasionale Party but would not confirm or deny reports that he is considering joining the Conservative Party.

He said he had received no job offers, though CP sources have indicated that he would be "very welcome" in the party.



Mr Louis Stofberg

Mr Stofberg said he decided to leave the party because of a "hostile" personal attack on him by HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais, after Mr Stofberg resigned as chief secretary of the party at the end of November.

He also accused Mr Marais of "extortion politics".

Mr Marais and the HNP planning committee said this week that Mr Stofberg resigned because of "personal depression" about losing his Sasolburg parliamentary seat in the May election.

Mr Stofberg denied this and said he resigned because of the HNP's hostile attitude towards other rightwing organisations.

He always believed that rightwing parties should co-operate to get the National Party out of power.

The last straw was when Mr Marais decided, against a decision of the HNP executive, to put up a candidate in next year's Standerton by-election against the CP and the National Party.

Today Mr Marais denied this and said the decision was agreed to by all the bodies involved.

# Stofberg resignation may be end for HNP

Cape Times 11/12/87 3049

**Political Staff**

MR LOUIS STOFBERG, who captured the first and only parliamentary seat won by the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) when he took the Sasolburg by-election in 1985, yesterday resigned from the party.

His decision to break all ties with the party leader, Mr Jaap Marais, could be the beginning of the end for the HNP and pave the way for greater right-wing unity.

Mr Stofberg won the Sasolburg seat in 1985 after the HNP and the Conservative Party reached an agreement not to fight each other during the series of by-elections.

But this year, the HNP and CP failed to reach an agreement and split the right-wing vote in a number of constituencies, directly costing it five constituencies, including the Lydenburg seat held by the Minister of Manpower, Mr Pietie du Plessis, and Sasolburg.

Mr Stofberg, one of the four MPs who broke from the NP in 1969 to form the HNP, was a key figure in the party. He resigned this week as its general secretary and as managing director of Strydpers, which publishes the official party newspaper, Die Afrikaner.

# Former MP faces court martial

By CARMEL RICKARD
In Durban

FORMER Progressive Federal Party MP Graham McIntosh faces up to 18 months in jail if he is convicted when he appears today before a court martial in Durban.

This follows a much-publicised protest in September when he was due to attend a six-day "dad's army" camp.

And yesterday McIntosh said it was an "irritation and a bit of an embarrasment" that his protest was linked to Peter Gastrow, who has since left the PFP to help form the National Democratic Movement.

McIntosh did not arrive at the camp on the specified day as he said he wished to draw attention to an alleged slight shown by the minister of defence to the then PFP representative on defence, Peter Gastrow.

At today's court martial he faces three charges under the Defence Act and the military code of discipline: refusing to report for a camp, failing to report and being absent without leave.

McIntosh said yesterday that it was "a bit of an embarrasment" that the protest was about Gastrow, but it had been "about principles, not personalities.

"The Minister of Defence has no right to veto another party's choice of spokesman and that is what happened in effect in this case: there was a parliamentary tour of the border but Gastrow — who had just come back from Dakar — was excluded from the party."

11-17/12/87 304A W1 Mail

# Major political transformation 'must come'

The question in South Africa is not whether a new political system will exist here but rather how it will come about, says Mr Edward J Perkins, the American ambassador to South Africa.

Writing in the latest issue of *Leadership* magazine, he says elaborate schemes which try to give an impression of black representation while maintaining white power will not work. He makes three points:

- Somewhere down the road South Africa faces a major transformation of its political structure.
- There are real questions of ethnicity in South Africa which will ultimately have to be addressed.
- The outside world must view South Africa with great sensitivity "so that we do not make matters worse".

Mr Perkins says that almost no one he has met believes that the present constitutional system is sufficient to carry the country into the next century.

He senses a growing realisation that a valid political system must be one which correlates with the demographics of the country — not merely black participation or black co-operation, but government which truly represents the majority of South Africans. He says this term includes everyone inside the wide, traditional national borders.

The extent to which this simple fact is still denied is surprising, yet every sign points to it, he says.

"The forces of justice and historical right are on its side. In 1960 whites constituted 20 percent of the population. Today 15 percent of all South Africans are white, but by the end of the century they will have shrunk to 7 or 8 percent.

**Despite the bitter cleavages in South African society, Washington's man in Pretoria feels "a great hope" for the country, which he predicts "will more than make it".**



Perkins . . . three points.

"A dwindling minority which rules this country can only mean a diminished power base and lessened ability to uphold an antiquated and unjust system."

Mr Perkins says it must be asked how many whites operate on the premise that a new political system must come.

"If the results of the past six months are any guide, not very many. Similarly for blacks, if political transformation is inevitable, what kind of government should it be? Will it protect human rights, will it foster economic diversity? It will be too late to answer these questions once the wheel of change is spinning under its own uncontrollable momentum."

Mr Perkins says he has noted with interest the view that there are two nationalisms in South Africa.

"It will be necessary to give some kind of reassurance to Afrikaners. They will want to know that sometime after the transition they will not end up defenceless and dispossessed in the land of their birth.

"At the same time Afrikaners must expand their concept of community to embrace and accept all South Africans on an equal basis.

"The days when the Afrikaners were struggling to assert their political power and when strong cultural identification and group solidarity were considered necessary to gain their national strength are over.

"One of the many tragic ironies I see here is the spectre of a ruling people who survived the concentration camps of the Anglo-Boer War yet inflict forced removals upon others, and after a long struggle for educational liberation imposed Bantu education on people striving for better opportunities.

"As the governors of the nation the Afrikaners bear a special responsibility to take steps to create reconciliation, unity and the extension of full democratic rights to all South Africans."

Referring to pressure from the outside world, Mr Perkins says he believes that "we in the West" must continue to put unrelenting pressure on the Government on a whole range of issues from human rights to fundamental political change and that this pressure includes selected sanctions.

In a badly factionalised country such as South Africa unfocused pressure was, however, likely to be counterproductive.

Under these difficult circumstances Mr Perkins sees the need for a dual responsibility. South Africa must face up to its problems and not take refuge in diatribes against the outside world.

As for the US, he believes the complicated issue of South Africa "challenges us to gain a more sophisticated grasp of the realities of conducting foreign policy".

"We can choose principles; we cannot choose sides. We can invite the various sides to associate themselves with our principles if they choose to do so."

Mr Perkins says he feels a great hope for this country and that South Africa will "do more than make it."

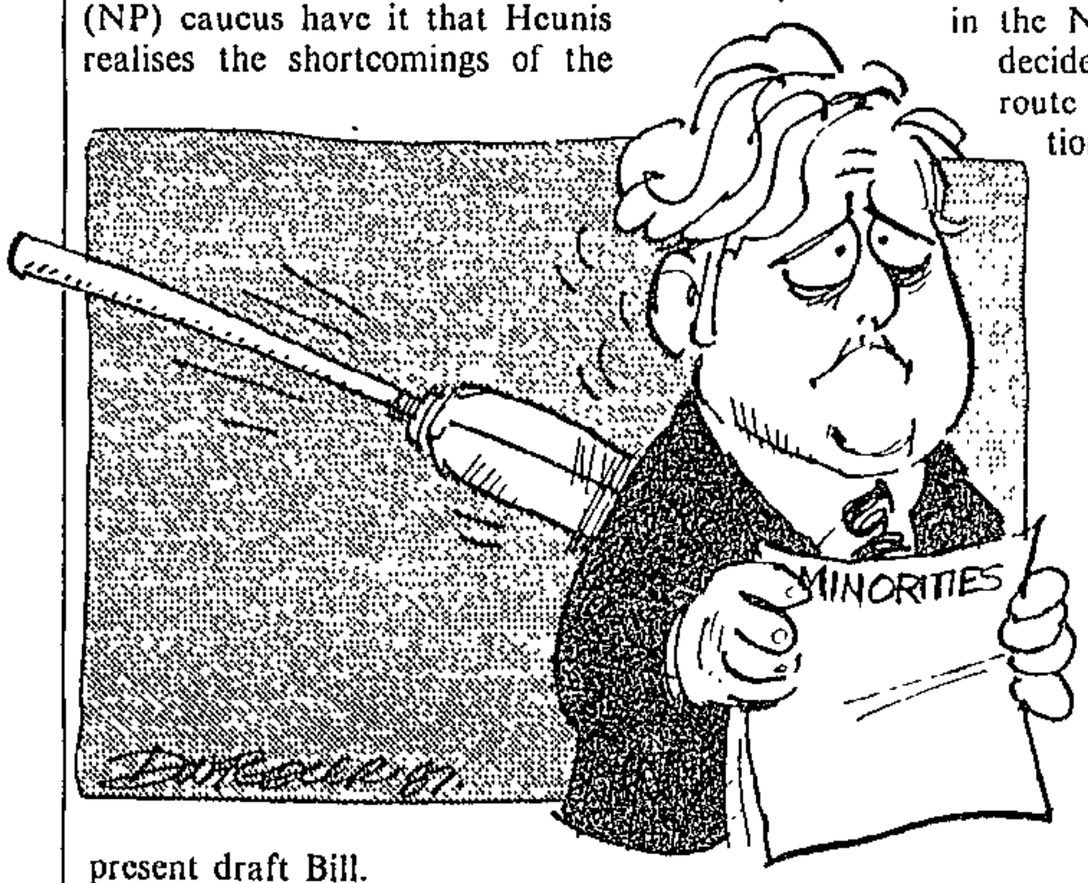
He believes that South Africa will some day be a country which offers all of its citizens a sense of pride and hope for the future.

"Despite the bitter cleavages which transfigure this society and which have been tragically reinforced by 40 years of apartheid, I believe the shared values of decency, religion and, indeed, self-interest in survival, can prevail."

NATIONAL COUNCIL

# The Heunis eggdance

**Constitutional** Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis, regarded by many as the architect of the proposed National Council (NC), may also be the one who is not too keen for his brainchild to get off the ground right now. Rumours in the National Party (NP) caucus have it that Heunis realises the shortcomings of the present draft Bill.




After one day of hearing evidence in Pretoria last week, no black has come forward to address the parliamentary standing committee dealing with the proposed Bill. And this weekend KwaZulu chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, undoubtedly the prize catch should he decide to join the NC, further rocked NP expectations by announcing that he will reconsider his qualified offer to serve on the NC.

The standing committee met again in Cape Town this week for two days of hearings, but, as the *FM* went to press, it was not known whether any blacks had been present to give evidence.

Buthelezi's shock statement — that his government may withdraw from the KwaNatal Indaba and the Joint Executive Authority (JEA)—was made at an Inkatha meeting. He said it would be suidical for Inkatha to negotiate with Pretoria while the South African government keeps on denying the reality of a black majority. He said he had been forced to adopt this viewpoint by Heunis' recent reiteration that SA was a land of minorities.

Buthelezi's sudden shift should perhaps be seen against developments after the release of Govan Mbeki (*Current Affairs* December 4). During the last week security sources hinted that the release might have been a mistake; and a rally which had been sanctioned by the chief magistrate of Port Elizabeth, was banned by security police. At the time of going to press, another planned rally to be addressed by Mbeki in Cape Town this weekend is in the balance.

In the past Buthelezi has made the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners a pre-condition of his participation in the NC. If Pretoria suddenly decides to follow the hardline route again, Buthelezi's reaction should come as no surprise.

The structure of the proposed NC also presents a major obstacle to some members of the committee, according to reliable government sources. As the draft Bill now stands, the NC will have a two-pronged function — advisory and governing — with the State President acting as chairman in both cases.

Members feel that the president should recuse himself when the NC performs its advisory function; this perception will still be put to P W Botha when his NP members on the committee report back to government.

At last week's meeting in Pretoria, evidence was given by Professor Hennie Coetzee of the University of Potchefstroom, and Stellenbosch academics Professor Hennie Kotze, Pierre du Toit and Jannie Gagiano, all from the department of political science.

Sources indicate that Coetzee's evidence was favourably accepted by the committee. It seems that the same could not be said about the submissions made by the other three.

The sources say the evidence presented by Kotze, Du Toit and Gagiano rested heavily on the Nigerian concept. Broadly speaking, this entails the suspension of all political parties while a strong reform programme is put into action.

This was dismissed outright by the Nats on the committee; even some other members, like the Labour Party's Desmond Lockey, shot it down.

However, government sources are quick to point out that the reason for Heunis' reluctance to have the draft Bill passed by parliament at this stage is a sign of Pretoria's willingness to go as far as possible to accommoderate blacks on the NC.

Although the proposed NC has a legitimacy problem, the eventual Bill will differ vastly from what is on the table now, says one of the sources.

Whichever way one looks at the prospects of the NC, it is clear that Heunis will have to do some salvaging

A little while back, when problems had arisen between Natal NP leader and Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha and Buthelezi, apparently it was Heunis who intervened to calm an irate Buthelezi.

**Stern test**

This time Heunis has upset Buthelezi, and if the Indaba proposals are still on government's table, as some Nats like to claim, and Buthelezi is still regarded as a must for the NC, a mammoth task awaits Heunis.

He himself has claimed on many occasions that he consults with many black leaders, and Nats close to him verify this, naming Buthelezi and Enos Mabuza of KaNgwane in particular.

It thus looks as if the sometimes bossy constitutional wizard now faces his sternest test as a negotiator if Buthelezi is to be appeased.

Even some of his Nat colleagues are of the opinion that Heunis should curtail his "restless style" if he is to attain success.

To do that Heunis will also have to counteract the strong influence radiated by the securocrats in Tuynhuys He has support among some Nats, notably those serving on the NC standing committee, who feel that Mbeki's rally in Port Elizabeth should never have been banned.

They fear that actions such as the banning will condition South Africans to a State of Emergency over an unlimited timespan — an alternative too ghastly to contemplate ■

## THE THREATS

**A miffed** Mangosuthu Buthelezi has responded to the rejection of the Indaba constitutional proposals by Chris Heunis, threatening to withdraw KwaZulu's participation in the Indaba and the newly created Joint Executive Authority.

The only purpose served by such a course of action would be to give notice that KwaZulu has chucked in its negotiation counters, and abandoned its support for peaceful change.

But it is more likely that Buthelezi's notoriously hair-triggered temper and a desire to win a retraction from Heunis are to blame for the threats.

Heunis has since withdrawn into his shell, and says he has nothing to add.

**(See *Current Affairs* December 4).**

VAN NIEKERK reports from Arusha, Tanzania

# The day after apartheid: Nyerere on the 'second task'

**Keynote speaker JULIUS NYERERE, grand old man of African politics, warned that changing the power structure in South Africa would only be a first step. The greatest test would be what came afterwards. Here is an edited version of his speech**

MOST of us here live outside South Africa — in freedom, and spared the daily experience of racism. It is our job to give support to the struggle inside South Africa.

We have to play our part by acting to weaken the forces of apartheid. We must help to strengthen all those who organise, or who, by whatever means, participate in opposition to apartheid inside South Africa. And we must help those who are engaged in the armed struggle against apartheid.

All of us, in our own countries, have our own problems to contend with — sometimes very desperate problems.

We in Africa in particular have to maintain the struggle for justice, for equality, and for freedom within the independent countries of our continent. We have to fight for greater economic independence and even for economic survival in a hostile world.

The Frontline states also have to defend their own nations against the military and economic aggression with which apartheid seeks to strengthen itself.

As we succeed in these endeavours we do, ourselves, inflict defeats on apartheid. For the leaders of the racist state rejoice in our difficulties and our setbacks; they mourn, and try to prevent, every advance in freedom and justice made by the peoples of independent Africa.

It is a long time since members of the South African minority government spoke openly of their belief in the racial superiority of the white man. They no longer talk publicly of educating black children for the subservient role allocated to their race. There are still white South African politicians who make such statements, but such things are not said by the official spokesmen of the South African racist regime.

The Botha government now claims to be an opponent of apartheid. And this process of refining apartheid is being taken further. They have introduced a tricameral parliament; they have repealed the Mixed Marraigs Act; they have allowed the establishment of black trade unions; and they have changed the pass laws once again.

So we are told these are "reformists" and "moderates", who need to be supported in their opposition to the "extremists" in the white community on their political right. We are told by the Reagans and the Thatchers of this world that we should abandon the armed struggle — which they call terrorism — and support the government in its reforms. With our leaders in jail and thousands of men, women and even children in detention, we are told we should negotiate with the apartheid government to get more reforms.

If a reform lightens the burden being carried by the oppressed people of South Africa, then we welcome it. If a change in the laws made by South African whites makes it possible, without entrenching apartheid, to have some kind of organisation which can fight apartheid, why should we not welcome that change?

Cosatu and the South African miners' union are using their organisations to fight apartheid. They are therefore instruments of struggle, regardless of the fact that they could become legal organisations only after the apartheid regime decided to change its laws about trade union organisation.

And when any prisoner is released undefeated — as Comrade (Govan) Mbeki and others were last month — we rejoice in their freedom and their continued courage.

All such events mark a little victory for the anti-apartheid movements, internally and externally. They hearten us. For we know they have occurred as the apartheid regime seeks to relieve the pressure it is now coming under, and to reduce the embarrassment felt by its friends as they continue to support it.

But these events must not be allowed to deceive us.

All these so-called reforms amount to is an amelioration in the conditions of the prison house which is apartheid. The inmates of the prison house, the people of South Arica, remain prisoners.

Apartheid has to be abolished, not reformed. No attempt to make the people feel less oppressed under apartheid is a substitute for its total abolition.

Political power for the people of South Africa is the key to a non-racial and democratic future for that country. It will be achieved.

But its achievement will be only the beginning.

It will not by itself transform the social and economic conditions. For the racial, economic and social structures which have been built up will not fall down, and all the effects of decades of racialism and oppression will not be wiped out when the people take possession of political power.

Nor will those who — internally and externally — now support apartheid, suddenly become supporters of democracy and equality and justice. There will be those among them who will try to cause, and will encourage where they do not have to create, chaos and lawlessness and acts of angry revenge.

And there will be many — inside South Africa and even among those outside South Africa — who do not like apartheid, who will complain when democracy and justice for all does not exist the day after a representative government takes over.

And the people themselves, after all their years of suffering, will be impatient for radical change — for relief from the desperate conditions in which they live — even while their young government is still struggling to create and use new and democratic intruments of government.

These things we must, all of us, recognise now. We must intensify our efforts to abolish apartheid. But as we do so, we must not try to pretend the struggle for justice and democracy in South Africa will end on the day the apartheid government is replaced by a government of the people.

I say it again: changing the structure of political power in South Africa is the first task. Building justice and human respect and democracy in a society which has for more than 75 years been based on oppression, domination and racial discrimination, is the second task.

People all over the world will join the South Africans in their rejoicing when apartheid is defeated. For that will mean the struggle to build a just and democratic society in South Africa can at last begin.

# Botha reacts to CBS film on SA

Cape Times 12/12/87

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, yesterday heaped condemnation and "contempt" on the CBS documentary "Children of Apartheid", recently broadcast in the US, accusing the film of "blatant distortion" and "misrepresentation of facts."

Mr Botha said the full circumstances surrounding the making of the film — which includes contrasting interviews with Miss Rozanne Botha and Miss Zinzi Mandela — was being investigated "with a view to taking whatever steps I find necessary".

The minister said in a statement that he had informed the network's representative in South Africa that "it is hard to think of a respectable reason why a national television service in a civilized country should sink to such levels of disrespect for the accepted norms and standards of professional journalism".

The CBS bureau chief, Mr Bill Mutschmann, said in a statement on the advice of his attorneys he had informed the minister that his remarks on the documentary "may well be defamatory," adding that "newspapers should exercise caution in referring to the (Botha) statement."

In his statement, Mr Botha said a copy of the film had been made available to him and that he was "at a loss to understand" CBS's motives and attitudes in creating and screening "such tainted pictures" of aspects of the present day South Africa.

# SA govt says US envoy outspoken'

JOHANNESBURG. — The Department of Foreign Affairs complained yesterday that the US Ambassador, Mr Edward Perkins, was becoming too outspoken in his criticism of South Africa's racial and political problems.

The statement, attributed by the department to "a senior official", was issued in response to a magazine article by Mr Perkins which appeared this week.

The first black US ambassador to South Africa, wrote that apartheid is "one of the century's most disastrous feats of social engineering" and issued his most explicit appeal for a government representing the black majority.

"It would appear as if Ambassador Perkins is moving away from his original non-contentious public profile," the department said. "Ambassador Perkins, to an increasing extent, uses public occasions to tell South Africans what he thinks of their country's policy".

The statement said it was "not his business" to suggest policies for South Africa — "that is for South Africans to decide". — Sapa-AP

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# SNAP GENERAL ELECTION IS PRESIDENT'S ONLY OPTION

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICANS are scheduled to go to the polls next year to elect new local governments. ... and they may very well end up electing a new Parliament at the same time.

In spite of Government denials that a general election is on the cards, there are many signs pointing towards an early election, sometime next year.

The central factors are next year's parliamentary by-elections and the role of Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

But there are important ancillary factors. One of the foremost of these is President P W Botha's personal agenda.

There are to be by-elections in month is expected to take a formal stand on the issue.

Observers agree: it is simply not in Mr Botha's nature to go resignedly into an election someone else has forced him into.

His only option would appear to Standerton and Schweizer-Reneke; there is likely to be one in Hillbrow and there are rumours of one coming up in Vryheid.

Parliament's term expires in 1989. President Botha has tried to extend the date to 1992, but Mr Hendrickse, whose agreement is needed, won't go along.

## Snap

Mr Hendrickse is expected to stick to his gun, and the Labour Party congress at the end of the be to anticipate the stand-off and call a snap election.

Additionally, says Dr Denis Worrall, leader of the Independent Movement, Mr Botha can overpower pressure on him to retire early in 1988, but the pressure may have grown irresistably greater by 1989.

Eyebrows were raised this week when the National Party's official mouthpiece, Die Burger, ran a stingingly unflattering comparison of Mr Botha with Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachev. It was taken from the Wall Street Journal and run prominently, without comment.

The presidential term of office is flexible, according to Dr Worrall. The President need be re-elected only after each parliamentary election.

If the Conservative Party should win the three rural constituency by-elections (it stands a good chance), the Government would be in deep water for the municipal elections later in the year, and in the general election to follow the next year.

Dr Worrall believes a general election could come early in 1988.

## Pride

The Government is signalling that it regards its tough law-and-order stand during the elections as a recipe for future success.

Among the signs are the wave of national pride fanned over the Angolan war and Mr Botha's statureboosting visit to the front, his vehement rejection last month of talks with the ANC, the reversal on the freeing of Govan Mbeki, new Press clamps, promises of action against the UDF and Cosatu, the tough treatment of Botswana and the expectation of new security legislation next year.

On the economic front, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, has been talking about more growth in the civil service, and white teachers have been promised significant new benefits.

Sweetening the civil service is traditional election flag waving by the Government.

Gold is climbing and is expected to be at a high in the second quarter of next year.

Cabinet Ministers have been taking an increasingly tough line with businessmen in private, says Dr Worrall.

Government officials have started a theoretical exercise to determine whether it is feasible to hold national local and first-tier government elections simultaneously.

## Savings

Manpower resources will be strained but there would be substantial cost savings in having the elections over in one broad stroke.

Observers have pointed to remarks by both Government and CP speakers that the municipal elections are going to be conducted as, and are going to be interpreted as, a general election.

# CBS criticizes attack on 'Children of Apartheid'

JOHANNESBURG. — The president of CBS News, Mr Howard Stringer, is appalled that the South African government has threatened the network's bureau with retaliatory action following the release of the television documentary "Children of Apartheid" in the United States.

It includes interviews with Miss Rozanne Botha and Miss Zinzi Mandela.

Mr Stringer said: "I find it difficult to understand how a broadcast told almost entirely in the voices of children, both black and white, could be offensive to the government of South Africa, particularly when one of the most articulate voices in the documentary is that of the daughter of the country's State President.

"I am appalled that the government of South Africa has chosen to attack the professional standards of Walter Cronkite and CBC News and to threaten our bureau there with retaliatory action. It has chosen to do so without hearing the views of our bureau manager or legal representatives.

"The documentary and its production are entirely lawful and do not breach the South African emergency media regulations.

"I only wish that the people of South Africa could view the documentary to judge for themselves," Mr Stringer said. — Sapa

# Left parties plan anti-Government, non-racial unity

3064
ARGUS 15/12/87

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — A new non-racial political party uniting most of the opposition groups to the left of the Government could be formed soon.

This was revealed today by political sources involved in top-level behind-the-scenes "unity" talks between anti-Government Parliamentary groups.

If a single "leftwing" opposition party with a power-base cutting across all population groups is formed, it could have far-reaching consequences and radically restructure South African politics.

It will also mean that established parties such as the Progressive Federal Party, Labour Party and New Republic Party could disband in the interests of a wider opposition unity.

The organisations involved are said to include the mainly white PFP, the NRP and Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Movement, the coloured Labour and United Democratic parties and the Indian Progressive Reform and Solidarity parties.

Delegates from these organisations first met last month to explore the possibilities of forming a broad anti-Government front.

Developments are said to be moving so fast that suggestions the organisations disband and form a single party rather than a front or alliance are now being made.

The main aim of the multi-racial party would be to win majorities in both the Houses of Representatives and Delegates. They also hope to win over "verligte" Nationalists.

Further talks are expected to be held this week.

Approached for comment today, Dr Worrall said he believed the talks between "creative opposition" movements were gathering momentum.

"I understand there are positive stirrings within the creative opposition which I completely support," he said.

3044

# Indaba dissociates itself from reports of violence

**The Argus Correspondent**

DURBAN. — Indaba has dissociated itself from violence allegedly perpetrated by people wearing its T-shirt and dislaying its stickers.

In a statement the Indaba said it had noted with great concern certain reports linking it with the culprits.

"It must be clearly understood that the Indaba is a totally non-partisan organisation committed to a peaceful transition to regional power-sharing in KwaZulu in Natal."

The organisations was reacting to press reports that some people wearing its T-shirts and displaying its stickers were seen perpetrating acts of violence.

The Indaba said the very notion of violence as a means of change was absolutely abhorrent to it, and was rejected in the strongest possible terms.

"The wide support the Indaba enjoys clearly means that thousands of people, including non-members, are wearing its T-shirts throughout the region, while literally millions of bumper stickers have been distibuted."

**DISCREDIT PROGRESS**

The organisation said that if the allegations were true, those wearing its T-shirts were not necessarily its members nor where they acting on its instructions.

"Finally, it is clear that there are elements within the region who would dearly love to discredit the progress of the Indaba.

The question of just who is associating Indaba with acts of violence is worthy of consideration," the statement said.

# Similarities between Gorbachev and Botha go well beyond mere words or mannerisms



BOTHA . . . in the same bind



GORBACHEV . . . boorishness

**SIMON BARBER in Washington**

THROUGHOUT Mikhail Gorbachev's triumphant visit to Washington — described in certain less enthusiastic quarters as the "Gorbasm" — I found myself having curious flashes of *deja vu*. A lot of what the General Secretary and his acolytes said I had heard before in another context.

The first flash was provoked by his interview with NBC anchorman Tom Brokaw. Though he did not quite say "ag, Mr Brokaw, but you don't understand . . ." he came close.

So close, indeed, that had the interpreter tried an Afrikaans accent he might almost have been a spokesman for the National Party.

"The Soviet Union is a unique phenomenon," the leader of the communist world explained. "It's a whole conglomeration of over a 100 nations and nationalities . . . all of these people value their language, their culture . . . you can't understand us or our actions if you don't know that history . . .

"There's a lot in our history that was not simple. There's a lot of struggle. We had to fight many invasions in order to stand up for our independence. And you know that led to a forging of our national character and our values were thus formed."

Equally resonant was a release lying on the table outside the hyperactive Soviet Press office. There were a lot of such releases, incidentally, all prepared in Moscow pre-summit.

Had anybody bothered the read them, they contained the gist of everything Gorbachov was to say during his visit. But I digress.

The document in question dealt with human rights. It noted with a bluntness that called to mind the government benches in Parliament in Cape Town: "As for the so-called 'political prisoners,' we have none. In the USSR, people are not tried for their convictions but only for concrete, punishable acts."

Or as Rozanne Botha, the State President's daughter, told American television viewers on the eve of Gorbachev's arrival: "If you're not happy with the government's policy and you want to go about in a way that's unlawful, you must expect to be detained."

Perhaps the strongest echo came at the end, when Gorbachev gave his parting "Press conference," a monologue seldom interrupted by questions. At last, the seemingly tireless charm that had set him apart from P W Botha for the preceding three days gave way to a more recognisable boorishness.

How dare you ask about the mistreatment of dissidents, he sneered at the assembled reporters (most of whom, it should be noted, had not in fact so dared, so busy were they fawning on the great man).

"We have not 4 000, not 2 000, not 500, but only 22 individuals imprisoned in our country . . ." for trying to monitor the Helsinki accords on human rights.

As for the "refusenliks" — Jews denied permission to emigrate — "there are only 222 such persons . . . no matter what you say, no matter what you shout at us, we shall not let them go."

Why? Because to do so would be a threat to Soviet security and a boon to the West's plot to drain Russian brains.

The similarities between Gorbachev and Botha go well beyond mere words or mannerisms (and in the case of the latter are not that pronounced except when he is being himself, the Russian has evidently impressed everyone, President Reagan included, as a figure of considerable humanity, intellect and good humour; the South African has not).

What truly unites them is something rather more profound.

Both men sit atop systems whose sole purpose is to keep their respective constituencies in perpetual power at the expense of the majority of their populations.

Each system is proving increasingly inefficient at performing that task. Both leaders are responding by trying to make their systems work more efficiently.

If you accept this, Botha's attempt at reform should offer some insight in Gorbachev's, and vice versa. In particular, it should suggest the severe limitations of their programmes.

Neither is intended to relinquish real power, for if it were otherwise neither man would last long in his current position. Neither achieved pre-eminence because they genuinely believed in selling the store.

The Soviet Union is the fiefdom of the nomenklatura, an all but hereditary aristocracy of senior Communist Party members which in effect, if not in name, owns the state.

This aristocracy is under threat because the ideology that validates its existence has failed to accommodate the aspirations and material needs of its subjects.

It is this failure that Gorbachev and his faction — not all nomenklaturists share his approach — are trying to address through "glasnost" and "perestroika".

The former, usually translated as "openness," is intended to make the general population believe that it has a greater say than heretofore in the management of its affairs.

The latter — "reconstruction" — aims at improving economic performance — more bread, more circuses — without radically altering the 70-year-old political dispensation.

The financial and technological resources to pull off such a feat are not to be found within the Soviet Union. Gorbachev has been forced to look beyond his borders

This is a risky enterprise, because it involves the tacit admission that the capitalist world has been more successful than his own in providing the kinds of benefits to its people in the absence of which his own people are becoming dangerous to the nomenklatura.

To obviate the risks inherent in such an admission, Gorbachev needs to achieve several things.

First, and most obvious, he needs to deliver. the West must be persuaded to provide the necessary capital and technology to make "perestroika" work.

Second, he needs to persuade his own people that the West sees the Soviet system as a legitimate alternative to its own.

Third, he must appeal to inherent Russian patriotism. Until now, the standard procedure has been to portray the West as agressively seeking to subvert or destroy the motherland and the cause of socialism

This, plus the fact that the nomenklatura's only genuine long-term hope of salvation is to convert the rest of the world (by one means or another) to its own ideology, has tended to diminish the West's generosity.

Gorbachev's solution is a trade off Anti-Western propaganda and expansionism are made more tactful (though by no means abandoned) in return for Western investment, disarmament and acceptance of the Soviet Union as a co-equal partner, whether it be in Middle East negotiations or putting a man on Mars

P W Botha and his nomenklatura, representing an incomparably more picayune state, do not have as much room for manoeuvre, boast as they might that they are Africa's superpower (altogether, a rather modest achievement).

Since they and their fate do not particularly matter, they will not be able to wangle a Washington summit to help perpetuate their rule.

Nonetheless, in their microcosmic way, they are in exactly the same bind as their Soviet counterparts and have been pursuing much the same course as Gorbachev, at any rate as far as they are able.

South African "glasnost" has entailed a number of tightly-controlled reforms in the apartheid laws and, more recently, such quickly vitiated stunts as the release of Govan Mbeki.

Their efforts have been matched in the sol-disant private sector by Anglo American offering to give away a few powerless shares to its employees.

The fact remains that neither Botha nor Gorbachev have the faintest interest in diluting or sharing the power of their respective elites.

The difference is that the West is not going to give Botha the wherewithal to carry through is own version of co-optation through "perestroika".

# Jeugkrag pay tribute in Maputo

**Political Correspondent**

MEMBERS of the verligte Afrikaner youth organization, Jeugkrag SA, will pay a Day of the Vow visit to the grave of Voortrekker leader Louis Trichardt in Maputo today — along with members of the Frelimo youth movement.

The South Africans, and their Frelimo counterparts, will visit the memorial garden to pay tribute to the Voortrekker leader, his wife Martha, and other Voortrekkers buried there.

The pilgrimage to the graves forms part of a four-day visit by a delegation of nine Jeugkrag SA members to Maputo at the invitation of the Frelimo youth movement.

The chairman of Jeugkrag SA, Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk, said the group would visit the grave of former Mozambican president Mr Samora Machel.

# Talks on new political party

**A NEW non-racial political party uniting most of the opposition groups to the left of the Government could be formed soon.**

This was revealed yesterday by political sources involved in top-level behind-the-scenes "unity" talks between parliamentary anti-Government groups.

If a single "left-wing" opposition party with a power-base cutting across all population groups is formed, it could have far-reaching consequences and radically restructure South African politics.

It will also mean that established parties such as the Progressive Federal Party, the Labour Party and the New Republic Party could finally disband in the interests of a far wider "opposition" unity.

The sources have asked to remain anonymous as they say talks are at an "extremely delicate" stage.

# Govt will not force Bill, says Heunis

GOVERNMENT is hoping to pass enabling legislation for its proposed National Council in spite of signs that the preconditions set by most black politicians for participation are unlikely to be met.

Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis said government was committed to the establishment of the National Council, but no time-table could be set for its inception.

"We will try to pass the NC Amendment Bill through Parliament next year. But we won't force it," Heunis said in an interview.

The planned NC, aimed at providing a forum in which representatives of urban and homeland blacks will take part in negotiations on a new constitutional dispensation, has been slow to get off the ground and has faced severe criticism and outright rejection from black groups, including homeland leaders.

Internal groups such as the UDF and Cosatu have rejected the council outright. KwaZulu's Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Lebowa Chief Minister Noko Ramodiki and United Municipalities of SA president Tom Boya have linked participation to conditions such as the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

These demands are forcing a stalemate and, considering the recent security clamp-down and the restriction of ANC leader Govan Mbeki, these black demands are unlikely to be met.

Heunis, however, is positive about attracting support for the NC. "We have had overwhelming reaction from black communities in favour of such a forum," he said.

On the NC's credibility problem, Heunis stressed the council was not a final institution but an interim body that could be consulted by goverment on matters affecting all, including legislation.

"The government is serious about establishing a forum where leaders can get together and investigate and negotiate and collectively plan a new constitutional dispensation," Heunis said.

The establishment of the council was being processed through the activities of the parliamentary standing committee, said Heunis. Representations on the National Council Amendment Bill started a month ago.

Asked about possible participation of the ANC, Heunis said "abdication of violence" was the only precondition.

ELSABÉ WESSELS

ELECTIONS

# The Jaap Factor

**The Herstigte Nasionale Party is set to become the New Republic Party of the far Right — incapable of winning seats, but with enough support to spoil the Conservative Party's chances in marginal constituencies. Never mind all the predictions — the resignation of HNP stalwart Louis Stofberg is unlikely to kill off the party in the near future**

The first major test will be early next year — two by-elections for parliamentary seats won by the CP in the May general election. Standerton MP Jacobus de Ville was unseated by the Supreme Court because he was technically a State official when elected; in Schweizer-Reneke, Jacobus Beyers was forced to quit when his estate was sequestrated.

De Ville beat the National Party candidate by 952 votes, and Beyers won by only 191. The Nats are confident of winning back both seats, and are expected to pour all available resources into the campaigns.

In both constituencies there are likely to be three-cornered contests. Marais himself will stand in Schweizer-Reneke (a decision which was apparently the final straw for Stofberg, who favours rightwing unity). Attie Treurnicht, brother of CP leader Andries Treurnicht, will be the HNP man in Standerton.

Most political analysts give the HNP candidates little chance of even retaining their deposits — but the few hundred votes they are likely to get will almost certainly make the difference between victory and defeat for the CP.

An even greater CP worry is the possibility that strong Nat showings in the by-elections will prompt P W Botha to call a general election at the end of the year, instead of waiting until it is due in 1989.

An early election is on the cards — possibly to coincide with the local government elections due at the end of next year, and to capitalise on the resurgence of the "hawks" in the ruling establishment and the slowing down of the "reform" process.

A limiting factor on an early election may be the NP's inability in the short term to agree on a delimitation of constituencies, now under consideration.

Current thinking: give the Transvaal another 16 seats to reflect population growth, and leave the other three provinces with the seats they have now.

But more Transvaal seats will help the CP — unless the re-drawing of boundaries waters down rightwing concentrations, in which case small pockets of HNP diehards will be an even greater problem for the CP.

The extent of HNP support is difficult to gauge, although it is definitely waning. The CP says hundreds of dissatisfied former HNP supporters have joined the party; although he's not saying, it seems that Stofberg himself will get a senior CP post.

But Marais will soldier on, comforted by the knowledge that only he is true to the Verwoerdianism now "abandoned" by the Nats and the CP. And it is around that unwavering commitment that the *bitter-einders* will rally. ■

304A

# The voice of white power on 'mud races' and grey-area Jews

**Johan Schabort of the far-right *Blanke Bevrydigings Beweging* won't talk to the press anymore. But he will give lengthy interviews to his own publication, Kommando. JOHN PERLMAN reports**

THE press distorts everything, claims Professor Johan Schabort, leader of the Blanke Bevrydigings Beweging (BBB), and for that reason he decided this week that he is no longer prepared to give interviews.

A "pure" version of Schabort's views can however be found in the most recent edition of *Kommando - Voice of the White Race*, the official newsletter of the BBB.

Conducted, according to *Kommando* "in the relaxed atmosphere of his modest Johannesburg home, with his delightful family hovering in the background," Schabort, a former professor of biochemistry at Rand Afrikaans University, spells out at length his views on the "degenerative" influence of blacks and the "mud races", on genetic improvement and repatriation, and on the overwhelming presence of Jews in communist movements.

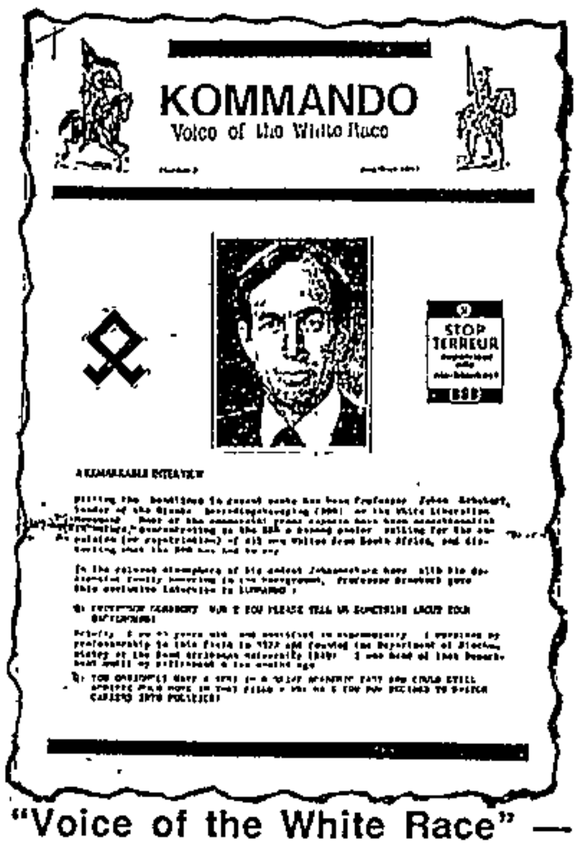
The BBB's philosophy, he says, is based on "love for all living creatures, and not hate". But he says, "we must bear in mind that historically and scientifically it has been shown that blacks have a degenerative and destructive influence on a culture, race and environment which is superior to their own."

The BBB also "accepts the white race's responsibility as the creative power on this planet". The white race, Schabort says, has "a right and a duty to protect the entire planet from the destructive rampage of the mud races."

The mud races? "The mud races are those races who, historically and scientifically have proven that they are inferior," Schabort says. "They cannot maintain the standards set by the excellent White race. It is important to understand that these differences are genetic and not environmental — that they are unchangeable."

The "mud races" in South Africa, Schabort says, are "just waiting for an opportunity to take power and destroy the white race and its achievements." This destruction includes "armed terrorism, work stoppages and economic sabotage, and most of all, the genetic pollution of the White race's gene pool."

One step to counter this would be


KOMMANDO
Voice of the White Race

STOP TERREUR

**"Voice of the White Race" — Schabort's mouthpiece**

"genetic improvement". According to the iron laws of nature, Schabort says, the best and strongest species will take power — "and the best and strongest is the white race".

But he says, "what today passes as the white race is simply not enough to withstand the challenges facing it in years to come". The white race, therefore, "must be bred up to produce the absolute finest to prevent the approaching mud race from engulfing us."

This however will not be enough. While in nature, competition between species usually results in the enslavement, extermination or flight of the weaker, the BBB is prepared to accept the "just option" of repatriation. "The other options will probably happen spontaneously, as the mud races are incapable of the slightest achievement, let alone being able to feed themselves."

This repatriation, to the homelands, would have to take place "under martial law, as the non-whites are not a labour force, but a parasitical invasion force."

This would be the "first phase".

The "mud races are destroying the eco-systems where they live (Africa and South America being the worst offenders in this regard)." If the blacks do not run the homelands properly, Schabort says, it is the white race's duty "to drive the destructive negative races out of these areas as well, and drive them on North into Central Africa, where they can sit in the jungle and not abuse white Western infrastructure."

Repatriation could not, however take place immediately. "We cannot take the black out of the economy immediately," Schabort says. The economy, which is presently "rotten and provides sustenance to breed the mud races by the millions," would have to be made capital intensive and independent of "black labour or black buying power."

The removal of the "mud races" he says, would cause a drop in economic output of about 30 percent, but that would be compensated by three factors: the billions of rand "wasted on aid to the mud races"; the nationalisation of "our enemies' wealth", about 80 percent of South Africa's mineral and industrial wealth; and the loss of black buying power will "actually save us millions of rand merely in terms of what they steal from us."

The Jews, Schabort says, "are in the grey area between white and non-white", and suffer from delusions of grandeur and persecution, "the two symptoms of paranoia".

As a result of this "and jealousy of the White race," Schabort says, "the Jews have throughout history played a unique role in attempting to break down White Western civilisation, in order not to highlight their own shortcomings."

The Jews, Schabort says, do this by buying and selling and "riding on the white race's productivity" and by "devious psychological war against the whites, with the whole idea of giving the whites a suicidal life philosophy".

This Schabort says, explains "the overwhelming presence and driving force of Jews in communist movements and theocratic humanist ideologies."

SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREMOST LIBERAL LOOKS BACK AT THE YEAR THAT MARKED TIME

# THE GREAT

## ● Hopes were high in the PFP, but the polls proved devastating

## ● I don't believe reform is dead, or even dying. But it is very lethargic

**By ALAN PATON**

I HAVE just been reading the article I wrote for the Sunday Times at the close of 1986.

It was titled 1986 — Violence Lives On. It reads just like an end-of-year review of 1987. So the title for this article is 1987 — Year of the Great Standstill.

This does not mean that nothing has happened.

It means that the things most hoped for by people like myself did not happen. Our Government stood still.

In January President Botha announced that there would be a general election for white South Africa on May 6. This announcement was followed by several important events.

One was the resignation of Mr Wynand Malan, MP for Randburg, from the National Party. He announced he had become an Independent, declaring: "Reform is dead."

In the same month, our ambassador in London, Dr Denis Worrall, announced that he would resign his post and return to South Africa to fight in the elections against the National Party. He finally chose to fight in Helderberg, Cape, against Mr Chris Heunis, whom many thought to be the most likely successor to President Botha.

These two Independents were joined by Mrs Esther Lategan, who announced that she would fight in Stellenbosch.

Another exciting event in the world of Afrikanerdom was the issuing of a statement by 27 academics of the University of Stellenbosch opposing the policies of the Government. It looked, in March, as though Afrikanerdom, having lost its right wing to the Conservative Party, would lose its left wing to the new Independents.

Hopes that a new era was dawning for South Africa began to run high. Simultaneously — and inevitably — the elections were dismissed as irrelevant by people such as Dr Allan Boesak, patron of the United Democratic Front (UDF), and Mrs Winnie Mandela, who said that white South Africa had only one course left, and that was to hand over power.

It seems obligatory for leaders of the political left to make such statements, but they contribute nothing to the national debate. The election was by no means irrelevant; it was a test of the strength and nature of one of the most important factors that will determine our future — the white people of South Africa.



DENIS WORRALL
Challenged the "crown prince"

No account of the election campaign would be complete without mention of the statesmanlike role played by the Progressive Federal Party. It decided not to oppose the Independents, and entered into an election agreement with the New Republic Party (the successor to the old United Party).

## Security

Hopes ran high in the PFP, and its leader, Mr Colin Eglin, gave an interview in which he spoke of the possibility of the PFP-NRP alliance picking up another eight seats.

But the elections were devastating for this alliance. White South Africans moved bodily to the centre and the right. Above all, they wanted security, and they thought they were more likely to get it from P W Botha and the National Party than from the alliance.

Afrikaners moved still farther right, and gave the Conservative Party more than half a million votes. But the National Party received more than a million votes, more than half of the total. The Government won 133 seats out of 178.

The CP won 23 seats and became the official Opposition. The PFP won 19 seats, and so ceased to be the official Opposition. The Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) received just over three percent of the votes, and virtually came to the end of its existence. The NRP, with just under two percent of the votes, did the same.

In the place of my birth, Maritzburg — which not undeservedly has the reputation of being the most civilised town in the country — both seats were won by the National Party. For the first time since Union in 1910, Natal came under the rule, and very decisively so, of the NP.

Yet, in spite of the NP's resounding victory, it was this election that brought it to the Great Standstill. Its leaders now had greater cause than ever to look over their right shoulders.

It was not the CP's 22 seats that frightened them, but its 500 000 votes The elections indicated a large number of marginal seats which would fall to the CP if there were an increased swing to the right.

Has President Botha given up the policies of reform?

He stated publicly this year that there were three national priorities, and they were, in order of importance, the maintenance of security, economic development, and social and political reform.



WYNAND MALAN
Left NP "because reform is dead"

Many people believe that President Botha is so concerned with security that he has little time for development and almost no time for reform. These people look with grave misgivings on our military activities in Angola, and on the fact that today is the 554th day of the state of emergency.

They had hoped for the repeal of the Group Areas Act, but there seems no chance of that. Instead they must be content with the hint that the Government may declare "grey" areas where the Act will not apply

The supporters of the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba are disappointed that constitutional wizard Chris Heunis has rejected its proposals, though they persist in hoping against hope.

## Self-assured

I have written before that those who want social and political reform must learn to become stoical. The year 1987 reaffirms the oft-stated truth that the Government — ie, the National Party — will reform at its own pace. No outside influence, no sanctions, no disinvestment will make it move faster than it wishes.

It is ironical that the pace of reform will, to a large extent, be determined by the party that is against reform — namely, Dr Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party. It will not be determined at all by the Congress of the United States.

Does President Botha really believe in reform, or is he a great bluffer?

I have no doubt whatever that he believes in reform or, rather, that he acknowledges the necessity for reform. He remains, for me, the toughest of all our prime ministers, and I never cease to wonder at his self-assurance when the rest of us are packing for Perth.

I do not profess to understand him, but that is not surprising, because he has been an active member of the NP for more than 50 years, whereas I withdrew my sympathy for Afrikaner nationalism almost 49 years ago to the day — on December 16 1938 — when I saw it at its worst at the great centenary celebrations.

One must also acknowledge that none of our Nationalist prime ministers has ever been given such strong support by English-speaking South Africans. This is for the simple reason that they want security for the future, and they reckon that the NP can give it better than anyone else.

There used to be a witty and cynical saying that the timid English-speaking liberals thought like the Progs, voted United Party and thanked God for the Nats. Today they still thank God for the Nats, but now they vote for them, too.

I don't believe that reform is dead, or

● Continued opposite



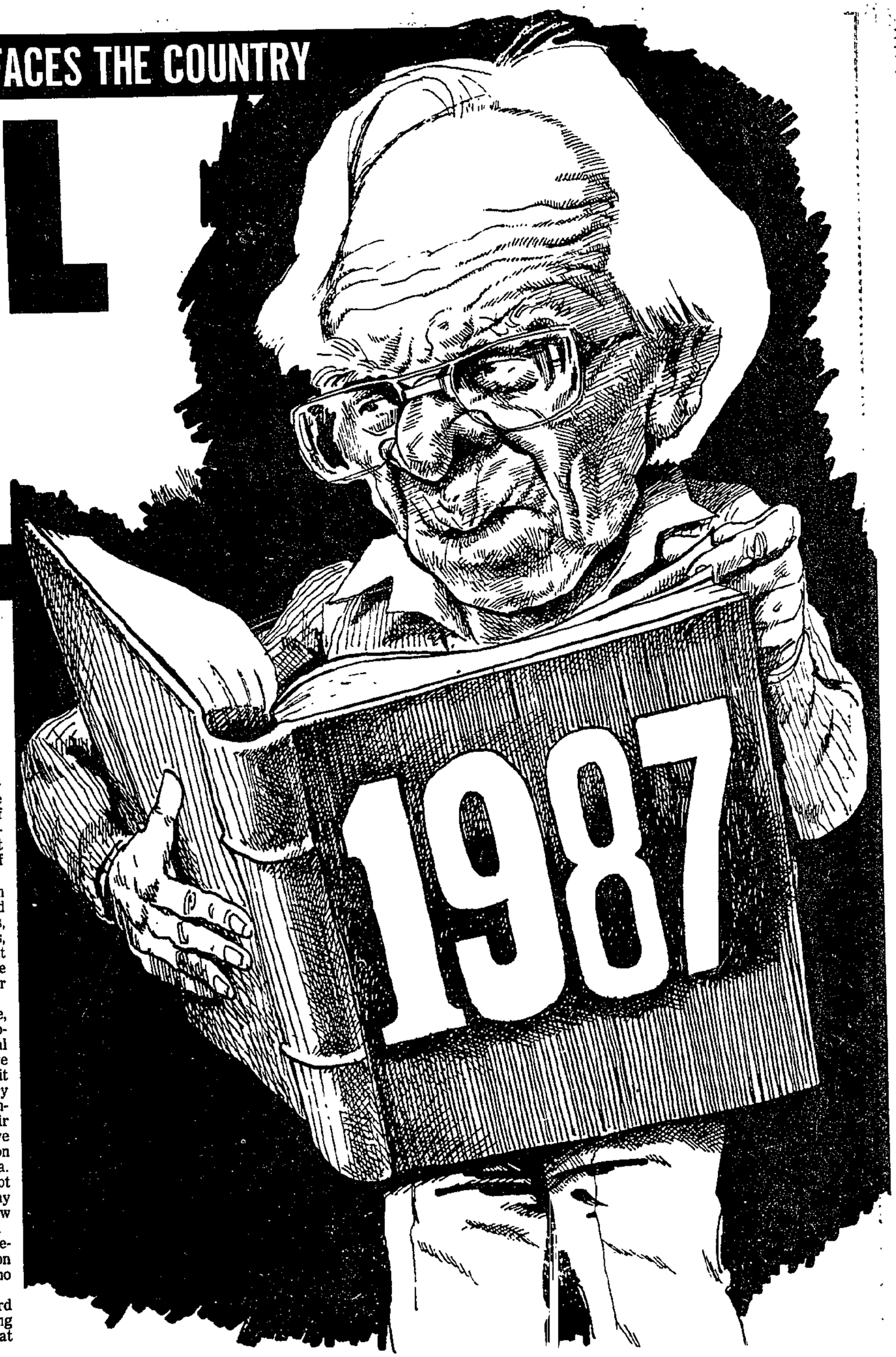
P W BOTHA
Not planning to pack for Perth

. . . AND AHEAD TO THE SLOW AND PAINFUL UPHILL CLIMB THAT STILL FACES THE COUNTRY

# STANDSTILL

● It is ironical that the pace of change will be chosen by its opposers

● Give thanks for joint rule in Natal and for awakening Afrikaners




● From Page 16

even dying, but it is certainly very lethargic. After May 6 I wrote that security and reform ran like contrary tides in the same sea. Such a thing can't happen in physical nature, but it can in human nature, and it is happening right now.

When writing about 1987, I cannot avoid the duty of writing also about the future of the PFP. Instead of picking up eight seats in the election, the PFP dropped six, and ended up with 18. Since the election it has suffered further grievous losses through the defection of three MPs and one President's Councillor. Has it a future?

It has no future as a possible government. The struggle in white South Africa is now between the centre and the right; between the National and the Conservative parties.

Similarly, there is no future for the Independent movement of Dr Worrall or the New Democratic Party of Wynand Malan. White South Africa shows no sign of moving to the left.

What was the constituency of the PFP? It was largely white, affluent, urban, English-speaking. The new parties will have much the same constituency, except that they will attract more Afrikaans-speaking support. Even if they all amalgamated, the constituency would still be white, affluent and urban.

I don't write these words with pleasure. Although I am not a member of the PFP, the politicians I admire most — above all, Helen Suzman — belong to it.

Should the PFP continue? I have no doubt whatever that it should. It makes a contribution to our national politics that nobody else can make. If it ceased to exist, whom could people like myself [illegible] the next election?

held in 1989, unless the three houses of Parliament agree to postpone it. At the moment it looks as though the Rev Allan Hendrickse and his Labour Party will not agree.

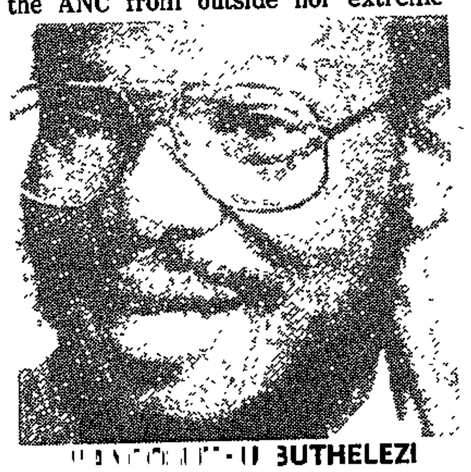
The relations between him and the President are bad, largely because of PW's short temper. The Labour Party could force the Government to go to the polls in 1989. What would be the outcome? A further white swing to the right? And the continued abstention of the great majority of coloured and Indian voters?

I would predict a slight increase in the strength of the Conservative Party. Luckily for South Africa, it will not become the government. The National Party will remain firmly in control. The white parliamentary left will have a bad time.

Coloured and Indian voters will continue to abstain. They will argue that their two Houses of Parliament have achieved nothing except a new Indian group area in Harrismith.

What can we expect in 1988, and for some years to come?

Certainly not a revolution. Neither the ANC from outside nor extreme radicals from inside are in any position to wage a revolution against the most powerful army in Africa. It is not possible to predict the end of internal unrest, but at least Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has warned members of Inkatha not to take the law into their own hands.



[illegible] BUTHELEZI

Mr Heunis will go on thinking up new constitutional devices, but he and the Government will have the greatest difficulty in getting any black leader of substance to the negotiating table.

Chief Buthelezi has said that he will go to the table if Mandela is released, but there is no guarantee that this will happen. The Government released Govan Mbeki "unconditionally", but it slapped on restrictive conditions pretty soon after.

## Compromise

People don't go to a negotiating table till they realise that that is the only way to achieve anything. There is no sign that the ANC, the UDF or Cosatu has come to any such realisation.

So 1988 is likely to be another year of the Great Standstill, another year of hopes and disappointments.

But one will still be able to admire and give thanks for the courage of others in this fear-ridden country, especially the courage of those who never give up the struggle to make this a better and more just society.

And one can give thanks for the awakening of part, at least, of Afrikanerdom.

One can also give thanks for another important event, the establishment of the Natal Joint Executive Authority. This was done at a dignified ceremony in the Durban City Hall, attended by the President, Chief Buthelezi and Princess Irene Buthelezi, and the Ad[illegible]

The new executive was elected there and then. Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Minister of Education in the KwaZulu Government, was elected chairman.

But this important event has not been wholly successful. Soon after it, Mr Heunis announced that the Government had rejected the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba proposals on the grounds that they did not adequately protect group rights and group identities.

It is true that the proposals suggested for the legislature of a new Province of Natal provided for a lower house of 100 members elected by universal suffrage, which meant, of course, that it would be controlled by black citizens of the province.

But the proposals provided for an upper house of 50 members composed of five groups, representing blacks, Afrikaans-speakers, English-speakers, Indians and "others". This meant that no racially discriminatory measure passed by the lower house would ever be accepted by the upper house.

It was an ingenious compromise, combining in one constitution two so-far-incompatible policies — universal suffrage and racial suffrage. I believe that it would have worked, that it would have given hope to our country and that it would have encouraged other areas of South African to hold their own indabas. It could, therefore, have been the opening step in the evolution of a federal republic of South Africa.

However, Chief Buthelezi was not satisfied, and threatened, or shall I say hinted, that KwaZulu might withdraw from the Joint Executive Authority.

This would be a calamitous consequence of the Government's rejection of the Indaba. The year 1988 will no doubt give us the answer.

Readers of the Sunday Times, gird your loins, put on your best walking shoes and climb stoically the road that will be uphill all the way.

# Frelimo group to meet young Afrikaners

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Afrikaans political youth movement Jeugkrag Suid Afrika has invited the Mozambican Youth Organization to South Africa after three days of talks between the two groups in Maputo last week.

Jeugkrag sent nine representatives to Mozambique after receiving an invitation from the Frelimo youth group through the honorary Greek consul in Maputo.

Leader of the South Africans, Jeugkrag president Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk, said formal talks between the two groups were held in Maputo. "A very important part of the talks centred on the Nkomati Accord," he said.

He said South Africa's internal situation was discussed, including the various organizations involved in politics in this country, their structures and strategies. The groups also discussed Mozambique's internal structure and economic situation.

# YEAR OF THE LOST NERVE

*There were rare moments when the government appeared to be taking reform seriously, but the lasting impression was of a floundering leadership which had lost its way and fallen back on that tried and tested weapon: the iron fist.*

*PATRICK LAURENCE reports on the year in politics*

HISTORIANS of the future may record 1987 as the year when the government took a few hesitant steps on a new path, only to lose its nerve and hastily stumble back into the laager.

The release from jail of the African National Congress stalwart, Govan Mbeki, in early November precipitated hopes that the government had embarked on an innovative policy which could lead to a lasting political settlement

The rules for the freeing of political prisoners had been rewritten in August to facilitate the release of Mbeki — and, by implication, his co-political prisoners — without extracting a formal renunciation of violence or "armed struggle", a condition which most of the best-known prisoners refused to fulfil in the absence of a matching undertaking by President PW Botha.

The freeing of Mbeki, aged 77, was seen by diplomats and analysts as the first instalment in a phased programme which would culminate in emergence from jail of the almost legendary Nelson Mandela, provided that it did not reactivate the quiescent townships or cause too much disquiet in the white community.

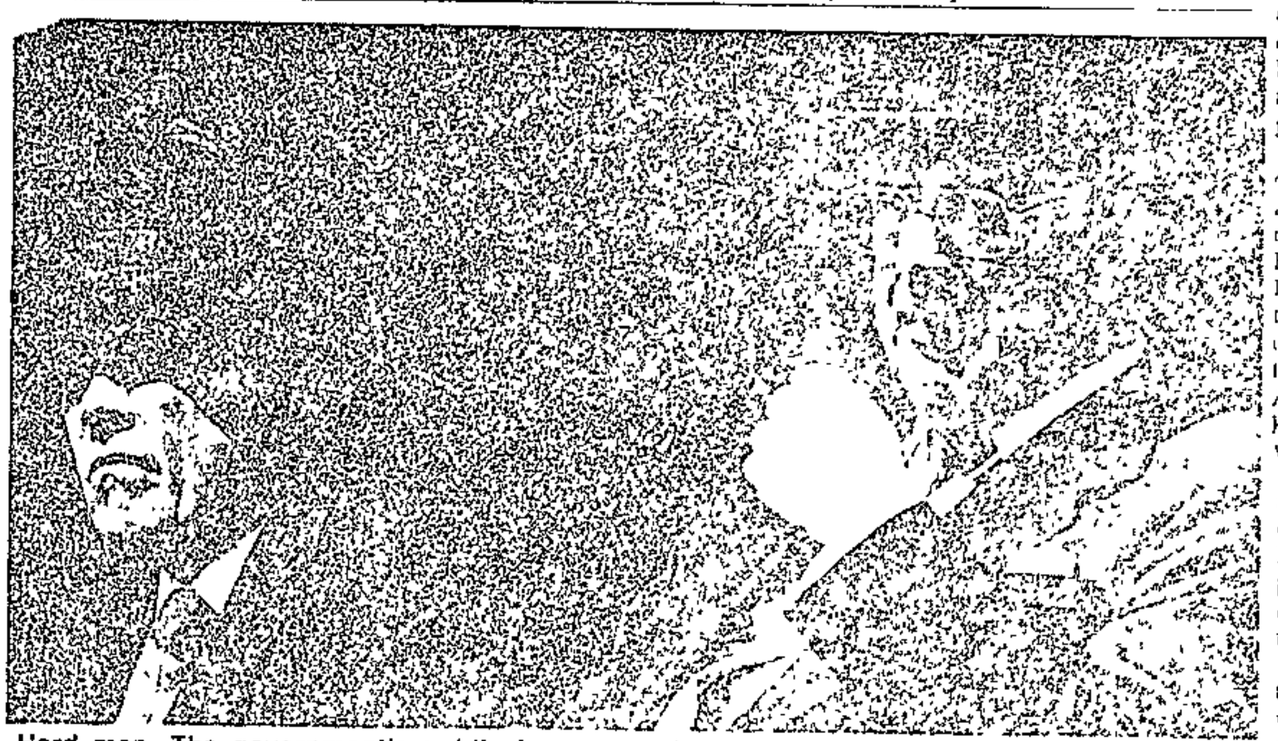
Mbeki, who made no secret of his continued commitment to both the ANC and the South African Communist Party, was initially allowed to move from one locality to another and permitted to speak to whomever he liked. The logical inference was that the government was actually reconciled to the *de facto* lifting of the ban on the ANC, provided its newly-freed leaders did not abuse the position by inciting crowds to unlawful action.

One motive was to persuade the Inkatha president, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to serve on the proposed National Council. Another may have been to draw the ANC into *de facto* negotiations and thus to open up a whole range of possibilities.

A third may have been to demythologise the jailed ANC leaders who, locked behind bars for more than two decades, had, in the minds of many blacks, assumed the proportions of supermen.

These interpretations were encouraged, in greater or smaller measure, directly or indirectly, by several government men: Stoffel van der Merwe, Botha's affable lieutenant who had been mandated to help achieve a political settlement with blacks; Kobie Coetsee, the minister of prisons, who is reluctant to have Mandela die in jail; and ambassador Piet Koornhof in Washington, anxious as ever to put the most positive glow possible on government policies

But, of course, it all came to naught. In rapid succession, police banned a planned Mbeki rally in Port Elizabeth after magisterial permission to hold it had been granted; influenced a magistrate in Cape Town to refuse permission to hold a rally there; and, finally, served orders on Mbeki, restricting him to Port Elizabeth and prohibiting him from talking to journalists.



Hard men. The government's public image was best symbolised by the hawkish Magnus Malan and PW Botha

Picture: GIDEON MENDEL

The official reason for the retreat into the laager was that Mbeki had allowed himself to be used by the ANC instead of fading quietly into obscurity. "We have only had pain," complained law and order minister, Adriaan Vlok. It is unclear, however, why anyone thought Mbeki would retire gracefully. His whole life has marked him as an improbable candidate for trading his political convictions for peaceful anonymity.

There are two more likely reasons for the government's reversion to the old policy of restriction and containment: fears that Mbeki, by attracting huge crowds — the police report to the Cape Town magistrate spoke of an anticipated crowd of 100 000 — would add to the reputation of the ANC as a political force; anxiety over a flood of letters from irate white *verkramptes* complaining about the release of Mbeki and kindling fears of Conservative Party advances in next year's municipal elections

Government concern over the CP was not assuaged by the general election of May 6, another hallmark of 1987.

The election results have been debated vigorously, with the victory of the ruling NP, which won 123 seats, being portrayed by some analysts as a move to the right and by others as a shift to the left. But whatever the subtleties of the argument over the NP, one conclusion was incontestable: the CP proved it was a viable and enduring force, winning 22 seats, virtually eliminating the rival Herstigte Nasionale Party and ousting the Progressive Federal Party as the official opposition

More important than the CP's tally of seats was its percentage of the vote 26,37 or more than half of the 52,45 recorded by the NP. As significant, it probably won as many Afrikaner votes as did the NP

It is against that background that the government's backtracking on the policy it started with the freeing of Mbeki should be seen By inhibiting the NP, the CP cast a long shadow over the broader South African political arena in 1987

The release of Mbeki apart, the year saw no major reform initiative. There was nothing to match the reforms of last year: the abolition of the major influx control laws and the partial restoration of South African citizenship to blacks deprived of it when the TBVC "states" (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei) were granted independence.

Movement away from the Group Areas Act was minimal, with Botha re-affirming the government's commitment to the general principle of residential segregation. The bedrock of old style apartheid, the Population Registration Act, remained inviolate

The proposed National Council, the forum designed to serve as a crucible where a new constitutional deal for all South Africans will be hammered out, was not established, largely because of the government's continued failure to persuade credible black leaders to serve on it. Mbeki's release was part of a gambit calculated to induce Buthelezi into the council The abandonment of that strategy did not augur well for the National Council

The year saw a further increase in the power of the South African Defence Force, with its political boss, Magnus Malan, emerging as a contender to succeed Botha as president Malan made several tough-minded speeches, warning a quartet of Southern African leaders — Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique, Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Eduardo dos Santos of Angola — of the dire consequences of supporting the ANC.

Toward the end of the year Malan's warning took concrete form when South African soldiers crossed the border into Angola. Their objective was to help Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels repel an attack by Angolan government forces.

They succeeded in doing that. But they did not capture the important Angolan fortress and air base of Cuito Cuanavale, leaving Angolan Fapla troops, supported by their Cuban allies, free to launch another drive against Unita next year

The war in Angola may boost Malan to further prominence and thus strengthen his hopes of becoming South Africa's second president But if there are too many casualties it may damage Malan politically The latest forays cost the lives of 25 young South Africans. The tally does not take account of reported losses by the largely black 32 Battalion. Further intervention may be even more costly.

Summing up the position, the London-based publication, *Africa Confidential*, said starkly: "Malan's problem is that once cash-in-the-body bags start returning from combat zones [illegible]"

One development [illegible] else on the extra-parliamentary front at home was the [illegible] Pietermaritzburg [illegible] Democratic Front [illegible] their trade and [illegible] of South African [illegible] the United [illegible] African [illegible] people were killed in two months and the tally was rising as [illegible]

The latter [illegible] appears to have [illegible] recruitment campaign [illegible] Inkatha zealots were [illegible] people [illegible] assault [illegible] membership drive

Its underlying cause, however, was the murderous feud which started with the killing of two UDF supporters at the University of Zululand in October 1983, a few months after the establishment of the UDF in Natal

The UDF fight for survival in Natal against Inkatha coincided with continued action against it from the state. A hefty blow was struck when Murphy Morobe and Mohammed Valli, the UDF's acting publicity secretary and acting national secretary, were detained. The two men had eluded police for months and helped to keep the organisation alive.

The UDF's chief rival on the extra-parliamentary terrain, the Azanian People's Organisation, was unable to recapture the central position in the black community it had held in the 1970s

Not even the 10th anniversary of the death of Steve Biko enabled it to reassert its primacy On the anniversary of Biko's death, its claim to being the legitimate heir of Biko's political philosophy was contested by UDF or pro-UDF elements.

The ANC was unable to fulfil its promise to intensify the armed struggle Its guerrillas carried out a few attacks, notably a car bomb explosion outside the Johannesburg Magistrates Court which killed four policeman But it suffered reverses in the underground war, the capture of the daring Natal guerrilla, Gordon Webster, and the conviction of its Western Cape commissar, Maxolo Petane, being two key examples.

The year ended with the government in command of the high ground militarily But it was still as far from a political solution as ever, with its mainline opponents battered but not crushed

REFORM

# Alles in Wonderland

**Deputy** Information and Constitutional Planning Minister Stoffel van der Merwe may well come to regret likening "reform" to a quadruped that can only move one leg forward at a time.

After a year of no significant political "reform," and with little prospect of major change in the coming 12 months, the likeable, but extremely idealistic deputy minister may well be flogging a dead horse.

Perhaps Van der Merwe has been unable to appreciate that the "reformosaurus" is actually bogged down in the mire of Nationalist ideology. It must be scraped away before the beast can progress.

He need only read the newspapers that his colleague, Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha, is so keen to close down to realise just how inadequate the social, economic and constitutional legs of his animal are. In fact it is currently standing almost entirely on security. How Van der Merwe can claim that economic reform is in a consolidation stage is equally puzzling.

The 60 or so "open" CBDs — some of which have taken more than two years to be conditionally "deracialised" following the initial announcement early in 1985 — are now hopelessly inadequate to support even government's own claim that it favours a free market. Racial discrimination in business is just no longer acceptable at any level. Why consolidate it when it needs to be scrapped?

Economic reform must also have popular support, yet Van der Merwe's boss, Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis, pushes ahead with RSCs which have been rejected by all significant business organisations. And what has happened to the much vaunted privatisation process? In some areas (Sats for example) ministers appear to be having second thoughts when faced by powerful vested interest bureaucrats seemingly determined to resist radical change.

Constitutional "reform" in the past year has become a bad joke. Government's main card — the National Council (or variations of it) — have been spoken about or announced with great fanfare in opening of parliament speeches or on similar occasions for just over three years now.

The only concrete progress has been a draft Bill in which no black leader of significance is interested.

Van der Merwe says the Bill may become law early in the coming parliamentary session. But no one is really paying attention any more. Meanwhile Heunis says he will not force the Bill.

In the meantime the security establishment is all-present.

Pik Botha's once-dominant Department of Foreign Affairs has drifted from the limelight and emerges only occasionally when needed to join in the sabre-rattling against a neighbour.

### Little hope

So the country looks back on yet another disappointing year with little hope of anything better in 1988. But Van der Merwe, together, no doubt, with the small band of never-say-die Nationalist reformists, will continue to try to coax the reform animal forward.

Post Focus

Reviewing the political happenings of the past year, PATRICK CULL asks . . .

# Can PW initiate another trek — to guarantee a future for all?



Mr P W BOTHA

ONE wonders whether the Government looks back on 1987 with any satisfaction — a year in which it lurched uncertainly along an uncharted constitutional path and marched decisively on a military level.

Just what did 1987 produce for the National Party and for the opposition parties in the House of Assembly?

The NP would like to look on the May general election as a victory, seeing that it increased its representation and dealt Mr Colin Eglin's PFP a devastating blow from which it has yet to prove it can recover — such was the strength of that finely-tuned ANC-gevaar campaign.

But it was a pyrrhic victory.

Seats were lost in the Transvaal to Dr Andries Treurnicht's very rampant Conservative Party, which came agonisingly close to winning a handful more — and which did have the satisfaction of being returned as the official opposition.

More important was that the election result not only brought reform to a virtual standstill but focused the Government's attention on the arenas of law and order and defence — arenas in which it did not stand to suffer further erosion to the right.

There were endless commitments to the retention of the state of emergency until the "revolutionary climate" had been destroyed, while the military neatly pushed Foreign Minister Pik Botha to one side and dictated foreign policy.



Dr A P TREURNICHT



Mr COLIN EGLIN

Defence Minister Magnus Malan made it palpably clear during the debate on his Vote that South Africa would not hesitate to strike at its neighbours.

Significantly, State President Mr P W Botha sat through General Malan's speech clearly agreeing with the sentiments.

South Africans did not have to wait too long for the action, and there was far less reluctance on the part of the military this time to disclose that it was in Angola — and why.

The hawks had unquestionably won the day.

The doves' one success was the release of 77-year-old Mr Govan Mbeki, the former ANC national chairman who had spent the past 23 years in jail along with Nelson Mandela and the other Rivonia trialists.

It was, however, a relatively short-lived success.

Planned rallies for Mr Mbeki were banned — a Port Elizabeth magistrate being overruled by the Commissioner of Police in one instance — and finally the forces of law and order won the day when the ANC leader was served with a restriction order.

It was not such a successful year for the once-omnipotent Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis.

Having scraped home in the Helderberg constituency by just 39 votes on May 6 after being faced with a rampant Dr Denis Worrall, Mr Heunis soon found his constitutional plans running into rough water.

In particular the jewel in the Government's constitutional crown, the revamped National Council, found itself bogged down — this time it was the Rev Allan Hendrickse and the Labour Party who were the villains of the piece.

(Such is the construction of the tricameral Parliament that Mr Hendrickse found himself being solidly supported by Dr Treurnicht in his refusal to back a proposed constitutional change that would have allowed the postponment of the 1989 elections to 1992.)

And, as the year ended, a number of important constitutional bills still remained blocked in the Standing Committee.

It was indeed not a happy year for Mr Heunis — the one-time crown prince of the NP — as constitutionally South Africa effectively lurched from side to side without progress.

While Gen Malan and Mr Heunis fared as they did, it was Mr P W Botha, South Africa's first executive State President, who continued to dominate the political scene.

He unhesitatingly slapped down Mr Hendrickse for swimming off King's Beach; halted and changed the SATV programme which dealt with the LP leader's resignation from the Cabinet, defiantly defending his action thereafter and then berated the media (it is suggested it was in fact members of his own party the outburst was aimed at) for suggesting he should resign.

Towards the end of the year there were suggestions that Mr Botha might be challenged by the latest undisputed crown prince, Mr F W de Klerk. But he will be a brave man if he decides to do so.



Mr CHRIS HEUNIS

Mr Botha is not exactly known for his tolerance with those who oppose him.

And there is no indication, especially in a year when there are so many important anniversaries to be celebrated, that he has any intention whatsoever of calling it a day.

Perhaps more important in a year in which South Africa will celebrate the 150th anniversary of the Great Trek is whether Mr Botha can initiate another trek.

Not one that sees South Africa's survival dependent on its military might — we have had ample evidence of that — but a trek towards a new constitutional dispensation that will guarantee a future for all South Africans.

That would mean the NP would be able to look back on 1988 with more than just hawkish satisfaction.

# White strategy '88

Sowetan 304A 28/12/87

**IT is going to be a tough year for anti-apartheid activists as Afrikaner Nationalists prepare to celebrate milestones in white South African history, writes JOHN MATISONN of the *London Observer*.**

STOFFEL Botha, South Africa's Home Affairs Minister, spent Christmas deciding whether to close down four local newspapers and expel an American television journalist. A heavy burden. His actions against the Press — he is unlikely to decide to do nothing — will set the stage for a 1988 filled with the pageantry of numerous celebrations commemorating milestones in white South African history and it will be tough going for those who would point to the stepped up repression taking place in the wings.

1988 is a year of anniversaries which are important to the Afrikaner nationalist, and President Botha, (72) on January 12, has let it be known that he plans to preside over them all as an active head of state despite his age.

FOCUS

Next year marks Botha's tenth as head of government, 40 years of National Party rule and 500 years since the first Portugese explorer, Bartholomew Dias, landed at the Cape.

In October, there will be the first ever national municipal elections, in which whites, blacks, Indians and coloureds will vote, separately, for town councillors at the same time. In the white elections, the right would make important new inroads into National Party strongholds.

"In the other elections, there could be enhanced tensions between those who wish to boycott and those who participate in bodies which have limited power.

The commemorations during the year, starting in February, present themselves to Botha as both danger and opportunity. Danger, because each date commemorates triumph over resistance to white domination, commemorations which the far right is ready to use to claim Botha has strayed from the one true path of Afrikaner domination.

The Great Trek festivities, potentially the most emotive of all, already have been all but hijacked by a rightwing coalition called the Afrikaner Volswag. Its executive director, Anna Boshoff, daughter of the late Prime Minister and architect of apartheid, Hendrik Verwoerd, is one of the organisers.

The festivities culminate with a simulation of the Great Trek of 1838 into the unknown African hinterland to avoid British rule and abolition of slavery. Boshoff says that Afrikaners in traditional dress will drive ox wagons over the now well-paved Transvaal roads to Pretoria, for a rally commemorating the sacrifices of her forebears.

If these events are well attended, they will prepare the ground for rightwing advances at the municipal polls in October. They could be popular.

In 1938 the same thing was done, and is generally considered to have been the uniting foundation on which the National Party built the organisation that defeated the less segregationist Jan Smuts on May 26, 1948. Botha is betting that he can control Afrikaner nationalist symbols better than his opponents. Part of Botha's defence against assault from the white right will be built on his attack on the black left. Therein, as head of the Government, lies his political opportunity.



**PW BOTHA . . . fending off the right by fighting the left.**

Regulations curtailing the universities are already in force. Several small removals of blacks from areas designated white are planned for January. They are unlikely to be the last. And the United Democratic Front, the largest above-ground anti-apartheid movement, weakened by 18 months of state of emergency harrassment, is bracing itself for more.

After a year of festivities and repression, the October municipal elections promise to be traumatic. In black polities, UDF affiliates, will be forced to take some action to either participate or boycott. Even in a state of emergency, if it persists, some political space is likely to be available during an election.

But Botha plans to do his best early in the year to demonstrate the fruitlessness of opposition to his writ. First in line for the Botha lesson is *New Nation*, the Catholic newspaper whose editor, Zwelakhe Sisulu, has spent his second successive Christmas in prison near Johannesburg.

*New Nation* is the first of four anti-apartheid, one pro-apartheid — publications that Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha (no relation) has targetted. A member of the Johannesburg bureau of CBS, the US TV network, also endured a nail-biting yule. The Home Affairs Minister has said he plans to act in retaliation for its documentary "Children of Apartheid" which included back-to-back interviews with the 27-year-old daughters of Nelson Mandela and PW Botha.

While CBS faces a possible expulsion, *New Nation* is at greater risk. As the first of five publications targetted by Botha because of what he sees as "a pattern of articles which create a revolutionary climate" he has taken them through the stages he laid out earlier this year, in which he warns that he may take action.

He is not at the final stage, where he has complete discretion, as the Minister, to suspend the publication for three months or to instal a censor in its office.

Most people in the industry believe he will choose the latter.

It probably will have the same effect as closure, but for the Government, it is thought it will be a propaganda benefit. A censor is likely to blue pencil many articles, leaving the editors to decide whether they can publish anything with integrity. If they close because they feel they cannot, the Government will be able to say that their closing down was in their own hands, just as Botha said, after offering Mandela freedom if he accepted certain conditions, that "Mandela holds the key to his own prison door."

Pressure from Britain and the United States continues for the release of Mandela from Pollsmoor Prison, near Cape Town. Hopes were high after the release of his colleague Govan Mbeki. Then came the restrictions on Mbeki's movements leaving little hope that Mandela would soon follow. This week's US Congressional decision to tax US companies in South Africa twice on their South African earnings, in South Africa and the US will increase Botha's determination not to be seen to give in now.

But Botha still has the political problem of where to go with black South Africa, because black activism just won't die.

After the October elections and the crackdown of 1988, Botha will still face the need for a political initiative. He will think again about releasing Mandela. But, if his track record is anything to go by, he will not negotiate with those who want an end to apartheid commemorations and Great Trek pageantry.



**Lest we forget...**

**THE *Sowetan* today remembers journalists around the country who are in detention:**
**• Zwelakhe Sisulu**

# Labour, Nats set to clash over GA Act

**Own Correspondent**

JOHANNESBURG. — An overwhelming Labour Party vote to hold the National Party government to ransom over the Group Areas Act in exchange for postponed elections has set the two biggest parties in Parliament on a collision course.

Yesterday's momentous decision, taken at the LP congress in Pretoria, handed LP leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse the mandate he sought to demand the scrapping of the Group Areas Act in exchange for postponing white House of Assembly elections.

**IN A dramatic development that could alter the face of opposition parliamentary politics, plans are under way for the Progressive Federal Party and the Labour Party to form a joint caucus. SEE PAGE 7**

The resolution — to demand the "unconditional repeal of the Group Areas Act as a precondition for the possible postponement of an election in the House of Assembly and other houses of Parliament" — is the most crucial for the LP since its decision to enter tricameral politics in 1983.

With this, the LP can force the National Party to face the Conservative Party less than two years after embarrassing May 6 election results, which showed increasing support for the right wing.

A motion "not to terminate participation in the Tricameral Parliament" and to complete their five-year term of office and go to the polls in 1989 was accepted unanimously.

An increasing militancy was noted among LP delegates as rank and file members spoke in favour of blocking government's bid to postpone House of Assembly elections from 1989 to 1992 in order to give the House a five-year term after this year's general election.

CAPE TIMES 30/12/87

304A

# Plans afoot for joint LP, PFP caucus

**Political Correspondent**

PRETORIA. — In a dramatic development that could alter the face of opposition parliamentary politics, plans are under way for the Progressive Federal Party and the Labour Party to form a joint caucus.

A top source disclosed last night the proposed caucus is expected to be joined by the opposition Solidarity and Progressive Reform Party members in the House of Delegates, and possibly by representatives of the Independent grouping headed by Dr Denis Worrall.

Both Solidarity and the PRP have apparently given the green light to the plan, and it is known that Dr Worrall has been holding wide-ranging talks in recent weeks.

An attempt will also be made to persuade credible black leaders to join the joint caucus, and it is understood that some members of the fledgeling opposition party in the House of Representatives, the United Democratic Party, will also throw in their lot with the new alignment.

KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and KaNgwane's Mr Enos Mabuza have also been mentioned in this regard.

One of the key organisers of the move to form the joint caucus said in an interview the time had come for opposition to the National Party to be united.

The PFP, he said, could not continue to criticise the LP for its participation in the tricameral system as long as it continued within that system itself.

The source stated that talks had been held between members of the LP and the PFP with regard to co-operation.

The LP, he said, controlled the 85-seat House of Representatives, and therefore had the muscle to influence events within the tricameral system.

To this, the PFP would be able to add expertise garnered over many years in parliament, and the substantial financial backing of some of its supporters.

A senior member of the LP leadership confirmed last night that talks had indeed been held on a wide front in a bid to end the, at times, internecine warfare in opposition ranks.

# Opposition in new move to join forces

304A
30/12/87

Daily Dispatch Correspondent

**PRETORIA — In a development that could change the face of opposition parliamentary politics, plans are under way for the Progressive Federal Party and the Labour Party to form a joint caucus.**

It was disclosed last night that the proposed caucus was expected to be joined by Solidarity and Progressive Reform Party (PRP) members in the House of Delegates and possibly representatives of the Independent grouping headed by Dr Denis Worrall.

Solidarity and the PRP have apparently given the green light to the plan while Dr Worrall has held wide-ranging talks in recent weeks.

Dr Worrall and Mr Dave Dalling of the PFP were present at the opening of the LP's congress here on Monday.

An attempt will also be made to persuade credible black leaders to join the joint caucus, while it is understood that some members of the fledgling opposition party in the House of Representatives, the United Democratic Party, will throw in their lot with the alignment.

The KwaZulu leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and Mr Enos Mabuza of KaNgwane have been mentioned.

Approaches are also being made in the hope of persuading other extra-parliamentary groups to participate.

One of the key organisers of the move to form the caucus said the time had come for opposition to the NP to be united.

The PFP, he said, could not continue to criticise the LP for its participation in the tricameral system as long as it continued within that system itself.

The LP controlled the 85-seat House of Representatives and therefore had the muscle to influence events within the tricameral system.

To this, the PFP would be able to add expertise garnered over many years in Parliament, and the substantial financial backing of some of its supporters.

Another positive aspect would be that coloured and Indian members of the PFP would no longer simply be adjuncts of whites in the party but would be able to participate fully in elections.

A senior member of the LP confirmed last night that talks had been held on a wide front in an attempt to unite opposition ranks.

The joint caucus he spelt out would address issues of strategy, both behind the closed doors of the standing committees as well as publicly, the common aim being to bring about the end of apartheid.

Should the planned joint caucus become a reality — and it is understood that an initial meeting is planned for next month — it could end years of feuding between opposition parties to the left of the government.

It could also mark a significant change in the attitude of the PFP toward the other two houses.

Under its former leader, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, the party opposed the tricameral system in the 1983 referendum, and was therefore opposed to participation in the House of Representatives and House of Delegates.

● The LP voted overwhelmingly yesterday to stay in the tricameral system for at least another year and to demand the unconditional repeal of the Group Areas Act as a pre-condition for the possible postponement to 1992 of the scheduled 1989 elections for the House of Assembly.

**Editorial opinion P8**
**See also P9**

# Another tortoise shell shock for Government

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

From under the tortoise shell of Pretoria's Skilpad Hall has crawled a new problem for the National Party.

In this hall the Conservative Party was born a few years ago, prompting Dr Andries Treurnicht's party to adopt the slow-but-steady reptile as its mascot.

This week the Labour Party chose the venue for its annual congress, a deliberate act of defiance of the white right-wing groups which originally threatened to disrupt the congress.

It was an important congress for the Labour Party. Its leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said the party, as well as the country, was at a crossroad.

Two decisions, affecting the future of party and country, had to be taken:

- Whether the party should continue to participate in the tricameral system or whether it should go outside Parliament to pressure Government.
- Whether Labour should allow Government to postpone the white general election from 1989 to 1992.

Those issues dominated the congress.

Despite an attempt by a small group, led by Education and Culture Minister Mr Carter Ebrahim, to get the party to seek reconciliation with Government, the delegates voted overwhelmingly to support Mr Hendrickse's ultimatum that either Government repeal the Group Areas Act or the Labour Party withholds support for postponed white elections.

Under the constitution, the House of Assembly must be dissolved with the rest of the legislature when the current life of Parliament expires in September 1989.

The State President must then call a general election for all three Houses within six months.

Government wants the constitution amended to allow the three Houses five-year terms independently of each other.

Mr Hendrickse was asked by President Botha to leave the Cabinet when the Labour leader said the House of Representatives would not necessarily support a constitutional change until it was satisfied with what Government intended doing with its newly won mandate.

There could be no question of allowing Government a blank cheque for five years, he said.

The congress gave Mr Hendrickse overwhelming support for this position.

At the same time, it decided to adhere to its 1983 Eshowe decision, which was to stay in the tricameral system for five years.

Delegates felt they could not yet quit Parliament for two main reasons:

- The tricameral system had been useful in achieving short-term gains for the coloured people, particularly in housing and education. More needed to be done in these fields.
- It was necessary to remain within the system to maintain pressure on Government and continue blocking President Botha over the white election issue.

Labour's decisions present a dilemma for Government.

On the one hand, it has a tricameral Parliament in which one House is obstructionist and confrontational.

On the other, to go into an early election would present gratuitous political capital to the Conservative Party.

# 1987 was the year of political polarisation

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**A review of the year by TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent**

POLARISATION was one of the main features of the political year 1987.

Divisions in Afrikaner circles grew and there were also increased Government onslaughts on the left and on extra-parliamentary movements.

Government attitudes to the African National Congress hardened as the ANC continmued terrorist activities and committed itself to intensify a military, economic and diplomatic campaign to isolate South Africa.

Unrest continued and there was also considerable black-on-black violence, especially in Natal.

The white electorate swung to the right and in the May 6 general election the Conservative Party won 22 seats in the House of Assembly.

The Progressive Federal Party won only 19 seats and lost three of these later in the year through defections. It also lost its position as Official Opposition in the House of Assembly to the CP. The National Party won 123 seats and the New Republic Party one. The Herstigte Nasionale Party lost its only seat. One independent, Mr Wynand Malan, was elected.

The Independent Movement drew considerable attention and support but after the election it split and the National Democratic Movement was formed.

Relations between the Labour Party and President Botha became markedly cooler up to the point where the leader of the party, Mr Allan Hendrickse, left the Cabinet.

Among the extra-parliamentary movements the United Democratic Front and some trade unions continued to face harrassment



**Mr Govan Mbeki**

with the detention of many supporters.

Although some were released a large number are still being held, some of them now for more than a year.

It was the year in which the security screws were tightened further and even stricter curbs on the Press were introduced.

While the incidence of unrest diminished the security authorities believed that revolutionary forces were adapting to the state of emergency and security measures might well be tightened further next year.

Government attempts to get a statutory National Council off the ground made little progress during the year, but draft legislation to provide for it was changed in one important aspect. This will make it possible for urban blacks to elect representatives on the council.

The Institute for Democratic Alternatives in South Africa (Idasa) organised talks with the African National Congress in Dakar and this led to President Botha threatening to cut off the foreign funding of extra-parliamentary organisations engaged in domestic politics.

The release of Mr Govan Mbeki, an ANC leader, which was at first seen as a test which could lead to the release of further security prisoners, soon soured when meetings he was to have addressed were banned and when he was put under restrictions.

The Government accepted recommendations in a President's Council report that the Group Areas Act should be changed to allow for mixed residential areas.

Foreign pressures continued and relations between South Africa and some of its neighbours, especially Zimbabwe and Botswana were strained on occasions.

The year ends on a fairly optimistic note with indications of an improvement in the enonomy and in farming conditions following good rains.